

T E S T I M O N Y

of the American Hungarian Federation before the Finance Committee
of the United States Senate on the U.S.-Romanian
Trade Agreement of April 2, 1975

The American Hungarian Federation, the national organization of American Hungarian churches, fraternal associations and societies since 1907, respectfully submits its arguments against an approval of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement of April 2, 1975 and the subsequent Presidential Proclamation of April 24, 1975 extending the "most favored nation" treatment to Romania.

The American Hungarian Federation argues that the present Romanian Government pursues an active policy of discrimination and abridgment of human and civil rights of its citizens, particularly those of the near 2.5 million Hungarian minority.

The abridgment of human and civil rights include the denial of schooling in the mother tongue, particularly on the secondary and higher education level, severely curtailing permission to receive housing in most Transylvanian cities to Hungarians, forced denationalization policies including the dispersal of university graduates of Hungarian ethnic background into purely Romanian areas and Romanizing street and place names in purely Hungarian-inhabited towns, villages and urban wards. The Romanian authorities also discriminate against citizens of Hungarian ethnic background in local, county, and state administration and party positions, excluding them virtually from any position of an officer of the army, police and gendarmerie. Job discrimination, particularly on higher management level in the factories and cooperatives persists and Hungarian-language programs on TV and radio are almost infinitesimal. Hungarian writers and theater directors are subject to censorship as far as their topics are concerned and are often becoming conveyor belts for the translation of Romanian novels, poems and plays to the Hungarian minority.

The churches are openly interfered with, one denomination was forcibly eradicated in 1948, and those who teach the Christian faith are subject to severe punishments. According to the telegram of the Christian Mission to the Communist World, reproduced in the Congressional Record by Representative Michael Harrington, adventists are arrested, receive lashes and have to carry 30-40 lbs. of iron balls with spikes.

Furthermore, the traces of the Hungarian past of Transylvania are actively erased. All archival material, church records, art objects and private letters over 40 years old belonging to the churches and private persons have been transferred to state and local archives in a primitive and unorganized manner. They are not even being catalogued

for the lack of qualified personnel as according to the statement of one of the Communist deputies in the Romanian Grand National Assembly last fall, no archivist degrees have been awarded in Romania for the past 25 years.

In an era when tourism is generally promoted in Europe, the Romanian state decreed this year that only the most immediate family members may stay at their homes, all other relatives must go to a hotel and pay preposterous prices.

The composite picture that emerges is not that of a civilized government anxious to maintain the guarantees provided in the Constitution. It is rather one within which ideological zealotry and nationalist bias are rampant to the detriment of many citizens, particularly those of Hungarian ethnic background.

We submit that under these circumstances we would be rewarding the enemies of human rights with excessive economic concessions if we were to award Romania with non-discriminatory tariff treatment (MFN).

The American Hungarian Federation also realizes certain economic disadvantages of the trade agreement for certain industry branches in the United States and shares the concern expressed by the AFL-CIO in this regard.

The American Hungarian Federation firmly believes that a discussion of the continued repressive policies of the Romanian government against its citizens, particularly those of Hungarian ethnic background, must precede any final vote on this issue by the Finance Committee and the United States Senate. Therefore, the American Hungarian Federation strongly urges the Finance Committee to formally request the United States Department of State to undertake talks on the above subjects with the Romanian Government and to report back to the Finance Committee on the results of the same before any final recommendations are made by the Committee on the United States -Romanian Trade Agreement and the Presidential Proclamation of April 24, 1975.

In regard to the emigration clause of the Trade Reform Act of 1974 which the President proposes to waive for 18 months, we would like to submit two of our concerns:

(1) We would like to see the families torn apart to be united. State Department officials informed us that about 84 such cases are pending and we are aware that some of them include Romanian citizens of Hungarian ethnic background.

(2) We are concerned that the language of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment incorporated into the Trade Reform Act of 1974 might encourage the Roma-

nian Government to use direct or indirect pressures in order to encourage selected members of the Hungarian minority to emigrate to the United States and other Western countries. By doing so, the Government might want to remove the more active and best educated elements of the minority from Romania. We would oppose such procedures as they would force out people from Romania whose forefathers lived in the area for more than 1,000 years and were there even before the Romanian settlers. We strongly urge the Finance Committee to add explanatory language excluding such abuses and would be willing to suggest suitable draft language for this purpose.

INSTANCES OF DISCRIMINATION AND THE ABRIDGMENT OF HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

I. The Historical Background

The Hungarian minority in Romania is concentrated mostly in the historical province of Transylvania separated from the rest of Romania by a continuous mountain chain (Carpathian Mountains) ranging between 3000-7500 feet. There are other Hungarian minorities in Bucarest (estimated numbers range as high as 100,000) and some csángó villages in western Moldavia.

Transylvania constituted a province of the Roman Empire between 109 and 271 A.D. Upon the end of Roman rule, the province was invaded by numerous migrating tribes of Germanic, Hunno-Avaric and Slavonic character. Following the entry of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin in 896 A.D., they started settling in Transylvania during the 10th century A.D. From the 12th century on, another Hungarian tribe (Székelys) with frontier guard functions, settled in the southeastern corner of Transylvania, followed by the German settlers called between 1161-1200 (Saxons) both of whom retained their local administrative autonomy.

There is no historical record of Romanian presence in Transylvania before 1222 A.D., except for the chronicles of Kezai and Magister P(osa). The two chronicles followed the medieval tradition of embellishing the victories of the founders of the country by adding to the peoples conquered by them all the peoples who were living there in their own days. Romanian place names before 1300 A.D. are rare in Transylvania and are restricted to the southern and southwestern parts of the province.

Romanian historians generally accept the Daco-Romanian theory of continuous settlement of Romanians in Transylvania between 271 A.D. and 1222 A.D. Their best argument is the undoubtedly Romanic origin of the Romanian language. They glossed over the silence of almost a millennium and pointed out that the remaining Roman settlers could have survived in the mountainous areas without being recorded in historical documents. Unfortunately, etymological research even by Romanian scholars like Capidan shows that the Romanian language originated in Italy, developed in southern Albania and moved from there north. There are several isolated groups in Yugoslavia which speak dialects closely akin to the Romanian. If to these findings we add the silence of historical sources, the Daco-Romanian theory remains a hypothesis at best.

There is nothing hypothetical about the presence of Hungarians in Transylvania since the 10th century. After 1001 A.D., the founding of the Hungarian Kingdom by St. Stephen, Transylvania formed an integral part of the kingdom and was administered by the oldest son of the king, the Hungarian equivalent of the Prince of Wales.

In the 15th century, Transylvania gave Hungary and Europe two of the greatest statesmen of their times. John Hunyadi, both as a general and as the regent of Hungary fought the Turks and delayed their entry into Central Europe by seventy years through his victory in the battle of Belgrade (1456). His son, King of Hungary between 1458-90 became a famous Renaissance king bringing scholarship and arts to Hungary and founding additional universities. His reign is still considered the golden age of Hungarian culture and power.

Following the capture of Buda by the Turks in 1541, Transylvania, after a short transitional period, had become a semi-independent principality paying tribute to the Sultan but not occupied by the Turks. Its princes were all Hungarian except for the short-lived (1½ years) invasion by the Voivod of Wallachia, Michael Vitez as an ally of the Emperor-King of Hungary. Most of the princes were of the Protestant faith, except the Bathorys. Stephen Bathory, however, also became the King of Poland and brought the fame of Transylvania to all of Europe. Transylvania is famous for having decreed the first religious tolerance edict in 1567 at the Diet of Torda, thirty years before the Edict of Nantes. The ruling "nations" were the Hungarians, Székelys (also Hungarians) and the Germans (Saxons). The cultural accomplishments of Transylvanians in the 17th century were very high, they formed the mainstream of Hungarian culture and attained high standards in science and arts. It is during this period that the first books in Romanian appear, sponsored by the princes who wanted the Romanians to have their bibles and religious literature.

Upon the recapture of Buda by the forces of the Emperor, and the subsequent death of Prince Michael Apaffy, Transylvania rejoined the Kingdom of Hungary, but was administered as a separate province, the "Grand Principality of Transylvania."

The Turkish raids in the 17th century decimated the Hungarian population of the Central Plains (Mezőség) and the river valleys. The Romanians, mostly mountaineers suffered loss of the Turkish soldateska. Yet at the end of the century the Romanians were still a minority and the Hungarians were the strongest nationality in the province.

During the period of 1691-1780 the governors were either Hungarian or German and they were all anxious to repopulate the province, just as their counterpart did settle the southern parts of the Hungarian Plains. With the Turkish rule continuing in the Romanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, Romanian settlers were readily available and by 1760 Romanians formed the majority nationality in Transylvania, but remained politically unrecognized.

In the cultural and linguistic fields, however, the Hungarian Administration and the Roman Catholic Church promoted their concerns. In 1701 the Romanian Orthodox Church joined Rome as the Romanian-rite Eastern Church and established theological seminaries, including one at Balázsfalva (Blaj). The first stirrings of the Daco-Romanian theory and of Romanian historiography were financed by the Catholic Church and the Hungarian administration of Transylvania during the 18th century. The 18th century was also one of cultural and scientific development in Transylvania which then produced the greatest mathematician of his age, Farkas Bolyai and one of the leading orientologists of his age, Alexander Kőrössi-Csoma.

The ideas of the French Revolution permeated slowly the Austro-Hungarian Empire despite the balancing acts of Prince Metternich. Nationalism became popular first in Hungary and Croatia, and only later to the Transylvanian Romanians. The "reform age" of 1825-48 produced leaders among the Transylvanian Hungarians, including Count Nicolas Wesselényi and the writer-politician, Baron Nicholas Jósika. They demanded the administrative union of Transylvania with Hungary and liberal political reforms.

When the March 1848 events resulted in Habsburg concessions to Hungary including the formation of a government responsible to the Parliament, the union of Transylvania and Hungary was also accomplished creating the first Hungarian-Romanian strife in Transylvania.

The Romanians were already well organized in 1848 through the Romanian Orthodox Church, for the majority of the Romanian parishes returned

to Orthodoxy by 1760. They opposed the union with Hungary and encouraged by the Vienna Court revolted under the leadership of Avram Iancu and Archbishop Saguna. Guerilla fighting of great ferocity continued for almost a year. Temporarily, the Hungarians won and the Romanians made peace with them on the basis of local autonomy, but a few weeks later Russian troops, in alliance with the Austrian Emperor entered Hungary and Transylvania and crushed the Hungarian armies.

For 17 years the Austrians governed Transylvania and oppressed both Hungarians and Romanians, bringing the two nationalities closer to one another. When the Austro-Hungarian Compromise was arranged in 1867 and Transylvania was administratively reunited with Hungary, there were no Romanian protests.

Hungary enacted a very liberal Nationalities Law in 1868 giving full equal rights to all its citizens including the right to education in the mother tongue. As a result there were 2,300 Romanian private schools, several hundred high schools and 13 colleges in Hungary by 1914 at a time when full literacy was far from achieved in Transylvania.

Romanian deputies were elected in Romanian-inhabited counties to the Budapest Parliament where they fought any attempts of curtailing Romanian rights. Economic affluence and cultural development characterized the period before World War I. A strong Romanian middle-class arose and economic self-help organizations assisted Romanian farmers to buy land.

Yet an alienation between the educated Hungarian and Romanian classes became noticeable. Increasing cultural reliance on the "Old Kingdom" Romania and annoyance with attempts of the nationalist factions in the Hungarian Government after 1895 to promote the teaching of the Hungarian language and literature in the private school leading to the Lex Apponyi in 1907 exacerbated the relations, strainign also relations between Austria-Hungary and Romania which regained her independence in 1878 and through the *Ligea Culturalea* influenced the intelligentsia of the Transylvanian Romanians in an irredentist manner.

When the war broke out, the Hungarian and Romanian regiments fought equally well and there were no changing sides by Romanians. Romania herself declared neutrality although formally an ally of the Central Powers and in the summer of 1916 joined the Allied and Associated Powers in the Treaty of London. The Treaty promised all of Transylvania, the Banat and parts of eastern Hungary with a mixed Romanian and Hungarian population to Romania. At a result, Romanian troops moved into Transylva:

against the Central Powers. However, German and Austro-Hungarian troops defeated the Romanian (~~and German~~) armies and Romania concluded a peace treaty with the Central Powers in March 1918. On November 7, 1918 Romania "declared war" on the non-existent Austro-Hungarian state which had signed an armistice with the Allies on November 2, 1918. Resisted only by a few volunteer units and assisted by the Allied High Command in Belgrade the Romanian army advanced into Transylvania.

On December 1, 1918, the Romanian Transylvanians convened at Alba Julia (Gyulafehérvár), and after bitter debates, voted union with the Romanian Kingdom. The Hungarians held a protest meeting at Kolozsvár (Cluj) and the Saxons only accepted the union with Romania upon receiving personal guarantees from Romanian leaders that the Paris Peace Conference had already assigned Transylvania to Romania.

Romanian and French pressures led to the delivery of the Vyx Note to the Hungarian Government on March 20, 1919 assigning a deep corridor of Hungarian-inhabited cities and villages in eastern Hungary to a demilitarized zone to be occupied by Allied forces. This precipitated the Communist takeover in Hungary which was, in turn, utilized by the Romanian Government to occupy Budapest and assure the acceptance of her claims against Hungary at the peace conference. An analysis of the Vyx Note is given in Peter Pastor "Franco-Rumanian Intervention in Russia and the Vyx Ultimatum: Background to Hungary's Loss of Transylvania."

In the Peace Treaty of Trianon (1920) Romania received substantially the same territories promised in the Treaty of London. The Allied and Associated Powers insisted upon Romanian signature of a Minority Rights treaty. Its provisions were never fully kept but its existence had prevented a more intense persecution of the Hungarians. As a result of the peace treaty, 180,000 Hungarians had to leave Transylvania (former civil servants) and the remainders became second-class citizens in the Romanian state.

Interestingly, the Transylvanian Romanians were also disappointed because their compatriots from the "Old Kingdom" took over the reins of the state. Although unfriendly toward the Hungarians, the Transylvanian Romanian leaders, many of them former deputies of the Hungarian Parliament, became the most severe critics of the new regime. Political and financial corruption flourished and extremist movements on the right - the Iron Guard - threatened the Hungarian minority in addition to legalized discrimination.

The land reform confiscated mostly Hungarian estates, as their Romanian counterparts were exempted under transparent pretenses. Literary language requirements, in turn, prevented adequate representation of

Hungarians in the civil service. A certain percentage of workers and employees in every business enterprise had to be Romanian. Hungarian students had only a remote chance of passing the Romanian admission tests to the universities. Many Hungarian church schools were forced to be closed and Romanians were settled into purely Hungarian areas in southeastern Transylvania. The disputes led to innumerable protests to the League of Nations, to several critical hearings, and despite the general friendly feeling toward Romania by League members, to several decisions against Romanian authorities.

Yet despite oppression Hungarian culture flourished even under Romanian censorship. Many of the best known Hungarian writers and poets of the century belong to the "Transylvanian" school of the period between the two World Wars like Aaron Tamási, Joseph Nyíró, Albert Wass and Alexander Reményik.

A Western ally in 1939, Romania renounced the British-French guarantee in June 1940 upon the collapse of France. Hungary now pressed for a frontier revision. The U.S.S.R., in turn, with German assent under the 1939 German-Soviet Pact, demanded the return of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina from Romania in June 1940 in form of an ultimatum. Romania yielded to Moscow but came to no agreement with Hungary. Hitler, anxious to be assured of the oil production of Ploesti intervened and Germany and Italy passed the Second Vienna Award on August 30, 1940 partitioning Transylvania between Hungary and Romania. Most of the Hungarian-inhabited areas and some Romanian areas were returned to Hungary as a clear-cut nationality division remains impossible in Transylvania. The Award was not regarded as final by any of the participants. The Germans continued to promise "revision" of the award in favor of the most loyal ally and the British and Soviet Government promised the province to the first state leaving the German orbit.

As Romania was first entered by the advancing Russian armies, she had changed sides first and the armistice promised her the administration of northern Transylvania. Yet the atrocities committed by the returning Romanian irregular units were such that the Red Army had to expel the Romanian administration and established its own in October 1944. This was the only known instance of the Red Army intervening directly to save the inhabitants against local terror. Only after Molotov's visit to Bucarest, after the Yalta Conference, resulted in the takeover of a Communist-supported coalition government in Bucarest in March 1945, did the U.S.S.R. agree to turn over the northern part of the province to Romania and decision confirmed by the Paris Peace Conference of 1947.

At the Peace Conference, the United States took the position that the frontiers should be revised in favor of Hungary returning at least the Hungarian-inhabited frontier zone to Hungary. Russian veto prevented

any such revision. The reason for the pro-Romanian Soviet stance was that in the winter of 1946/47 Romania was already in the Soviet orbit while Hungary was still holding out, to be absorbed only later.

In part under Soviet pressure the new Romanian Government, dominated by the Communist Party promised a fair solution to the Hungarian question in Transylvania. Originally, all Hungarian-inhabited regions were to receive an autonomous status but by 1952 only one, the Szekely region received its autonomy and the unit was diluted by adding several Romanian districts to it.

The Constitution promised no discrimination on the basis of national origin, use of the mother tongue in courts and public authorities and right of the parents to send their children to the schools of their choice. Fanning national hatred and chauvinist propoganda were barred by the Constitution, a measure usually applied against protesting Hungarians.

It is true, however, that in the first phases social and political reasons rather than national consideration resulted in an intense persecution of the citizens and anti-Communist Romanians and Hungarians were arrested, tortured and executed alike. Congressman Alvin E. O'Konski speaking in the House of Representatives on April 28, 1965 estimated the number of anti-Communist Hungarians killed or deported to the building of the Danube Canal between 1946-1963 to 278,000. Most of these events occurred in the late 1940s and early 1950s in order to break the Hungarian middle classes and the smallholders, the two mainstays of Hungarian authority now declared "class aliens."

The churches were severaly persecuted during this period. The worst fate befell the Greek Uniate Church to which about one-third of the Transylvanian Romanians and some Hungarians also belonged. In 1948 it was united by a State decree with the Romanian Orthodox church. Its bishops were jailed, its clergy dispersed or forced into union with the Orthodox church, many of them died in prison or labor camps. The Roman Catholic Church also suffered grievously with hundreds of its priests and the Bishop of Alba Julia (Gyulafehervár) jailed for varying periods of time.

It was not, however, after the anti-Communist revolution in Hungary in October-November 1956 that an active persecution of the Hungarian minority as such was resumed. Solidarity feelings with the Hungarian freedomfighters was high among Transylvanian Hungarians and also among Romanian students. After the crushing of the revolt, these two groups were singled out by the Romanian Government for reprisals. The story of their persecution belongs, however, to the specific complaints of the present and will be dealt with topically.

2. Geopolitical and Demographic Features of Transylvania.

Geographically, Transylvania constitutes a plateau surrounded by high mountains in the east, south and north. The only sizeable opening lies in the northwest where the province opens toward the Hungarian Plains. There is also a natural opening through the Maros (Mares) valley leading to the Hungarian Plains. Passes toward Wallachia are few and there are only three routes toward Bucarest and Craiova. The situation is similar toward Moldavia in the east.

Thus, geographically and historically alike Transylvania is connected with the Hungarian Plains rather than with the Romanian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia.

Demographically, Transylvania consists of two major groups: Romanians and Hungarians. The number of Germans was reduced by their flight in 1944 and by Russian deportations in 1944-45 to about 400,000. In the Banat there are also some Serbs, and about 40,000 of the 75,000 Jews in Romania reside in Transylvania.

The number and percentage of the Hungarian minority is hard to determine exactly. Romanian statistics consistently underreported their number. If one believes the Romanian statistics, there was a decrease in the number of Hungarians for 46 years (1910-1956) and only a very slight increase between 1956-1966 so that their number is the same as it had been in 1910, 1.61 million. At the same time, the Hungarian-language publication in Romania, Korunk reported in November 1957 that the natural increase of the population of the region was 1.27 percent in 1957 only and the region was mostly Hungarian-populated.

Many authors, therefore, doubt the accuracy of the Romanian statistical figures. The Romanian author, living in the West, G. Satmarescu, writing in East Central Europe, edited by Professor Fisher-Galati of the University of Colorado in January 1975 estimated the number of unreported and assimilated Hungarians to 900,000 in Transylvania, coming to the figure of 2.5 million. The Handbuch der europäischen Volksgruppen (Reference Book on European Nationality Groups) published in 1974 by the European Union Movement in German, estimated the Hungarians in Romania to 2.4 million. The Brazilian Transylvanian organization, Movimiento pro Transilvania using demographic constants of the overall population natural increase in Romania and subtracting changes extraneous to the natural increase came to 2,816,555. Whatever the true figure, it is substantially higher than that of the Romanian statistics of 1966 and is probably close to the figures cited by Satmarescu and the German editors of the Reference Book on European Nationalities as neither of them had any axes to grind.

Their number places the Transylvanian and Romanian Hungarians into the position of the largest national minority in Europe and the continuous abridgment of their human and civil rights assumes more than a local significance.

EDUCATION IN THE MOTHER TONGUE AND ADMITTANCE TO UNIVERSITIES

The right to education in the mother tongue is a generally recognized human right. In addition, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Article 22 reads:

In the Socialist Republic of Romania the co-inhabiting nationalities are assured the free utilization of their native language as well as books, papers, magazines, theaters and education at all levels in their own language.

Let us see what the reality is. Until 1959 there were Hungarian schools where all subjects except Romanian language and literature, history and geography were taught in the Hungarian language. According to Romanian statistics there were about 1,700 such schools on the elementary and secondary levels. There were also two universities and about five colleges (four teachers college and one performing art college). While these figures were considerably lower than the number of Romanian schools in Hungary in 1914, they were considerably higher than the figures in 1974/75.

After 1957 the Romanian Government began a systematic campaign to restrict and eliminate Hungarian educational institutions. According to the Handbook of European Nationalities the figures for 1974 are as follows:

In 1956 there were still 1,022 four year elementary schools in Hungarian in Transylvania. Today there are 750. Mixed Romanian-Hungarian schools were 38 in 1956, 316 in 1973. Seven year (later eight year) elementary schools in Hungarian were 493 in 1956, 26 in 1973. Romanian-Hungarian high schools were 43 in 1973. Vocational and specialized high schools are all Romanian in Transylvania.

In 1956, two Hungarian universities were in existence: at Cluj and at Tirgu Mures. In 1959 they were merged and today only their names remind us of their character (Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai), for there are no courses given in Hungarian except for those at Cluj in Hungarian language and literature.

These figures prove the deliberate policy of dissolving (a) any independent Hungarian schools, leaving only Hungarian sections in Romanian schools, and restricting (b) the number of Hungarian sections. The latter is done both by indirect pressures like rendering it excessively difficult for graduates of the Hungarian sections to enter the next higher level of schools and by dissolving Hungarian sections for the resulting "lack of popular demands." Reports received from Transylvania relate that while a Romanian section in a Hungarian area would be established at the request of three to four Romanian parents, a Hungarian section in a Hungarian area would need the application of thirty or more Hungarian families.

The ensuing situation favors the attendance of Romanian sections by Hungarian children even on the elementary levels. Two affidavits signed by blue-collar people who had emigrated from Romania to Brazil in 1974 both attest that many parents consider Hungarian education as a sentence for their children to remain in the ranks of the laborers. On May 12, 1975 the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania published "Background Material" on the co-inhabiting nationalities in Romania. This information is certainly not biased against the Romanian state, but it also shows that only 5.9% of the grade school population attends Hungarian sections on the elementary level, i.e., at least one-third to twofifth of the Hungarian children in Romania attend Romanian schools. So much for the freedom of choice of education in the mother tongue.

Yet the situation is much worse on the secondary level. Romanian secondary education distinguishes among several types of lycées (high schools). Besides the general, liberal arts-type of lycées, there are various types of specialized lycées like commercial, performing arts, vocational, teachers education.

Reliable data on the secondary schools may be found in local publications. In the almost 50% Hungarian Mures (Maros) county in 1973 30 of the high school graduation commissions (based on the number of students taking the examination) were Romanian, nine Romanian, and four mixed Romanian-Hungarian. In addition the following lycées had only Romanian commissions. The Commercial, the Health and Nursing, Machinist Vocational, Electrotechnical, Architectural, Agricultural. Only the Teachers Education lycée had also a Hungarian section as did the lycée for Performing Arts. In Cluj (Kolozs) county with a Hungarian population of between 75-85 percent there were nine Romanian commissions, five mixed commissions and six Hungarian commissions. However, again all Economic-Commercial, Transportation and Agricultural lycées were only given examinations in Romanian.

These data were contained in the June 16, 1973 issue of the Vörös Zászló (Red Flag), the Hungarian-language newspaper of the Romanian Communist Party at Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) and of the Ígazság (Truth), the Hungarian-language newspaper of the Romanian Communist Party at Cluj (Kolozsvár), August 11, 1973.

The Background Material of the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania mentions that only 3.8% of the secondary school population is attending Hungarian sections. Thus, between sixty and seventy per-cent of Hungarian children in Romania attend Romanian sections. This is a self-indictment of the Romanian guarantee of freedom of choice of education in the mother tongue.

The differential between the elementary and high school students cannot just be explained by the forced Romanization of all specialized lycées or the compulsory attendance of the first year of the lycée by all students in Romania since 1973. The hopelessness of entering university upon graduation from a Hungarian section of the liberal arts lycées also plays an important role. Unfortunately reliable statistics are not available on how many of the graduates fail the entrance test but we know of many individual cases where this was the case despite the fact that in one case the failing student won a nationwide science award in 1967 a year before taking the examination.

Some people might think that it would be useful for the Romanian children of Hungarian ethnic background to attend Romanian section, as he would learn the language of the country fluently helping his later career. Yet there is much more involved here. By attending a Romanian section, the student is not permitted to converse in Hungarian even during recess which becomes rather awkward when in Hungarian areas like Oradea (Nagyvárad) and Cluj (Kolozsvár) half or more of the children in some Romanian sections are Hungarian. Second, a student in Romania must learn proficiency in Romanian whether he attends a Hungarian or Romanian section. Three hours a day his instructional language is Romanian even in the Hungarian sections. In addition, even in the Hungarian section he is exposed to a biased and distorted view of the history of the Hungarians in Transylvania who are pictured in many textbooks as barbarian nomads who had settled and lorded over the civilized Romanian population for 1,000 years. Self-hatred or resentment are the consequences of having to learn such "history." In an age when in Europe there are historical commissions even between the West Germans and the Poles to eradicate chauvinist views from one another's school textbooks the Romanian educational system did not yet progress to the point where a schoolbook commission would have been formed with historians of "friendly" Communist Hungary except on the highest academic level.

The education of the Hungarian technical intelligentsia in the fully Romanian specialized lycées resulted in the pessimistic article in the Hungarian-language Communist monthly Korunk at Cluj (Kolozsvár) in June 1972 as follows:

The number of the technical intelligentsia and skilled workers with vocational training will be even greater in the future It remains an open question whether those who are alienated from the mother tongue during their vocational training will yet retain the mother tongue? Will they still read novels, poems of poets of their nationality, will they attend theater and be interested in the daily press in the mother tongue if they will have been brought up in the school exclusively in the climate of Romanian literature? Will they not become indifferent to all possible culture?

It would be unjust if the technical intelligentsia by becoming multilingual would lose its mother tongue and become thereby rootless individual to those hundred thousands who retain the mother tongue ... The existence of a rootless, pro-assimilation type of man does not belong to the interest of a socialist state which was to be built on the principles of equal rights.

Another blow against education in the Hungarian language was the Decree Law 278/1973 of May 13, 1973. It was elaborated upon in the Boletín Oficial of July 9, 1973 (No. 100/1973). The decree calls for the unification of classes with insufficient number of students. An elementary school with eight or ten grades can be maintained only if all classes have at least 25-36 students. If there are not enough students for the grades 5-8 or 5-10, the school will be restricted to the first four grades and the students will be concentrated in other villages and towns and become boarding students. The question remains: will these boarding schools be located in Romanian villages and towns as many of the villages in Transylvania range between 500-1000 inhabitants?

Another regulation of the decree is that in any village or town which possesses a nationality school section, a Romanian school section must be maintained regardless the number of students. In the liberal arts lycées the regulations are identical which will render the maintenance of Hungarian section difficult as a Romanian section will be established and usually there are only enough students for one class.

Entrance examination even on the lycée levels are given in Romanian. In the vocational high schools, according to affidavits of former students, if you fail physics or mechanics, you can take a second examination, but if you fail Romanian, you must repeat the year.

Reliable informants from behind the Iron Curtain tell us that between 1972-74 the Romanian Ministry of Education constituted 50 vocational high school sections for Romanian children of Hungarian ethnic background. A year later, physics, mechanics and other science subjects were taught in Romanian by regulations of the government and by 1974 only physical education and Hungarian language and literature were taught in Hungarian. But the sections are still listed as "Hungarian."

Let us take the statistics provided by the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania for university and college students. There is no more mention of "Hungarian sections" as except for a few seminars in Hungarian language and literature even the Universitea Babes-Bolyai and its Medical-Pharmaceutical School at Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) have been Romanized as far as the language of instruction is concerned. Some Hungarian-language courses survive at the Teachers Colleges of Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) and Odorhei (Székelyudvarhely) to train teachers for the Hungarian sections, but their number and the number of the Hungarian ethnic background trainees in them is constantly decreasing. Already between 1960 and 1968 the percentage of Hungarian students in the purely Hungarian town of Odorhei (Székelyudvarhely) at the College fell from more than eighty per cent to about fifty percent and today their share is even less.

The Embassy lists 6,188 Romanian students of Hungarian ethnic background at all Romanian universities, or 5.9% of the student population. Again the percentages show that one-third to two-fifth of the Hungarian students are not admitted to the universities. The only logical explanation would be if the Hungarians were generally less educated than the Romanians, a conclusion hard to maintain even after sixty-five years of Romanian rule in Transylvania. Direct measures, like failing them at the entrance examination, or indirect measures or restricting the number of students to be admitted to any department of the university and favoring Romanians for the restricted places are the means of accomplishing this end.

The statistics fail to give us insight on how many of the Hungarian students admitted stay at Cluj (Kolozsvár) and how many are admitted to universities in the "Old Kingdom" like Bucarest, Iasy, Craiova.

The Embassy did not provide statistics on the university graduates either. Besides scores of individual cases known to us personally,

there are two data which seem to prove our contention that they are dispersed by assignment or by favorable offers to purely Romanian areas where they marry in most cases Romanian girls and their children become completely Romanized. Thus, even with their superior education, they cannot form the intellectual leadership of the Hungarian minority.

These two data contained:

(1) Letter of the State Department to the late Glenn Cunningham (R., Nebr.) and several other members of the United States House of Representatives in September 1967 which had stated:

The method of assigning jobs to most university graduates on a nationwide basis rather than according to the desires of the individual tends, in addition, to scatter Hungarian intellectuals throughout the region.

(2) Statement of Rector Stefan Pascu, President of the University Council of the Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai at the ceremony of awarding doctorates on June 30, 1973, as reproduced in Igazság, July 1, 1973. According to other information, the share of the Hungarian students at the university is approximately 30 percent. According to Rector Pascu over one-third of the recipients of the doctor's degree were provided employment outside of Transylvania and ten percent were given jobs in the most Romanian city of Transylvania Timişoara (Temesvár).

The examples of Romanizing the secondary and higher education in Romania is not restricted to the cities and mixed counties. The most Hungarian county in Transylvania is Harghita (Csik) with an almost exclusively Székely population. The county seat is Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) with 20,000 inhabitants. The town has two lycées and the second one is strictly Romanian. The majority of the teachers and the director were Romanians, from the graduating class of 1973-74 there were 30 Hungarians and 27 Romanians. But the language of instruction has been exclusively Romanian.

The above data clearly prove the denationalization policies of the Romanian Government in the field of education and the discrimination against those attending the remaining Hungarian sections of the school system. In 1973 the situation was aggravated by the compulsory attendance of the first year of lycée by all students. This put a great strain on the lycées necessitating the expansion of instruction in the first year classes. According to information received this procedure was utilized to reduce the number of new sections for Hungarians proportionately in many areas.

The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Article 17 states:

The citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania irrespective of nationality, race, sex or religion, have equal rights in all fields of economic, political, juridical, social and cultural life.

The state guarantees the equal rights of the citizens and no difference in their exercise on the grounds of nationality, sex or religion are permitted.

Any expression aiming to establish such restrictions, nationalist-chauvinist propaganda, the fanning of racial and national hatred are permitted by law.

The translation is taken from The Constitution, Standing Orders of the National Assembly, Electoral Law. Bucarest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1969.

What is the reality of these promises?

(1) Hungarians in the Economic Life of Transylvania and Romania. Almost every affidavit received both at the present, and in 1965-68, spoke about definite job discrimination, particularly on the managerial level, against Romanian citizens of Hungarian ethnic background. A Protocol signed in Sao Paulo, Brazil on March 22, 1975 by a former Oradea (Nagyvárad) resident states:

In the plant, officials and artisan foremen were 90% Romanian, but 80% of the workers were Hungarian. In the office only Romanian was spoken - for without its knowledge nothing could be accomplished, in the plant we all talked Hungarian.

In Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) with a Hungarian majority, the directors of the three largest enterprises (state-owned) were one Romanian, one German and one Hungarian.

The Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania in its Background Material attempted to deny our allegations by publishing statistical data on middle and top management and engineering positions in state enterprises. The data has shown some Hungarians in middle and top management positions in industry and industrial design although the share was again only 5.39% instead of the Hungarian percentage in the overall Romanian population of officially 8.5% but in reality about 10%.

The Romanian data makes no differentiation between managerial and engineering positions. It is common knowledge that the only top and middle level positions occupied by Hungarians are those of chief engineers.

According to data published in the Vörös Zászló (Red Flag) in 1973, in Mures (Maros) County with an almost 50% Hungarian population, all major officers and committee chairmen of the Agricultural Cooperatives Association, the President of the State Cooperative Stores Association and seven of its eleven Board members were Romanian. This does not square with the information provided by the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania that 6.3% of all directors, chief engineers, farm managers, division chiefs of the State Agricultural Enterprises and Agricultural Machines Units and presidents of Agricultural Productive Cooperatives are Hungarian. However, if the statistics are correct they still show the share of the Hungarians about 1/3rd too low. Neither is it explained how many of the positions held by the Hungarians are engineering rather than managerial positions. In turn, they do not mention as to how many of the Hungarian engineers and managers are stationed in purely Romanian areas.

In regard to civil service jobs, Hungarians are virtually excluded from any law enforcement positions and officers' positions in the army. Many people from the Székely area who had emigrated lately state that even in this compact Hungarian region they did not come across any police, gendarmerie or army officer of Hungarian ethnic background. In addition, some of the people stated in writing that the Romanian state requires documentation of the ancestry of the applicants for two generations and those of Hungarian ethnic background are not admitted to the competitive examination. Interestingly, the Embassy data was silent on this issue. Rather it tried to show that the local people's councils have a more or less adequate Hungarian representation.

The Embassy data is incomplete here, too. It fails to show the percentages in the People's Council of the Székely-region and the Oradea (Nagyvárad)-Sau Marc (Szatmárnémeti) region and the Hungarian-inhabited urban areas in Transylvania. It may be that Hungarians are well represented in areas where they form a small minority, but in heavily Hungarian areas they are grossly underrepresented. Our data comes from the newspapers Vörös Zászló and Igazság during 1973.

In Mures (Maros) County only one-third of the Party Central Committee members, only one-fourth of the party secretaries were Hungarian. The first secretary was, of course, a Romanian. In the Communist Youth

organization, UTC, the first secretary, the organizing secretary, and eleven of the eighteen members of the Secretariat are Romanian. In the city of Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) with an absolute Hungarian majority, the Mayor, the Chief School Inspector and nine of the thirteen City Council members (committee chairmen) are Romanian as is the Chairman of the Woman's Committee.

In Cluj (Kolozs) County with a sizeable Hungarian minority, the Party Secretary is also the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the County Council and he is Romanian as are nine of the eleven committee chairmen of the County Council. In Sigiora (Segesvár) with a sizeable Hungarian minority not one of the City Council committee chairmen are Hungarian, all of them except for one German member, are Romanian. The examples could be continued for several pages.

DENATIONALIZATION OF THE HUNGARIAN CULTURE AND HISTORY IN TRANSYLVANIA

Educational and job discrimination are not the only complaints of the Hungarian minority. Their historical presence in Transylvania continues to be a target of Romanian measures which seek to eliminate the documents and buildings and tombstones reminding the people of the Hungarian past.

The measures are manifold. Lately, the most flagrant one was the Decree Law of December 10, 1974 about National Cultural Treasures. The decree provided for the transfer of all archival materials, pictures, art objects, letters, church records, films in private possession. This seems to be prima facie a good suggestion. If one analyzes the debate in the Grand National Assembly, the way the decree is being implemented and the ex post facto character of the law in many instances, a different picture emerges.

As the Law is concerned only with documents and letters over 40 years old, most of them deal with the pre-1919 Hungarian past of Transylvania. In the debate at the Grand National Assembly, Louis Takács, a member of the Romanian Communist Party and deputy of the Assembly explained:

For twenty-five years no archival instruction was provided at the universities. The archival officials no longer understand the Old Slavonic, Classical Greek and Hungarian and Latin languages. They could only provide a for the preservation of the materials. But the latter would be inaccessible as it could not be organized, and being deprived of usage even the danger of their destruction would exist.

Deputy Takacs added that even the national archives of the Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences employ only three Hungarians out of a staff of 28, and perhaps three more Romanians who read Hungarian.

In addition, according to the Nauw Zürcher Zeitung of February 2, 1975 and the Washington Star-News of March 1, 1975, the implementation of the decree was both primitive and crude. In 200 Hungarian Reformed Churches in Transylvania documents and records were confiscated by "the truckloads" even before the passage of the decree law and the suspicion persists that the law was passed *ex post facto* to legalize the seizures. The documents were neither sorted nor catalogued and some of it might have been misplaced or destroyed in the process.

Representative Edward J. Patten (D., N.J.) speaking in the House of Representatives of the United States on May 7, 1975 stated:

Past experience makes Hungarian experts in Romania to fear the destruction of some and inaccessibility of most of the documents. That is, when the new State archives were built in Cluj-Kolozsvár - construction workers used "documents in unknown languages" -that is, Hungarian and Latin -for kindling their open fire during the cold winter days.

The material are substantial. Already before the implementation of the decree law of December 10, 1974, the Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences acquired two million archival documents and books from the Transylvanian Museum Society and 170,000 volumes from the libraries of the former Protestant College, the Piarist Preparatory School and the Unitarian Gymnasium at Cluj (Kolozsvár) alone.

Transfer of historical records into State administration constitutes only one measure. Another measure is the elimination of Hungarian street and place names. Visitors to Transylvania unanimously report that only occasionally do they find any signs in both Romanian and Hungarian even in purely Hungarian areas. Post cards of Cluj (Kolozsvár) have titles in four languages, but not in Hungarian, although half of the city's population is Hungarian. Not only place names are, however, listed only in Romanian even in some of the Székely counties, but street names in Hungarian are also increasingly eradicated.

Data reported in the Vörös Zászló and Igazság in 1973 on the supplementary elections to the Grand National Assembly in Tirgu-Mures North and Cluj No. 5 districts shows as follows.

In Tirgu Mures the district was mainly Hungarian, although the candidate had been the Romanian mayor of the city. The second district was mixed Romanian-Hungarian, including new low income housing. The candidate here, too, was a Romanian.

The ratio of street names was as follows: Tirgu Mures-North: 16 Hungarian and 46 Romanian street names. In Cluj No. 5 16 Hungarian and 131 Romanian street names.

Letters received from Transylvania speak of the bulldozing of Hungarian cemeteries in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and other urban areas and the replacing of Hungarian with Romanian graveyards in other instances. Tourist material on the medieval castles and estates in Romanian make no mention about the owners of these castles at the historical period, so that the Western tourists must think that they were products of Romanian culture.

To this should be added the biased presentation of the history of the province in the textbooks and academic presentations and we have the makings of a deliberate policy of romanizing the history and the localities of Transylvania despite the Hungarian past and the Hungarian presence of and in the province.

PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCHES AND THE FAITHFUL

One of the most poignant complaints not restricted to members of the Hungarian nationality, concerns the attitudes of the Romanian Government and the Communist Party toward the Christian churches, particularly those of the national minorities.

For religion in Romania denotes nationality. The Romanians are almost all Romanian Orthodox. The church suffered considerably in the late 1940s and the 1950s, but because of the cooperation of Metropolitan Justinian with the government, some of the monasteries were returned to them, although the church continues to be harassed.

No such tolerance was shown toward the other churches. Hungarians in Transylvania are Roman Catholic, Protestant Reformed or Unita-

rian. Germans are mostly Lutheran, but the Swabians of the Banat are Roman Catholic. All of these churches felt the heavy hand of persecution. Out of the four Catholic bishoprics only two are filled and the second bishop recently appointed is a Romanian for the see of Iasi where there are only Hungarian or Romanized Hungarian Csángó Catholics. Only the see of Alba Julia (Gyulafehérvár) remained constantly occupied, but Bishop Márton, a Hungarian, was imprisoned for several years and regained full freedom only in 1967. Many of the monks, sisters and priests spent varying years in labor camps and prisons at least until 1964. There exists only one theological seminary at Alba Julia (Gyulafehérvár) and one religious magazine. Religious instruction in the schools, although optional under the Constitution, is practically non-existent in view of the brutal pressures parents are exposed to if they enroll their children in religious classes.

The Protestant Reformed Church has two bishoprics but its functions are equally curtailed. It also has only one theological seminary for its 800,000 faithful and one religious magazine. Religious instruction in the schools is virtually non-existent.

The Unitarian church forms a small denomination of about 70,000 Hungarians and was less harrassed. Yet before 1964 many of its ministers were also arrested.

Other Protestant denominations of evangelical nature, like the Seventh Day Adventists encounter brutal oppression. According to the telegram of the Christian Mission to the Communist World to Representative Michael Harrington (D., Mass.) reprinted in the Congressional Record of May 12, 1975 the following events are taking place:

According to our latest information, reformed adventists are also in prison in Romania. They are compelled to work on Sabbaths which they refuse. They are punished - thirty lashes. Chains are put on their feet which weigh sometimes 40 pounds. The chains have spikes that hurt. Thirty-two persons would be put in a cell with a maximum capacity of sixteen. Sixteen lie on the floor and sleep while the others are standing around so as not to disturb their peace. Every two hours they change. They are put under cold showers in winter.

The telegram quotes many individual names of those arrested or fined and many localities, including some of them in the Hungarian areas of Transylvania like Covasna (Háromszék) county.

Another form of church harassment concerns a decree law in 1974 forbidding church officials to receive any gifts or presents from abroad. This is a flagrant discrimination as individual Romanian citizens are allowed to receive such assistance from abroad.

The decree hits the minority churches which have powerful and affluent communities in the Western world and were dependent to a great extent for their charitable work and existence upon such gifts. This is true of both Hungarian Protestant denominations and also of the Roman Catholic Church.

It might be mentioned that there is no treaty in existence with the Vatican and the Roman Catholic prelates are subject to the interference in their appointment of pastors and chaplains by the Ministry of Cults comprised of atheists.

HUNGARIAN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Even the State Department memorandum of September 1967 recognized the gradual curtailment of Hungarian cultural institutions in Transylvania. Yet the most flagrant complaint concerns not the decline of their numbers, but a redefinition of their role in Romania.

For example, the Romanian Embassy tells us that there are six Hungarian drama theaters in Transylvania which is a modest but not completely inadequate number for the minority. Of course, it is not reported that only three of them are permanent stage companies (Oradea - Nagyvárad, Cluj-Kolozsvár and Tirgu Mures - Marosvásárhely). More importantly, it is not being told that these dramatic theaters do not exclusively, or even for the majority, produce Hungarian plays. While some admixture is probably useful, a comparison of the 1973-74 season's programs by the Cluj (Kolozsvár) Romanian and Hungarian theater will be useful. The Romanian National Theater produced seven plays, all of them Romanian, although the drama critics objected that except for two, their level was rather low. The Hungarian theater produced six plays, two of them Hungarian, two of them Romanian, one Russian classical, and an American contemporary.

A Folk Dance Ensemble exists for Hungarians in Tîrgu Mureş (Maros-vásárhely). Theoretically, it should be devoted to the continuance of Hungarian folk dances of the region. Yet during the 1973/74 season, it performed a fourteen dance repertory of which only three were Hungarian dances, and seven of them Romanian folk dances.

There exists only one literary journal of high standards, Korunk (Our Age). In the year 1974 over fifteen percent of the journal, and about one-fourth of its literary offerings were devoted to translations of essays, short stories and poems from Romanian.

The weekly literary magazine is A Hét (The Week). Here at least 35 percent of the printed material relates to the Romanian Communist Party activities or to translations of the works of Romanian authors.

There are a large number of Hungarian language dailies and weeklies in Transylvania, according to the Romanian Embassy 32. But if we look closer, their numbers, frequency and pages have all declined during the last two years. The major daily of the purely Hungarian counties of Harghita, Odorhei (Udvarhely) and Covasna (Háromszék), Harghita was reduced from a daily to a weekly and many other Hungarian publication now appear in reduced quantities.

The reduced quantity is only a small part of the general complaint. Anyone reading these dailies and weeklies must realize that they have little to do with the concerns (political, economic and cultural) of the Hungarian minority. It is true that all Romanian publications are guilty of personality cult of President Ceaucescu surpassing even their Russian counterpart in the days of Joseph Stalin. There are no issues which would not devote at least five to ten percent of their space to the praise of the President or to the reproduction of his speeches and travels. Another ten to twenty percent of the material reproduces the debates and resolutions of the Romanian Communist Party and its local and county organizations. This fills about one-third of the paper already.

Local news occupy about one-fourth of the paper and another ten percent is devoted to advertising for positions and rooms. The remainder is about equally divided between articles on Hungarian and Romanian culture. Thus articles on Hungarian culture fill at best half a page of a four pages paper, with reporting on international events another half page.

The structure of the specialized publications for young Communists, women and other groups is even worse. Here the Communist ideological material and adulatory articles about President Ceaucescu fill almost half of the paper and about 25% more is devoted to pictures on the above subjects. The rest is usually filled with stories on exemplary Communists, Romanian and Hungarian.

There is no Hungarian Literary Association, an organization which was even tolerated by the Royal Romanian Government between the two World Wars. Only a Hungarian section of the Romanian Writers Association is permitted at Cluj (Kolozsvár). Hungarian culture still had many accomplishments in literary fields. The novels of András Sate form part of the best Hungarian literature of the last decade. Charles Koss is regarded as one of the great of modern Hungarian literature and the folk ballad collections of Zoltán Kallos among the Moldavian Csángós and the Székely Hungarians of Transylvania were trailblazing in their fields.

There is only Hungarian-language publishing company in Bucarest (Kritérium) which tries to balance lack of available paper and Romanian censorship against the high quality of available manuscripts. Small quantities of works of substantial literary merit are thus published. The problem is that because of the small quantities of editions and their distribution in Hungary and the West as well, the Transylvanian Hungarians have difficulty purchasing them in Romania.

Textbooks for the Hungarian sections are scarce. In the late 1960s only 5,000 textbooks were reproduced each per year for more than 200,000 students of the Hungarian sections. The situation is a little better now as the number of students have decreased, but it remains grossly inadequate. It must be remembered that both the needs and the requirements of the Romanian-speaking public and students have been fully satisfied in the last decade, but not those of Romanian citizens of Hungarian ethnic background.

Writers are subject to arrest, non-publication and denunciation. Zoltán Kallos, the great ballad collector was arrested last fall upon allegations of smuggling currency out of the country and of homosexuality. Five of the six accusing witnesses withdrew, but a short while ago he was still under arrest. His case is by no means unique.

One of the sorest points remains the absence of any adequate TV or radio program in Hungarian. The Romanian Embassy shows 128 hours per year for the TV program. According to Vörös Zászló, Igadság and Szabad Szó there are 2½ hours telecast each week. 1½ hours on Sunday morning

and 1 hour at 5:30 P.M. on Thursdays. As far as radio programs are concerned in the city of Tirgu Mures with an absolute Hungarian majority there are two daily programs, one between 6 A.M. and 6:30 A.M. This includes news, reports on local music and records. The afternoon program is between 6 - 7:30 P.M. which also includes industrial news and reports on arts and entertainment. The same intensity of programming is not available in other cities.

Thus, even in the most Hungarian city of the province, only 2.5% of the TV and 14% of the radio programming is in Hungarian.

There are few Hungarian cultural organizations, but there are some dealing with local history and others spreading Party propaganda.

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES FOR HUNGARIANS IN THE CITIES OF TRANSYLVANIA

This item can only be proven indirectly, for discrimination in this field is practiced rather than decreed. An evolution of the statistical data of the cities between 1948 and 1975 proves, however, the existence of such discriminations.

(1) Forced industrialization during the period resulted in a tremendous expansion of the residents of the major Transylvanian cities. Cluj (Kolozsvár) Timisoara (Temesvár), Brasov (Brassó), Arad, Oradea (Nagyvárad) and Sibiu (Nagyszeben) accounted between 1956 and 1966 for 50 percent of all urban population increase in Transylvania. All of them had decreasing Hungarian population percentagewise, and only in Cluj (approx. 50%) and Oradea (approximately 70%) had Hungarians still formed a majority in 1966.

(2) The result is that except for Oradea (Nagyvárad) and Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) and possibly Cluj (Kolozsvár) all Transylvanian cities lost their Hungarian majorities. This could not be accounted for by a lower natural increase of the urban Hungarian population, or by the losses suffered by war, flight and deportation in the 1940s and 1950s. At best, their number would have increased less rapidly than those of the Romanians. But Brasov (Brassó), Cluj (Kolozsvár) and Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) and Baia Mare (Nagybánya) were all surrounded with sizeable Hungarian rural settlements and except for active discrimination in allotting the limited housing space for new arrivals to the Romanians the old ratio would have been more or less maintained.

In Cluj (Kolozsvár) the 1930 Romanian census still showed 70 percent Hungarians, the 1941 Hungarian census 85 percent. The 1966 census listed only close to 50 percent Hungarians. An even more flagrant example is provided by the mining and industrial town of Baia Mare (Nagybánya). Here the Hungarians still comprised 47 percent of the population in 1956 but only 29 percent in 1966. In the words of the Romanian author G. Sătmărescu, writing in East European Quarterly at the University of Colorado, January 1975 issue:

Whether or not it is a deliberate policy to reduce the strength of the Hungarian minority in the urban areas of Transylvania, there is evidence of administrative measures, such as the discriminatory allocation of housing units, which make it more difficult for rural Hungarians to move into the large urban centers than their Romanian counterparts.

The only city in which the Hungarian share increased insignificantly was Brasov (Brassó) but this was mainly a result of the emigration or deportation of the German minority in the 1940s and 1950s.

(3) Because of the shortage of apartments and rooms Hungarians receive only in exceptional cases permission to settle. One individual case might illuminate the contention. The daughter of a Hungarian family in Cluj (Kolozsvár) left in the 1960s for a university outside of the city to finish her teacher training. Her share of her family's apartment, one room, was assigned by the state to another person (Romanian) who had moved in with the family. Four years later, the daughter was given an elementary school teaching position at Cluj (Kolozsvár). She applied for her old room in her family apartment. She was refused and was not even given a room in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and wound up finally in a village 25 miles from the city and had to commute for years to her school in the city.

(4) There has been an increase of Romanians in Transylvania not only by natural increase but also by immigration from the "Old Kingdom." According to the Romanian sociologist Sătmărescu:

When viewed regionally, the age structure suggests quite heavy net in-migration of population to Hunadeora, Brasov, Caras-Severin, Sibiu, Timis and Cluj counties... On the other hand, age structures indicate significant net out-movements from Arad, Bihor, Bistrita and Salaj counties, and to a lesser extent from Căvasna, Harghita, Alba and Satu Mare.

It may be noted that the net out-movements occurred, except for the mountainous and unindustrialized Bistrita county from counties with a Hungarian majority (Harghita, Covasna) or substantial Hungarian minority (Satu Mare, Bihor and Salaj). All the net in-migration occurred into purely or overwhelmingly Romanian areas, except for Cluj county.

A second argument is that the natural fertility rate of the Transylvanian Hungarians is close to that of the Romanians. In Transylvania in 1969 the Hungarian counties of Harghita and Covasna ranked first and second in fertility and Satu Mare occupied the fourth place. Even if the more outspokenly urban character of the rest of the Hungarian population in Transylvania offsets the fertility rates of the above counties, there is no evidence of a widening fertility gap in favor of the Romanians.

At this point the sociological and ethnic consequences of the dispersal of Hungarian intellectuals into purely Romanian areas and the out-movement of workers from the Székely area to Romanian cities must be considered.

Statistical data quoted by Satmarescu in 1965 about one-fourth of the marriages concluded by Hungarians in Romania were to Romanians. Mixed marriages, more significant in urban than in rural settings, thus form an important mechanism of voluntary assimilation.

Satmarescu also states that the Hungarian population is notoriously underreported in Romanian statistics and estimates the number of those underenumerated and assimilated to 900 thousand in 50 years.

USE OF THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE AND PUNITIVE MEASURES AGAINST PROTESTERS

Reports vary about the freedom to use the Hungarian language in public. It should be remembered that the Constitution provides for the free use of the mother tongue before the authorities, in courts and requires translators at the police and the courts to be present.

Reality is again different. Except for the purely Hungarian Székely region, free public use of the Hungarian language might result in sneering remarks, insults or even bodily injury, particularly in the cities where Hungarian now form a definite minority. We were informed of many incidents in the 1960s and have reason to believe, according to testimony received from recent immigrants that these abuses are not a thing of the past.

Even in the most Hungarian regions, law enforcement agencies speak at best a broken Hungarian, creating a clear disadvantage for persons not fluent in Romanian. This is a clear violation of the constitutional guarantee that officials in such areas must speak the mother tongue of the nationality and be familiar with their customs and life style.

In offices and stores there are no Hungarian signs, only in Romanian. As the author of the article in Osteuropa in December 1974 stated: "Zur Frage der Gleichberechtigung der Minderheit n im heutigen Rumänien") "At the place of work only Romanian must be spoken." In major cities and spas there are signs in foreign languages but not in Hungarian. At state and county offices Romanian must be spoken by any Hungarian who has any facility in that language.

The constitutional guarantee against "fanning national or racial hatred" and "against chauvinist propaganda" is not employed to protect the Hungarian minority against the abuses of some members of the Romanian majority. Rather the provisions are enforced in order to silence Hungarian protesters. Even at Party cell and county committee meetings, Hungarian Communist party members are accused of "bourgeois-nationalist" deviation and "chauvinist" propaganda if they protest the abuses. We have information that even at the highest Party levels, the few Hungarian members were brutally put down last fall when they protested some of the discriminatory measures against their nationality.

Another strange decree law was passed this year and involves tourism. Almost every European country, even those of East Central Europe encourage tourism from the West in order to gain hard currencies. Yet the promotion of tourism is reflected in unusual measures of the Romanian state. If someone has an immediate relative in another country he or she will probably visit the same and stay at their homes and enjoy their hospitality. In case of the Hungarian minority they have many family ties in the Western world and Hungary. The new decree provides that only spouse, parents and children can stay at private homes, all others including grandparents, grandchildren, nieces, nephews, uncles and aunts must spent their times at hotels paying preposterous prices. The net effect will be to discourage family reunions and this again hits the Hungarians more as they have more relatives abroad.

The above data was collected in a kaleidoscopic manner both from Romanian publications, recent emigrants and travellers in the area. They show the abuses which the Hungarians in Romania suffer and which are illegal even under the Romanian Constitution. Without alleviating them, Romania should not be entitled to our support of the MFN status.