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Documented Facts and Figures on TRANSYLVANIA

compiled by
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and
The Transylvanian World Federation
Under the supervision of
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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this work is to furnish scholars, diplomats, statesmen, journalists, and other interested persons with factual information concerning the land called TRANSYLVANIA, today a province of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. Besides giving a condensed and authentic survey of the geography, history and culture of Transylvania, we felt the necessity to pay special attention to the problems of national minorities, minority rights and other complex human factors to which we can no longer be indifferent, neither as a society of mankind, nor as a community of nations.

It has become mandatory also to re-evaluate certain outdated concepts, and the very principles upon which these concepts were established.

In our days, the accepted definition of "national minority" refers to a group of people who migrated into the established country of another nation, and failed to assimilate. Therefore, based on this principle, if Germany would occupy Denmark or part of Denmark, or France would occupy Germany or part of Germany, neither the Danes nor the Germans would be regarded as "national minorities" within the occupying nation, but as a nation or part of a nation occupied by another nation as a result of an act of force. The same would be valid in case Mexico should overrun California or Cuba should invade Florida. The Americans, inhabiting these states would not be regarded as "national minorities" residing in Mexico or Cuba, but as Americans subdued by force and separated from the rest of their country.

Exactly the same is true in regard to the Hungarians of Transylvania. They were, and ethnographically still are, part of the majority nation inhabiting for eleven hundred years the Carpathian Basin, where they held established statehood for more than one thousand years, building this complete geographical unit in East-Central Europe into a lasting and functioning economical, political and cultural entirety long before the Vlach immigrants, forefathers of the Rumanians, began to seep into the Eastern part of their country. On the ethnographical map of the Carpathian Basin this Hungarian majority still constitutes an almost uninterrupted unity, dotted with small and large foreign settlements. Therefore, as the original inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin, the Transylvanian Hungarians must still be regarded as part of a majority. Their present-day minority status within the war-imposed frontiers of Rumania was not the result of a peaceful evolution but of global armed conflicts which found them, unfortunately, on the losing side.

From this it follows that the cultural genocide, the forced relocation, the forced Rumanization, and the total discrimination to which the

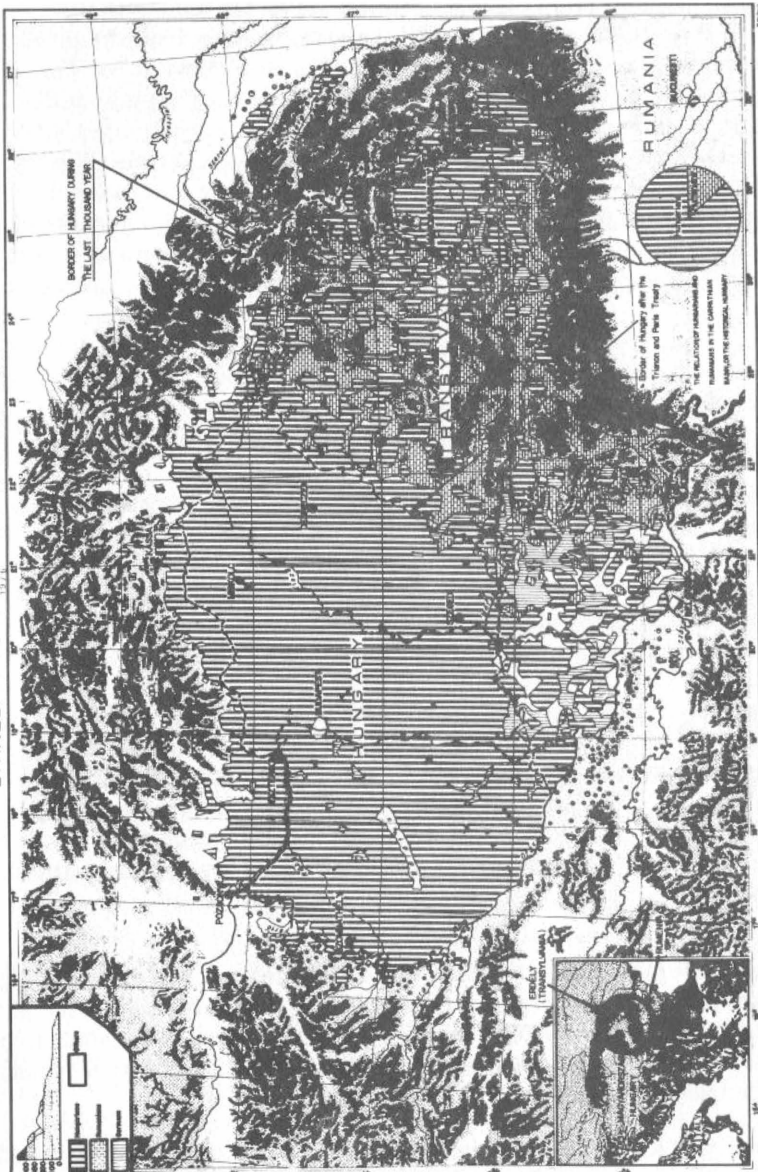
native Hungarian population of Transylvania, more than 2.8 million strong, is being subjected today by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, needs very special attention. For it is the moral obligation of all civilized societies on earth to cure the ills caused by hatred, ignorance or chauvinistic bigotry, and to eliminate unnecessary human sufferings as much as possible.

The task of compiling this work was immense, and as our bibliography shows, the material extensive. As compiler, co-ordinator and editor of this unique book, I feel obligated to give due credit and a word of gratitude to all those who took part in this work, either by gathering the research material or by scrupulously evaluating the authenticity of all the documents used in this extremely complex and sensitive material.

Acknowledgement is due to each and every member of the Danubian Research Center, to the Transylvanian World Federation and its member-organizations all over the world for their invaluable contributions. Special recognition must be given to Mr. István Zolcsák, Dr. Petru Popescu, Professor Georghe Bota and Mr. Jonel Margineanu for their honest and conscientious striving to establish scholastic facts by separating unbiased data from myth, national zeal, and political expediency.

March 1977.

Albert Wass de Czege
University of Florida, retired.



GEOGRAPHY

The territory known today as Transylvania includes Transylvania proper, part of the Banat, part of the Great Hungarian Plain and the former Partium, totalling 24,027 square miles. On the North, East and South it is bordered by the high mountain ranges of the Eastern Carpathians, and the Southern Carpathians, also known as the Transylvanian Alps, which form the natural frontiers of the Carpathian Basin, and in the same time, for more than one-thousand years, the cultural frontiers between Western and Eastern civilizations. To the West and West-Northwest the land lies wide open, forming one undisturbed geographical unit with the Great Hungarian Plain. Both large Transylvanian rivers, the Maros, as well as the Szamos run from the Transylvanian mountains into the Great Hungarian Plain to join the Tisza river.

One single glance at the map will show clearly that geographically Transylvania is but a part of the Carpathian Basin. This very fact determined its role within the European community for more than one-thousand years, economically, culturally and politically alike.

The name "Transylvania" comes from the Latin translation of the Hungarian "Erdőelve" or later "Erdély" as used and spelled already in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, meaning "Beyond the Forest". The word "Transylvania" appeared for the first time in the 17th century, when under Western pressure the official language of the administration became the Latin.

The Vlach immigrants /today called Rumanians - entering the country first in small bands, later in large masses as refugees, took the Hungarian name, and formed it to suit their tongue from "Erdély" into "Ardeal". The Germans on the other hand, who were brought in as settlers by the Hungarian kings during the 13th century, named it "Siebenbürgen" /The Seven Towns/ due to their seven administrative districts.

The fertile plains and river valleys of Transylvania, as well as the rolling hills of the central basin invited the early Hungarian settlers from the 9th century on, while the salt, coal, iron, gold, silver, and many other rich mineral veins found in the hills made it an economically important part of Hungary, from 890 till 1920.

The city of KOLOZSVÁR, meaning the "Fort of Kolozs" /today called Cluj or Napoca by the Rumanians/ with a population of 167,687, was established in 987 A.D. by Kolozs, commander of the Hungarian armies of the East. The city became for many centuries the administrative capital as well as the cultural center of Transylvania. Its fine Gothic

architecture makes this remarkable city even today, in spite of the new political borders, a part of the West.

TEMESVÁR, "Fort on the Temes river", today called Timisoara by the Rumanians, /population 148,564/ was established in the 12th century and played an important role in the economy and industrial development of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

ARAD, population 109,832, established first as a "free market place" in the 12th century on the edge of the Great Hungarian Plain, played an important role in Hungarian history.

NAGYVÁRAD, today Oradea, population 101,256, was the first royal fort and monastery in the Eastern part of Hungary, established in 1008 as the residence of the "Prince of Transylvania", the oldest son of the King /like in England the "Prince of Wales"/. The city became famous during the rule of King László I, the Saint, 1077-1095.

MAROSVÁSÁRHELY, today Targu Mures, population 68,438, was established in the 13th century as a free market place for the Hungarian farmers of the Maros valley /the name means "Market Place on the Maros"/, and grew into a cultural center during the 17th and 18th centuries.

SZATMÁRNÉMETI, today Satu Mare, population 53,132, is situated in the flatlands of the Great Hungarian Plain, and served for more than seven centuries as a commercial center for the entire region.

BRASSÓ, today Brasov, population 125,896, was built in the 13th century by German settlers around an already existing Hungarian royal fort, while **NAGYSZEBEN**, today Sibiu, population 91,976, has served since the 13th century as the center of Transylvanian German culture.

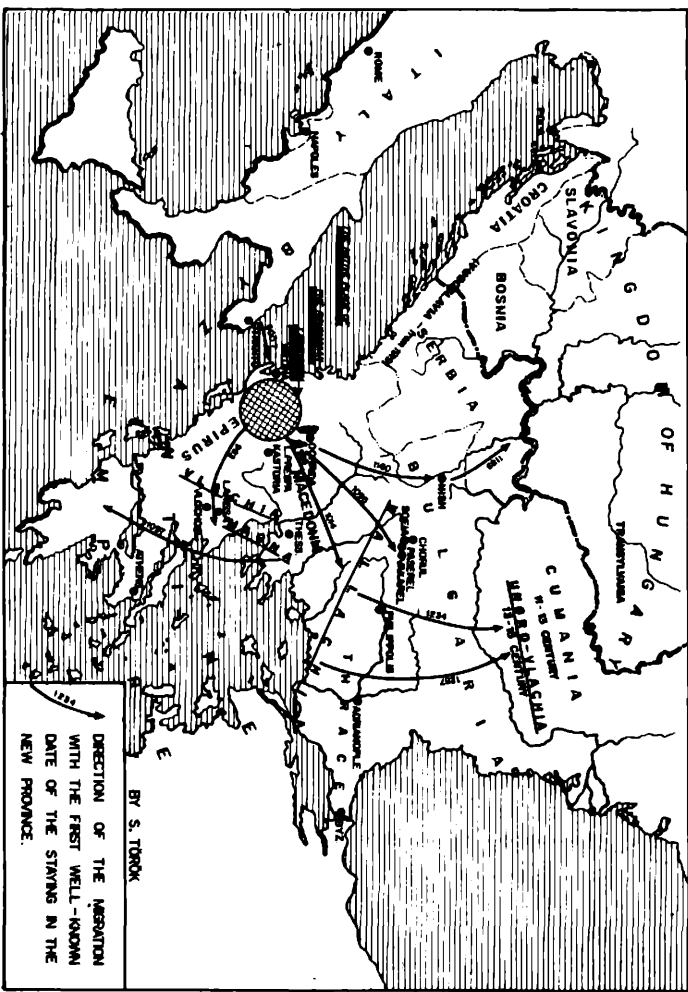
Beginning with the 15th century, the educational institutions of the Transylvanian cities, especially those of Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, Nagynyed, Zilah and Gyulafehérvár became important centers of Hungarian culture, and gained world-wide recognitions.

There are more than two-hundred mineral springs, thermal baths and well known health resorts throughout Transylvania. The richness of its natural resources as well as the beauty of its landscape made it very desirable to immigrants as well as conquerors through all recorded history.

ORIGEM E MIGRAÇÃO DOS RUMÉENOS
OU WALLACHOS ATÉ 13.º SÉCULO.

A RUMÉENOK EREDETE ÉS VÁNDORLÁSA
AT 13-ÍK SZÁZADI.

THE ORIGIN AND THE MIGRATION OF
THE ROMANIANS OR WALLACHIANS
TO THE 13th CENTURY.



HISTORY

440 B.C.

Herodotos described the SCYTHIANS, inhabiting the "lands East and North of the Danube river". "Scythian" is the collective name of a group of TURANIAN people, supposedly descendants of the SUMERIANS, but certainly carriers and preservers of the Sumerian culture. To the family of Scythian nations belonged the "Dacs" of ancient Dacians, the Huns, the Avars, the Bulgarians and the Magyars or Hungarians.

300 B.C.

Roman historians mentioned the THRACIANS moving Northward across the flatlands of the lower Danube and across the high mountain ranges, into a land surrounded by mountains.

200 B.C.

Greek historians referred to "Upper Thracia" as a beautiful country North of the Danube, and surrounded by mountains "like a natural fortress". These Greek chronicles furnish us with the first geographic description of the CARPATHIAN BASIN.

118 B.C.

Roman historians described the same land as "Dacia", homeland of "The Scythians who call themselves Das".

85 A.D.

The expanding Roman Empire began the invasion of Dacia.

107 A.D.

The war for Dacia ended under the Emperor Trajanus. According to Roman historians, the fierce Dac people put up an astonishing fight. Not even women and children were willing to surrender to the conquering legions, and had to be exterminated one by one.

117 A.D.

Emperor Adrianus ordered most of his troops out of the "completely devastated" Dacia into Asia Minor, leaving only two "legions of the Barbarians" in this North-Eastern outpost of his empire. The term "Legion of the Barbarians" meant army units recruited from the North-Western territories, inhabited by Germanic tribes.

271 A.D.

Yielding to the pressure of the invading GOTHs, Emperor Aurelian withdrew the last remaining legions from Dacia, under strict order to destroy buildings, food supplies, and completely evacuate the land before the oncoming "Barbarians". The Goths were a Teutonic people, referred to by Romans as "Barbarians".

433 A.D.

The HUNS entered the Carpathian Basin by crossing the North-Eastern Carpathians. According to contemporary historians, during the rule of Attila, Transylvania was still partly inhabited by Goths, and it was marked as GOTHIA on the maps. Goth warriors of Transylvania participated in the Western adventures of Attila.

454 A.D.

After the death of Attila the Hun empire collapsed.

480 A.D.

The Western part of the former province of Dacia was under the rule of the GEPIDS while the Eastern part was still inhabited by a surviving tribe of the Huns, who later joined the new BULGARIAN-TURK tribal federation across the Eastern Carpathians. /Today's Moldova./

560 A.D.

The AVARS, a nation having the same language as the Huns according to contemporary Greek chronicles, crossed the Carpathians and occupied the entire Carpathian Basin, including Transylvania.

562 A.D.

Byzantine chroniclers observed the Avar envoy appearing before the emperor Justinian spoke the same language as the Hun-Bulgarian interpreter of the court.

796 A.D.

The Avar empire collapsed.

805 A.D.

Khan Krum "the terrible" created a strong Bulgarian empire on both sides of the Danube, including Transylvania. /Haleczky: Borderlands of Western Civilization. Ronald Press N.Y. 1952, Page 23./

892-894 A.D.

Vatican, Byzantine and Russian /Kiev/ chronicles described in detail the appearance of the Hungarians /Magyars/ in the Carpathian Basin and the lower Danube region.

896 A.D.

The Hungarians defeated the Bulgarians and took possession of Transylvania.

938 A.D.

Byzantine historians gave detailed account of CSANÁD and GYULA-FEHÉRVÁR /today Alba Julia/ as strong Hungarian forts and prosperous cities in Transylvania. The name "Gyulafehérvár" was even translated into Greek by one of the authors as "The White Fort of Gyula", explaining that Gyula was the name of the "Eastern Chief" of the Hungarian tribes.

946 A.D.

Byzantine documents mentioned for the first time the presence of the SZÉKELYS in the Eastern-most tip of Transylvania, describing them as one of the Hungarian tribes settled there as border guards, within well organized military districts called "Szék" - chair or bench, referring to complete administrative and judicial power vested into their own chiefs. These privileges of the Székelys were recognized later by the Hungarian kings also.

952 A.D.

By compiling all available data, Greek historians gave the first account of the migration of the Magyars /Hungarians/ into the Carpathian Basin. According to this account, the Hungarians followed the trail of

their brother-nations, the Huns and the Avars, moving first from the Volga-region into Etelköz, then expanding slowly in a Westerly and south-westerly direction as far as today's Moldova, and finally crossing the Carpathians through three different routes, while a forth unit, in alliance with the Byzantine forces, attacked the Bulgarians at the lower Danube, took possession of the fertile lands between the Danube river and the Southern Carpathians or Transylvanian Alps, and joined the rest of the nation at the Iron Gate: a gorge cut by the Danube through the mountains, south of the Great Hungarian Plain.

976 A.D.

Greek chronicles /Kedrenos II. 435. Ed. Bonn./ mentioned for the first time the name VLACH, describing a people of primitive herdsmen located between Kastoria and Prespa, near today's Albanian border, who centuries later became the ancestors of the Rumanians. The name RUMANIAN was created only after the unification of Vlachia /or Wallachia/ with the principality of Moldova in 1878.

978 A.D.

Vatican missionaries establish a church in the fort of Várad, later called Nagy-Várad, today Oradea. Reports sent back to Rome by the same missionaries described the small tribe of the JAZIG, who spoke "almost the same language" as the Hungarians, and was supposed to be living in the same region long before the Hungarians arrived. The descendants of the Jazig, called today "Jász", can still be found on the Great Hungarian Plain, west of Nagyvárad. They are the only recorded inhabitants found by the Hungarian settlers in the Carpathian Basin, including Transylvania, except a few scattered fragments of SLAVS, who became assimilated within a few decades, and completely disappeared, leaving behind nothing more than a very few and widely scattered geographical names.

982 A.D.

Byzantine traders reported "rich Hungarian towns" in Transylvania where "good wine, raw gold, hides and various carved tools and art objects" could be purchased in exchange for silk and jewelry. They described the inhabitants as "proud Christians" and the country as "lively towns, cultivated valleys, surrounded by uninhabited mountain ranges and dense forests." Since the wife of chief Gyula, residing in Gyulafehérvár was a Byzantine Princess, there was a lively exchange between the Eastern part of Hungary, called ERDŐELVE /Transylvania/ and the Byzantine empire. Thus, Christianity entered the Carpathian Basin in the same time from the West and from the East.

1002.

King Stephen the Saint, first king of Hungary, defeating his father-in-law, the Gyula of Transylvania, established Western Christianity as official religion, and introduced the Western Feudalistic System by force. In spite of the defeat, Transylvania served for a long time as a refuge to all those Hungarians who either chose the Byzantine Christianity or held on to the ancient Hungarian faith of HADUR, the Lord of

Hosts, also called UR, a monotheist religion dating back to UR of SUMER.

1038.

In a special letter sent by a Frater Anselmus to the Doge of Venice, Transylvania, called "the eastern-most corner of the Hungarian Kingdom" was mentioned as the main source of salt for the Carpathian Basin. The salt mine of Désakna, near the fort of Dés, was referred to as "the royal salt mine of Dés".

1064.

László of the House of Árpád, son of King Solomon, received from his father the title "Prince of Transylvania". From this date on, during the rule of the House of Árpád /1000-1301/ every crown-prince carried this title, with the obligation to reside in Transylvania, either in Nagyvárád, Kolozsvár or Gyulafehérvár, and to take care of certain administrative, judicial and military duties.

1097.

Emperor Alexios Komnenos of Byzantium ordered the relocation of the Vlachs from the Chalkidiké peninsula to Pelopponesos. With this, the northward migration of the Vlachs, ancestors of the Rumanians, began.

1166

Manuel Comnenus of Byzantium assembled a large number of Vlachs south of the Danube river /today's Bulgaria/ in order to launch an attack against the Hungarian fortifications along the left bank of the river, and to take the rich Hungarian settlement of Hosszumező, known today as Campulung. /Translated from the Hungarian, meaning "long field".

1167.

Though the invading forces were defeated, and the land between the Danube and the Southern Carpathians remained officially until the invasion of the Turks /end of the 15th century/ a territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, migrating Vlach herdsmen received permission to cross the Danube in search of pasture-lands. They settled first the Southern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps /Southern Carpathians/ under their own tribal rulers, thus slowly establishing their claim to the land which was later called VLACHIA or WALLACHIA, and was declared in 1878 the "Kingdom of Rumania".

1168.

The first German settlers from the Moselle region were brought in by King Géza II in order to fortify some "empty lands" in the South-East of Transylvania. These new settlers established themselves near the royal fort of Brassó.

1220.

King András II invited several other groups of German settlers into Transylvania, settling them in autonomous districts. The royal charter granting these lands to the German settlers stated that they were settled "on the frontier of Transylvania, facing CUMANIA, a land without inhabitants". This Cumania, land without inhabitants, was the same

land between the lower Danube and the Southern Carpathians, into which migrating Vlach herdsmen were previously allowed to settle. However, the Vlachs, being nomadic people, kept on roaming with their herds back and forth across the mountains. The CUMANS, another Scythian tribe, also related to the Hungarians, after not being able to invade the Carpathian Basin, established their country East of the Carpathians and ruled over Moldova and Vlachia until the invasion of the TARTARS /1250/.

1222.

King András II gave the "Golden Bull", the first constitution, to the people of the Hungarian Kingdom, establishing the autonomous district system in "all the countries of the Holy Crown", and thereby granting self-government in Transylvania for the Magyar, German, and the special Székely districts. The Székelys, though they were also Magyars or Hungarians, enjoyed very special privileges as "border guards" since their early settling in the 10th century. The new royal decree only upheld and re-affirmed these privileges.

1234.

Pope Gregory IX sent a letter to Béla, Prince of Transylvania /later King Béla IV./ asking him "in the name of God" to grant asylum to "those poor Vlach refugees" who wished to escape the harsh rule of the Cumans. The asylum was granted, and the first three groups of Vlach immigrants entered Transylvania from the South, and were settled, under their own chieftans, in the Forgaras, Hunyad and Bánság districts, on specially designated mountain-pastures called in the royal documents as "Silva Vlachorum", Forest of the Vlachs. These Vlach immigrants, who received asylum within the Hungarian Kingdom, and others who followed later, became the ancestors of the Transylvanian Rumanians. Officially they were called VLACHS, from which the Hungarian name OLÁH and the German name Wallach derived, in contradistinction to the Rumelians and later Rumanians who did not enter the Western culture-circle but stayed East and South of the Carpathians under Byzantine and later Slavic influence, finally evolving at the end of the nineteenth century into Rumania.

1241.

The Tartar invasion, led by Batu Khan, swept through Hungary. King Béla IV lost the battle of Mohi, and fled to Austria. After the Tartars left, the king returned in 1242, and began to rebuild the devastated country. Several districts, especially on the Great Hungarian Plain, were left without population, making it possible for Serbians, Vlachs and Slovaks to seep into some of these empty lands, and establish a few scattered settlements.

1247.

New Vlach refugees gained permission to enter the Hátszeg and the Mármaros districts in Transylvania.

1253.

Guillaume Rubruquis, French envoy to Bulgaria described the empire of

Zar Michael Aszen as "reaching from the Danube river to Konstan-tinopel, including Vlachia in the lower Balkan Mountains." Vlachia therefore still existed at that time on the Balkan, under Bulgarian domination, while those Vlachs who tried to move Northward by crossing the Danube, fell under the rule of the Cumans.

1290.

Three Hungarian landowners in the Transylvanian districts of Hunyad and Fehér received permission from King András IH to bring in some Vlach laborers "from South of the mountains."

1291.

The Assembly of Gyulafehérvár recognized the Transylvanian Vlachs as a "nation", with rights equal to other member nations under the Holy Crown.

1314.

After the downfall of Cumania, the Hungarian king Charles Robert incorporated two Vlach principalities /voievodines/ "across the mountains" into the "lands of the Holy Crown". The two new principalities were named MOLDOVA and WALLACHIA.

1358.

Mark, royal archivist wrote in his chronicles concerning Transylvania: "It is the richest part of the Hungarian Kingdom" where "Hungarian and Saxon /German/ cities bloom with industry and commerce, while the fertile lands of Hungarian farmers produce good wine, fat cattle, and plenty of grain for bread. High upon the mountains Vlach herdsmen tend to their sheep, and bring down good tasting cheese to the market-places."

1385.

A new influx of Vlach immigrants was settled into the Szilágy district, establishing ten villages on the royal estate of Aranyosmedgyes.

1443.

Under the leadership of János Hunyadi, Duke of Transylvania, the combined armies of Hungarian, Polish, Bosnian and Serbian Crusaders defeated the invading Turks, and Serbia was freed. A.B. Yolland writes in his book "History of Hungary" Chapter X, page 64: "Hungary was indeed fighting the battles of Christendom, and the admiration of the Christian World was lavished on her soldiers." /See Bibliography./

1456.

János Hunyadi won a second victory over the Turks at Nándorfehérvár /today known as Belgrade/. In order to commemorate this decisive victory of Christianity over the Pagans, the Pope decreed that all church bells were to be rung from then on each day at noon, throughout the Christian world.

1458.

Mathias Corvinus, son of János Hunyadi, was elected king of Hungary. Under his rule Hungary again became one of the great powers of Europe. His birth-house in Kolozsvár /today Cluj/ was honored as a national shrine until the Rumanian occupation of Transylvania in 1919.

1471.

The first book in the Hungarian language was printed by a Transylvanian Hungarian printer.

1505.

Vatican census estimated the total population of Hungary to be about four million souls, of which 77% were Hungarians, and the rest Germans, Croatians, Slovaks, Serbians and Vlachs. /In the same time the total population of England was four million also, while that of the Austrian Empire, including Bohemia and Silezia, five million, and that of France eight million./

1516.

The first Protestant /Calvinist/ congregation was established in Nagyenyed. /Today the Rumanians call it Aiud./ From here on Protestantism spread rapidly throughout Transylvania.

1526.

The invading Turks defeated the army of King Louis II in the tragic battle of Mohács, where the king himself fell. Hungary was split up into three parts. While the central part was occupied by the Turks for 150 years, the Western section and the Northern section of the country fell into the hands of the Habsburgs, who claimed their right to the Holy Crown or Stephen's Crown on the female line, but refused to uphold the constitution for which the Crown was the symbol. Only the Eastern part, including Transylvania carried on the traditions of an independent Hungary, under freely elected Dukes, until 1690. Many historians refer to this era as the "Independent Transylvania", forgetting that in reality Transylvania was the only free part left of Hungary, a last fortress between the Habsburgs and the Turks, where the elected Dukes, exercising the office of the king, kept the peace by wisely balancing their diplomatic relations with both sides, according to the demands of necessity.

1545.

Gáspár Heltai published the complete Hungarian translation of the Bible in the city of Kolozsvár, which not only served as the Hungarian capital but also as the new cultural center. A few years later Tinódi Lantos Sebestyén published his famous "Chronicles in Verses."

1556.

The Hungarian Congress of Torda /today called Turda by the Rumanians/ declared freedom of religion, stating in the new law that "everyone may follow the religion of his choice, and no one may interfere with persons professing any other faith." It was the first such law in the world.

1561.

The four Gospels of the New Testament were translated into the Vlach tongue, and published at the expense of the Hungarian landowner Miklós Forró of Brassó, thereby marking the birth of the Vlach /Rumanian/ literature.

1568.

The Reverend Ferenc Dávid established the Unitarian Church in

Transylvania. Even today, though the Unitarian religion is widely spread all over the world, the center of the Church is still in Transylvania, where the Unitarian Bishop resides as the successor of the founder of the church, Ferenc Dávid.

1570.

The duke Kristóf Báthory established in Gyulafehérvár the first Vlach printing shop in order that "culture may spread among those poor mountain-dwellers."

1576.

The Transylvanian duke Stephen Báthory became king of Poland, creating a Polish-Hungarian alliance against the Habsburg empire.

1582.

The Hungarian nobleman Ferenc Geszthy financed the translation and publication of the Old Testament in the Vlach /Rumanian/ language.

1586.

There were 18 Transylvanian Hungarian students enrolled at the Wittenberg University, and by 1640 more than 500 Transylvanians received diplomas from Wittenberg and Lynden. In the same time several world-famous scientists were teaching in Transylvanian colleges, such as Martin Opitz from Germany, John Alsted from England, Henry Bisterfeld and Isaac Basire from France.

1598.

There were 44 printing establishments working in Transylvania, producing up to this date 380 books, of which 18 were in German, 6 in Latin, 4 in Vlach, and the rest in the Hungarian language.

1600.

Michael, voievod of Wallachia, invaded Transylvania from the South, ravaging Hungarian towns and villages, until General Basta, commander of the Imperial forces of Rudolf Habsburg, defeated him. This was the first terrifying encounter of the defenseless Hungarian population with the cruel Vlach /Rumanian/ savagery, of which they had to endure so much in later centuries.

1603.

Under Habsburg auspices, the military terrorism of General Basta devastated a large part of Transylvania by massacring entire villages in order to "exterminate all the Protestants."

1604.

Radu, Vlach voievod, received permission from Rudolf Habsburg to enter the country with his entire tribe and take possession of the devastated lands. However, the same year Duke István Bocskay and his famous Székely cavalry freed Transylvania as well as the Northern part of Hungary from the marauding Habsburg forces. Radu was ordered out of the country. Nevertheless, some of his people were allowed to remain, and build new Vlach /Rumanian/ villages in the central region of Transylvania.

1658.

Census taken by the Jesuit Fathers showed the total population of

Transylvania as 860,000 souls, of which about 240,000 were Vlachs.
1659.

A Tartar invasion from the East devastated the main Szamos-valley.
1664.

A new influx of Vlach /Rumanian/ immigrants entered from Moldova, brought in by Hungarian landowners to settle on the empty lands of the Szamos valley.

1690.

Emperor Luitpold Habsburg of Austria conquered Transylvania, abolished the Hungarian constitution, and turned the country into a province of Austria. The persecution of the Protestants began anew. Clergymen and schoolteachers were killed or tortured and sent to the galleys in the Mediterranean, where they died as slaves. With this, the last stronghold of the constitutional Hungarian Kingdom, Transylvania, fell into the clutches of Habsburg absolutism. All constitutional rights of the established nationalities as well as the established Protestant churches were revoked. One year later, Emperor Luitpold I officially terminated the Transylvanian principality and incorporated it as a province into the Austrian empire.

1698.

The Greek Catholic Church, known as "Uniate Church" was created through mutual agreement of Emperor and Pope. All Greek Orthodox congregations throughout the Empire were requested to join. Those who refused to join, were deprived of all contacts with their mother-church across the borders.

Prof. Haraszti writes in his book "The Ethnic History of Transylvania" /Danubian Press, 1971/ on page 87: "The appearance of the Uniate Church, which was actually a handshake between Catholicism and Byzantinism at the expense of Protestantism, represented an alliance between the Imperial conquerors and the Wallachian subjects against the Protestant Magyars. The 'Divide et Impera' policy, which became a very typical Habsburg tactic in the nineteenth century, appeared for the first time in the eighteenth century in Transylvania, with this classic example."

J. Slavici, Rumanian historian writes in his book "Ardealul, Studiu Istoric", published in 1893: "The only cultural institution of the Rumanians ..." /meaning the Vlachs or Wallachians, since in the 17th and 18th centuries the word "Rumanian" had not yet been created/ " ... was the Greek Orthodox Church, which stood under complete Balkan-Slavic influence. Even its official language was the Slavic. Thus the era of national consciousness began only when half of the Transylvanian Vlachs converted into the Greek Catholic religion, and our priests were able to study in Rome and Vienna." /pages 95-96/ Eugene M. Osterhaven writes on the same subject in his book "Transylvania, The Pathos of a Reformation Tradition" /Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan, 1968/ on page 18: "However, two thirds of the Transylvanian Rumanians resumed Orthodoxy by

the mid-eighteenth century in spite of Habsburg attempts to keep them in the Roman fold."

C.A. Macartney states in "Hungary and Her Successors" /Oxford University Press, 1937/ page 261: "The Wallachian mass lived with one foot in Hungary. Most of them were shepherds, whose periodical migration on the high mountains took them regularly across the frontiers. Most of the Transylvanian Wallachians saw Wallachia and Moldova as their real homeland, and even the agriculturalists decamped readily across the Carpathians if times were hard - just as they immigrated, as casually, when conditions were severe in Wallachia or Moldova."

1703.

Under the Duke Ferenc Rákóczi II the Hungarian people revolted against Habsburg oppression. During this famous liberty war which lasted for eight years, many of the Vlach settlements, instigated by Habsburg agents, turned against their Hungarian hosts and neighbors, looting, burning, and massacring defenseless women and children.

1711.

The liberty war against the Habsburgs ended in defeat. Thousands of Hungarians who fought for liberty were executed, imprisoned or deported to forced labor. Those who proved to be loyal to the Habsburg throne were rewarded by royal grants to the properties of those who were found in treason. Considerable landholdings were given this way, mostly in the central parts of Transylvania, to Vlachs /Rumanians/ who led the bloody raids against defenseless Hungarian towns and villages.

1718.

The last strip of Hungary, the Banat, was freed from the Turks. According to contemporary reports, in the entire territory, which supports today nearly one-million people, there were no more than about 700 persons to be found alive.

1719.

From Vlachia /or Wallachia/ still under Turk domination, a steady stream of refugees began to migrate into the empty land of the Banat, as well as into other parts of Transylvania, where they were settled by special "Imperial decree" of the Emperor Charles III on lands confiscated from Hungarians for their participation in the liberty war.

1729.

Inocentius Micu Klein, Greek Catholic bishop, demanded for the Transylvanian Vlachs equal rights with other nationalities under the Crown. Emperor Charles III refused the demand on the grounds that "the Crown recognizes only subjects of different tongues and different religious denominations, not nationalities." Bishop Micu Klein was the first to use the word "RUMUN" instead of Vlach, and to claim LATIN origin. Until then the popular concept accepted the Slavic origin of the Vlachs, based on the use of the Slavic language in the Greek Orthodox Church as well as on the fact, established by several linguists /including Prof. Cihac, Rumanian linguist of the XX century/ that 48% of the

Rumanian language consisted of Slavic words and only 31% of the Latin.
1766.

Empress Maria Therezia, following the advice of her Transylvanian governor, extended the system of "Military Frontier Privileges", enjoyed previously only by the Székely districts, to three Vlach districts also. This enabled Peter Áron, Bishop of the Greek Catholic Church, to establish from public funds the first Vlach highschool, and the first Vlach seminary.

1784.

The Transylvanian Hungarian Assembly in Kolozsvár petitioned Emperor Joseph II to recognize the Vlachs as a "nation". Instead, the Emperor abolished even the rest of the Transylvanian constitution, dissolving the "three nation" concept. Two months later the "Vlach rebellion", led by Horia, Closka and Crisan, ignited the Central Mountain districts and the lower Maros valley.

Hugh Seton-Watson writes about it in his book "Eastern Europe" /Archon Books, England, 1962/ on pages 59-60: "Rumanian historians are inclined today to treat this as a nationalist rising. But the movement was essentially a social revolt of the peasant masses against the structure of the feudalistic Monarchy. The rebellion brought unprecedented horror to Hungarian towns and villages. Drunk Vlachs ruthlessly tortured, maimed and murdered thousands of men, women and children. Well informed sources claimed that Horia, the master-mind of the rebellion, received instructions in Vienna from the Emperor himself, who wanted to punish the 'rebellious Hungarians' for demanding the re-establishment of the Constitution and the Congress. Though the leaders of the rebellion were finally executed by the Austrian troops, the villages where the Hungarian population was killed out, were donated by special decree to the same Vlachs who did the killing. Another example of the Habsburg methods of playing one nationality group against the other."

1815.

The spirit of the French revolution penetrated the borders. The Hungarian National Assembly, finally granted by a reluctant Emperor Francis I demanded among others the re-unification with Transylvania. The Emperor rejected the demand. C.A. Macartney writes of this era in his book "Hungary" /Edinburgh, University Press, 1962/ on page 103: "The system of government in all of the Habsburg provinces was autocratic. The Transylvanian Diet was indeed convoked regularly, but it was so tightly packed with ex-officio members as to forfeit any claim to represent the people. The military administration was purely authoritarian. The democratic evolution of the Transylvanian Principality could not continue under Habsburg domination."

1822.

According to the official /anti-Hungarian/ census, conducted by Austrian administrative officials the total population of Transylvania proper was 1,500,000 of which 250,000 were registered as Germans,

700,000 as Rumanians and 550,000 as Hungarians. A later research, conducted by the newly established Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1947, proved that about 100,000 Hungarians who admitted mastering the German or the Rumanian languages also, were registered as Germans or Rumanians.

1847.

Both Houses of the Hungarian National Assembly passed unanimously the decision to reincorporate Transylvania into Hungary. However, negotiations with the Imperial Government on this subject became deadlocked.

1848.

The Hungarian Liberty War erupted under the leadership of Louis Kossuth. The Hungarian National Assembly proclaimed the Republic. Transylvania was re-united with the Mother-Land. The Transylvanian Assembly in Kolozsvár voted in favour of equal rights for the Vlachs /Rumanians/. /See: M. Ghyka "A Documented Chronology of Rumanian History" Blackwell, Oxford, 1941./

In spite of this, the Transylvanian Vlachs again launched a well organized attack against Hungarian towns and villages, in support of the Habsburg forces. "These Wallachians committed such dreadful crimes against the elderly, women and children" wrote Mme. Lebergere, an eyewitness, whose memoirs were later published in Paris "that even the Austrians were ashamed at what was going on under their authority. The password was: total extermination of the Magyars!"

T. Karsa writes in "Remarks on the Daco-Roman theory", Toronto, 1964 page 4: "The Wallachian peasants totally exterminated the Hungarian population of Nagyenyed, Abrudbánya and Zalatna. They annihilated one half of the Hungarian population in the district of Hunyad."

1849.

In spite of all the odds the heroic armies of the Hungarian Republic won every battle against the Imperial forces, until the new Emperor, the 16 years old Franz Joseph I called upon the Czar of Russia for aid. One hundred thousand Russian troops stormed into the Carpathian Basin, and the Liberty War was crushed. On October 6, thirteen Hungarian generals were executed in Arad. Thousands of others were imprisoned. An era of brutal terror and oppression descended upon the country, called the "Bach Age", referring to Baron Alexander Bach, Imperial Minister of Internal Affairs.

1858.

In the conference of Paris the powers of Europe decided to establish the "United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia" under separate but identical administrations.

These two territories were under Turk domination, ruled by Sultan-appointed "hospodars", until 1829, when Russia received full control over them through the Treaty of Adrianople. The Czar became the Head of the Greek Orthodox Church and thereby the "Father of all

Wallachians". However in 1854 Russia was forced to evacuate the two provinces and Austrian forces took over, until the "United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia" were established at the Paris Conference. 1862.

Sultan Abdul Aziz allowed the fusion of the two Vlach or Wallach administrative bodies. The union of the two provinces became recognized under the new name of RUMELIA - later changed into RUMANIA.

1866.

With the approval of France and Germany /Napoleon III and Bismarck/ the German Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen was proclaimed king of Rumania, and a new independent country was born between Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula.

1867.

Due to diplomatic pressure from without and the unique statesmanship of Ferenc Deák from within, emperor Franz Joseph I made peace with Hungary. Austria and Hungary became "equal partners" within the frame-work of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy. Constitutional parliamentary system was re-established. Transylvania again became re-united with Hungary. All "special national privileges were abolished, and the equality of all citizens proclaimed, irrespective of race, creed or language." /C.A. Macartney: Hungary and Her Successors, page 262./ The Constitution of Dec.21. 1867 was the masterpiece of liberal ideologists. It contained the complete catalogue of the *basic human rights*, limited the power of the government, introduced the responsibility of the cabinet, and contained directives concerning the equality of all nationalities. /Haraszi: Ethnic History of Transylvania, page 114./ The well known Rumanian scholar, Onisifor Ghibu writes in his book "Viata si organizarea bisericeasca si scolari in Transylvania" /1915/: "As an autonomous body, the Rumanian Greek Oriental Church in Hungary and Transylvania, by virtue of the rights ensured in 1868, administers, directs and manages independently its own ecclesiastical and educational affairs and trust funds in every respect ... school-inspectors have no authority over our schools ... parents are free to send their children to the school of their choice. In all Rumanian schools in Hungary and Transylvania the language of instruction is exclusively Rumanian."

1883.

Fearing Russia, the Kingdom of Rumania enters into alliance with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

1907.

Peasants in Moldavia rebel against the cruel treatment they have to endure from Rumanian officials. The insurrection was put down by military force and martial law proclaimed throughout the Rumanian kingdom.

1913.

Rumania declared war on Bulgaria, and took Northern Dobrudja by force.

1914.

World War I. erupted. In spite of the "Triple Alliance" /Germany, Austria-Hungary and Rumania/ Rumania proclaimed neutrality.

1916.

Based on promises to receive Transylvania, the Banat, and Southern Bukovina as booty, Rumania declared war on Austria-Hungary, and swept into Transylvania in a surprise attack. Within a few days the attack was repelled. Rumania was occupied by German forces and defeated.

1918.

March 5, Rumania signed the "Treaty of Bucharest", returning Dobrudja to Bulgaria, and giving up all claims to the Transylvanian passes. In October the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed. Rumania invaded Transylvania, and on Dec.1. in a mass-meeting of 25,000 Rumanians in Gyulafehérvár /Alba Julia/ declared the "Union of Rumania with Transylvania" in the name of more than five million people who did not even know of the meeting.

Though the Hungarian and the German population strongly objected, the Rumanian army, instigated by the French, marched into Kolozsvár on Christmas Eve, in defiance of the Armistice, which stipulated that all military lines should freeze at their locations until further deliberations and agreements.

1919.

On January 19 Rumanian troops opened fire into a crowd of more than 30,000 unarmed Hungarians who gathered on the Mathias-Plaza in Kolozsvár to ask the representative of the Entente forces, the French general Berthelot, lodged in the hotel at the corner of the plaza, to order the Rumanians out of the city and back to the demarcation line, which was the Maros river. More than one hundred Hungarian demonstrators were killed, and more than a thousand wounded. In punishment for the demonstration Rumanian troops looted and ransacked the city.

Peter Pastor writes in "The Vix Mission in Hungary, 1918-1919, a Re-examination" /Slavic Review XXIX, No. 3 1970/ and in "Franco-Rumanian Intervention in Russia and the Vix Ultimatum: Background to Hungary's Loss of Transylvania" /1974/:

"The Vix Ultimatum, delivered to the Hungarians on March 20, 1919 by the head of the French Military Mission in Hungary, Lt. Colonel Ferdinand Vix, seemed to legitimize Rumanian occupation of Transylvania. The opening of the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 1918 and 1919 in the summer of 1972 shed new and startling light on the affair.... It is now evident that the ultimatum was prompted by a sudden crisis in southern Russia where Allied troops under French command were being defeated by the Red Army. To obtain quick reinforcements from neighbouring Rumania, the French Premier and Minister of War G. Clemenceau had to pay off the Rumanians at once with the Transylvanian territory they coveted ..."

The documents of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs make it quite

clear now that Transylvania, as well as part of the Banat and part of the Great Hungarian Plain were given to Rumania by the French alone, in four separate chunks, with complete disregard of the Wilsonian doctrine of self determination, and without the knowledge and approval of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain in order to buy Rumanian support against Russia.

Already on January 27, 1919, the Peace Conference in Paris had adopted President Wilson's resolution against the use of armed force "to gain possession of territory, the rightful claim to which the Peace Conference is to be asked to determine." /Spector: Rumania at the Paris Peace Conference, page 80./ Pastor writes in "Franco-Rumanian Intervention in Russia and the Vix Ultimatum: Background to Hungary's Loss of Transylvania", page 17: The Supreme Council referred Rumania's territorial claims to a 'Commission for the Study of Territorial Questions Relating to Rumania.' The eight-member panel of French, British, Italian and American experts was to examine Rumania's claims on its four neighbors - Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Hungary. *But the Rumanians disregarded both: Wilson's call for peace and the new commission. They continued to advance into Hungarian territory.*"

Thus, long before any decisions were made by the Peace Conference in regard of Rumania's territorial claim in Transylvania, Rumania with French encouragement took possession of Transylvania, the Banat and part of the Great Hungarian Plain. *Occupying lands with not one Rumanian inhabitant, whatsoever. Thereby deceiving the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and Italy, motivated by its own greed and by French desire to gain Rumanian military aid against Russia.*

1920.

By March 1920 all markers, street-signs, village-signs, railroad-signs etc. were torn down in the entire Rumanian-occupied territory and replaced by new signs in Rumanian language. Rumanian names were created for towns and villages with no Rumanian inhabitants. When the International Peace Commission came to inspect the new border-line proposed by France and Rumania, they were given the impression that not one single Hungarian inhabited the land.

On June 4, the Hungarian Government was compelled to sign the TREATY of TRIANON, by which the thousand year old Hungary was shorn of almost three-fourths of its territory, and two-thirds of its inhabitants.

However, on the insistence of the Allied Powers article 47 was included in the treaty, stipulating that Rumania pledges itself *to protect the interest of those citizens who differ from the majority of the population in respect of race, language or religion.*

However, by then more than 150,000 Hungarians mostly civil servants and teachers, were expelled from their native country and the "forced

Rumanization of Transylvania began." /See: E. Osterhaven "Transylvania ..." page 19./

As a result of the Trianon Dictum from the 20,886,487 population of Hungary 13,271,370 were placed under the domination of other countries.

Hugh Seton-Watson writes in "Eastern Europe Between the Wars" /Archon Books, 1962/ on page 300-301: "*The Hungarians became second class citizens in Transylvania ... Rumanian officials from across the mountains flooded the province ...*"

1923.

The Rumanian government executed a special land reform in Transylvania only, aimed against the Hungarians. A Total of 2,718,146 acres of land was taken from Hungarians, mostly small landowners, and handed over to the Rumanian population and the Rumanian churches. /According to Rumanian statistics, prior to this land reform of the 5,461,200 acres of agricultural land in Transylvania only 1,904,635 acres were owned by farmers possessing more than 100 acres./

1924.

Discrimination against Hungarians increased. Prof. C.A. Macartney writes in his book "Hungary and Her Successors" page 322: Taxation has undoubtedly been discriminatory. Certain taxes exist which affect minorities almost exclusively. Hungarian shopkeepers, Hungarian professionals have to pay extra taxes for various reasons ..."

Parallel with the economic persecution, the Rumanian government undertook an all-out offensive against Hungarian schooling. Hungarian, as a language of instruction, was abolished and its use strictly forbidden in all public schools. In many cases children were cruelly beaten for using their native tongue, even among themselves during the recess.

1925.

Protestant as well as Catholic parochial schools, some of them established in the 15th and 16th centuries, were closed down. The American Committee for the Rights of Religious Minorities reported: "The administrative oppression, the violent enforcing of the Rumanian language, the aggressive hostility ... all these are aimed for the total destruction of the minority school system. The laws of 1925 serve as oppressive political and nationalistic tools against the minorities." /Religious Minorities in Transylvania, The Bacon Press, Boston, 1925./ While in 1911, under Hungarian rule, there were 2,813 public schools in Transylvania in which Rumanian was the language of instruction, by 1925, five years after the Rumanian take-over, there was none left at all for the use of the Hungarian language.

Transylvania's biggest Hungarian-language daily newspaper, the

BRASSÓI LAPOK, reported on December 14, 1925 from Csikjenőfalva, a 100% Hungarian community: "The new teacher, Mr. Clements Tratiu, who was sent recently by the government to teach in the purely Hungarian village of Csikjenőfalva, in his efforts to enforce the new language regulations handed out such beatings to his pupils that on the first day parents had to carry home twenty-four badly beaten children from the schoolhouse who were unable to walk."

1926.

The rigid censorship, instituted in 1919 toward all publications in Hungarian language was reinforced by two new laws. One of them required that even prayer-books and hymnals carry the stamp of approval of the State Censor before they could be printed, while the other prohibited the "import" of newspapers, magazines and other printed materials from Hungary, either by mail or otherwise.

1928.

A special delegation of Transylvanian Hungarians presented in Geneva to the League of Nations a 280 pages long list of grievances proving the breach of treaty from the part of the Rumanian government against the Hungarian people of Transylvania in 166 well documented cases. Rumania was reprimanded, and the Rumanian delegate promised redress. However, nothing happened. Members of the Hungarian delegation were taken off the train as soon as they crossed the border, detained, harassed under false pretenses, and their passports revoked.

1936.

The "Iron Guard", an extreme right-wing organization, secretly encouraged by Hitler's Germany, staged the first anti-Semitic and anti-Hungarian riots in Brassó /Brasov/, Nagyenyed /Aiud/ and Kolozsvár /Cluj/.

1939.

King Carol of Rumania declared full co-operation with the German Reich.

1940.

Rumania was forced to yield to the demands of the Soviet Union and evacuate Besarabia as well as Northern Bukovina. Southern Dobrudja had to be returned to Bulgaria. In August of the same year the Axis powers ordered the return of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, reuniting 1,200,000 Hungarians with their Motherland, while still leaving about 600,000 under Rumanian domination.

On August 19 of the same year there was a secret deliberation taking place between Dr. Jonel Pop, representing the Transylvanian Rumanians and Count Andor Teleki, representing the Hungarian government. Dr. Pop stated the propositions of the Rumanians in Transylvania in the following four possibilities:

1. Part of Transylvania to be returned to Hungary, followed by a

population exchange.

2. The creation of an autonomous Transylvania, ruled by the three inhabiting nationalities, as part of the Rumanian Kingdom.

3. An independent Transylvania.

4. A Hungarian-Rumanian Federation under one king and composed of three independent administrative units: Hungary, Transylvania and Rumania.

Dr. Jonel Pop, the aid of the ailing J. Maniu, declared that for the sake of a permanent solution the great majority of the Rumanians would accept any one of the above possibilities. Further deliberation were postponed after the end of the war.

1941.

The German-Italian Officer's Commission, established for the supervision of the implications and applications of the provisions of the "Vienna Treaty" concerning the treatment of minorities, examined 387 complaints of abuses in Southern Transylvania committed by Rumanian authorities against the Hungarian population, and 26 complaints of Hungarian abuses against the Rumanians in Northern Transylvania.

1942.

Rumanian atrocities against Hungarians in Southern Transylvania reached the number of 1372, while registered Rumanian complaints in Northern Transylvania numbered only 87. Cases examined by the Commission in Southern Transylvania included 273 murders, 687 severe beatings by the Rumanian police, the arrests of 48 Hungarian Clergymen, 6 newsmen and 317 professionals.

All Hungarian men in Southern Transylvania, between the ages of 17 to 45 were called into service by the Rumanian army, and sent under deplorable conditions into the labor camps of Besarabia and Bukovina.

1943.

Though Rumania entered the war on June 22, 1941 as full-fledged ally of Germany, and recaptured with German aid Besarabia and Bukovina from the Russians, after the German disaster at Stalingrad the Rumanian leaders engaged themselves in secret negotiations with the Allies.

In the same time the Hungarian Government attempted to make a separate peace with the West. However, the Teheran Conference /Nov. 28, 1943 - Jan 12, 1944/ brought about the unfortunate decision that Eastern and East-Central Europe, including Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland constituted the "special sphere of regional interest" of the Soviet Union, therefore negotiations, concerning these countries, had to be pursued exclusively with the Soviet Union.

1944.

March 21. German forces occupied Hungary.

August 24. Rumania surrendered to and joined forces with the invading Russians. Together with Russian army regular Rumanian troops as well as guerilla-bands entered Transylvania, creating the most ferocious bloodbath in history. Thousands and thousands of Hungarians were

killed, tortured, imprisoned and deported into forced labor camps. According to eyewitness reports, from the city of Kolozsvár /Cluj/ alone more than 24,000 Hungarians were herded together, beaten, tortured and deported. Within three months an estimated 200,000 Hungarians were moved out in this way from Transylvania, and placed into labor camps, mostly in the swamps of Dobrudja.

Some of the sworn testimonies of surviving eyewitnesses can be found in the APPENDIX.

1945.

The Soviet Military Administration of Northern Transylvania was replaced by Rumanian administration. Mr. Zathureczky writes in his book "Transylvania, Citadel of the West" /Danubian Press, 1964/ page 52: "Stalin gave back Northern Transylvania to the Rumanians *under the condition that they would respect the rights of the ethnic groups*. With this step he introduced into Transylvania the Stalinist national policy. This policy consisted of the recognition of ethnic autonomies, and it was based on a federation of these autonomies. These autonomies are nationalistic in form, and socialistic in substance."

One of the conditions, under which the Russian Military Government returned the full administration of Transylvania to the Rumanians was *the setting up of two or more Autonomous Hungarian Districts* in order to secure complete self-administration to the Hungarian population of Transylvania.

This condition as well as many others pertaining to the basic rights of the Hungarians in Transylvania were never fulfilled by the Rumanian government.

1947.

On February 10 the Rumanian Peace Treaty was signed in Paris, officially declaring the return of Northern Transylvania to Rumania - in spite of American protest. Rumania again guaranteed the rights of the minorities.

On April 13 the Rumanian People's Republic was proclaimed.

On August 7 a new constitution was adopted, which again proclaimed equal rights and self administration to the national minorities. However, all religious and cultural organizations were subjected to State control. Roman Catholic opposition led to the arrest of the remaining bishops and to dissolution of all Roman Catholic organizations.

1949.

Lay leaders, priests, ministers of the Roman Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian churches were imprisoned or sent to forced labor camps.

The Greek Catholic Church was liquidated by law. The congregations of these parishes were automatically "returned into the Greek Orthodox Church and listed on census-sheets as "Rumanians" no matter which ethnic group they belonged.

1950.

Under Soviet pressure the Rumanian government agreed to create an

Autonomous Hungarian Region on the Territory inhabited by a compact Hungarian /Székely/ population with the capital of Marosvásárhely - Targu Mures. In this "autonomous" region, however, the official language remained the Rumanian, the top administrative offices were held by Rumanians, sent there directly from Bucharest, and the police force was kept 100% Rumanian. Those Hungarians who dared to object, were deported into the ill-famed labor camps in the Danube delta.

1956.

Following the uprising in Hungary, the Rumanian Government availed itself of the opportunity to order new mass-arrests throughout Transylvania. Though only seventeen Hungarians were executed - beside Imre Nagy, premier of Hungary for those few glorious days of freedom and his entourage who were handed over by the Russians for "safe-keeping" - more than 200 died from the beatings during the interrogation, and about six thousand received heavy prison sentences in Kolozsvár /Cluj/ alone. *For eyewitness testimonies see APPENDIX.* George Bailey, American journalist, described the situation in THE REPORTER of November 1964: "After the Hungarian revolution thousands of Hungarians were arrested in Transylvania, perhaps hundreds put to death. In one trial alone in Cluj thirteen out of fiftyseven accused were executed. This year /1964/ some eight thousand political prisoners were released with considerable fanfare by the Government in a general amnesty."

M. Eugene Osterhaven /The Present Situation of Hungarians in Transylvania, Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan, 1968, page 34/ adds to this: "... but as far as I could ascertain /in 1968/ in my recent travels through Transylvania, not one of the Hungarians arrested during the revolt has yet been released."

1959.

The Hungarian University of Kolozsvár /Cluj/ and the Hungarian high schools all over Transylvania became absorbed by their Rumanian counterparts. Thus Hungarian higher education was abolished in Transylvania. Several members of the Hungarian faculty were driven to suicide. /See: "Der Spiegel" No. 45, October 31. 1966. Also: "National Minority Problems" by George Hay in Kurt, London, ed. of Eastern Europe in Transition, The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1966, page 133. Also: The New York Times, June 10. 1959./

The Hungarian Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy, located in Marosvásárhely /Targu Mures/ lost its autonomy. /See: Robert R. King "Minorities Under Communism", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1973, pages 153-154./

1960.

The Rumanian Government removed two districts from the Autonomous Hungarian Province, both with 92% Hungarian population, and attached them to a Rumanian populated district, while adding to it in exchange another large area with 88% Rumanian population, thus trying to weaken the Hungarian majority of the

Hungarian province. The name was also changed from "Autonom Hungarian Province" to "Autonom Hungarian-Mures Territory." 1963.

Edward Crankshaw reported in his article "Hungarian Minority Fears Rumanian Axe" /The New York Herald Tribune, Apr. 15, 1963./ that Hungarian families are being deported in mass from purely Hungarian districts of Transylvania into other parts of Rumania, mostly to the Danube delta, into huge labor camps, where they die by the hundreds due to lack of food and medical care.

It is being noted also, that those deported or "re-settled" under the pretense of job opportunities - already more than 200,000 people - are immediately stricken from the official records in Transylvania, while in their new locations they are listed by the census takers as Rumanians. The Rumanization of Transylvania was so successful, that in September 1963, when Mr. Georghiu-Dej, party-boss and prime minister visited the so-called "Autonomous Hungarian Territory" and the Rumanian newspapers reported the names of the officials of the territory - there was not one single Hungarian name among them!

1964.

The International Commission of Jurists examined the Transylvanian minority problem, and published a report entitled "The Hungarian Minority Problem in Rumania". In this report the Commission stated among others that "Rumania ignores the political clauses of the Peace Treaty, and its own constitution, Art. 82, which clearly provides that 'all national groups are entitled to use their respective languages and to have at all levels establishments of public education in which instruction is given in their mother tongue, and further that the spoken and written language used by administrative and judicial authorities in districts where a national group other than Rumanian is in the majority should be the language of this national group. Civil servants in such areas should be appointed from among the members of this majority group ...' This commission found that Rumanian administrative measures, and discrimination in the cultural field, *is actually leading to the final genocide of minorities in Transylvania.*"

On July 4, the same year, the LE MONDE in Paris, France reported of a new wave of deportations from the Hungarian districts in Transylvania to the Danube delta. The same paper estimated the number of Hungarians forced to live in Bucharest alone to 250,000, *a figure not included in the official data of any census.*

On August 8: "Due to the de-Magyarization policy of the Rumanian government of forcibly removing Hungarian families from their native districts and deporting them or forcing them to locate in Moldavia, Dobrudja, even Bucharest or any one of the former Vlach provinces, it seems that 35 to 50 percent of the Transylvanian Hungarians are no longer living in their native land. The vacated houses of the deported or removed Hungarian families are filled with Rumanian families imported from across the Carpathians in order to change the ethnic balance of the

purely Hungarian districts. According to Government orders wherever there are two pupils in a Hungarian language school who do not speak that language, the language of the entire school must be changed into Rumanian. Thus, with the settling of these newcomers, all Hungarian language grade-, middle-, and high-schools are being abolished, one by one ..." /CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS, August 8, 1964./

On November 1964 George Bailey wrote in THE REPORTER: "Rumania has effectively replaced Hungarian at every level as the language of official and public life ... Hungarians are intimidated, they are scared to use their native tongue. The Rumanian authorities have adopted a wide variety of measures to isolate the Hungarian population from contact with the homeland. Foreign tourists in Rumania are allowed the run of the country, unless they happen to be Hungarian citizens ..."

Robert R. King wrote in "Minorities Under Communism" /Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1973/ pages 156-157: "The 1964 redistricting of the Magyar Autonomous Region into Mures-Magyar Region increased the Rumanian population of the district from 146,830 /20%/ to a 266,403 /35%/while decreasing the number of Hungarians from 565,510 /77%/ to 473,154 /62%/."

1966.

CARE Packages and other aids sent by American, Canadian, Australian or West European church organizations, charitable institutions or private individuals to starving Hungarian families in Transylvania, or to Transylvanian Hungarian Churches were confiscated by Rumanian authorities. See: APPENDIX..

1967.

On October 12 the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region became liquidated. The previous 16 regions were rearranged into 40 districts and 2,706 communes. The aim was to mix as many Rumanian inhabited regions with Hungarian regions as geographically possible, thus lowering the percentage rate of Hungarians within the administrative units. "*The chauvinistic policy of Rumania ... disregards all human rights and international obligations solemnly agreed upon and promised in peace treaties ...*" /Osterhaven: Transylvania, page 40/

On December 3, 1967, the NEUE ZÜRICHER ZEITUNG, Switzerland, reported that in the "Hungarian populated areas of Transylvania the presence of the secret police is still strong. Political opponents /of Mr. Ceausescu/ and troublesome intellectuals are put behind bars without delay ..."

1974.

The "Handbuch Europaischer Volksgruppen" /Reference Book on European Ethnic Groups/ estimated the Hungarian population of Transylvania as two millions.

On November 2, 1974, Act 63 of the Socialist Republic of Rumania amended Law 472/1971, ordering the "nationalization of all documents, books, letters, pictures, art objects, etc. in possession of religious

and cultural institutions or private citizens."

This amendment of the law was another decisive step toward the complete Rumanization of Transylvania by eliminating all traces of a Hungarian past, and thus clearing the way for a new, falsified history, already in the making.

1975.

On February 1, the NEUE ZÜRICHEN ZEITUNG, Switzerland, reported under the title "Bureaucratic Chicanery Against the Churches in Rumania" that "The intent behind the nationalization of the ecclesiastical archives is to sever the religious communities from their historical roots. A church without a past /tradition/ has no future, especially one which represents a religious and national minority in the same time ... *the Rumanian government has openly embarked on an escalated campaign against the Church and the Hungarian minority.*" "The above mentioned outrages form a part of a systematic effort to re-write Rumanian history ..." /Human Rights Violations against the Hungarian Minority in Rumania, a Committee for Human Rights publication, 1976./

In the same time THE FINANCIAL TIMES reported: "A favourite device is to 'facelift' the tombs and crypts of famous Hungarian families in the Medieval Házsongárd cemetery in Cluj /Kolozsvár/ by allotting them to recently dead Rumanians. In this way the ethnic composition of the former population, now dead, is restructured favourably ..."

Also The Financial Times reported on Apr. 2. 1975 under the title "Transylvania's Ethnic Strains" that at least 25 students are required to set up a minority class in any school, while a Rumanian class has to be set up as soon as there are two Rumanian speaking students. This report refers to Law 278/1973 which calls for the merger of classes with insufficient numbers of students, and provides that every community with Rumanian speaking students, no matter how few, must establish a Rumanian section. Since most rural villages in Transylvania have only 500 to 1000 inhabitants, there may very possibly not be enough Hungarian students for a separate class /25/. As a result of this law the merger necessarily occurs at the expense of the Hungarian section, even if the population of that village is 90% Hungarian.

Protests concerning the oppression of and the gross discrimination against the Hungarian minority in Rumania reached the United Nations Division of Human Rights Office to be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights and to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in Geneva.

Thirty-eight members of the U.S. Congress condemned the treatment of the Hungarian Minority by the Rumanian Government, and asked President Ford to discuss with President Ceaucescu "the abridgement of human and civil rights of the ethnic and religious minorities in Rumania." /SEE: Congressional Records, May and June 1975. Also: "Documents on the Human Rights Violations Against the Hungarian Minority in Rumania Before the United Nations Human Rights

Commission, The World Council of Churches and the United States Congress and Government" published by the American Hungarian Federation, Washington, D.C. 1975/

G. Satmarescu, Rumanian author and scholar, repudiated the published figures of the recent Rumanian census by estimating the total number of Hungarians in Rumania at 2.5 million. /East Central Europe, edited by Stephen Fischer-Galati, University of Colorado, 1975./

1976.

In June 1976 a joint Memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation and the Transylvanian World Federation was presented to the United States Congress, asking for the withdrawal of the "Preferred Nation" status granted to Rumania previously, until that government fulfilled its obligations toward the minorities as outlined in the peace treaties as well as in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. /SEE: CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS, June, 1976./

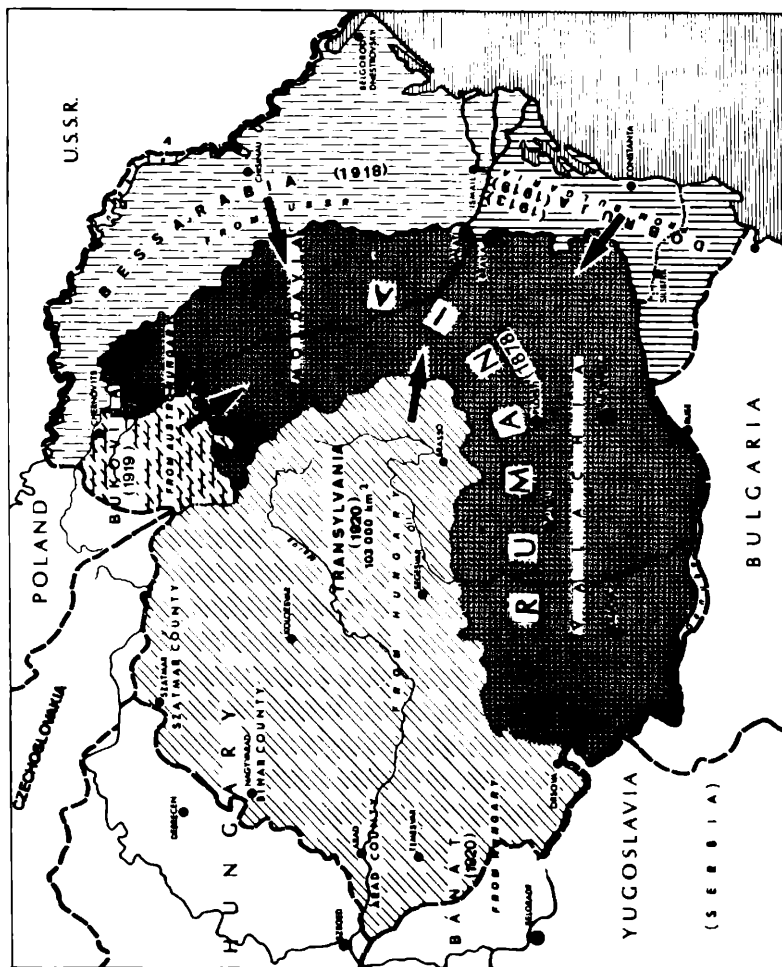
In July 1976, protests against the blatant oppression of minority Churches and ethnic groups in Rumania were entered to the United Nations and the World Council of Churches Assembly in Nairobi, Africa, by Bishop Dr. Zoltán Béky, representing the Transylvanian World Federation and the American Hungarian Federation.

The Committee for Human Rights in Rumania in New York demonstrated repeatedly against the Rumanian Government and demanded the investigation of minority grievances in Rumania.

In October 1976 the United States Government asked the Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania to grant permission, in accordance with the Helsinki Agreement, to a special investigating committee to enter Rumania and investigate the alleged human rights violations and discriminations against the minorities. *The Rumanian government refused to grant the permission.*

1977.

In January a new "Five Year Plan" was implemented by the Rumanian government, at the end of which, in 1982 *"there will be no more Hungarian minority in Rumania."* /SEE: APPENDIX/



Foundation of the Rumanian state 1878.

Annexation of Dobruja 1913-1919 from Bulgaria.

Annexation of Bessarabia 1918 from U.S.S.R.

Annexation of Bessarabia 1919 from Austro-Hungary

Annexation of Transylvania 1920 from Hungary.

Annexation of Banat 1920 from Hungary.

Map showing Rumania from after the Congress of Berlin (1878) to the Treaty of Trianon (1920)

CULTURE

As an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom, Transylvania was drawn into the Western Christian Culture Circle at the beginning of the eleventh century. The architecture of old Transylvanian cities, such as Nagyvárad /today Oradea/ Kolozsvár /today Cluj-Napoca/, Brassó /today Brasov/ or Dés /today Dej/ bear witness to this fact.

Besides a few scattered ruins of Roman fortifications, destroyed by the retreating Roman legions in 271 A.D., no sign of any kind would indicate a trace of an older established culture preceding the arrival of the Hungarians. Not even the legends, folk tales, ballads or folk songs of any one of the cohabiting ethnic groups suggest anything of this kind, except the oldest Hungarian /Székely/ legends which date back to the time of Attila and the empire of the Huns.

If we examine the folk art, which is the most tell-tale expression of early influences, we find that the embroideries and architecture of the Transylvanian Germans relates to the embroideries and architecture of those districts of Germany where these settlers came from in the 12th and 13th centuries. In the same way, the folk art of the Transylvanian Rumanians is identical with those of Moldavia and Wallachia, and they clearly show the Slavic influences, the Bulgarian, Greek, and even the Albanian motifs, picked up by the migrating Vlach herdsmen on their way from the Albanian border to their present location. On the other hand, the famous art creations of the Transylvanian Hungarians, like those of Kalotaszeg, Csik, Háromszék, Udvarhely carry a basic similarity with those of other parts of Hungary, and clearly relate back to ancient Turanian /Scythian/ motifs.

Due to the close relations of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom with the West, talented Transylvanians found their ways to the early Universities of Europe as early as the 12th and 13th centuries. The very first student whose name became officially registered at the University of Oxford in 1193, was Miklós of Hungary, son of Kende, nobleman of Transylvania. During the 15th century there were three famous Hungarian doctors on the faculty of the University of Bologna, and one of them, Peter Paul Apáti of Torda, later founded the "Free Collegium of the Noble Sciences", established in his hometown, Torda, then moved to Kolozsvár /today Cluj/ by King Mathias. After the two Hungarian Universities were established, Pécs in 1367, and Buda in 1389, many Transylvanians sent their sons there, some of whom, after returning home, founded one by one the "Collegiums" of High Learning in Nagyenyed, Gyulafehérvár, Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, Brassó, Arad, Zilah and Marosvásárhely.

Due to the ecclesiastical domination of Rome as in other Western

empires, the official language of science and administration in the Hungarian Kingdom was Latin. Therefore it was only in 1527 that the first book was printed in the Hungarian language in Kolozsvár. In 1598 there were already 24 printing establishments in Transylvania, publishing by that date 382 books, of which 368 were in the Hungarian language.

There were 18 Transylvanian Hungarians enrolled at the Wittenberg University in the year of 1586. Many Transylvanian Hungarians were teaching at famous Western Universities, while several famous Western scientists, such as Martin Opitz, John Alstead, Henry Bisterfeld and Isaac Basire taught in Transylvanian colleges during the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1545 the complete translation of the Bible appeared in the Hungarian language, printed in Kolozsvár. Shortly after, in 1582, financed by Hungarians and translated by Hungarians, the Bible was published in the Vlach language.

In the 14th century two Transylvanian Hungarian brothers, Márton and György Kolozsvári, were famous sculptors. Most of their works were demolished through the many wars, except the well known statue of St. George in the city of Prague, which is today recognized as one of the greatest monuments of Gothic sculpture.

Thus Transylvania, as part of Hungary, became the center of Hungarian culture. During the most troubled times of Central European history, when the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism set fire to the emotions, in Transylvania the Hungarian preacher and philosopher Ferenc Dávid /1535-1579/ was able to found and establish the Unitarian Church, and persuade the Congress of Torda in 1568 to declare, for the first time in the world, the *freedom of religion*.

It is indeed not accidental that man's God-given right to choose his own religion and to worship freely and undisturbed was first recognized and legalized in Transylvania. This was a direct result of the Hungarian concept of freedom, as well as the respect toward the freedom of others, which permeated the entire Hungarian state-concept, and enabled the Hungarians to rule the Carpathian Basin successfully for a thousand years. This secured free development to every ethnic group which asked permission to settle within the Hungarian borders.

Even after 1711, when Hungarian political independence was completely lost to Habsburg oppression, Hungarian culture in Transylvania not only kept in step with the cultural evolution of the rest of the country, but in many instances it became the guiding force of spiritual and cultural resistance. In fields of sciences, art and literature, Transylvania

became the torch-bearer to the rest of oppressed Hungary. The same phenomenon repeated itself after 1849, when the Liberty War was crushed by the combined forces of Austria and Russia, and the darkness of revengeful oppression fell upon Hungary for the second time.

It might be interesting to note that the first English-Tibetan dictionary was published in 1834 by a young Transylvanian Hungarian explorer, Sándor Kőrösi Csoma. The era between 1820 and 1867 is also regarded by many as the "golden age" of Hungarian national literature, brought forth by Habsburg oppression. Many of the great names in Hungarian literature were from Transylvania, such as Ferenc Kazinczy /1759-1831/, Ferenc Kölcsey /1790-1838/ Mihály Tompa /1817-1868/ and others.

In 1867 the "reconciliation" between Emperor Franz Joseph and the Hungarian nation opened the gates toward industrialization and economic upswing. Though economic progress was much slower reaching into Transylvania than in other parts of Hungary - due to distances, lack of roads, etc. - the revitalization of the Hungarian culture reached a new peak in Kolozsvár and the other Transylvanian cities. During the glorious years of the "millenium", Transylvania proudly celebrated its thousand-year-old cultural heritage within the framework of the thousand-year-old Hungarian national frontiers.

When in 1919 the Rumanian army occupied Transylvania, and the brutal persecution of Hungarian officials, clergymen, educators and other intellectuals began with unprecedented Balkanic ferocity, Hungarian stamina was put to test.

Within a few weeks all geographical locations were re-named, from cities down to the most remote villages. Kolozsvár was changed overnight into Cluj, Nagyvárad into Oradea, Temesvár into Timisoara, etc. Many names were simply translated, such as Disznós into Porcu, Medvepatak into Ursu, Nagybánya into Baia Mare, Szentegyed into Sinte Jude, etc. Streetmarkers were replaced and streets renamed. Those who were born and raised in one of the Transylvanian towns, and lived there all their lives, suddenly had to change their old established home-address to a new-one, in a foreign language they did not even know how to pronounce.

City halls, court houses, district offices, post offices, railroad stations were filled with new officials, imported from across the mountains, who did not speak the language of the population. Huge signs appeared everywhere: VORBITI NUMAI RUMUNESTI! Speak only Rumanian. Those citizens who were unable to obey these signs because did not speak the Rumanian language, were refused service, abused, and sometimes even beaten by the new police.

The urban intellectuals of Transylvania suffered the most. Put out of their jobs, many of them were forced to leave the country. Others shifted into commerce or industry. Some of them became laborers, while many rallied around the only bulwarks left for Transylvanian culture: the churches, church-affiliated schools, and other cultural institutions, such as libraries, museums, civic societies, benevolent organizations, etc. which were not yet dependent on the State.

Rigid censorship was instituted by the Rumanian government toward Hungarian publications of any kind. In spite of this, by 1926 Transylvania had more Hungarian monthly periodicals, weekly publication, and daily newspapers than ever before. It was the automatic reaction of Hungarian national consciousness taking refuge in culture against the brutal oppression of a foreign and inferior civilization.

Gy. Zathureczky writes in his book "Transylvania, Citadel of the West" /Danubian Press, 1967/ page 46: "The Transylvania /Hungarian/ Press, suffering under heavy censorship, lost its provincial character and rose to European level. The Transylvanian Literary Guild and the Transylvania Helicon gathered the writers and established a Hungarian Publishing Co-operative. A new and specifically Transylvanian literature was born. Struggling against poverty, and harrassed by Rumanian authorities, the Transylvanian Hungarian stage reached an unprecedented peak against all odds."

In spite of the brutal political and economical oppression of a Balkan force, Transylvania remained part of the Western Culture. Just as an Austrian journalist aptly observed in the "Wiener Tagblatt", July 27, 1934: "Travelling through Transylvania one cannot help noticing that while the policeman on the street corner speaks only Rumanian, within the walls of old town houses there is a very lively Hungarian cultural life going on, discussing with foreign guests Western ideas, Western literature, Western art, sometimes in three or four languages in the same time - none of which happens to be the language of the policeman down on the corner ..." Further down he stated: "The very fact that in those highly cultured Transylvanian circles everyone knows the names of German, French, English and American writers, scientists, actors, painters, but no one seems to know anything that goes on in Bucharest, shows clearly that in spite of the so-called 'peace treaties' the cultural boundaries between East and West are still firmly drawn on the ridges of the Carpathians ..."

Even 20 years after the Rumanian take-over, Transylvania supported 38 periodicals in the Hungarian language, 5 Hungarian literary societies, and 12 Hungarian publishing houses. Twenty-seven Hungarian writers in Transylvania had one or more books published in foreign countries, while the Hungarian theatre of Kolozsvár was

regarded by talent scouts all over the world as the springboard to fame for talented actors and actresses. Hungarian painters of Transylvania frequently toured Europe with their exhibits, and the Hungarian folk art of Kalotaszeg, Csik, Háromszék and Udvarhely reached the foreign markets with their embroidery and wood carvings.

In spite of the political oppression and the strong economical discrimination, the dominant culture in Transylvania remained the Western oriented Hungarian culture, followed by the German in the German districts. Those few Rumanian authors, poets and artists who were born Transylvanians, were absorbed by Bucharest and the "Regat" /Old Kingdom/, and had no contact whatsoever with the representatives of either the Hungarian or the German cultural circles in Transylvania. The name of Octavian Goga, the excellent Rumanian poet, who though born in Transylvania, became known only among Hungarians and Germans after he was selected by the king of Rumania to be the prime-minister of the country.

In August 1940, when Northern Transylvania was returned to the Mother Country, it took only one day for such cities as Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, Marosvásárhely to wipe off every trace of a Rumanian occupation, and turn back into the thriving Hungarian cities they had been for hundreds of years.

However, after World War II when the Russian army handed Transylvania over to the Rumanian government as a compensation for Bessarabia, all this has changed drastically. Hungarian publishing establishments were shut down. Within the new Rumanian framework one single state-owned publishing establishment was formed to "serve the Hungarian cultural needs", not in Transylvania, but in Bucharest. This establishment, named "Kritérion", was allowed to publish only government-approved material, mostly translations from Rumanian and Russian, and only a few ideologically sterilized Hungarian authors in limited editions.

Today the Hungarian population of Transylvania is completely isolated from the West, not just politically and economically, but also culturally. No publications of any kind are allowed to enter. Even Hungarian language Bibles, donated by American Presbyterian Churches to the Transylvanian Calvinist Church were recently confiscated and burned.

Public monuments, statues, historic markers were systematically destroyed and replaced with new ones, reflecting the new Rumanian-dictated atmosphere. Old tombstones are destroyed, ancient churches "remodelled" in such a way that they lose their Hungarian character. The entire history is re-written, and the newly created false "history" is systematically introduced to the new generations. Even those very few

Hungarian-language schools which are still left to operate must teach this falsified history to their pupils, according to which Transylvania is the "original homeland" of the Rumanian people, and the Hungarians were the "intruders" who ruled the native Rumanians by terror.

According to the law, the presence of two Rumanian children in any school suffice to have the language of instruction changed from Hungarian to Rumanian. In schools where the language of instructions is Rumanian, the children are forbidden to speak Hungarian among themselves, even during recess. Those children who disobey this rule are severely beaten by their teachers. Since the Rumanian government has already brought more than 600,000 new Rumanian settlers into Transylvania from Bessarabia, Bukovina and other parts of "old Rumania" while in the same time deporting more than 300,000 Hungarians from their native land, it is clear that there is a well-planned cultural genocide going on, fully using the "unlimited possibilities" and brutalities of a totalitarian regime.

In order to destroy every trace of the past, the Rumanian government first nationalized, then systematically destroyed every old document preserved in Church archives, museums, libraries or private homes.

It is indeed fortunate that many of the ancient Transylvanian documents, dating back as far as the 11th century, were transferred to the Hungarian National Archives in Budapest, some before World War I, and others during World War II. Thus, in spite of all the Rumanian efforts to eradicate the past, the true history of Transylvania can still be proven by thousands of ancient documents and the traces of the once great Western-oriented culture of the Hungarians in Transylvania can still be found in libraries and museums, not in Hungary alone, but also in Austria, Germany, Italy, France, England, and the United States of America.

The Rumanian culture is entirely different from that known as the "Transylvanian culture", which is in reality a regional diversity of the West-oriented Hungarian culture. The Rumanian culture is Balkan-oriented, and specifically Rumanian, based on the history of the Vlach migration from Southern Italy across to Albania, and from there up to Wallachia and Moldavia. It was brought forth by Balkan influences, just as the Rumanian language itself, which is composed, according to the Rumanian linguist Cihac, "of 45.7% Slavic, 31.52 Latin, 8.4% Turkish, 7% Greek, 6% Hungarian and 0.6% Albanian words."

Even today, the Rumanian culture as such, has no roots in Transylvania. It is being "imported" constantly and purposefully from Bucharest into the Transylvanian province in order to crowd out and replace the traditional Hungarian culture of this conquered and subjugated land.

POPULATION

From the 11th to the 16th centuries every available data indicates that the population of Transylvania was relatively dense in the river valleys and in the central basin, while quite sparse in the mountain regions. Descriptions of early Byzantine travelers and visiting Vatican priests from the 10th to 13th centuries, as well as those written by French, English, Dutch, Italian and German authors during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, furnish sufficient proof that except the cities of the German settlers in the South-East, all Transylvanian towns and cities were populated by Hungarians, economically affluent and culturally abreast with the West. The small farming communities in the river valleys were inhabited by Hungarians also. These lands were owned partly by Hungarian nobility, worked by Hungarian cotters and serfs, and partly by free Hungarian peasants, as in the Székely districts.

Vlach herdsmen, migrating back and forth between the high mountain pastures and their winter quarters, are mentioned for the first time in the 13th century in Southern regions, later, during the 14th and 15th centuries in the Bihar district, Máramos and Naszód.

The first serious census in Transylvania was taken by the Jesuit Fathers in 1440-41. According to these documents, kept in Nagyvárad /today Oradea/ there were 87 Hungarian towns at that time in Transylvania with over 1,000 "smokes" /meaning households/ and 817 Hungarian villages with over 20 smokes, as compared to 8 German towns and 22 German villages, and 37 Vlach villages. In 1505 a Vatican document estimated the total population of the Hungarian Kingdom to be "about four million Christian souls" of which 76% were Hungarian speaking, while the rest spoke the German, Croatian, Slovak, Serbian and Vlach tongues.

The next known census was taken again by the Jesuits in 1658, during the most turbulent times of Hungarian history, after the Hungarian population of Central Transylvania and the Szamos valley was almost completely eradicated by Turks, Tatars and ravaging Habsburg armies, and the Vlach immigration from across the Carpathians was in full swing. According to these figures the total population of Transylvania /the Banat, and part of the Great Hungarian Plain, which now comprise a good part of Transylvania, not included/ numbered about 860,000 souls, of which 240,000 spoke the Vlach language, 80,000 the German, and 520,000 the Hungarian, while 20,000 were listed as "others".

In 1794 Emperor Francis I ordered the first administrative census.

performed by provincial administrators, not by priests. This politically motivated and anti-Hungarian census came up with the following figures, again concerning the Province of Transylvania alone:

Total population 1,362,456, Germans 118,782, Vlach 512,988 Hungarians 687,244, and others 43,442. According to contemporary letters, kept in the archives of the Kolozsvár library, most of those "others" were in reality Hungarians with Slovak, Polish or other foreign-sounding names.

The last census taken before World War I, in 1910, shows a considerable increase in the population of Transylvania, this time including all the territories which were occupied by Rumania nine years later:

Total population 5,265,444. Hungarian speaking 1,704,851, German speaking 559,824, Rumanian 2,800,073. The remaining 200,696 were registered as Serbians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Jews and others.

From 1910 to 1919 we must use the given figures of "natural increase percentage", which was, for the entire country, 13.4%. Using this figure we can assume that the Hungarian population of today's Transylvania must have been somewhere around 1,871,375 in 1919, at the time of the Rumanian take-over.

From this point on we must proceed very carefully in order to come as close as possible to the truth concerning the population figures. As it is documented in the Appendix /Testimonies 2 and 6/ the Rumanian census was politically motivated from the very beginning, therefore the figures presented by the 1930, 1948, 1956 and 1966 Rumanian statistics can not be regarded as accurate, due to the following reasons:

1./ Name-analysis was used as a principle to determine the nationality. Names ending with -an, -as were automatically registered as Rumanian, while German-sounding names were registered as Germans, Slovak sounding names as Slovaks, etc.

2./ Religious affiliation also determined ethnic status in Rumanian census practices. All Lutherans were registered as Germans, while all Greek Catholics as Rumanians. After the Greek Catholic Church was abolished by law, and absorbed into the Greek Orthodox Church, all Hungarians who were previously members of the Greek Catholic congregations automatically became listed as belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, therefore Rumanians.

3./ Intimidation. Census-takers, going from house to house in the villages, escorted by the local police, asking questions such as "Are you a good Rumanian or not?" They go through factories side by side with the personnel director asking the Hungarian laborers "Are you grateful to

Rumania for your job? Are you a good Rumanian?" Those who insist on being registered as Hungarians lose their jobs or get beaten up by the police. /See Appendix No. 6./

4./ Those Hungarians who were deported or relocated, and reside today outside of Transylvania in any one of the old Rumanian provinces, are automatically counted as Rumanians, based on the assumption that there are no "foreigners" in those provinces. The number of these Hungarians is close to 350,000.

To compensate for these deliberate "errors" of the Rumanian census, we must again avail ourselves of the method already used previously. Namely the application of the "natural increase percentage", listed each year by the Rumanian government itself.

These figures, taken from reliable sources /Transylvania, a Cura Della Societa Stórica Ungarese, 1940 - Handbuch der Europäischen Volksgruppen, 1974 - and Demographical Statistics of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, 1976/ average out to 10.5% yearly population increase from 1919 to 1976. According to these figures, after taking into consideration the loss of more than one half-million Hungarians to executions, labor camps, emigration, etc., the total Hungarian population of Transylvania in 1976 should have been 2,816,555.

If we compare the above figure with those of Prof. Satmarescu /East Central Europe, University of Colorado, January 1975/ who estimated the number of *unreported* Hungarians at 900,000, bringing up the total figure of the Hungarian population in Rumania to approximately 2.5 million, and with the figures published in 1974 by the European Union movement in the "Handbuch Europäischer Volksgruppen" which put the number of Hungarians in Transylvania alone to 2.4 million, we are satisfied that our calculations are as close to the truth as is humanly possible in the given circumstances.

Dr. Jonel Popescu, who did special research in 1976 on "Churches in Rumania" claims the following figures: Calvinists 1.2 million, Roman Catholics 1 million, Unitarians 280,000, Hungarian Lutherans 20,000 and Hungarian former Greek Catholics 200,000. All together 2,7 million Hungarians. /See Appendix No. 9/

According to the last Rumanian census the total population of Rumania is supposed to be 19,103,163. /See: "The Hungarian Nationality in Rumania", published by the Institute of Political Science of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, 1976, page 8./

According to the German language publication of the Rumanian Government "The Mitwohnenden Nationalitäten in Rumania, Statistische Dokumentation" 2% of the total population is German, and

1.8% are others /other than Germans or Hungarians/, 3.8% of the above total population makes 725,920. Adding to this the 2,816,555 Hungarians, we arrive at the figure of 3,542,478 as the total number of minorities in Rumania, leaving the number of Rumanians at 15,560,685, thus making the Rumanians 81% of the entire country's population, while the Hungarians 15%. However, if we relocate the Hungarians into Transylvania, where they belong, we see a different picture, especially, if in the same time we relocate, back to their old homeland, those 600,000 Rumanians who were moved into Transylvania by the Rumanian government with the sole purpose of "diluting" the Hungarian population.

In this case we would have in Transylvania, 3.1 million Rumanians, 2.8 million Hungarians and 0.5 million Germans and "others", with a non-Rumanian population of 51.6%

GRIEVANCES AND LEGITIMATE DEMANDS

Today, at the end of the 20th century, civilized societies under majority rule firmly believe that such rule should not infringe upon the rights of minority groups.

On the authority of the Human Rights Proclamation of the United Nations these rights include:

Each individual's right to equal education, equal job opportunity for equal pay, equal housing, welfare and protection under the law.

Each individual's right to free worship in the church of his choice.

Each individual's right to speak his own language, to keep and develop his ethnic cultural heritage, to keep and develop his ethnic identity without interference from the ruling majority.

Each individual's right to live within his own ethnic group, and the right of this group to self-administration.

As was proven in the previous chapters, the Socialist Republic of Rumania is found in flagrant violation of each of these basic human rights in regard to the Hungarian minority.

1. Hungarian districts, Hungarian cities, townships and villages are denied self-administration.

2. Hungarian schools are eliminated step by step.

3. The public use of the Hungarian language is forbidden.

4. The publication of Hungarian literary and professional books, journals, periodicals are severely restricted.

5. The Hungarian Churches are under constant harassment. Archives, libraries and museums are confiscated.

6. Hungarian children are forbidden to speak their own language on the school-grounds.

7. Hungarian cemeteries are desecrated.

8. Welfare packages, including Bibles, sent into needy relatives from other countries are confiscated. Welfare donations sent from overseas to Hungarian churches Transylvania, whether they serve the purpose of renovations or to relieve the need caused by flood, earthquake and other catastrophies, are constantly redirected by the Rumanian authorities into other parts of the country, and distributed among Rumanians only.

9. Hungarians are discriminated against in the fields of education, job, housing, welfare and every other aspect of human existence.

10. Hungarians in Transylvania live under constant harassment and gross intimidation from teachers, officials, administrators, police and

military personnel with the purpose of forcing them to change their names, and declare themselves Rumanians.

11. Hungarians are constantly moved out of their homes under various pretexts, and resettled into new and foreign environments, while their homes are given to Rumanians, brought over from Rumania proper in order to "de-Hungarize" the Hungarian-inhabited regions of Transylvania.

12. Whenever the Rumanian government establishes a new industry in a Hungarian region, the jobs in that industry are not offered to the local population but Rumanians are imported for this purpose, and settled in homes confiscated from Hungarians, who are deported into Rumania proper in order to make place for the new settlers.

13. Relatives and friends of Hungarians visiting from the West are under daily harassment by Rumanian authorities, and after their departure those whom they visited are taken to the police station for lengthy interrogations, where they are often abused and beaten.

14. Hungarians are allowed to participate in sports only if they change their names, and declare themselves Rumanians.

15. Those students who graduate from one of the few schools left where the language of instruction is still Hungarian are denied entrance into Universities.

Since each and everyone of these grievances not only conflicts with the Human Rights Proclamation of the United Nations, and with articles VII and VIII of the Helsinki Agreement, but are in flagrant violation of the Peace Treaties signed by Rumania as well as the very constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, it has become necessary that the rightful demands of the Transylvanian people be brought to the attention of the civilized World, as follows:

1. The recognition of the Hungarian language in Transylvania as the second official language.
2. The establishment of two or more Hungarian Autonomous Regions under strictly Hungarian administration. Cities and townships with a Hungarian majority must also have their own Hungarian administration, including the police force.
3. The re-establishment of all Hungarian educational institutions, including the Hungarian universities of Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely.
4. The return of all confiscated archives, libraries and museums.
5. The re-establishment of Hungarian cultural organizations, literary societies, literary and professional publications, publishing houses.
6. The re-establishments of the freedom of the churches and church-related organizations.
7. The return of old Hungarian cemeteries under the care and authority of the Hungarian churches and cultural organizations.
8. All signs and markers in Hungarian-populated cities, towns and villages must be bi-lingual.

9. Those Hungarians who were deported from their native environment or have moved from their homes under duress, shall be allowed to return home and be employed there. Rumanians, who were moved into Hungarian towns and villages with the purpose of diluting the Hungarian character of the area or filling the better paying jobs at the expense of the native Hungarian population must be returned into their own provinces.

10. Equal opportunity in every field of human existence, including the termination of job-discrimination.

11. The termination of all harassments and intimidations in relation to nationality. This includes census, postal service, transportation and welfare, as well as the treatment of visitors from foreign countries, and the treatment of those persons who receive these visitors.

12. Aid or relief sent to individuals, churches or church-related organizations by individuals, churches or church-related organizations in foreign countries must be allowed to reach its destination, and serve the purpose it was donated for.

These demands represent nothing more than normal expectancies due a native population of a country, which, during the course of history, finds itself taken over by another nation, and plunged into the unfortunate status of a minority.

CONCLUSION

A quick glance at the documented history of Transylvania will suffice to draw the following conclusions:

- 1./ During the five centuries of Rumanian /Vlach/ presence within the framework of the Hungarian Kingdom, it was possible for an unorganized migrating herdspeople to turn into an established, settled, organized, economically secure and nationally conscious resident population, peacefully developing its culture, increasing in numbers without any restrictions, until locally, in some regions, it reached majority status. Thus, influenced by political powers from the outside, they were able to successfully turn against the host nation.
- 2./ Since the opening of the secret files of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it must be clear to everyone that in 1919 Rumania occupied the Eastern part of Hungary under false pretenses. As a result of dishonest international manipulations and intrigues, and with complete disregard of the "Wilsonian Doctrine" /people's right to selfdetermination in the spirit of which the re-organization of the Central and East-Central Europe was supposed to be carried out/ Rumania took possessions of all the lands known today as Transylvania. Thus the Rumanian occupation of Transylvania must be regarded as morally and legally wrong, an international injustice of unprecedented proportions in the 20th century.
- 3./ During the fifty-six years of Rumanian rule in Transylvania, the native Hungarian population suffered extremely cruel abuse and discrimination as an ethnic minority, became economically and culturally deprived, and is increasingly becoming a victim of a carefully planned cultural and biological genocide, carried out ruthlessly by the Rumanian government.

In view of the above, it seems obvious that there are only two possibilities to remedy this situation, which is today the shame of the entire civilized world.

Solution No.1.: That the Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania recognize not only on paper but in deeds the national rights of the largest national minority in Europe, the 2.8 million Hungarians in Transylvania, and fulfills all its obligations toward this minority as outlined in the peace treaties and its own constitution by satisfying the demands listed in the previous chapter.

Solution No.2.: If the Socialist Republic of Rumania refuses to fulfill its obligations toward the 2.8 million Hungarian minority, as in the past, it will only furnish new proof Rumanian incompetency and inability to rule with justice and fairness over a land with diverse population. Therefore it will be the responsibility of the civilized nations of this world to politically

re-structure the Carpathian Basin in such a manner that the geographical, economical and cultural unity of this region be restored, and the co-existing ethnic groups may again have the chance to live and develop in peace.

The "Helsinki Agreement" of 1975 contains the following provisions in clause VII:

"The participating States on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere."

"The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

"They will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development."

In case of non-compliance with international laws and agreements the same document provides in Clause I, paragraph 2:

"They /the participating States/ consider that their frontiers can be changed, in accordance with international law ..."

Clause V provides the means for such changes:

"For this purpose they will use such means as negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means ..."

APPENDIX

EXCERPTS

from the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania:

Art. 17. "The citizens of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, irrespective of their nationality, race, sex or religion shall have equal rights in all fields of economic, political, juridicial, social and cultural life.

The State shall guarantee the equal rights of the citizens. No restriction of these rights and no difference in their exercise on the grounds of nationality, race, sex or religion shall be permitted."

Art. 22. "In the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the co-inhabiting nationalities shall be assured the free use of their mother tongue as well as books, newspapers, periodicals, theatres and education at all levels in their own languages.

In territorial-administrative units also inhabited by population of non-Rumanian nationality, all bodies and institutions shall use in speech and in writing the language of the nationality concerned and shall appoint officials from its ranks."

Copies from: "The Hungarian Nationality in Romania", distributed the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, Washington, D.C. 1976.

TESTIMONIES

All testimonies listed on the following pages were given under oath, in front of proper authorities, and certified by these authorities as true and correct. The original documents are held in deposit by the Transylvanian World Federation, and can be examined there by authorized persons.

In some cases the names are omitted in this publication in order to protect relatives still living in Rumania.

Testimony No. 1.

On March 19, 1975, Mr. Ferenc Balla gave the following testimony: "I was born and raised in the village of Feketelak, Transylvania, population about one thousand, of which three-fourth were Hungarian and one-fourth Rumanians. We had two schools in the village. One for the Rumanians, and one for us, Hungarians. From 1919 to 1944 our school was maintained by the Hungarian Reformed /Calvinist/ Church, while the Rumanian school was maintained by the State.

Early on the morning of October 16, 1944, Rumanian soldiers surrounded our village. Those who tried to escape into the woods were shot. Then Rumanian soldiers went from house to house, led by the Rumanian civilians from our village. They entered only the houses of the Hungarians. First they beat up every male member of the family, from the age of ten to ninety. Then they raped all the women, from the age of ten to ninety. They herded all the men together, and kept on beating and torturing them until many of them died. They took the young girls with them. Some of these girls were never seen again.

I was fifteen, and they beat me, too, with gun-butts and leather whips. My father was killed, and so was my mother. They raped my two sisters and took them away. I was locked, together with other boys and men into the church, while they feasted all night in the village. Next morning they drove us away, on foot. Some of the men were so badly beaten, that they were unable to walk. These were kicked to death or shot on the road side.

Near the town of Sarmas we joined a huge herd of men, driven together from all the nearby towns and villages. They were all Hungarians. There must have been thousands of us. Many barefoot. Then they drove us for

six weeks, across the mountains, into old-Rumania. It was getting very cold, and we were fed only once a day some soup and dry bread. Many died along the road.

Then the Russians came and looked us over. They took only the young and the healthy. They took me, too. They put us on a train, and took us into Russia, where we worked building roads and bridges. I don't know what happened to the others who were left behind in the hands of the Rumanians. I have never met any one of them again.

When the Russians let me go in 1951, I went home, to Feketelak. The Rumanians called it Lacu. I found only one of my sisters there. From the Hungarians who lived there before only about one-third was left. Many of them died in the labor camps, I was told, and many of them stayed in old-Rumania, mostly in Bucharest, for they did not dare to return home.

Rumanians were ruling the village. They were brought mostly from Besarabia, and put into the houses of the Hungarians. They gave me a job on the state farm, but we were not allowed to speak Hungarian on the job. There was no more Hungarian school. I had an uncle who stayed in Bucharest as a carpenter, and I went to see him. Life was much better there for Hungarians, and so I decided to stay with him.

In October 1956 we heard the news of the uprising in Hungary. Rumors were circulating that something may happen soon in Transylvania, too. I wanted to be there, so I went back to Feketelak, on the bus. The very day I arrived to my sister's house, I was arrested, together with more than a dozen of other Hungarians. We were interrogated all night at the police station. They wanted us to confess that we were paid by the Americans to start a revolution against the Rumanian people. When they started working on our fingernails, we all confessed, and signed anything they wanted us to sign. We were taken to Kolozsvár, which is called Cluj by the Rumanians, and put into prison. In February we were sentenced by a court. I got fifteen years of hard labor, and was taken with many other Hungarians to the swamps of the Danube delta. We worked there like animals, waste-deep in the mud, digging canals. Many got sick and died.

In 1971 they let me go. They even gave me a job in Bucharest, collecting garbage. I was told that I could work there in peace as long as I lived, but if I dare to go back home they will put me in jail again, for they don't like Hungarians, they told me, who insist on staying in Transylvania.

In 1973 I was able to escape into Yugoslavia, and from there to Italy."

Testimony No. 2.

The following testimony was given by Mr. Peter Puskás, on Dec. 12, 1976:

"I was born in Marosvásárhely /Targu Mures/ in 1940. My father was a lock-smith, and member of the Communist Party. When in 1946 they sent me first to school, I was beaten by the teacher, named Onosifanu, for talking Hungarian with other children. There were hardly any Rumanian children in the school. The population of our city was more than 90% Hungarian. But the teacher, who was brought over from old-Rumania, did not speak our language, and we were beaten every time one of us spoke Hungarian, even during recess, on the playground. The teacher also changed my name from Puskás to Puscas, because, as he said, we were in Rumania, and that was the Rumanian way to spell my name. My father protested, and almost lost his job because of the protest. If he hadn't been in the Party, he told us at home, they would have deported him for protesting.

In 1955 I became the junior swimming champion of our district, and later that year I was selected member of the Rumanian Junior Swim Team. Without asking me or my parents, they changed my name on the rolls from Puscas to Puscasiu, because they did not want a Hungarian sounding name on the team. In 1957 our team took part in an interanational tournament in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, where I defected. Hiding on an Italian freight ship I was able to reach Italy, and two years later Canada.

As soon as I was able to earn good wages I began to send home packages to my widowed mother. Sometimes CARE packages, sometimes IKA packages, and sometimes just used winter clothing and such. But each time a package arrived, my mother was summoned to the custom's office, and ordered to pay large sums of money which she did not have. Not being able to pay, the packages were confiscated. When CARE or IKA packages arrived, she was taken to the police station, and kept there sometimes an entire day for "questioning" concerning her connections with Capitalist and Imperialist Countries. I quit sending packages for a while. Then in 1974 I heard that packages were going through, and I started sending again. But most of those packages were confiscated, too."

Testimony No. 3.

On March 22, 1975, Miss Sarolta ... gave the following testimony:

"I resided in Nagyvárad /Oradea/ until 1974. I was sent by my parents into Rumanian grade school, because otherwise I would not have been able to learn any trade or enter high-school, since no entrance examinations can be taken anywhere in the Hungarian language.

In the Rumanian language school where I was sent we were 28 in my

class. Twenty-five of us were Hungarians. It was forbidden to talk in Hungarian, even among ourselves, on the school grounds. As a first grader twice I forgot the rule and spoke in Hungarian to my cousin while playing outside during recess, and both times I was severely beaten.

After eight years of schooling I entered trade-school, where again the compulsory language was Rumanian, though more than 70% of the students were Hungarians.

After finishing trade-school, I was hired as a common laborer into a factory where 85% of the laborers were Hungarians. Our wages were lower than those of the Rumanian laborers. In the offices of our factory 90% of the personnel was Rumanian, while higher positions in the management were filled exclusively with Rumanians.

The use of the Hungarian language was strictly forbidden in the offices. I became a member of the UTC/Communist Youth Organization/. The leadership of this organization was also completely in the hands of Rumanians, and again the use of the Hungarian language was forbidden.

Those Rumanian workers who achieved good production-records were rewarded by the Party, but us Hungarians, no matter how hard we worked, we never received an award.

Any Hungarian who dared to utter a word of protest, either concerning the discrimination or the use of our language, was ordered to report at the police station, and was severely reprimanded, sometimes even beaten.

Rumanians could move from one factory to another if they so desired, but we Hungarians were not allowed to change place of employment."

Testimony No. 4.

Given on March 7, 1975, by Mr. Mihály ... who lived until 1974 in the city of Kolozsvár /Cluj-Napoe/:

"In Transylvania Hungarians have no possibilities to better paid jobs. Hungarians are excluded from government jobs, public offices or any employment with military or the police force. In order to apply for any such positions one has to produce documented proof of his ethnic origin. Those who have just one Hungarian grand-parent are not even allowed to take the qualifying examinations.

In the factories the common laborers are 90% Hungarians, but in spite of this the use of the Hungarian language is forbidden.

Though everybody can join the Communist Youth Organization, only those can apply later for membership in the Communist Party who are recommended by the leaders of this Youth Organization. Since these leaders are Rumanians, Hungarians are recommended only if they reject their Hungarian origin thus becoming "good Rumanians" and are willing and eager to spy on their fellow Hungarians.

Hungarian recruits serve their time with the army mostly in old-Rumania, and they are constantly harassed by their Rumanian superiors. No Hungarian can be an officer in the armed forces, and I have never seen a corporal with Hungarian name.

The new apartment buildings which are built to house the working men, are available only to Rumanians.

I was born and raised Greek Catholic. When our church was abolished by government order, I tried to join the Roman Catholics, but during the middle of the night I was dragged out of my bed by the police, taken to the station, beaten up, and told that if I try again to join the church they would take care of me for good."

Testimony No. 5.

Given by Mr. Ernest Hódos, on October 9, 1976 in Tel Aviv, Israel:
"Until 1946 my name was Hirsch. I was a Hungarian speaking Jew, born and raised in Kolozsvár /Cluj/. My father and my grandfather were Hungarian Jews, too, in the same city. In 1945 the minister of the Hungarian Lutheran Church in Kolozsvár, Reverend Andor Jaros, hid me and my father from the Germans. In October of the same year, when Kolozsvár was "liberated" by the Russians and Rumanian troops, our benefactor, Reverend Jaros, was dragged out of his church by Rumanian soldiers, and beaten to death on the street. When my father and I tried to help him, we were beaten up, too. My aged father died from the beatings. Within two weeks more than two-thousand Hungarian inhabitants of our city were killed in the same manner, and about 40,000 deported in terrifying circumstances.

This gave me the impulse to change my name from Hirsch to Hódos, in order to emphasize my strong feelings of belonging to the suffering Hungarians. In 1946 my petition was granted. As I later found out, the new judge who was a Rumanian from across the mountains believed that I was changing my Jewish name to a Rumanian name. However, when I insisted on spelling the first "o" in my new name the Hungarian way, with an accent, because I am Hungarian, I was arrested under false pretenses and given the "treatment" for two months. I had my fingers broken, several ribs, and ended up with bleeding kidneys. What I have seen and heard during those two months in the ill-famed prison of Kolozsvár, can not be put into words. Screams of tortured Hungarian

women and men, that will haunt me through the rest of my life. Bloody wrecks of human being staggering along the dark hallway under the blows of gun-butts as they were led from the interrogation-rooms back to their cells by sadistic guards. Men, some of whom I knew before in person, who were judges, lawyers, city officials, bankers, teachers, clergymen or members of the high nobility.

"That was when I decided to leave my native country for ever, that beautiful land which fell into the hands of savages ..."

Testimony No. 6.

On February 8, 1977, Mr. Jonel Margineanu gave the following testimony:

"During the summer months of 1966 I was assigned as supervisor to a census-unit in the Mures-district. Our written orders were as follows:

- 1./ To register every household as Rumanian, unless otherwise demanded by the subject.
- 2./ In case subject should desire to be listed as non-Rumanian, we were to try to convince him of the impracticality of such a desire. Should he further insist, we were to determine his true nationality by the use of scientifically approved government regulations. German-sounding names to be registered as Germans, Polish sounding names as Polish etc. Names ending in -an, -as, -u, -ea, -oa, -us, -in or -en had to be registered as Rumanian, no matter what the subject's preference or language was.
- 3./ To contact managers and administrators of factories and other public employers ahead of our arrival into the area in order to give them time in which to prepare their employees, and explain to them the advantages of being listed as Rumanians.
- 4./ To hand over the list of those who insisted on being registered as Hungarians to administrators and chiefs of police."

Testimony No. 7.

On May 15, 1975, Mr.gave the following testimony:

"In September 1974 my wife and I visited Transylvania, which is now part of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. We visited there Hungarian cities of great historical significance: Nagyvárad, Kolozsvár, Nagyenyed, Déva and Gyulafehérvár. Our difficulty was, as it turned out, our lack of knowledge of the Rumanian language. It is to be noted that we both speak well four languages. Nevertheless, in hotels and in stores we had to ask for translators, because no one who worked there was willing to speak with us in Hungarian, in front of witnesses.

The Hungarian population of those cities is going through a process of forced and accelerated "Rumanization". The Government transfers

Rumanian workers into territories with a Hungarian majority, while Hungarians are being transferred into old-Rumania. In zones where the population is exclusively Hungarian, the presence of two or three Rumanian families with children is sufficient reason to change the previously Hungarian-language school into a Rumanian-language school.

In the book stores, all state-operated of course, only Rumanian literature can be found in these Hungarian cities. The distribution of some existing Hungarian-language periodicals is made, very much on purpose, only in territories with Rumanian population. The result is that there are no sales, which is exactly what the Government wants, because this way the official sales-statistics make further publications in the Hungarian language 'unwarranted'. Therefore, no matter how high the demand might be in the Hungarian regions for these publications, their numbers are constantly decreasing.

As visitors, we were not allowed to stay overnight at the homes of any one of our friends or relatives. We were forced to lodge in State-owned hotels where the personnel was most unfriendly toward us, and refused to speak either Hungarian, English, Spanish or French. We were told by a whispering cleaning woman, who turned out to be a Hungarian, that most of the personnel speaks the Hungarian language but they are forbidden to use it while at work ..."

Testimony No. 8.

On February 11, 1977 Reverend gave the following testimony: "As a retired minister I have visited my native Transylvania this year. Since my passport stated that I was a clergyman, the Rumanian officials where extremely courteous toward me. The Rumanian government seems to be trying very hard these days to make the West, especially the United States, believe that the minority churches in Rumania enjoy complete freedom.

Bishops of these churches are being sent out officially to tour America, under guard of course, to spread this hoax. Though most of these touring clergymen speak a good English, they are accompanied by "interpreters", who are in reality agents of the Rumanian political police. Any wrong statement uttered by these visiting clergymen would bring upon the head of their families at home the most brutal wrath of the Rumanian government.

During my visit in Transylvania I had the opportunity to see with my own eyes that the oppression of the Hungarian churches there is still very severe, though it is somewhat more disguised than before. Church archives, libraries have been confiscated and removed to unknown locations. Church records are under strict scrutiny. Church-goers are

discriminated against economically, by being transferred into lesser paying jobs or new locations where they have no possibility of attending Hungarian churches. Young people are constantly discouraged by leaders of their Youth Organizations from attending church or any church-related activities.

Any preacher who tries to do a good and faithful work especially with the young people is quietly told to 'slow down' or something unpleasant might happen to him or members of his family. It is indeed a miracle that in spite of all this hostility the churches I visited Sundays were still filled with people, however mostly with the old ..."

Testimony No. 9.

On December 8, 1976 Mr. Jenő Orosz gave the following testimony: "In 1944 I was living in Kendilóna, Transylvania, where I was born and raised as the son of a Hungarian peasant. In October of that year, I do not remember the exact date but it was in the second part of October, Rumanian soldiers came into our village, led by some Rumanian civilians. First they herded us Hungarians together in front of our church /Calvinist, called by Rumanians "the Hungarian church"/, then they dragged out from the church our preacher, his wife and their two small children. They were naked and bleeding. First they tied our preacher to a tree in front of the church. Then they raped his wife right in front of him and the children. We had to stand there and watch, about fifty of us. Some of the Hungarians in the crowd started cursing, while others prayed aloud. The Rumanian soldiers fired into us, and yelled to be quiet and watch, because the same thing will happen to every damned Hungarian in the country. Every time one of us uttered a sound, one of the soldiers fired a shot into the crowd. Many of us were hit. Five died right there. I got a bullet in my leg, and had to sit down on the ground. But I could see everything.

While some of them were still torturing the preacher's wife, who kept on screaming so terrible that I could feel it in my bones, some Rumanian civilians drew knives, and kept throwing them into the naked body of the preacher who was tied to the tree, until they cut him to pieces.

Things like that happened everywhere, not just in our village ..."

Testimony No. 10.

On May 15, 1975, Mr. gave the following testimony:

"I was in Transylvania in 1974 and visited the following cities: Arad, Nagyvárad, Nagybánya, Temesvár, Kolozsvár, Brassó and Marosvásárhely.

It is public opinion among Hungarians in Transylvania that the fate of all Hungarians in that region is sealed. Those who do not give up their

ethnic background will never be able to get a good education and a good job.

The official policy of the Government /Rumanian/ in relation to the minorities proclaims on paper the equality of rights and possibilities for all ethnic groups. However, in the practice Hungarians are treated as second class citizens.

Young Hungarians can receive higher education only if they give up their language, their cultural heritage, and declare themselves Rumanians. Public employments are given only to those who spy on their fellow-Hungarians, and reject their Hungarian origin.

The housing policy is discriminatory, also. Better housing is exclusively for Rumanians only.

The Government makes visits of Hungarians from Transylvania to Hungary impossible. Hungarians who visit relatives in Transylvania are forbidden to stay in the house of their relatives.

The use of the Hungarian language in public brings ugly repercussions and reprisals ...”

Testimony No. 11.

On February 17, 1977 Dr. Béla Gyulai gave the following testimony: “Not only documents and books found in church archives are confiscated in Rumania, but those in private hands, also. When I traveled through Transylvania last year, Rumanian officials confiscated my old Hymnal I inherited from my father, and I was able to get it back only after I proved to them that I was an American citizen, and threatened to contact the United States Embassy in Bucharest.

The Transylvanian Hungarian churches are forbidden to accept donations from foreigners or foreign institutions, though they are in great need of donations for the Hungarian congregations can not support their churches from the meager earnings of their members. Hungarians can have only the lowest paid jobs today in Transylvania. I myself tried to give some financial aid to four of the Hungarian churches there, but they had to refuse it. They were so intimidated by the Rumanian authorities that they even refused to accept the money I put into the collection box.

The persecution of Hungarians is not restricted to only those who live there. Hungarians who come from other countries to visit relatives are also exposed to harassment. Customs examinations which last for three to five hours are not unusual if the traveler is a United States citizen of Hungarian origin.

I myself was the victim of such harassment last year at the Rumanian border. After looking at my American passport, the customs-official asked:

'Are you Hungarian?' I answered in the affirmative. He gave me an ugly look and said 'So you are one of those, ha?'

The examination took four hours. They practically took my car apart. They took off the hood, took out the seats, let the air out of the spare tire, they even opened up the upholstery inside my car as well as the insulation of the ceiling. Every letter I had in my pocket or in my briefcase was opened and photographed. So was my address-book and every page of my note-book.

At the end he asked me 'You don't like this?' I said 'no'. 'Then don't ever come into my country again' he said 'stay out!'

While in Transylvania I was not allowed to be a guest at any one of my friends or relatives homes. I was forced to stay in primitive, dirty and expensive hotels, where the room was bugged, and my luggage searched during my absence."

Laszlo Kecskemethy, S.T.M.
1012 Allison Ave.,
St. Helena, Cal.

A DEPOSITION

I, the undersigned Laszlo Kecskemethy declare under oath that on the first working day of the Fall Semester of 1941, at the Yale Divinity School, Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut - after the lecture on Contemporary Theology, Professor D. MacIntosh asked me: from what country did I come? I told him: from Hungary. Then he asked "how are the conditions in Hungary?" I told him: quite pitiful. Then he said that he was a member of a special committee appointed by President Wilson to supervise the fulfillment of the conditions laid down in the Versailles Agreements concerning the Middle and Eastern European borders. He said word-by-word the following: "I felt that there was something wrong with the population statistics and the border dispute represented by the Rumanian delegation but we could not do anything about it."

It is obvious, therefore that through the report of the special committee, President Wilson and, through him, the people of the United States of America were misled and thereby "coerced" to give consent to the establishment of a borderline between Hungary and Rumania, annexing a historically Hungarian and/or Independent Transylvania to Rumania.

As an American citizen, I hereby express my regrets, resentments and objection to a deplorable diplomacy that forced our great leaders: President Wilson and Dr. MacIntosh, a Professor of Christian Theology - whose integrity, honesty and good will cannot be questioned to give consent to an absolutely false and dishonest decision.

Therefore: to protect and clear the good name of all those Americans who were involved in this shameful border dispute between the Rumanians and the Hungarians, I respectfully request that all facts pertaining to this false diplomacy be exposed by an independent interanational tribunal and apologies to be made to the American citizens and restitution be made to all the people of Transylvania and Hungary.

Sworn before me on the 28th day of February, 1977.

in St. Helena
County of Napa
State of California

Laszlo Keckemethy
Minister, United Church of Christ
Past President of Hungarian
Federation, Los Angeles Chapter
Past President of Captive
Nations Organization, Los Angeles
California

Notary Public: Kay L. Rutherford

The following leaflet, printed in the Rumanian language was sent out in thousands of copies from Munich, Germany during the summer of 1976 to Rumanians living in different parts of the world. This is a certified translation of the original:

Rumanians in the West!

Be ready with gun in your hands! The day is approaching when the Russian monster will have to fight for his life against the Chinese giant who will overthrow the rule of those barbarians in Moscow!

Rumanians in the West, be ready with gun in your hands to return home where your brothers are waiting for you! Be ready, not only to take back Besarabia from the Russians, but to save TRANSYLVANIA, also!

You must never forget that you have two mortal enemies: the Russians and the Hungarians, these two barbarians. Their traditions unite them against us. The Hungarians were always loyal to their Russian brothers. The so-called "Hungarian uprising" of 1956 was nothing but a farce. It was a revolt of common criminals and hoodlums, directed from the outside. The entire population of Hungary was relieved when the Russian tanks freed them from those trouble makers. This fact is proof enough that the Hungarians insist on the Russian presence in Central and Eastern Europe. Today, the Hungarians are only waiting for the opportunity to take Transylvania back from us with the support of their Russian brothers!

Therefore you, Rumanians in the West, must rush to Transylvania when the time is ripe, because without your guns Transylvania will be lost! Kill, without mercy! Not one Hungarian must be left alive! The only way to keep Transylvania is to eliminate, exterminate and annihilate every Hungarian who lives there!

Rumanians in the West; the solution to the Transylvanian problem is in your guns. But be cautious. Never take chances. Never try to encounter your enemies face to face, for the Hungarians are fierce fighters. Attack them always unexpectedly, from behind, by surprise. Do your patriotic duty calmly, keeping in mind that you have only one mission: to put a bullet into the head of your old enemy, the Hungarian!

This appeal expresses the unified will of all Rumanians! Copy it, and spread it among your brothers! Our success depends on you!

The following declaration was sent in 1976 to numerous governmental agencies in North and South America, Europe, and Australia, as well as to a substantial number of Members of the United States Congress:

Declaration

Upon studying the situation of the 2.8 million Hungarians and other national minorities in the Socialist Republic of Rumania, who live mostly in the historical province of Transylvania, the Banat and Kőrös regions, the Transylvanian World Federation concludes the following:

1./ The Transylvanian World Federation condemns the continued denial of fundamental human and cultural rights to the Hungarians by the Rumanian Government. According to available source material and countless testimonies received, this abuse and mistreatment constitute a permanent pattern by the successive Rumanian governments regardless of their ideology and the personalities exercising power.

2./ The Transylvanian World Federation reminds the world of the innumerable complaints of the Hungarians in the 1920-1939 period of the League of Nations; of the periodical documentation and denunciations of oppressive Rumanian governmental measures by House and Senate members of the United States Congress between 1965 and 1975 and of the reported memorandum of the leaders of the National Council of Hungarian and German workers in Rumania enumerating their grievances to the Rumanian Government in October 1975. In view of these past events, the Transylvanian World Federation states that the Hungarian minority is entitled to an active quest of its national right of self-determination.

3./ The Transylvanian World Federation takes notice that the historical Transylvanian and Banat regions have constituted for over one-thousand years parts of Hungary or were under Hungarian rule. Only since 1919 did they form in toto or in part a constituent unit of the Rumanian state, and more than one-third of the population of these areas is still Hungarian despite Rumanian attempts to under-report their census figure. It should also be remembered that the percentage of Rumanians in pre-1919 Hungary was only 14%, nevertheless they were still awarded almost 33% of Hungary's territory.

The Hungarians of Transylvania and the Banat live in two compact areas and along a corridor between the two, which possess a mixed Rumanian-Hungarian population. The two compact areas are formed by a strip along the present Hungarian-Rumanian border and by the Székely counties of Southeastern Transylvania. The connecting area contains most of the urban population in Transylvania, which is more than 70% Hungarian.

4./ The Transylvanian World Federation requests that the mistreatment and repression of Hungarians and other national minorities in Transylvania be stopped forthwith. Many of these practices occur in contravention of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. The Transylvania World Federation calls upon the Great Powers, and the Hungarian Government to do whatever is diplomatically possible to persuade the Rumanian Government to stop such measures

Immediately.

5./ The Transylvanian World Federation asserts that the Hungarian grievances in Rumania are of such magnitude as to entitle the Transylvanian Hungarians to an active pursuit of their national self-determination regardless of the provisions of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947. This assertion is based on documentation of the constant violations of the Paris Peace Treaty and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by the Rumanian Government, as well as violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Therefore, the Transylvanian World Federation will continue to work incessantly for the exposure of the continued violations of the fundamental human rights by the Rumanian Government and for the promotion of the exercise of the right to national self-determination by the 2.8 million Hungarians in Rumania.

It calls upon the major powers, particularly upon the United States, Great Britain, France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to aid its campaign for the abolition of these abuses of human rights by the Rumanian Government toward its national minorities, and to abet the exercise of the national self-determination rights of the Hungarians in Rumania.

Prof. Albert Wass
President

Dr. János Nádas
Secretary

Rt. Rev. Dr. Zoltán Béky
Member, Executive Committee

István Zolcsák
Member, Executive Committee

Ferenc Adorján
Member, Executive Committee

January 29, 1976

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - HOUSE

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HUNGARIANS IN ROMANIA

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, today I join my colleagues in a discussion of the discrimination against the 2.5 million Hungarians in Romania. While the Romanian Constitution guarantees a number of civil rights to the citizens without discrimination as to national origin or religion, these promises are kept more in their breach and are breached more than they are kept by the present government.

In the summer of 1975, 39 members of Congress, including myself wrote to President Ford asking him to raise six areas of our concern during his Bucharest visit.

In the meantime, it is no longer only informed Members of the U.S. Congress and the American Hungarian Federation which protest the prevailing situation, but the handpicked leaders of the Hungarian and German communities in Romania who are for the most part members of the Romanian Communist Party have done so. In an appeal to President Ceaucescu they pointed to the same areas as we did; that is:

First. Freedom of the use of the mother tongue, especially in schools and public agencies;

Second. School autonomy on the elementary, secondary, and college levels;

Third. Equal rights in political, cultural, and scientific life;

Fourth. Constitutional recognition of a Federation of Nationalities as the freely elected representation of the national minorities; and finally

Fifth. The return of confiscated national cultural treasures - museums, archives - where they have been Romanized. They have also asked for the establishment of a Transylvanian commission at the U.N. Human Rights Commission to insure implementation of their human rights.

This took a great deal of courage on their part as they could have been prosecuted for "chauvinist-nationalist agitation" under Romanian laws. However, they reflected the overwhelming sentiment of the 2.5 million Hungarians and 600,000 Germans and even President Ceausescu was forced to deal with their complaints by attending their annual conference and speaking to them in an emotional appeal for Marxist-Leninist unity and stressing that only communist ideology and increased production could solve the problem. He did acknowledge some of the deficiencies

and promised that the coming Cultural Congress in the spring of 1977 would discuss improvements particularly in regard to radio and TV programs and literature.

We believe that now is the time for the Congress and our administration to utilize Romania's signature to the Helsinki Declaration of August 1, 1975 and the provisions of our agreement with Romania in 1973 about the discussion of humanitarian issues of interest to either parties and remind them that their performance in the fields of human rights and family reunification will have a decisive bearing on the outcome of the congressional vote on continuing the most-favoured-nation status for Romania once the present probationary period expires in the summer of 1976.

February 2, 1976

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - HOUSE

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HUNGARIANS IN ROMANIA

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, people living under Communist rule still yearn for the restoration of their human and civil rights despite the propaganda put out by détente politicians that they are now satisfied with their lot and that détente is helping to improve their situation.

Besides the celebrated Russian dissidents who are awakening the world's conscience, we have a new case in point in the leaders of the National Councils of Hungarian and German Workers in Romania.

According to the very authoritative West German daily, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of November 11, 1975, these leaders, mostly nominal party members and handpicked candidates of President Ceaucescu and the Romanian Communist Party to lead the 2.5 million Hungarian and 600,000 German origin citizens in Romania have accused the government of discrimination against their communities and asked for remedial action by the government and also the establishment of a "Transylvanian Commission" at the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

In view of the Provisions of the Romanian Constitution making "chauvinist-nationalist agitation" a crime and the past practices of the police, the memorandum took great personal courage. It is notable that the demands of the memorandum were substantially identical with the areas of concern outlined in our letter to President Ford which I and 38 colleagues signed on July 22, 1975, before the President's departure to Bucharest.

It is an eloquent testimony to the solid popular support these leaders enjoy in their respective communities that even President Ceaucescu, plagued by economic inefficiency, floods and low productivity rates while ambitiously trying to expand industry failed to proceed with secret police means. Rather, he appeared at their annual convention, appealed to their commitment as Marxist-Leninists, emphasized that only higher production rates and devotion to ideology can solve the national question and admitted shortcomings. He even promised some remedies at the coming Cultural Congress in 1977.

At the same time, however, he also warned against "chauvinist-nationalist manifestations" which cannot be tolerated. He even referred indirectly to the activities of my colleagues in the House and the Senate who had denounced last year the oppression of Romanian citizens, particularly those of non-Rumanian mother tongues and the actions of the American Hungarian Federation and the American Hungarian Reformed Church who have submitted the case to the Human Rights Commission of the U.N. President Ceaucescu called them "chauvinist-nationalist manifestations on the international plane which reflect on our country in one form or another."

At this juncture we have the duty to press for the improvement of the human and civil rights situation of the 2.5 million Hungarians and the 600,000 Germans in Romania, for that matter demands the full implementation of the human and civil rights guarantees to all Romanian citizens under the Romanian Constitution which so often have been trampled by the present government.

We have two legal precedents to fall back upon: First Romania's signature of the Helsinki declaration, particularly articles 7 and 8 to which the National Councils also referred in their October memorandum. Second, the United States-Romanian Declaration of 1973 in which both parties agreed to consult each other on humanitarian issues of interest to either parties.

In the past, our State Department has been reluctant to proceed along the lines of the 1973 Declaration referring to a lack of concrete data on the subject. Now, the October memorandum provides hard evidence within Romania by Romanian-appointed public bodies of the discrimination against the national minorities. It is high time that we speak out firmly in favour of the fundamental human freedoms of these people who are our allies instead of remaining guilty of conspiracy of silence in the name of détente.

**SHOULD ROMANIA CONTINUE TO
RECEIVE MOST FAVOURED
NATION STATUS?**

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I am troubled by a letter that I have received from a constituent and a statement which appeared as an advertisement in the New York Times today, concerning the treatment of Romanians of Hungarian, German and other minority extractions by the Romanian Government. It is my understanding that as a result of our having provided on a temporary basis most-favoured-nation status to Romania that Romania had undertaken to allow its citizens to freely emigrate. And I believe there has been a substantial improvement in the area of emigration as it applied to Romanian Jews seeking to leave. I would be distressed if the allegations stated in the report which I am appending are accurate, and I am writing to the Ambassador of Romania, the Honorable Corneliu Bogdan, asking for his comments on the statement.

If the Allegations are true then indeed they must be considered by the Congress in determining whether to continue the most favoured nation status that Romania was granted.

(From the New York Times, May 7, 1976)

WILL THE UNITED STATES ENDORSE CULTURAL GENOCIDE IN ROMANIA?

Two hundred years ago the United States was founded on strong moral principles. The fashionable view today holds that those principles have largely eroded since 1776. We Hungarian-Americans do not adhere to this view.

The United States of America is still the champion of human rights and fundamental freedoms around the globe. It leads the fight for these ideals in the United Nations. It is the hope of oppressed Soviet Jewry and other minorities. As a last resort it gives haven to refugees of tyranny, as many of them have reason to appreciate.

There is now an opportunity to take a further step in the spirit of this noble tradition. Rumania's dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu, is pursuing an increasingly brazen program amounting to cultural genocide against that country's Hungarian, German, and other minorities. The six major elements of this program are:

1.ELIMINATION OF MINORITY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Taking full advantage of the State monopoly of education, the Rumanian government eliminates, merges and reorganizes schools at will. As a result, from 1956 to 1974 the number of Hungarian elementary schools dropped from 1515 to 776. Even official statistics show that only 60-65% of Hungarian children have the opportunity to attend Hungarian grade schools, and only 25% to attend Hungarian secondary schools. Minority origin is a definite handicap when seeking admission to an educational institution. In 1959 the two Hungarian universities were arbitrarily eliminated - and *not* for the lack of students.

2.SUPPRESSION OF MINORITY LANGUAGES

In addition to manipulating the educational system, the Rumanian government employs other methods to suppress the use of minority languages. Rumanian is the exclusive language used at every level of government bureaucracy. This policy encourages chauvinism even in strictly private social situations. Members of minorities often have to put up with derision and threats for using their mother tongue.

3.FALSIFICATION OF HISTORICAL DATA AND POPULATION STATISTICS

The Rumanian Communist Party produces and disseminates its own version of history. Their semi-fictional version of Rumanian history dismisses the significance of the indigenous Hungarian culture which predates the emergence of the first Rumanian state by three centuries.

Through the notorious communist method of manipulating statistics, the population of minority groups is constantly falsified in government records. The Rumanian government thus manages the statistical annihilation of at least 30% of the actual minority population of the country.

4.CONFISCATION OF CULTURAL ARCHIVES

Even taken alone, this despicable act of the Rumanian government constitutes the crime of cultural genocide. Legislation is now on the books whose sole aim is the destruction of the historical roots of minorities. For instance, Decree-Law 206/1974 (amending Decree-Law 472/1971 on the National Archives) and Act No. 63 of November 2, 1974 on the protection of the national cultural treasury. The State has used these regulations for outright appropriation of historical documents, relics, manuscripts, maps, photos, diaries, posters, engravings, imprints and other material in the possession of church archives, private organizations and individuals. Uncompensated confiscation of this kind was reported by the respectable Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* ("Bureaucratic Chicanery Against the Churches in Rumania," February 1/2, 1975. p. 6):

"The material was - in many cases without receipt - loaded onto trucks and carted away. The historical order of the archives has become completely disrupted in the process - one method of 'reserving' and 'protecting' historical materials - rendering scientific research for the next decades impossible. The Rumanian government has openly embarked on an escalated campaign against the Reformed Church and the Hungarian nationality.

"The intent behind the nationalization of the ecclesiastical archives is to sever the religious communities from their historical roots. A church without a past (tradition) has no future, especially one which represents a religious and national minority. The first victim of these warlike designs against the religious and cultural minorities by the Rumanian regime was the Hungarian Reformed Church ..."

5.OBSTRUCTING CONTACTS WITH RELATIVES ABROAD

Decree-Law 225/1975 prohibits the accommodation of non-Rumanian citizens in private homes in Rumania. Only immediate relatives are exempted. Since relatives from Hungary are usually of modest means and hotel facilities - especially in rural areas - are scarce, visits often become a practical impossibility.

6.DISSOLUTION OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

As in all Communist States the Rumanian government has almost complete control over the labor market. Rumania however, utilizes this control to break up homogeneous ethnic groups. University and vocational school graduates of Hungarian origin are routinely assigned jobs outside their own communities. Rumanians are then encouraged to replace them through offers of attractive income and housing opportunities in those communities.

MULTIPLE VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The above measures violate not only international standards of human rights, but the Constitution of Rumania itself. Minority populations must bear these outrages in addition to the usual intolerance and terror which affects the life of every citizen of Communist states regardless of ethnic origin.

All of the above abuses continue despite Rumania's ratification of the 1966 U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 27 of the Covenant reads as follows:

"In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language."

The United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide in 1948 accepted the following definition as one of the ways by which the crime of cultural genocide may be committed:

"...systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion to alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents and objects of historical, artistic, or religious value and of objects used in religious worship." (U.N. Doc E/447)

Regardless of the fact that the final text of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide did not

Incorporate the above language, Rumania's recent behavior exactly corresponds with this definition.

WHAT CAN THE UNITED STATES DO?

As a reward for her "independence" from Moscow, Rumania was granted most-favored-nation status by Congress last year. That decision overlooked the fact that this "independence" is not founded on decency and a healthy respect for human liberty. The fact is that Rumania today is guilty of the most blatant internal oppression of all the Soviet satellites. The only condition upon which "most-favored-nation" status was granted was the requirement of free emigration. Such systematic oppression cannot offset by an easing of restrictions on emigration. Such a "solution" could well be just what the Rumanian government needs to justify a policy of exiling minorities from home, property and country. The net effect would visit even more hardship and misery on those left behind. Free emigration may solve the problem of a handful of people, but the 2.5 million Hungarians and the 400,000 Germans want to live work and prosper in a land which, in the case of Hungarians, they have inhabited for over one thousand years.

We urge Congress to reverse last summer's decision making "most-favored-nation" status solely dependent upon the easing of emigration restriction. Congress should revoke that status from Rumania until she completely satisfies the just and reasonable needs of her minority populations to maintain and develop her own contribution to Rumania's rich ethnic mosaic.

We urge the American Government to exert pressure on Rumania in any other manner to conform to enlightened standards in its treatment of minorities. The December 5, 1973 American-Rumanian joint statement specifically allows parties to raise humanitarian issues with the other.

We urge the American public to show the same sympathy and solidarity toward these people as it has toward so many other victims of political and cultural persecution over the last two hundred years.

Tomorrow, Saturday, May 8th at 2 P.M. a demonstration will be held in front of the Rumanian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, 60 East 93rd Street, New York City. The rally is sponsored by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, an ad hoc organization supported by all major associations of Hungarians in America. We urge you to lend your presence to this demonstration.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
JUNE 26, 1975

Mr. Helstoski (for himself, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Bell, Mr. Crane, Mr. Dominick V. Daniels, Mr. Patten, and Mr. Pepper) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the cultural, educational, and economic situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania, concentrated primarily in the historical province of Transylvania, continues to deteriorate as a result of oppressive government policies aimed at the ultimate denationalization of the Hungarian minority;

Whereas job, housing, and other forms of economic discrimination continue to exist as a result of the policies of the Romanian Government; and

Whereas both the Human Rights Declaration of the United Nations and articles 2, 17, 22, and 102 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania guarantee the human and civil rights of Romanian citizens irrespective of nationality: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the "Agreement on Trade Relations between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Romania" signed on April 2, 1975, and the Presidential proclamation of April 24, 1975, implementing such agreement, which would extend most-favored-nation status to Romania, should be approved contingent upon the President's certification to the Congress that he has -

(1) discussed with the Romania Government the situation of the Hungarian and other ethnic and religious minorities in Romania,

(2) has received assurances from the Romanian Government that the guarantees of the Romanian constitution will be observed and enforced and that redress will be granted to members of the Hungarian and other ethnic and religious minorities in Romania who have been discriminated against because of their ethnic origin or religious affiliation, and

(3) has received assurances from the Romanian Government that the provisions of The Trade Act of 1974 regarding the free emigration of

immediate relatives of American citizens to the United States will be complied with.

94th Congress
2nd Session

H. RES. 1522

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SEPTEMBER 2, 1976

Mr. Patten (for himself, Mr. Annunzio, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Conlan, Mr. Conte, Mr. Coughlin, Mr. Crane, Mr. Fish, Mr. Forsythe, Mr. Gude, Mr. Horton, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Meyner, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. Rinaldo, Mr. Winn, and Mr. Wydler) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

RESOLUTION

Whereas section 402 of the Trade Reform Act of 1975 clearly established the dedication of the United States to the cause of fundamental human rights as the main purpose of the Trade Reform Act; and

Whereas such dedication has recently been reconfirmed by the signing of the Helsinki Declaration on Cooperation and Security in Europe signed also by thirty-three European states and Canada; and

Whereas curtailment of fundamental human rights and cultural freedoms persists in the Socialist Republic of Romania with special emphasis upon the national minorities, especially in the fields of education, public use of minority languages, and religious liberty; and

Whereas such discrimination is repugnant to the observance of fundamental rights and cultural freedoms: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that it is the sense of the United States House of Representatives that the President shall submit a full report to Congress on fundamental human rights and cultural freedoms in Romania with special emphasis on the national minorities, showing concrete measures taken to ameliorate their situation by the Romanian Government, by September 15, 1976, and in the future, such a report will accompany each request for extension of authority to waive the application of section 402(a) and (b) of the Trade Act of 1974, or request of authority to extend the 1975 United States-Romanian Trade agreement itself; be it further

***Resolved*, That should no ameliorative measures occur, it is the sense of the United States House of Representatives that the 1975 United States-Romanian Trade Agreement and the most-favored-nation treatment of the Socialist Republic of Romania shall not be extended.**

**94th Congress
2nd Session**

H. RES. 1547

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SEPTEMBER 15, 1976**

**Mr. McDonald of Georgia submitted the following resolution;
which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means**

RESOLUTION

***Resolved*, That the House of Representatives does not approve the extension of the authority contained in section 402(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 recommended by the President to the Congress on June 2, 1974, with respect to the Socialist Republic of Romania.**

**94th Congress
2nd Session**

Calendar No. 1194

S. RES. 555

**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
SEPTEMBER 20, 1976**

Mr. Helms submitted the following resolution; which was ordered to be placed on the calendar by unanimous consent

RESOLUTION

Relating to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

***Resolved*, That the Senate of the United States of America does not approve the extension of the authority contained in section 402(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 recommended by the President to the Congress on June 2, 1976, with respect to the Socialist Republic of Romania.**

**AN APPEAL
TO
THE HONORABLE JIMMY CARTER
TO DEMONSTRATE A CONCERN OVER
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE 2.5 MILLION
HUNGARIANS IN RUMANIA**

Your eloquent statements on the importance of morality in foreign policy have instilled a new hope in the approximately one million Hungarian-Americans throughout the United States. We wholeheartedly agree with your position that this nation "can not look away when a government tortures people, or jails them for their beliefs or denies minorities fair treatment." (Speech to National Convention of B'nai B'rith, September 8, 1976). All too often over the past years our leaders have, as you said, "rationalized that there is little room for morality in foreign affairs" and have placed a higher value on commercial and political considerations. In contrast to this trend, you have not only expressed the need for our country to restore a healthy respect for fundamental human rights, but you have pointed out the means, United States trade policy, for achieving this end. We applaud the position which you summed up in the following manner: "If other nations want our friendship and support, they must understand that we want to see basic human rights respected, and this includes the rights of Hungarians wherever they may be." (Cablegram to Hungarian organizations, October 23, 1976).

Our purpose now is to call your attention to a concrete and specific opportunity for implementing the ideals you have espoused. Rumania is one country which, by any definition of the phrase, "denies minorities fair treatment." The dictator of that country, Nicolai Ceausescu, is currently waging a systematic and increasingly aggressive campaign of forceful assimilation against the 2.5 million native Hungarian inhabitants of Rumania. The principal elements of this brazen assault consist of falsification of population statistics; gross discrimination in the field of education; dissolution of compact minority communities and dispersion of ethnic professionals; curtailment of cultural opportunities for minorities; refusal to permit bilingualism; falsification of history; confiscation of ethnic church archives; obstruction of contracts with relatives abroad; and persecution of minority religious institutions. Each of these abusive measures is fully documented in the material attached to this memorandum.

As President of the United States, you will have several means at your disposal to exert pressure on the Rumanian Government to reverse this policy of oppression. Your Administration will, as a matter of course, be making contacts with representatives of the Rumanian Government. We appeal to you, and those representing you, to use the opportunity offered by such meetings to express a serious concern for the fate of the Hungarian minority in Rumania. The Ford Administration, through it's State Department, has failed to treat this question with any degree of objectivity. We urge you to direct a thorough and unbiased investigation and it institute a dialogue with the appropriate representatives of the Rumanian Government.

Finally, we call upon you to inform the Rumanian Government that you will not recommend extension of Most Favored Nation status until that Government has implemented concrete measures to ameliorate the situation of the Hungarian minority.

We are certain that your firm stand on basic moral principles will restore the prestige of this nation, and we pray that God give you the strength, the wisdom and the clear sight needed to fulfill this great mission.

Hungarian-Americans in defense of human rights

" ... I AM COMMITTED TO DOING WHATEVER I CAN TO ASSURE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ARE HONORED HERE AT HOME AND AROUND THE WORLD. I HAVE READ YOUR APPEAL AND HAVE FORWARDED IT TO CYRUS VANCE SO THAT HE, TOO, MIGHT KNOW OF YOUR CONCERN AS WE PREPARE FOR OUR ADMINISTRATION ..."

Jimmy Carter
President of the United States of America

" ... I PLAN TO MAKE IT UNDERSTOOD THAT IF ANY NATION, WHATEVER ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, DEPRIVES IT PEOPLE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, THAT FACT WILL HELP SHAPE OUR PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THAT NATION'S GOVERNMENT. IF OTHER NATIONS WANT OUR FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT, THEY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT WE WANT TO SEE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS RESPECTED, AND THIS INCLUDES THE RIGHTS OF HUNGARIANS WHEREVER THEY MAY BE ..."

Jimmy Carter
President of the United States of America

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