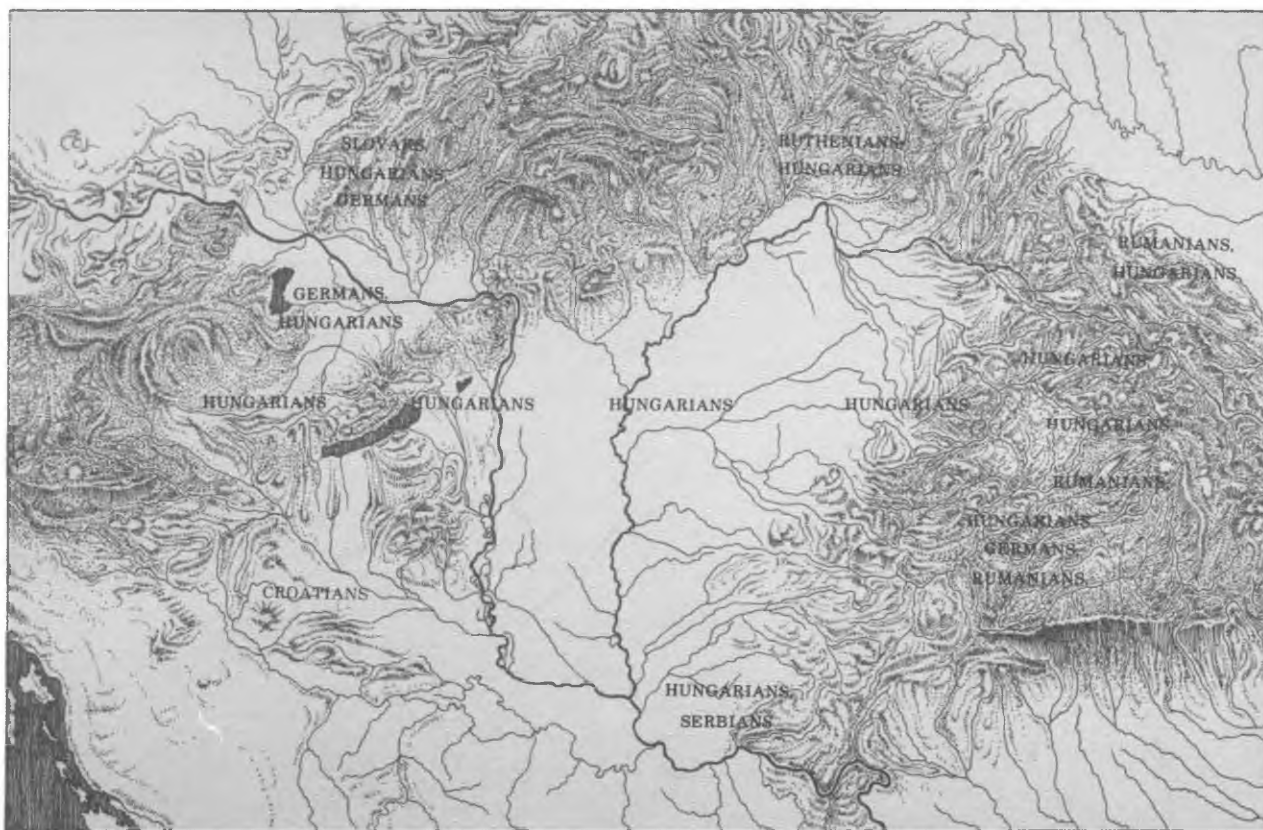


The Hungarian Quarterly



The Carpathian Basin

THE HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY was first published in the spring of 1934 by the Society of the Hungarian Quarterly. The editors were: Dr. Joseph Balogh, Budapest, Hungary, Owen Rutter, London, England and Francis Deak, New York, USA.

In 1944 the Society of the Hungarian Quarterly was dissolved, and in 1945-46 its members imprisoned or deported into Russia.

Years later the communist government in Budapest started the **NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY**, a propaganda publication, which in no way can be regarded as the legal successor of the original Hungarian Quarterly.

Forty years after the occupation of Hungary by the armies of the Soviet Union, which occupation is still demonstrated by the presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil, members of the Hungarian exile in the USA, Canada, Australia and Europe decided to pick up the fallen banner, of "peace, justice and a better future through knowledge and understanding," and republish the Hungarian Quarterly in the USA.

Our aim is the same: to acquaint the English speaking world with the past as well as the present situation of the Carpathian Basin and try to deal with the difficult problems of the future. To clear up the misconceptions and blow away the smoke-screen created by unscrupulous political adventurers in their determination to enforce their nationalistic goals at the detriment of a multi-national population which inhabit the Carpathian Basin for long centuries.

According to the newest statistics the population of the Carpathian Basin includes: 15 million Hungarians, 4.5 million Croatians, 4 million Rumanians, 3.8 million Slovaks, 0.6 million Germans, 0.5 million Serbians, 0.6 million Ruthenians, and 0.6 million others.

Our aim is to point out the festering problems which smolder under the surface ready to explode again and search for a wise and just solution of these problems, a solution which could save the future of 29.6 million people from more destruction, more killing and more suffering.

The Hungarian Quarterly

Designed to spread true knowledge concerning the Carpathian Basin and its peoples. To explore the possibilities of mutual understanding and cooperation between the coexisting nationalities for the sake of a lasting peace, justice and prosperity.

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1956 — Heroes and Hangmen

by Albert Wass

It was thirty years ago that the fate of Central Europe, perhaps even the fate of the Soviet Union itself, hung on a thin thread ready to snap and free the world from the communist menace. This rare historic event, filled with unprecedented opportunities, was triggered by one of the most heroic, and certainly the most pathetic revolutions that ever took place on the face of the earth. It is known as the Hungarian uprising of October 1956. It was fueled by the instinctive ardor of the youth for liberty. It was the only freedom fight recorded in history in which kids of both sexes, from the age of eleven up took active part by the thousands in self-organized fighting units. They were blowing up tanks, manning machine guns, forcing the Russian troops out of Budapest; while gaining the respect and the sympathy of hundreds of young Russian soldiers who deserted their units to fight side by side with them for an idea called "freedom" which they themselves had never experienced, but were still able to identify with through the inborn inclinations of their own youth.

Today, thirty years later, there is rich and inspiring literature depicting the individual chapters of this heroic struggle. It is indeed deplorable that the English speaking world still has no access to this contemporary epic, due to the reluctance of the American publishers to upset the "liberal establishment" which has been riding shotgun for almost a century now on American public opinion, guarding carefully the embarrassing secret that both victorious wars fought for the freedom of mankind, ended in defeat at the conference tables. Good old Joe Stalin and his associates turned out to be hoodlums and murderers and all those "idealists" who gave them a helping hand in subduing millions and millions of people are in reality accessories to mass murder on an unprecedented scale. Therefore, the heroic saga of thousands of children fighting for freedom is tabu, because it may upset those "tender hearts" who willingly or unwillingly caused the bloody downfall of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and may be responsible, in a sense, for the brutal execution of 50,000 boys and girls.

There were two crucial weeks in October 1956, when the entire world, especially the people of Eastern and Central Europe held their breath, waiting to see what America would do. The people of Poland, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the oppressed nationalities within the Soviet Union; the Russian people themselves were ready to shake off the "communist yoke" — the rule by a much smaller minority than the whites represent today in South Africa. They were ready, but wise enough to wait for a sign which would assure them that 1944-45 would not be repeated. The bloody reprisals against those who attempted to use the opportunity furnished by the war to gain national independence were not forgotten: the tortures and executions of 200,000 Ukrainians, 150,000 Poles, and 150,000 Croats; just to mention some of the mass murders perpetrated by the communists after World War II. These dreadful memories made those yearning for freedom extremely cautious. All the eyes were focused on Washington: would the American government recognize the new revolutionary government of Hungary until free elections could be held? Would America really help those who help themselves, as Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America kept promising for years, in several languages?

Then came the shock: the government of the United States refused to recognize the ambassador of the new Hungarian government as the new, though temporary representative of the Hungarian state. After two weeks of waiting, the Red Army returned in full force and crushed the uprising within a few days. It is a proven fact today that the Supreme Command of the Soviet Army deemed

it necessary to make the invading troops believe they were fighting the British Imperialists for the Suez Canal in order to avoid large scale desertions due to sympathy toward the Hungarian youth. We have eyewitness reports of Russian soldiers insisting that the Danube River in Budapest was the Suez Canal which they claimed they had come to free from the British.

After the defeat of the uprising, Mr. Andropov, as the representative of the Soviet Union, and Mr. Janos Kadar, head of the puppet-government, put in charge of the Hungarian people by Andropov, performed a punitive purge equal in the entire history of the Hungarian nation only to that of 1945-46. One-hundred fifty-thousand Hungarians were executed, sentenced to forced labor camps or deported into the Soviet Union; among them 50,000 children between the ages of 11 and 17. Some of those kids had to wait for six or seven years in Russian prisons to be hanged as criminals, in order to prove that the Soviet Union is a "civilized country" where minors under the age of eighteen can not be executed.

We know that tearing up old wounds is never popular. Nevertheless, for the sake of the future it is important that we don't forget who the good guys are and who are the bad ones. Especially since the liberal establishment of the American press bases their information on certain State Department "sources" and is trying hard these days to make the American people believe that Mr. Kadar, the communist boss of Hungary, is the gentle and benevolent father of his people and is doing a good job in outwitting his Russian masters by building up slowly a free economy in Hungary.

Well now, we may agree that Mr. Kadar is yielding to a limited degree to the pressure of the people he rules and he may be trying hard to establish a certain degree of well-being just to keep them quiet. However, we can not and must not forget that thirty years ago he was the volunteer hangman who blindly executed the orders of Mr. Andropov and sent 50,000 kids to the gallows.

There is an old Hungarian saying: "kutyabol nem lesz szalonna." Translated into English it sounds like this: "You can never turn a dog into bacon." Let's keep this in mind.

In the history of Hungary, as in the history of every other nation, there are heroes and there are hangmen. The fate of a nation, as well as the fate of the entire human race, depends entirely on which of these two are in charge of the future.

The Most Destructive Plan Ever Conceived in Central Europe

The Rape of the Danube

by Dr. Istvan Mailath

Throughout all history it has happened, that crazy and irresponsible rulers sacrificed sometimes wealth and human lives in a megalomaniac frenzy to create some monstrosities which were of no use to anyone and brought nothing but desolation and suffering. Under the totalitarian regimes of communist dominated countries it is not unusual either to undertake projects of tremendous financial costs which do nothing but damage the economy instead of bringing it forward. Until now the Russians were foremost in pursuing irresponsible actions. However, it seems now that the communist bosses of Hungary and Czechoslovakia made up their minds to outdo their Russian masters.

One such irresponsible action is the plan by the two neighboring governments to construct two huge hydroelectric power plants on a contractual basis on the Danube River. This would involve more than 200 kilometers of riverbed between Bratislava (Pozsony) in Czechoslovakia and Nagymaros in Hungary, about 30 kilometers north of Budapest.

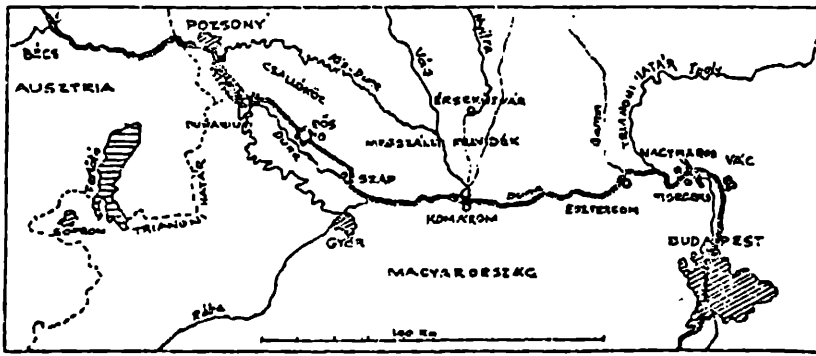
A group of environmentalists, geologists, economists, writers, etc., known as the Independent Danube Circle, are striving frantically against the plan and were honored for their efforts with the \$25,000 prize of the Right to Livelihood Foundation in 1985, in Stockholm, Sweden. Even the Europa Parliament discussed the dangerous effects this plan holds for the entire continent. The European press; Austrian, German, French, Swiss, and Swedish newspapers and magazines, have been informing the public in detail for more than a year, unanimously declaring the plan as "the craziest ever".

The Czechs would build the first dam 20 kilometers east of Bratislava at the little town of Dunakiliti, with the objective of covering the entire area of 20 kilometers with water. From here the dammed water would run through a 20 kilometer channel, built on the surface, to the community of Bos (Gabcikovo), where on Czechoslovak territory, the first of the hydroelectric power plants would be built. From here the water would return to the Danube at Szap, again through an 18 kilometer long artificial canal built on the surface. Thus the natural riverbed of the Danube would be completely eliminated between Danakiliti and Szap along a 35 kilometer stretch.

The Hungarian government is planning to build the second dam 30 kilometers north of Budapest in the Big Bend near the town of Nagymaros for the purpose of installing a second hydroelectric plant.

In Czechoslovak territory the Danube runs through flatland. In order to store the approximately 400 million cubic meters of water and to establish the channels, 15 meter high concrete walls must be built above the ground. The length of these walls, counting both sides of the channels would be approximately 120 kilometers. There is no precedent of such a bold enterprise in the entire history of European water management, stated the well known West German magazine *Der Spiegel*. It must also be noted that the area designated for this purpose is earthquake-prone. A break in the dam or any one of the channels would have dreadful effects on the dense population.

The natural flow of the Danube changes from a fast running, mountain-type river into a



slow, flatland stream near the community of Gonyu, 70 kilometers from Bratislava. There all the waste and drift brought down from the upper portion is deposited. Due to this fact the riverbed has to be dredged yearly at this section in order to maintain the proper depth for the international navigation. In case the plan is carried out, this natural debris of the Danube, increased heavily by the waste-waters of Vienna and Bratislava will have to settle in a special storage basin to be built at Gonyu. It is the opinion of experts that this could pose extremely difficult and costly maintenance problems as well as dangerous health hazards.

The second dam, to be built at Nagymaros, would be located between 200 meter high hills. These hills run 25 kilometers farther into flatlands. Therefore the riverbed, which is supposed to be turned into a huge water reservoir, would have to be surrounded on both sides with concrete walls of proper heights for a distance of 70 kilometers, as far as the city of Komarom. Since the plan calls for the storage of 300 million cubic meters of water at this point, raising the water level 25 meters above ground, a break in the dam would be catastrophic to Budapest and the densely populated area between.

Press commentators throughout Europe agree that it is unprecedented irresponsibility and criminal recklessness to conceive such an insane plan.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

As it came to light, the contract between the Czech and Hungarian governments relative to this plan was secretly signed in 1977. According to the *Tages Anzeiger* of Switzerland there was strong opposition within the Hungarian govern-

ment to the approval of the plan. With reference to the enormous sum of money needed as the share of Hungary in this project (more than two-billion dollars) the Hungarian government kept on postponing the final approval.

In the Fall of 1984, the news of the plan leaked out through unknown channels and the people of Hungary reacted with a public outcry; unprecedented under any communist regime. In its #51 issue, 1984, *Der Spiegel* commented: "It happened for the first time in a communist country that 342 members of the (Hungarian) parliament had to face a situation known only to their western counterparts: a flood of thousands of protest letters from outraged citizens, especially from environmentalists, water-management experts and geologists".

An unusual memorandum sent to every member of the parliament and to every member of the executive government body was signed by the leader of an organization previously unknown, calling itself The Independent Danube Circle. The memorandum demanded the immediate cancellation of any agreement concerning the infamous plan and was signed by more than 10,000 persons from the private sector; among them well-known writers, artists, scientists, geologists, and water management experts. Another list, containing 4,000 signatures was seized and confiscated by the state police.

In spite of the unified protest of the entire country the Kadar government, according to a report published by the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, "gave in to a massive Czechoslovak pressure" and on August 15, 1985 the plan was approved and responsibility assumed for the expense involved, without any provision as to the source of funding for this project.

Though the Danube Circle vehemently pointed out repeatedly that according to the communist constitution of Hungary the government had no right to approve such enormous expenditures without the approval of the parliament, the Kadar government persisted in preparing the preliminary drafts in secrecy. According to the latest information, the Czechs already began implementing the plan.

COMPLETE DISREGARD FOR THE BASIC RULES OF ECOLOGY

The memorandum of the Danube Circle directed attention to the effects this plan, considered as "irresponsible megalomania", would have on the environment. An estimated 160 square kilometers of rich agricultural land would be inundated. This means the annual shortage of some 50,000 metric tons of food for the country's economy. Approximately 100 square kilometers of forestland would be eliminated, which would effect adversely the natural regulation of the water supply. The level of the ground water would be considerably lowered. Fertile lands would be turned into steppe and sections of the Danube would become stinking cesspools. The deposit of two-million tons of mud per year, added to the sewage of the cities of Vienna and Bratislava, would destroy the quality of the drinking water supply for 13 million people. The well-known biologist, Janos Vargha, summed it up in his protest document in one sentence: "Energy can be imported, drinking water not."

The memorandum points out also the destruction of the natural beauties of the Nagymaros and Visegrad area as one of the adverse consequences of the plan on the environment, as well as the imminent dangers of flooding, especially during the season of the ice-drifts which could have devastating effects on Budapest. In Visegrad, for example, the marvelous 15th century palace of King Mathias, excavated between two big wars, would come under water.

The shipping industry would also be facing difficult technical problems by the interference of the natural flow of the Danube River. The abandonment of the natural riverbed between Dunakiliti and Szap, and the artificial redirec-

ting of the waterflow through huge channels into Czechslovakia, violates the internationally guaranteed freedom of navigation, placing it completely under Czech control. On the Bos-Nagymaros stretch the long established settlements and harbors would be completed cut off from the river.

In addition to their memorandum and constant protests, the Danube Circle produced a film, which illustrates the expected ill effects of the plan; based on scientific research and calculations embracing all possible details and points of view. Those who were present at the exclusive premiere of the film were shocked by what they saw.

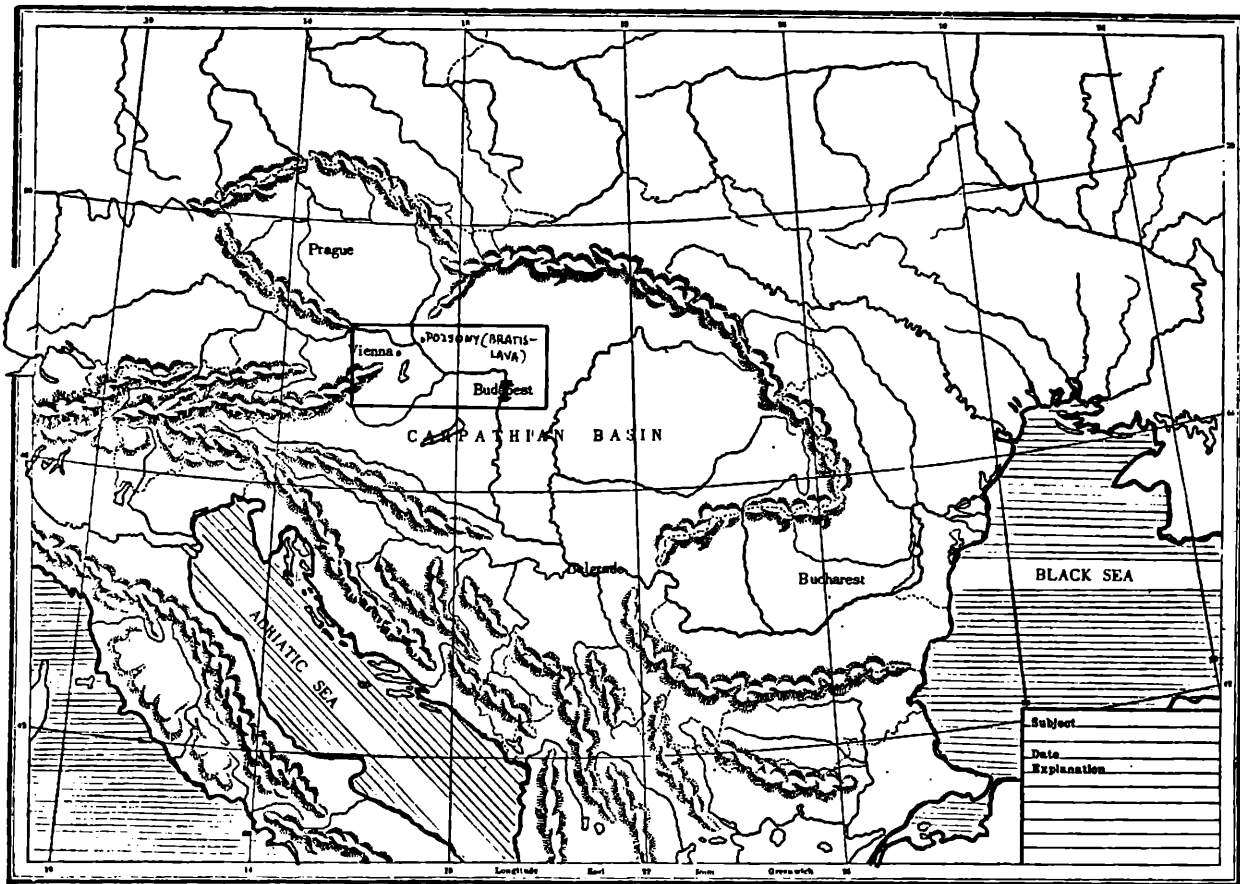
ECONOMICAL VIEWPOINTS

The voice of the Budapest government, the Budapest Agency, qualified the plan as "extraordinarily reasonable" since the powerplant in Nagymaros could provide seven per cent of the total power-need of Hungary and would save the importing of 700 metric tons of crude oil per year.

In response to the official claim the experts of the Danube Circle calculated it to be less than 3.5 per cent production of the nation's total power supply and proved that the immense cost would certainly not justify the investment. Furthermore, the Danube Circle revealed in its memorandum that other investments in the areas of housing, telephone, and transportation systems, as well as lowering the level of health of the people should be considered in prioritizing the spending if the government would care for the welfare of its people as it claims it does.

Nevertheless the Kadar government, firmly repudiating any sensible argument, decided to implement the plan. Having no available funds to finance the project, they turned to Austria for the money.

During the first half of the nineteen-seventies the socialist government of Austria did entertain a somewhat similar idea, namely to build a giant power plant on the Danube near the town of Hainburg. However, the wisdom of the Austrians prevented the destruction of their environment by popular vote. Therefore the Austrian industry grabbed eagerly at the opportunity to finance the Hungarian venture and sell



their outdated, rusty machinery left behind from the aborted Hainburg plan. According to an article in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Zeitgeist*, Austrian industry will furnish the Hungarian project with that old, outdated equipment, already junked.

The Danube Circle, representing Hungarian public opinion, published an entire page-long appeal in the leading Austrian newspaper, *Die Presse* pleading with the people of Austria and their government to refuse the financing of the Nagymaros project. "We implore the people of Austria in the name of solidarity" says the appeal "not to aid in any way this insane venture which can bring nothing but destruction and tragedy for the Hungarian people".

In spite of the appeal, the Austrians did not withdraw their offer to finance the Hungarian project which they themselves had eagerly rejected for their land. The private enterprise Osterreichische Donauwerke A. G., signed the

contract with the Kadar government to furnish and equip the plant at Nagymaros with the needed hardware in the framework of seven billion schillings. The government of Hungary agreed to repay the money with interest by surrendering to Austria for twenty years all the electric power produced by the plant. In other words, as it stands now, the people of Hungary will have nothing from the whole enterprise for twenty years but the destruction of the environment, the pollution of the drinking water and all the other ill effects, including the possibilities of major catastrophies which in all probability will come to pass sooner or later; according to geologists, biologists, environmentalists, and water management experts alike. Over and above all this the Hungarian economy will have to carry the burden of another 80 billion forints needed to build the dam and the channels and pay for the upkeep which is estimated to be one billion annually. Then after twenty years, if the

plant is still there, the Hungarian people will need to replace the entire obsolete installation purchased from Austria.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PLAN

It would be false to claim that the Kadar government is composed of idiots who are unable to perceive the dangers and the tremendous economical burdens this plan represents. Especially since during the last decade we have witnessed the unfolding of an extremely clever policy throughout Hungary; the only country under the heel of Moscow providing its peoples the opportunity of easing the pressures caused by the hopelessness of an orthodox communist doctrine and enabling them to achieve a certain degree of prosperity and well being.

Therefore we have to raise the question: What are the reasons that after years of resistance the Kadar regime meekly agreed suddenly to share in an enterprise which in no way could benefit the people of Hungary, but instead is prone to create hardship and destruction?

Today we can only guess the real reasons of this humble submissiveness, since Budapest is carefully guarding the secrets of what was going on behind the "Bos-Nagymaros disaster" as the project is being referred to by the people of Hungary.

Perhaps the Swiss newspaper *Tages Anzeiger* knew something when on August 16, 1985, it published the following lines: "The Kadar regime was yielding to the massive Czechoslovak pressure when yesterday the agreement was signed between the two countries..."

There is no question that there are strong Czechoslovak interests involved in connection with this absurd plan. Those interests are more political than economical.

In its loyalty to Moscow, Czechoslovakia clings firmly to the orthodox communist system. Due to this, the living standard of the population in Czechoslovakia, as well as the level of individual freedom and well-being is far below that which the population of Hungary enjoys today. This creates discontent amongst Czechoslovakians. The feeling of respect toward

the Hungarians is increasing rapidly. Especially in Slovakia the opinion is secretly becoming popular that it would be wiser for the Slovaks to co-exist with the Hungarians than with the Czechs. Therefore it is in the interest of the Husak government to cause economical problems for the Hungarian comrades by the creation of the new power plant and the destruction of the Danube River; problems which could bring about the collapse of the new economical mechanism, bringing their level of the well-being down to that of the Czechs.

Another Czechoslovak interest in the project is tied to the extremely chauvinistic national policy of the Czechs, which borders on ethnocide. The area between Bratislava and Bos is one of those sections where Hungarians have lived in one massive block for more than a thousand years; today under Czechoslovakian rule. The flooding of this territory would force the Hungarians out of that region and they would have to be dispersed as far from the Hungarian border as possible, thus increasing the Slavic character of Slovakia. What we see here is in reality a sly plan of ethnocide under the disguise of energy production. Knowing the Czech methods in the past, for example the "secret weapon of corruption" used so brazenly by Benes in convincing the French politicians that the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the creation of Czechoslovakia was for the good of Europe, is causing some political experts to explore the possibility that the same devious methods are being employed once again and might have been a decisive factor in this case.

According to observers, it might have been Moscow's hand working in the background. Since the times of Peter the Great (1672-1725) the constant aim of Russian policy was the takeover of Europe. After the fall of the Czars the lords of the Kremlin adopted this goal; zealously expanding it to dominate the entire world.

The Russians are skilled chess players at the chess table as well as in politics. Following the old practice of, "two fast steps forward, one slow step back" they have made considerable advances in Europe; all the way into the long desired fortress of the Carpathian Basin, which can be regarded strategically as the key to the remainder of Europe.

Regarding the situation from this angle it makes sense to assume that the Czechs exerted pressure on individual members of the Kadar government with the aid of some covert Russian mediation; a pressure the Hungarian "comrades" were unable to refuse without endangering their own personal safety. To say it bluntly: they did not have enough backbone to put the well-being of the people before their own personal welfare.

The Russian interest in the implementation of this abominable plan seems manifold. It may represent a preliminary step to such strategic, economic and political plans which are already outlined for future actions in the Danube valley. It is also possible that it serves as a preparatory step to place the entire navigation of the Danube River under Russian control and super-

vision. It is also conceivable that the Russians are eager to aid their most loyal allies, the Czechs, in their effort to get rid of another half-million Hungarians and thereby make a giant step forward in the direction of a Unified Slavic Empire from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean. It would be much easier to absorb the Czechs and the Slovaks than it would be the Hungarians into a unified Russian nation.

The Czech-Russian collaboration, so obvious during the entire twentieth century, should not be underestimated. Fodojev, a Russian general during World War I, was the first to put it into words: "Without Bohemia (the old name for the homeland of the Czechs) the Slav cause is lost, because the Czechs are the outpost as well as the vanguard of all Slavs!"

The Czechoslovak-Hungarian Border Dispute of 1938

by Julianna Chaszar

In the period between the two World Wars, East-Central Europe was involved in a maelstrom of diplomatic action concerning ethnic groups and the right of self-determination. Czechoslovakia was the center of the problem, since this country was nothing more than a potpourri of nationalities cut off from their homelands. Poland had her cry of freedom for Poles in the Teschen region of Czechoslovakia. Germany likewise wanted the Sudetenland back within her own borders. The Slovaks and Ruthenes each had grievances of their own. Finally, Hungary also made moves toward the establishment of a new border with Czechoslovakia.

The source of the Hungarian problem went back as far as 1920 to the Treaty of Trianon. This settlement took away more than two-thirds of Hungary's territory and about three-fifths of her population. Czechoslovakia's portion of this was 62,937 square kilometers (22%) of territory. The population of this area was divided as such:

44.6% Slovaks	12.0% Ruthenes
30.0% Hungarians	7.5% Germans

and a small percentage of Rumanians and others.¹

Had the Slovaks and Hungarians been equally intermixed, then an ethnic problem would not have been more justifiable by one or the other. But as the case was, the region contained areas having a clear Slovak majority and others with a majority of Hungarians. According to Hungarian statistics which, as it is generally agreed, were more reliable than the Czechoslovakian, the disputed region contained thirteen towns and 830 villages with over 50% Hungarian inhabitation. Furthermore, these locations were not so spread out that a fair border would be hard to establish. In fact, there

was a definite ethnographic line which had been disregarded by the drafters of the Treaty of Trianon. The northern mountainous region was principally Slovak, while the plains and towns in the mouths of the valleys were mostly Hungarian. The border had been drawn well to the south; thus, areas that were almost purely Magyar came under Czechoslovak rule. Needless to say, the Magyars were embittered by this injustice. In 1938, Hungary joined with Poland and Germany in seeking decisive action on their respective minorities' problems.

During August 1938, Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, visited Germany for talks with Hitler on the border problem. Hitler already had plans in mind for an invasion of Czechoslovakia, but he needed definite Hungarian support for this. He promised Hungary all of Slovakia and Ruthenia in return for diplomatic and military support.² Hungary withstood this pressure, despite the handsome offer, due to the fear of invasion by Yugoslavia if military action were taken against Czechoslovakia. These two countries and Rumania, comprising the Little Entente, and Hungary were involved in a delicate balance which neither wanted to upset. As a result of Hungary's refusal, Hitler had to be content with only the acquisition of Sudetenland, although he openly expressed his desire to do away with the threat of Czechoslovakia entirely.

Perhaps sensing the possible danger of continued discontent concerning the issue, the Big Four signed the Munich Agreement on September 29, 1938, which ceded the Sudetenland to Germany. It also stated that if agreements could not be reached by direct negotiation between the Czech government and the Hungarian and Polish governments within

two months, then the four powers would reconvene to consider what action should be taken on the issue. This provision, while not providing any direct solution to the problem, supplied the needed start for serious negotiations. Poland achieved her aims promptly, but Hungary, which was not yet as roused as Poland, fell into a series of negotiations. On October 9, the delegates convened at Komarom. In attendance for Hungary were Foreign Minister Kalman Kanya and Count Paul Teleki, an eminent scholar of ethnic problems. Slovakia had declared her autonomy three days earlier; therefore, the Czechoslovak delegation consisted entirely of Slovaks, who felt that this issue was their concern. They were Msgr. Tiso, Prime Minister of Slovakia, who led the delegation, Minister Ian Durcansky, and Dr. Ivan Krno, Political Director of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ruthenia was represented by Ivan Parkanyi. The area desired by Hungary included twelve of the thirteen towns and 812 of the 830 villages already mentioned. This included some towns which lay on the ethnic line, and therefore could be claimed by either side. Both sides also counted the large Jewish population in their own favor so that ownership of these towns was hotly disputed. Hungary also requested that plebiscites be set up in areas with no clear majority. She hoped that Slovakia and Ruthenia would choose to return to Hungary. The Slovaks, however, refused to discuss the future of those two areas. The first Slovak proposition was merely a promise that the Hungarians of Slovakia would receive autonomy within the Czechoslovak state. This offer was flatly refused by Kanya who said that "he had come to negotiate, not to joke."³ Next, the Slovaks offered the island of Csallokoz on the Danube between Pozsony and Komarom. The island had an area of 1,840 square kilometers with a population of 121,000, of whom 117,000 were Hungarians. Once again Hungary rejected.

The Slovaks' third offer, made on October 13, was, according to Hungarian data of 1910, for an area of 5,405 square kilometers with a population of 349,026 of whom 341,987 were Hungarians. Therefore, 724,698 Hungarians would still be in Slovakia. This proposition included only 38.3% of the territory and 31.7% of

the population originally demanded by Hungary. The Slovaks were using data from 1930, according to which Slovakia and Ruthenia would lose over 650,000 Slovak inhabitants if the original demands were met. Hungary maintained that many of these Slovaks had voluntarily emigrated to Hungary. The use of two sets of data greatly complicated the matter, but regardless of which ones were used, Hungary rejected the third Slovak offer. Both Kanya and Teleki wished to continue negotiations, but Prime Minister Imredy, impatient and nervous, called them back, declaring that "the gulf was too wide to be bridged."⁴

German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop persuaded them to continue, if not through direct negotiations, then through regular diplomatic channels. Prague sent Budapest a new offer for 11,300 square kilometers which, according to the 1910 census, had 740,000 inhabitants. This came quite close to meeting the original demands, and Hungary was prepared to accept; however, on October 24 they sent a note with added amendments to Prague. The region mentioned above was to be considered undisputed and be occupied immediately. Also, the disputed area north of the line was to be divided into eight plebiscites. Prague found this unacceptable, and made preparations to submit the issue for Italo-German arbitration. Hungary was surprised by this but agreed nonetheless.

The arbitral session opened at noon on November 2, 1938 at the Belvedere Palace in Vienna. Opening remarks were made by Ribbentrop and Ciano, Foreign Minister of Italy. The Hungarians and Slovaks pleaded their causes, and the discussion continued through lunch. The arbiters then retired to prepare the Award. Ciano, the champion of the Hungarians, was able to turn events to their advantage. The area awarded was 12,103 square kilometers with a population of 1,030,000. Statistics differ on the breakdown of this figure, but the British Ambassador to Hungary, Sir G. Knox, gave figures that are thought to be accurate. His figures:⁵

830,000	Hungarians
140,000	Slovaks
20,000	Germans
40,000	Ruthenes, Poles, Rumanians and others
<hr/>	
1,030,000	

The number of Magyars still in Czechoslovakia was thus 66,000. Hungary gained three eastern towns, including Ungvar and Munkacs, and four towns in the central section. (See Appendix)

It is noteworthy that this dispute was based, unlike most others of its kind, on political and ethnic considerations rather than on economic or legal claims. "Legal" in this case means that a country can demonstrate that it has title to a particular area. This was not applicable in the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border dispute. Concerning economic considerations, Teleki urged throughout the dispute, that these be avoided. He maintained that an ethnic settlement would be more stable, and that acceptable economic agreements could be worked out separately. The political aspect of the dispute, however, was dominant. Both Germany and Italy would benefit by the weakening of Czechoslovakia and therefore of the Little Entente. Italy was primarily concerned with increasing her influence in Yugoslavia, and she could achieve this simply by supporting the Hungarian claims. Germany, however was in a more complicated position. It would be to her advantage, Hitler reasoned, if Germany did not support Hungary's larger claims on Slovakia and Ruthenia. He wished to play on the discontent in those areas until those people declared their independence from the Czechs, leaving the latter weak and at the same time putting themselves under German protection.⁶

Britain and France also had politics in mind. After supporting the Germans in the Sudeten dispute, they had to show at least equal concern over the Hungarian question. Poland wished to

see Ruthenia annexed by Hungary, thereby creating a common border with Hungary and a barrier against Germany and against Communism. The balance of power was in favor of the Axis at this time, so that the Allied powers had to maintain good relations to avoid war. This meant a general support of the Hungarian claims, except, ironically, by Germany, which resulted in a perhaps too generous award of territory. In fact, one noted expert on East-Central Europe, Hugh Seton-Watson, remarked that "the frontier between Hungary and Slovakia could be drawn on lines more generous to Hungary than 1920 while less unfair to the Slovaks than 1938."⁷ In any case, this dispute was just one of many during that time which required delicate diplomacy and a great deal of compromise.

The peace treaty which concluded World War II declared the Vienna award "null and void," and the disputed territory reverted back to Czechoslovakia. With this the troublesome nationality question was reintroduced into East-Central Europe. The maltreatment of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia had poisoned the relations between that country and Hungary ever since.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The author of this article is a 12th grade student at Indiana Area Senior High School in Western Pennsylvania, selected to attend the Pennsylvania Governor's School for International Studies because of her accomplishments in Modern European History and in Languages.

NOTES

¹All statistics, unless otherwise stated, are taken from Andre Balasko (ed.), "Frontieres Tchecoslovaques" in *La Documentation Internationale Politique, Juridique et Economique* (Paris), Volume 6, March-April 1939.

²Laffan, R.G.D., et al. *Survey of International Affairs 1938* (Royal Institute of International Affairs). Vol. III. London: Oxford University Press, 1953, p. 69.

³*Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴Carlyle A. Macartney, *A History of Hungary 1929-1945*. Edinburgh University Press, 1956, p. 287.

⁵Edward Chaszar, "The Ethnic Principle and National Boundaries; A Case Study of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Border Dispute of 1938." *Documentation sur l'Europe Centrale* (Louvain, Belgium), Vol. 15, No. 4, 1977, p. 273.

⁶Laffan, p. 103.

⁷Chaszar, p. 276.

Inside the Land of Death

by Stan Marris

Rumanian persecution of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania has become a contentious issue, with reports of tortures and murders. In this article which first appeared in the Sydney "Catholic Weekly" (February 12, 1986) then in the Hungarian Observer, Vol. 1. No. 2, June 1986, the Journal of the Hungarian Institute in Melbourne, Australia, the Australian journalist Stan Marris depicts the turbulent history of Transylvania.

The Legend of Count Dracula, the "Vampire of Transylvania", is probably one of the most durable misconceptions of our time. Yet it appears and reappears with growing regularity, especially today when so many are preoccupied with the occult.

Perceptive people reading or watching films about the horrific deeds of Count Dracula could be excused for concluding that Dracula and Transylvania were myths.

But despite the imaginative mythical view of both begun by a little known Irish-English author, Bram Stoker, dramatized by English actor Sir Henry Irving, and exploited today by the Romanian Government to promote tourism, Dracula was and Transylvania still is real.

Dracula is no neck-biting fantasy but a man of bloodthirsty violence and death; Transylvania is a place of much suffering at the hands of many enemies, including Dracula.

Until 1920, Transylvania was for over a thousand years an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Today it is a beautiful piece of country in a horseshoe-shaped bend of the Carpathian Mountains.

The man Dracula was the descendant of Vlad II, a 15th century ruler of Wallachia, south of Transylvania, a vassalage of Hungary until approximately 1600 and later the heartland of Romania.

Vlad II was nicknamed "Dracul" — the Devil. He never ruled in Transylvania nor did his son, Vlad IV or Dracula, the son of Dracul, who took the throne of Wallachia in 1456.

Dracula was hated and feared for the horrible tortures he and his soldiers inflicted on his

enemies, such as captured Turkish soldiers, his own Wallachian fellowmen, and Transylvanian Hungarians. Dracula's favorite torture was mass impalings which he watched with satanic pleasure, earning him the title of "Vlad the Impaler".

The real-life Dracula was the somewhat tenuous model for the blood-sucking vampire, Count Dracula.

Dracula's horrific deeds took place centuries ago. But one could be excused for thinking that he is in reality alive and ruling in Romania — reincarnated in President Ceausescu and working through his oppressive Communist regime.

This regime perpetuates the Dracula image to attract tourist capital. But there is a darker side which evokes a feeling that the regime actually admires Dracula or Vlad the Impaler, if imitation is any measure of admiration. For the regime imitates their cruelty and horror, although with more subtlety, through systematic cultural genocide of the minority groups under its rule, particularly Hungarian Transylvanians.

Today, as in the time of Dracula, the choice of victims is indiscriminate: they could be soldiers or civilians.

The Romanian Armed Forces' own records report that in the 10 years from 1973 to 1983:

- 1,687 conscripts committed suicide during training. Hungarians comprised 1,639 or 97.2 per cent of these suicides;
- 1,511 conscripts died of "accidents". Hungarians comprised 1,386 or 91.7 per cent.

Police call Hungarian parents to the station and say: "Your son is here." But he is in a sealed

coffin that parents cannot remove from the station or open to identify the body. The police deliver the coffin to the funeral service, escort it to the graveyard and see it buried as a courtesy of the government.

But there is one curiously untypical case where parents were able to have a casket opened. They and a doctor found the son's eyes burned out, his tongue missing, fingers broken and his body generally disfigured.

That those parents were successful in having the coffin opened is not typical. But were the contents unusual? Not in the evidence of the few young Hungarians who have survived military service.

Their stories, whispered in fear, reveal the hostile attitude of commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Romanian Armed Services in the mental and physical "brutalization" they inflict on Hungarian conscripts.

For new Hungarian conscripts, the routine, where Hungarians are clearly a minority, is this: the drill sergeant orders a conscript to step forward and yell as he can, "My father is a dirty Hungarian dog! My mother is a dirty Hungarian bitch! But I am proud to be a Romanian!"

If a conscript refuses he is punished and tortured until he either breaks and complies, commits suicide or is tortured to death.

Some conscripts simply disappear without a trace. But parents are told that soldier "X" broke the law and is serving time in military prison. Requests for more information draw a terse "mind your own business!" or treatment as Romania's enemies.

Romania interferes totally in Church matters, realizing that the Churches Catholic or Protestant, are the only remaining institutions capable of fulfilling the needs of minorities and nurturing their ethnic heritage.

Harassment of the Churches includes suppression of freedom, not only to worship and associate with other Christians, but also in the publishing of theological books. Transylvanian Hungarian Calvinists report that the publication of only five books had been allowed in the twenty-five years from 1957 to 1983, compared with 83 in the ten years between 1934 and 1944.

Take the most recent example of Romanian religious intolerance — the seizing and pulping

of Bibles. For many years, Hungarian Protestants in Transylvania had complained that they could not obtain Bibles and hymn books. Sir Allan Tyrrel, British MP and delegate to the European Parliament in Strassburg, demonstrated the Romanian regime's attitude by quoting the case of a Hungarian Romanian who received six years in jail for smuggling a Bible into the country. In 1983, under international pressure, 20,000 new Hungarian Bibles were allowed in Romania but were not delivered. The regime pulped them into toilet paper.

In May 1984, media organizations, including Agence France Presse and French newspapers La Croix, Le Matin, Le Monde, Le Figaro and Reforme, reported that Romanian authorities had tortured and beaten to death a Catholic priest, Father Geza Palfi. His "crime" was a Christmas Eve sermon in which he mildly criticized the fact that, in Romania, Christmas Day was a working day.

Father Palfi died in hospital aged 43 after beatings causing a burst liver, broken ribs and damaged kidneys. The official cause of death was cancer of the liver.

The Bishop of Alba Julia (the ancient Hungarian city of Gyulafehérvár), Aaron Marton, was sent to a slave camp which he barely survived. And there are many others.

On January 9, 1983, the Rev. Ivan Hadhazy, 36, was run over and killed, surprisingly, by a truck owned and operated by the Securitate, the Romanian Secret Police. Securitate had harassed him throughout 1982 for receiving visitors from Hungary and the United States and his death came after he had entertained a visiting Hungarian clergyman in his home.

The Rev. Hadhazy was the ninth such "accident" victim in the preceding three years and his death — a consequence of general religious oppression — complements a systematic harassment of Hungarian clergymen, teachers, writers, doctors, cultural identities and artists... anyone the regime calls "dissident". Many are recorded as brutally beaten, intimidated, locked up and subjected to forced drug treatment in mental institutions. As with the soldiers, many have committed suicide to escape persecution. Four such cases of Protestant ministers are attested.

This litany of persecutions is itself a further part of the elimination of the Hungarian minority through assimilation into the Romanian majority.

The Transylvanian Quarterly (No. 15, April 1983) published in Astor, Florida, USA, reports a number of assimilatory actions which not only violate the Romanian Constitution but also constitute the crime of cultural genocide as specified in the United Nations Document E/447 of 1948 of the Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide. Apart from allowing minorities no say in decision-making, the Romanian regime, through its assimilation program, has acted to remove Hungarian influences and break up the Hungarian minority.

For example, the program:

- Eliminates primary and secondary schools and absorbs Hungarian universities into Romanian ones;
- controls the housing and labor markets to dissolve homogeneous Hungarian communities and districts;
- resettles Romanians from Old Romania in Hungarian areas of Transylvania to work in new factories (ironically financed by American money) which forces Hungarians to move to Old Romania to find work and housing.

Nor does education and culture escape the rod of oppression and the "iron lady" of assimilation. The London Times in 1984 reported a new crackdown on Hungarian minorities in Transylvania. This limited the number of Hungarian-speaking students at the University of Cluj (formerly Kolozsvár, the capital of Hungarian Transylvania) to five per cent. At the time of the decree Hungarian speaking students had compromised 65 per cent.

In all schools in Transylvania, geography and history teachers must be Romanians.

The new rules followed the sacking in 1984 of several Hungarian theatre directors who had planned to celebrate the centenary of Hungarian architect Karoly Kos, a noted Hungarian spiritual leader who had died a few years earlier aged 97. They had planned a new play about Kos' life which the Romanians banned as "Fascist provocation".

The Romanians also accompanied these decisions with increased searches of Hungarian writers' homes.

In August 1984, the New York Committee for Human Rights in Romania issued a report to a United States Senate sub-committee on International Trade. This report supplemented the oral testimony of Laszlo Hamos, Director of the Committee for Human Rights in Romania. Mr. Hamos is a Hungarian who lives in New York. The report documents a wide incidence of abuses of humans. These confirm the overwhelmingly large amount of evidence from other sources of Romania's brutal policies of assimilation and cultural genocide.

What about Australia's responsibility in the matter of neo-Draculan persecution in Transylvania?

Clearly, Australia's responsibility is both historical and current. Consider these facts and history. As mentioned earlier, Transylvania had been for over 1000 years an integral part of Hungary. Romania did not rule there until 1920 when the following sequences of events began:

- In 1920 Great Britain signed on behalf of Australia the Paris Peace Treaty which gave Transylvania to Romania, a decision forced on Hungary without plebiscite;
- in 1940 the Vienna Arbitration Decision returned the northern part of Transylvania to Hungary;
- in 1947, Dr. H. V. Evatt, then Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, signed for Australia the new Paris Treaty which (again without plebiscite) returned the northern part of Transylvania to Romania. Australia thus became a co-guarantor of Romanian rule in the former Hungarian Transylvania.

And Australia also became a party to today's reality of ethnocide which did not appear "out of the blue". The reality has emerged particularly since 1982. But the Australian Government has ignored the killings and done nothing either to criticize Romania or try to stop its oppressive actions.

Romania's persecution of Hungarian Transylvania is every bit as horrific as South Africa's apartheid, as Hitler's "final solution", Stalin's murder of the peasants and Dracula's impalings. Surely, particularly because of Australia's role in establishing Romanian rule in Transylvania, the persecutions call for direct Australian action.

Thoughts on the 300th Anniversary of Liberation of Buda 1686 — 1986 September

Rev. Christopher Hites

The liberation of Buda from 145 years of Turkish rule was a momentous event in the history of Western civilization.

From modest beginnings in Asia Minor in the 13th century, the Ottoman Empire of the Osmanly Turks grew into a world power by the 17th century and threatened to engulf much of Europe. The driving force of their successful expansion was religious fanaticism coupled with rigorous militarism.

By taking Constantinople in 1453, they destroyed the Byzantine Empire and made that city the capital of the Sultans and the headquarters for the ongoing military conquest. Eventually crossing the Bosphorus, they subdued all the peoples of the Balkans.

Hungary, then the strongest and most powerful kingdom in Central Europe, succeeded for half a century to ward off the ever renewed Turkish attacks, thanks to the leadership of the legendary commander, János Hunyadi. Later, the decline of centralized power in Hungary led to the tragic defeat in 1526, at the Battle of Mohács, in which the great part of the Hungarian leadership was killed, including the King himself. From then on, the Turkish army occupied the fertile and prosperous central region of the country. The eastern part, Transylvania, escaped military occupation by paying yearly tribute to the Sultan's court in Constantinople.

After the tragic battle of Mohács, the Turks for a while played the role of protectors of the Hungarian king against the Hapsburg pretenders of the throne: in 1541, however, Soliman Sultan, under the pretext of the defense of the child King János Zsigmond, moved his army to Buda and took it by ruse. The new rulers shortly

transformed the graceful Renaissance city into a military headquarters from where the powerful pasha (Castle-commander) secured the control of the occupied areas. The Sultans' Sublime Porte regarded Buda as a gem of its European holdings and a key stronghold for the conquest of the West. During the 145 years of occupation, the Turks added to Buda nothing else but new fortifications and minarets, the number of which grew close to a hundred. They left most of the famous buildings to slow decay.

The Hungarian estates fled to the mountainous northern part of the country for refuge. From this area, called the Highlands, they invited the Hapsburgs, then masters of Germany and the whole Spanish Empire, to become their king. It was hoped that the power of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" would be capable of turning back the Muslim tide and to return freedom to Hungary.

For 150 years, the Hapsburgs, involved in a long power struggle with France, failed to perform this task. Hungary, torn into three, later four, parts with conflicting interest, became the scene of constant warfare, plunder, and epidemics; vast regions were turned into depopulated wastelands. The Court of Vienna kept buying peace from the Turks with compromises, concessions, and tithes. Only when the revitalized Ottoman army again took the offensive, and Vienna narrowly escaped occupation in 1683, thanks to the relief forces of the Polish king, John Sobieski, did the whole of Europe become alarmed and decided to join forces against the common threat. Pope Innocent XI succeeded in forging together the Holy League, through which he recruited and fi-

nanced an international army to strike at the stronghold of the Ottoman military rule.

The ascetic holy Pope depleted the financial sources of the Church to support the concentrated military actions. His ambassador at the Viennese Court, Cardinal Buonvisi, exerted heroic efforts to reconcile the conflicting political interests of the participating nations, to coordinate the individual plans and ambitions of the military leaders, and to organize the details of the entire warplan. Marco d'Aviano, Franciscan Friar, with his fiery preaching stirred up the enthusiasm of all of Western Christianity for a united effort, long missing in the politically and religiously discordant Europe. Thus came about the last common enterprise of Western Christianity.

At the end of May 1686, the army of liberation began to gather from all over Europe at the appointed camp of Párkány, the site of a previous battle with the enemy, near the Danube and opposite Esztergom, the recently liberated seat of the Primate-Bishop of Hungary. Among them there were Princes with their own armies and individual plans; also young offsprings of ruling families seeking fame through military exploits; various engineering troops; the majority, however, were plain soldiers answering the call to a common Christian cause. Even the French were represented, although their king, Louis XIV was not wishing success for an enterprise that would increase the prestige of his greatest political opponent, the Hapsburg Emperor. Hungarian warriors, although heavily decimated by continuous warring and engaged in the defense of the frontier fortresses, joined the foreign fighters by the thousands; even the rebellious ones, the Kurutz, who, under Thököly encouraged by the promises of Louis XIV, took up arms against the oppressive Viennese Court and the atrocities of the imperial army, joined the allied forces.

It was at Párkány that the international army finally got a chief commander in the person of Prince Charles of Lotharingia, the choice of Emperor Leopold against the two other young and ambitious contenders, Emmanuel Miksha, Bavarian Elector, and Louis of Baden, German Marquis. These two, however, maintained a degree of independence in their military

maneuvers, not always to the advantage of the common enterprise.

The army reached Buda's area in six days and immediately encircled the castle from three directions. The defenders were waiting for them prepared for a long siege, having had amassed material, equipment and manpower behind the threefold walls. Their strength was estimated at 20,000 trained fighters; however, the entire population of the castle was drawn into the defense. At the beginning, the staff of Charles of Lotharingia hoped for a quick success. They soon realized that the capturing of the fortress called for the highest strategic skills and heroic sacrifices.

The diary of the 74-day siege is one of the most dramatic accounts in military literature. It is estimated that one third of the liberating army sacrificed their lives under or on the walls of Buda.

The outburst of the rage of the victors finished up what the long siege had left of Buda. Free robbery for three days and fires all over blazing uncurbed left only smoldering ruins of the castle.

Count Marsili, an Italian engineer lieutenant-colonel, tried to penetrate into the world-famous Corvin library; tumbling among dead bodies and flaming volumes, he picked up a few Corvinas, illuminated manuscripts from King Matthias' renowned collection, which are now sheltered remnants of Buda's past glory in the museums of Vienna and Bologna.

The news of victory reached the cities of Western Europe within a week. Relieved from a century-long threat, the Western Christian world burst out into tumultuous celebrations never before seen. All were sure that the fall of Buda was the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. It was soon forgotten that it had happened through Hungary's immense sacrifice from which she has never fully recovered.

In the central part of Hungary, which was turned into an arena of intermittent warfare, there developed a system of border fortresses where the warring sides established their security and control of the adjacent areas. They became centers of constant skirmishes and assaults for the possession or recapturing of the castles. The dwellers in the open lands were,

most of the time, left for the helpless prey of the warring parties and the countryside gradually turned into wastelands.

The Hungarian nation lived for 150 years in confusion as to how and with whose help could it assure its own survival. Misled by unfulfilled promises from all sides, disappointed by the lack of determined effort on the part of the west, there was plenty of reasons among the Hungarians for mistrust toward both sides and general depressing feelings of abandonment. Hence the rise of opposing factions, shifting alliances, ill-organized conspiracies and uprisings which made many westerners think of Hungarians as unreliable rebellious people, it lastingly damaged their national image.

In spite of the bitter dissatisfaction with the imperial management, the Hungarians never became reconciled with the Turkish rule and desperately held on to Western Christianity. It was their heroism, so evident in the border fortresses, that made the Ottoman military might bog down in Central Europe. It was due to them that Hungary deservedly earned the epithet given by the Pope: *Antemurale Christianitatis* – Shield of Christianity.

Many tales and legends circulated about who hoisted the first Christian flag on the walls

of Buda. There can be no doubt about who paid the highest price for the victory over the Ottoman Empire in Central Europe. Before the battle of Mohács, Hungary had four million population, on a par with France or England. The census made in 1720 counted all together 2.5 million souls, only half of them Hungarian, while at the end of the 15th century, 80% of the country had been of Magyar stock. The waste lands were mostly repopulated with foreigners, in accordance with the political interests of the Imperial Court. Characteristically enough, in the recaptured Buda, only Germans were allowed to settle by the decision of the Viennese administration.

Nevertheless, Buda remained the symbol of the historical role of Hungary in the fate of Western Civilization. Having been rebuilt from a similar destruction at the end of World War II, it is again an admired tourist attraction displaying now also the remnants of the Renaissance Buda uncovered by the bombs from underneath the old ruins. And for the Hungarians, having survived also the tragedies of two World Wars, Buda echoes the encouragement of their poet Károly Kisfaludy:

The Magyars survive, Buda still is standing!

Blueprints for Peace and Justice

1.

United States of Central Europe?

by Patricia Mocsonyi de Foen, Paris, France
Translated from the French by A. Wass

An article was shown to me from the *Hungarian Quarterly*, Vol. 1, #3, page 15, in which the desire was expressed for a "useful, objective and uplifting discussion" concerning the problems of the "national minorities" in Central Europe. In my opinion, these problems can not be solved as long as those areas where the population is mixed are divided into small national states and ruled by chauvinistic governments obsessed with the idea of turning a multi-national area into a one-nation country by simply eliminating the minorities, one way or another. Since 1919 this "forced assimilation" is the thrust of every government in all newly created countries which previously were provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Lands of the St. Stephen Crown or the Habsburg Empire; as the names have changed over the centuries. Regardless what the name, the practice was always the same: one single economic unit, one joint military power, one central rule over the multi-national empire in which each and every nationality was free to develop its own national culture and live within the administrative unit of his own choice.

Before I go further on this dangerous path, let me introduce myself: I am of Hungarian-Austrian and Polish descent. Each of my grandparents belonged to a different nationality group. The brother of my Hungarian-Romanian grandfather was royal huntmaster to King Ferdinand, King Carol, and King Michael of Romania. My Polish grandfather was a member of that country's parliament. My mother went to Transylvania as a refugee when Stalin invaded Poland. I was born during the war and raised in four different languages. Today I refer

to myself, here in my new French homeland, a Central European Refugee. I am not a Romanian, though I have many Romanian relatives and friends in exile. Neither am I Hungarian, Austrian, or Polish; though I have relatives and friends who are representative of all these nationalities. I am Central European with the strong desire to return "home" as soon as the political climate allows.

All those fanatic and super-nationalistic governments that ruled for sixty-six long and turbulent years over all four of those countries to which I am bound by birth, were unable to solve the minority problems in a civilized manner. It is high time we realize that narrow-minded nationalism has no place in countries composed of several nationality groups; each with rightful claims to be a "native population, inhabiting the same land for centuries". The only solution is to revive the past in a modern form by creating THE UNITED STATES OF CENTRAL EUROPE which would include Poland, Bohemia, Ruthenia, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Transylvania, and Romania, and would have a total population of approximately 90 million people speaking twelve languages. It would make a perfect economic unit which would secure a high standard of living and its military power would create a formidable wall between the East and the West.

Where details are concerned, the solutions are simple if there is good will on every side. Under a modern constitution, somewhat similar to that of the United States of America, each of the ten states composing the Republic would have their limited sovereignty so far as their ad-

ministration, education, and other internal affairs are concerned. The economy, defense, and foreign policy would be under the Federal Government, located in Vienna, Austria. Each of the States would be represented in the Federal Government by two senators and as many congressmen as the population quota allowed. (Perhaps one congressman for every million inhabitants). There would be no "federal language" enforced. As in the United Nations of today: each of the delegates would have the right to speak in his own language which would be translated into German. The language of the federal machinery would be the German, since most educated Central Europeans speak that language.

The minority problems would be eliminated by bi-lingualism or tri-lingualism as a rule for States inhabited by two or three nationalities. Besides establishing the equality of the respective languages in all State offices and public places, special "language districts" could be established where the majority status of a single nationality group reaches seventy-five per cent. In such a district the language of elementary

education as well as the language of local administration could yield to the need of the majority. In the remaining districts where there is not a seventy-five per cent majority, it can be attained by either one of the nationalities. Schools and administrative offices should be bi-lingual.

Each state government would be composed of a Senate with every nationality, large or small, represented by three senators and a House of Representatives in which the nationalities would be represented according to their numbers; perhaps one elected representative for every 100,000. The governor would also be elected by the people but with one restriction: the nationality of the person in that office would be required to alternate every four years among the nationality groups inhabiting the state.

The intricacies would need to be worked out by a large representative group from all nationalities of Central Europe. My sole purpose of writing this letter was to point out the necessity of such a plan. It can be done and it must be done sooner or later for the sake of peace, justice, and prosperity. All it needs is good will.

2.

The Road Ahead

by Dr. Anthony Endrey

In these closing years of the twentieth century, many Hungarians and many of our friends are asking the question: whither Hungary? What shall become of the Hungarian nation which has seen such glorious days in its long history and which now stands at the crossroads between survival and national death?

The Hungarian people today are enslaved and dispersed all over the world. Their homeland, the Carpathian Basin, lies in fragments, with substantial captive Hungarian populations in all its separated parts. The Hungarian nation is no longer master of its fate: it only vegetates, crushed and humiliated, under the iron heel of the Soviet Union and its cohorts.

If we regarded the fate of Hungary in purely human terms, we would despair — but the fate of nations can never be regarded in purely human terms. In their wanderings through the

ages which took them from Mesopotamia to the Caucasus and then to the Carpathian Basin, Hungarians have always been guided by a Divine Hand which protected them and saved them in all their vicissitudes. They have survived many cataclysms, they have outlived many empires and even though their numbers were decimated from time to time, their spirit was never broken.

This Hungarian fighting spirit which can be traced in a long line from the horsemen of the steppes to the freedom fighters of 1956, still survives today. Not only among the old who still remember better days but most notably among the young who revolt against their Communist masters and seek to restore a free and independent Hungary.

This very survival of the Hungarian spirit which persists against tremendous odds, is only

possible because of an underlying conviction that even if Hungary has been deserted by all the powers of this world, she will not be left to her fate by Divine Providence which has protected her over the centuries. Hungary is now deeply wounded but is not yet dead: she will arise again.

The road ahead is thus not one of despair but of hope and an unshakeable faith in the resurrection of Hungary. We firmly believe that there is a bright future for Hungarians and that they have a mission which they will fulfil one day for the benefit of all mankind. This mission is a sacred trust, inherited from our great ancestors, to build a better life for all the peoples of the Carpathian Basin so that they might again live together in peace, freedom and prosperity as they did for over a thousand years.

The future we envisage thus embraces not only Hungarians but also Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, Romanians, Ruthenians, Danube Germans and Transylvanian Saxons and all other members of the great family of nations which inhabits the Carpathian Basin. All these peoples are brothers in history: together they lived in the past and together they must build a better future for themselves and their children.

Sixty-six years ago, this great family of nations was destroyed by western politicians who did not understand the forces of history and the laws of geopolitics which had preserved the unity of the Carpathian Basin for over a thousand years. Sixty-six years of misery followed in which there were no real victors among the peoples of the Carpathian Basin, only losers. The way to a better future thus lies in a reversal of the blunder made sixty-six years ago: not by restoring the past but by carving out a solution by which the Carpathian Basin can regain its former unity whilst satisfying the national ambitions of its peoples at the same time. This dual objective clearly postulates a federal system with wide regional autonomies in which all the peoples of the Carpathian Basin can find a true home.

This is then the road ahead which we must all follow in our days here on earth: the restoration of the freedom of Hungary and a brotherly reunion with the other peoples of the Carpathian Basin. This is the overriding aim of this journal, this is our call to Hungarians and our friends all over the world. May we all persevere in this endeavour till we have reached our goal.

International Symposium on National Minorities in Montréal

Dr. Rudolf Dabas
(A Critical Review)

Referring to this jointly sponsored event (May 2-4, 1986) by Budapest University and Dawson College, the geographical setting was perfect for discussions on minority rights, Montréal itself is a polyglot metropolis within the political framework of Canada and situated in the Province of Québec where the French speaking majority (although a minority within an English speaking Canada) achieved significant gains during the last decade.

Clearly, this symposium did not reflect the true spirit of those noble achievements which are symbolized by Montréal and in particular by the Province of Québec.

Contrary to its title ("Minorities and the Law from 1867 to the Present") this symposium dealt with some problems in the past but carefully avoided present day controversies, injustices, specifically in the Carpathian Basin where Hungarians (Europe's largest national minority) live around their motherland in five different neighboring countries since the Trianon Treaty of 1920. And while Québec's French population enjoys all linguistic and political benefits of a free nation, the Hungarian minorities are separated from their homeland of a thousand years, and are deprived of even their basic human and cultural rights.

Unfortunately, this symposium, including Canadian and eastern Communist scholars, once again proves the unwillingness of the Socialist Block to solve the minority problems in the Carpathian Basin. In spite of its title "from 1867 to the Present", all references to the present situation were banned or dismissed by the chairmen of the sessions as was any occasional reference to the Soviet Union. One can but confirm the impression, that this gathering between East and West lacked the essence of any true scientific

discussion, since integrity, impartiality and objectivity were compromised in favor of a biased atmosphere.

It is commonly agreed that prior to World War II, numerous peace treaties as well as the former Geneva based League of Nations provided a certain forum of defense against the violations of minority rights. It is safe to say that with the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe, almost all existing legal and practical protection disappeared leaving many millions of minorities exposed to forceful assimilation. In fact, a careful study of the short period between the two world wars shows far more freedom for the minorities than we had experienced during the last four decades, due to the attitudes and inefficiencies of present international institutions including the United Nations, the European Parliament and various international laws created by the Helsinki Agreement etc.

We are dealing here with an ominous change of attitudes. While prior to W.W. II, the fate of minorities was regarded as an international concern, since the Communist takeover it has become an internal affair. In any case, there is one occupied country, namely Hungary, which represents a happy exception to all of the above negative observations by providing an ideal situation for its very small national minorities. Indeed in this regard Hungary's record goes unchallenged behind the Iron Curtain, being the best in the Communist Block. It rivals the national minority policies of even those of the free countries in Europe. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union as well as the rest of the captive nations are reluctant to implement the exceptional Hungarian solution for their minorities.

Because there was no significant progress achieved, there is little purpose to go into details of the papers presented during the two day sessions of the Montreal Symposium.

Dwelling solely on insignificant topics of the past does not further the plight of several million Hungarians, oppressed in those regions

which formed an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom until 1920 and 1945. Indeed, it is regrettable that the organizers refused to discuss the realities of our day. In my opinion, it is far more important to try and find ways, scientific means to solve basic human rights for our current day and age, rather than concentrating uniquely on past issues.

Hungarians of Transylvania: Not Ethnic Minority but MINORITY NATION!

The definition of "ethnic minority" identifies a group of people who migrated into the country of another nation in search of food, shelter or religious freedom and for one reason or another failed to assimilate. Therefore the Vlachs, later called Rumanians, who entered the Hungarian Kingdom during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries as migrant workers and shepherders, and failed to assimilate, lived and prospered as an ethnic minority within the Hungarian borders.

On the other hand, the term "minority nation" refers to a group of people who lived in their own country for a long period of time as part of the majority nation, without ever changing location, but were torn off geographically from the rest of their homeland through a major political tragedy, usually as a result of war, and occupied by another neighboring nation.

When Transylvania was torn from the Hungarian motherland as a result of World War I and World War II, the Hungarians who were established on that land for ten centuries became a minority nation within Rumania.

Politically they had to yield to the majority rule of the Rumanians. Nevertheless, the peace treaties guaranteed them the right to the unrestricted use of their own language, to the free development of their own culture through their own established cultural institutions, and their right to self-administration within their cities, towns, and villages.

Today, the National-Communist Government of Rumania not only refuses to recognize these rights, but is embarked on a course of **TOTAL ANNIHILATION** of the almost three-million strong Hungarian **MINORITY** Nation within its borders, by the use of terror and extreme brutality.

We ask the nations of this world to express their solidarity with the Hungarians in Transylvania by boycotting and "picketing" the Socialist Republic of Rumania until this problem is solved according to the rules of civilized societies.

(Reprinted from "Genocide in Transylvania" compiled by The Transylvanian World Federation and published by the Danubian Press.)

Letters to the Editor

To the Editors of the *Hungarian Quarterly*:

In the July 1986 issue (Vol. 1, No. 4) of the *Hungarian Quarterly* Alex Boszormenyi laments in his Letter to the Editor the presenting of the official Czechoslovak census results "without any comment as to its validity" in my article "Minorities in Czechoslovakia" in the April 1986 issue (Vol. 1, No. 3). Obviously he had overlooked the text which says "The overwhelming majority of Hungarians live in the Slovak Socialist Republic, where they constitute 11.2 per cent of the population according to the census of 1980. Estimates, however, run as high as 14 per cent and more." (Emphasis mine.) A simple calculation based on the total population figure for Slovakia as given by that census will put the number of Hungarians at close to 700,000 — instead of the 559,800 official figure. Already in 1977 the *Hungarian Encyclopedia of Ethnography* (published in Budapest) estimated the number of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia — cautiously — at 700,000 to 730,000. Some estimates run even higher than that. However, since the subject of my article was **not** the actual number of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, but their current situation, I had no intention of dissecting the population statistics and discussing the thorny issue hidden in it. Perhaps Mr. Boszormenyi or some learned demographer will do it in a future issue of the *Hungarian Quarterly*. The subject is certainly serious enough to merit separate consideration.

Sincerely yours,
Edward Chaszar

Editor:

I was born a Transylvanian German in Lechnitz (Lekence) and at the age of 14 I was deported with my mother by the Rumanians from the village my family lived in as farmers

for six hundred years. My father was beaten to death because he refused to leave the old homestead, my mother and two sisters raped. After six months of misery and terror in a concentration camp near Dej-Dés, we were sent to Germany stuffed into box cars built for cattle. From Germany I was able to immigrate to Canada, where I am a farmer again on 200 acres with my three sons.

This spring I visited my former homeland. The reason for my trip was to find the graves of my grandparents and great-grandparents and make some arrangements for perpetual care. I am sorry I went. What I saw there is too much to bear. I didn't even find the graveyard up on the hillside where all our forefathers were buried. Our Church (Lutheran) was torn down and the entire hillside bulldozed up, graves and all, to be replaced by a new settlement of Rumanians from across the mountains.

As a Canadian citizen I was treated with a certain respect. However, those who live there, live in constant terror and poverty, especially the older generation. Being retired in Rumania means that you have no job and no income. You live on "welfare", which means that you live in one room assigned to you somewhere, and you eat once a day in a "public kitchen". For this privilege the old folks must work without pay six days a week, eight hours a day, sweeping the streets, public latrines and doing anything they are ordered to do — under police supervision.

Before the war, Transylvania was the land of three nationalities and three languages: Hungarian, German and Rumanian. Today, if you speak any other language but Rumanian — and you are not a foreign visitor — you are yelled at, chased out of railroad stations, bus depots, shops, public kitchens or wherever you are and sometimes even beaten up by the police. The terror and the poverty is incredible. I saw old people on their knees begging for a dish of potato soup and a chunk of moldy bread.

I spent two days in the once so beautiful city of Klausenburg-Kolozsvár-Cluj which used to be the center of Hungarian education, art and literature for centuries. I was shocked. Dirt, trash, poverty everywhere, famished, scared people, who dare only whisper in their mother tongue. There is hardly anything to eat! Imagine, in this once so rich farming country! The monthly portion for a person in Transylvania today is ONE POUND OF MEAT! For an entire month! Hungarians are not even getting that much. Instead, after standing in lines for hours, they may get a half pound of fish per person — if they don't make the mistake of talking in Hungarian. Should they commit this terrible crime, they are chased away empty handed.

Children in the middle- and high-schools are required to fill out a questionnaire by underlining the answers of their choice. Some of the questions are as follows:

Are you going to church or Sunday school?
yes not often once in a while never

Who gives you religious instructions?
parent grandparent relative someone else

If you go to church explain the reason:
I feel the need habit I am forced to go

According to dictator Ceausescu the minority problem is solved. Our ambassadors in Bucharest — the Canadian as well as the one representing the U.S.A. — agree with him. Why? Because it is much more comfortable to close your eyes and not see all the terrible things

that are going on, than trying to do something about it!

*Johann E. Klotzer
Manitoba, Canada*

Editor:

Much is being written today about the terrible atrocities committed by the Rumanians in Transylvania and the Czechs in the Highlands. However, nobody ever mentions the bloody massacres carried out by JOSIF BROZ, known as Marshall TITO and his Serb "partizans" in Southern Hungary which is now part of Yugoslavia.

In the fall and winter of 1944, besides the extermination of 150,000 Croatian patriots who tried to create an independent Croatia, these Serbian terrorists massacred the entire Hungarian population of the following villages and towns in Southern Hungary: Adorján, Bezda, Csurog, Horgos, Kishegyes, Magyarkanizsa, Titel, Zsablya and Zombor. They killed more than 60,000 men, women and children in these villages in the most brutal manner, while in the city of Szabadka another 6,000 Hungarians were tortured to death.

Barbarism is not just a Rumanian and Czech virtue. The Serbians were even worse.

*Victor Petrovics
Spokane, Washington*

Book Review

THE OTHER HUNGARY — THE HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA by Anthony Endrey, professor of history with the University of Melbourne, Australia. Published by the Hungarian Institute of Melbourne, 1986, hardbound, 240 pp. printed by the Catholic Publishing Company, 1739 Mahoning Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio 44509, USA. Price: \$15.00.

Though professor Endrey's scholastic accomplishments in the field of historic research are well known, this work must be regarded as his most important publication. The long and colorful history of Transylvania is still not fully known throughout the English speaking world due to an artificially created mixture of mysterious legends and distorted facts, serving political goals with complete disregard to scholastic truth.

In this volume we find a detailed and well documented history of Transylvania from 896 A.D. to our days, with special emphasis given to the nationality problems and stressing the fact that Transylvania was always the vanguard of the Hungarian culture, even during the first twenty years of Romanian occupation. It is also pointed out in great detail that Transylvania was not just part of Hungary for more than a thousand years, but for the most crucial times of Hungarian history it was Hungary itself, representing the nation for 150 years when the rest of the Carpathian Basin was occupied by two hostile powers, the Turks and the Habsburg Empire, struggling for the supremacy in Central Europe. During these difficult times the full responsibility for the survival of the Hungarian statehood and the Hungarian culture rested solely on the shoulders of the Transylvanian people. What makes this era of special interest is due to the fact that in spite of all the hardship these 150 years of Transylvanian independence are culturally the most glorious times of Hungarian history, an age of great cultural accomplishments, culminating in the establishment of Protestantism, the declaration of the freedom of religion, the rise of the Unitarian faith and the internationally recognized upswing in the field of higher education.

"Transylvania is an important area," Prof. Endrey states in his foreword, "not only because it represents the easternmost extension of western civilization but also because this province, if organized in accordance with its noble traditions, could become the model for a multi-national and multi-cultural society, which our tormented human race needs so much."

In the last chapter of this outstanding scholastic work we read these prophetic words: "The conclusion is inescapable that the people of Transylvania, including the Romanian population, would fare infinitely better and their basic human rights would be much more secure if they were united with Hungary again. It is, however, not suggested that this union should take place in an unitary state. During most of its long history as part of the Hungarian Kingdom, Transylvania enjoyed a large measure of autonomy and was administered as a separate province. In any future association with Hungary, this autonomy should be preserved and even enlarged, so that all ethnic groups in Transylvania may develop freely and take their due part in the government of their area. We are therefore envisaging an autonomous Transylvania, with its own provincial parliament and government, in which Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and others live peacefully together and populate their own internal affairs. This principle should also be extended to other parts of the Carpathian Basin, resulting in a federation, which could create unity with diversity and lead the inhabitants of this important part of Europe to a better future."

The Transylvanian Question

by Dr. Anthony Endrey

(Published in the HUNGARIAN OBSERVER,
Journal of the Hungarian Institute in Melbourne, Australia, March 1986)

One of the most burning issues for Hungarians both in the Diaspora and in Hungary itself, is the Transylvanian question. This province which formed an integral part of Hungary from 896 until 1920, now belongs to Communist Romania. In this article, Dr. Anthony Endrey traces the history of Transylvania and offers a solution to the problem.

The Historical Background

Since the history of Transylvania is inseparably connected with that of Hungary, it is necessary to begin with a brief summary of Hungarian history. After successive partial settlements of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin from the last quarter of the fourth century onwards, their main body also set up its home there in a sweeping move known as the Hungarian Conquest in 896. Converted to Christianity by their king Saint Stephen (997-1038), the descendants of these warriors from the East grew into a strong nation and their country became one of the principal kingdoms of Europe. Under its first royal house, the House of Arpad which reigned from the Conquest until 1301, Hungary flourished and played an important part in European affairs. This period also saw the development of strong democratic institutions and the rise of a powerful parliament. When the Arpads became extinct in 1301, a dynasty of French descent, the Anjous, came to the throne, followed by kings of diverse origins in the fifteenth century. In spite of these changes, the influence of Hungary on European politics continued to increase, accompanied by several territorial gains. Mediaeval Hungary which comprised throughout the entire Carpathian Basin (including Transylvania) and

parts of the surrounding areas as well, reached the height of its power under Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490), a great national king elected by the Hungarian nobility from its own ranks, when the population of the country equalled that of England and four-fifths of it consisted of Hungarians proper.

Since the end of the fourteenth century, this Hungarian kingdom had to withstand the ever-increasing assaults of the Ottoman Turks. After the fall of Byzantium (1453), the defence of the southern flank of Europe was left solely to the Hungarians. Although the great Hungarian general, John Hunyadi (father of Matthias Corvinus), won a decisive victory over the Turks at Belgrade in 1456, the pressure of Islam did not relent. After the death of Matthias who managed to keep the Turks in check whilst also conducted successful campaigns against Bohemia and Austria in quest for the German imperial crown, the Hungarian nobles elected a weak king, Wladislas Jagiello II (1490-1516). He neglected the defences of the country and during the reign of his young son, Louis II (1516-26), the military situation became critical. Finally, the Turks won a crucial battle at Mohács in 1526 in which the Hungarian king lost most of his men and his own life and the position of Hungary as a great power came to an end.

After the Battle of Mohács, the Turks devastated a large part of the country but then withdrew. The Hungarian nobility now elected the *vajda* (viceroy) of Transylvania, John Zápolyai, as king of Hungary but his election was contested by Ferdinand of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, who made a claim to the Hungarian crown. Ferdinand and John Zápolyai thereafter engaged in a long struggle for the possession of Hungary and eventually divided

the country between themselves. When King John died in 1540, the Turkish Sultan Suleiman 'the Magnificent' declared himself guardian of John's infant son and occupied the centre of Hungary. In Transylvania and part of the eastern provinces, Hungarians managed to set up an independent principality which, although paying tribute to the Turks and suffering many Turkish invasions, survived until 1690. In western and northern Hungary, Ferdinand and his successors remained kings. This Hungarian kingdom, reduced to a peripheral size and cruelly oppressed and exploited by the Habsburgs, was constantly embattled by the Turks. In the Turkish-occupied territories, many towns and villages were completely destroyed and thousands upon thousands of Hungarians were taken into slavery by marauding troops. As a result of incessant bloodshed and Turkish devastations, the population of the Carpathian Basin was greatly depleted and only one-half of this were Hungarians.

In 1683, a huge Turkish army besieged Vienna. They were defeated but the attack finally shocked the nations of Europe into action. A mighty international force was set up, composed mainly of Germans and Hungarians, but also including Poles, Englishmen, Scots, Frenchmen and even Spaniards, and in a series of campaigns lasting until 1699, the Turks were driven out from Hungary.

The Habsburgs then took over the whole of the Carpathian Basin by virtue of their position as kings of Hungary and the independence of Transylvania came to an end. The Habsburgs maintained the historic territory of the Hungarian kingdom but their rule was so harsh and their inroads against the ancient liberties of Hungarians so frequent, that soon after the Turkish campaigns, Hungarians staged an uprising against them under the leadership of prince Francis Rákóczi II which continued for eight years (1703-11). The Habsburgs then reestablished their rule over the country until they were again challenged in the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848-49 led by Louis Kossuth. This was defeated with Russian help and Habsburg rule returned.

During all this time, Hungary comprised the entire Carpathian Basin and constituted a separate unit within the Habsburg Empire. In

1867, after a series of reverses in their other possessions, the Habsburgs concluded a compromise (known as the 'Ausgleich') with Hungary, under which Hungary became a substantially independent country and an equal partner with Austria in what was thereafter known as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

After World War I, this historic Hungarian kingdom was dismembered in the Treaty of Trianon and large portions of it were annexed to the newly created states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and the formerly much smaller Balkan kingdom of Romania. Even Austria came in for her share. Only the central area remained as Hungary, now an independent country under the regency of Admiral Nicholas Horthy. Following World War II, even this remaining part lost its independence through the establishment of a Russian-dominated people's democracy.

The history of Transylvania

When the main body of Hungarians occupied the Carpathian Basin in 896, they already found a branch of Hungarians in Transylvania. These Hungarians, known as Székelys, had settled there under the Huns towards the end of the fourth century and continued to function autonomously after being reunited with their Hungarian kinsmen. There were also certain Turkic ethnic elements in Transylvania, left behind from the rule of the Avars (from 468 to 803). These Hungarians and their near relatives were now augmented by the influx of a large number of Hungarian clans which settled in Transylvania under the leadership of the second highest ranking Hungarian dignitary, the *gyula*. There is no evidence whatsoever, archaeological or otherwise, of any Romanian presence in Transylvania at the time of the Hungarian Conquest or during the following three centuries.

After the Conquest, Transylvania was governed by the Hungarian *gyulas* and their descendants until the establishment of a Christian kingdom by Saint Stephen (997-1083) who appointed one of his relatives as viceroy of the province. In the following centuries, Hungarian viceroys, known as *vajdas*, administered Transylvania by royal authority. The *vajdas* had the rank of prince and were at times members of the royal family itself.

From 1160 onwards, the Hungarian king Géza II settled a large number of German immigrants in Transylvania who became known as the Transylvanian Saxons. Another Hungarian king, Andrew II, conferred great privileges on the Saxons and granted them a large measure of territorial autonomy in 1224. The Saxons played an important part in the economic and cultural development of Transylvania and its subsequent history.

Early in the thirteenth century, Romanian (Vlach) shepherds from the Balkans began to settle in the mountainous and forest regions of Transylvania. Initially, their number was only small and Romanian immigration on a large scale only commenced in the fourteenth century.

From the second half of the thirteenth century, the representatives of the Hungarian counties in Transylvania, the Székelys and the Saxons held joint meetings under the leadership of the vajda where they regulated their affairs and from these, a Transylvania provincial parliament developed. Some of these early parliaments were also attended by representatives of the Romanians but the Romanian upper class (which was not of Romanian ethnic origin in any event) soon merged into the Hungarian nobility and the leaderless Romanians, mainly shepherds and peasants, were unable to play a significant role in the political history of Transylvania.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century, Hungarian troops fought their first battle with the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans and from then onward, the Hungarian kingdom had to withstand the continuous attacks of the advancing Turks. Transylvania often bore the brunt of these attacks and its greatest vajda, John Hunyadi, devoted his lifetime to the fight against the Turkish Empire.

After the Battle of Mohács in 1526, Hungary was divided between two kings, John Zápolyai and Ferdinand of Habsburg, and Transylvania fell within the realm of the former who, as we have already seen, had been vajda of the province prior to his election as king of Hungary. When King John died in 1540 and the Turkish Sultan occupied the centre of Hungary, the widowed queen Isabella and her child John Sigismund took refuge in Transylvania and in the ensuing years, an independent Transylva-

nian principality developed which became the last refuge of Hungarian nationhood. The Transylvanian principality which also comprised the eastern parts of the Great Hungarian Plain and northern Hungary, served as a counterbalance to Habsburg aspirations in Hungary and maintained the Hungarian traditions whilst other parts of the country were under Turkish respectively Habsburg rule. The princes of Transylvania, all the officebearers and the generals were Hungarians and the official language of the state was also Hungarian. At this time, the majority of the population of Transylvania still consisted of Hungarians and Hungarian literature and culture flourished in Transylvania. The Hungarians of Transylvania, however, did not neglect the cultural and social elevation of the Romanian minority either: the first Romanian books ever printed were produced by Hungarian and Saxon printers in Transylvania towards the middle of the sixteenth century and the organization of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania was established by the Hungarian prince Stephen Báthory (who later became king of Poland) in 1572.

In spite of the turbulent times and the many attacks it had to face both from the Turks and the German emperors, Transylvania became a highly prosperous country and under its great princes, Gabriel Bethlen (1613-1629) and George Rákóczi I (1629-1648), played an important role on the European scene. The princes of Transylvania waged repeated wars against the Habsburg emperors in order to protect the basic freedoms of Hungarians in the western and northern parts of Hungary (which were ruled by the Habsburgs) and also frustrated the further expansion of the Turks. Throughout its history, the Transylvanian principality functioned in a democratic way, with an elected parliament and clearly established rights of the individual, and Transylvania also led contemporary Europe by declaring complete freedom of religion at the Diet of Torda in 1568.

When Turkish power in Hungary crumbled and the Turks were driven out by a combined European army in a series of campaigns beginning in 1684, the independence of Transylvania could no longer be maintained. The Habsburgs now took over the whole of Hungary as kings

and Transylvania became a separate province within Hungary, administered by officials appointed from Vienna. Transylvanians, however, were granted certain religious freedoms and political rights under the Diploma Leopoldinum issued by the emperor Leopold I in 1690 and the Transylvanian parliament also continued to function, although only in a very subdued way.

When Prince Francis Rákóczi II raised the flag of revolt against Habsburg rule in 1703, Transylvanians immediately rallied to his cause and elected him prince of Transylvania in 1704. Rákóczi strove to reestablish the independence of Transylvania but eventually succumbed to the superior forces of the Habsburg Empire and Transylvania reverted to its former state.

When Hungarians again asserted their independence in 1848, the Transylvanian parliament at once declared the union of Transylvania with Hungary. This union, however, was only shortlived by reason of the failure of the Hungarian War of Independence and full union with Hungary was only achieved in 1867 when Hungarians concluded a compromise with the emperor Francis Joseph I and the dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was established.

Following the defeat of Austria-Hungary in World War I, Transylvania and certain adjacent areas of Hungary were annexed to Romania in the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. This was the first time in its long history that Transylvania was not under Hungarian rule. In 1940, northern and eastern Transylvania were returned to Hungary under the Second Vienna Award but these territories were again lost by Hungary at the end of World War II when the frontiers laid down in the Treaty of Trianon were reestablished. Since then, Transylvania has formed part of Communist Romania and her people have suffered harsh oppression and deprivation of their most basic human rights.

The problem and its solution

The problem of Transylvania lies in the multinational character of its population and no solution is valid which does not take this character into account. There are, however, historical, economic and geopolitical considerations as well and due regard must be paid to these also, otherwise we shall condemn the inhabitants of this area to perpetual misery.

As we have seen, Transylvania had an over-

whelmingly Hungarian population at the time of the Hungarian Conquest in 896 and eight hundred years later, Hungarians still constituted the absolute majority. The Transylvanian principality which flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was an Hungarian undertaking and indeed, was called "the other Hungary" at the time. Due to the influx of successive waves of Romanian immigrants, however, commencing in the thirteenth century and gaining impetus during the Turkish wars, and the fact that the Hungarian element in Transylvania bore the brunt of the fighting both against the Turks and the Habsburg Empire, this Hungarian majority gradually dwindled away and by the end of the nineteenth century. Romanians had a slight absolute majority.

According to the 1910 Hungarian census which is generally accepted as reliable, the population of Transylvania and the other areas subsequently annexed to Romania in the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, was 5,265,444 which consisted of the following ethnic groups:

Romanians	2,800,073	(53.2%)
Hungarians	1,704,851	(32.5%)
Germans	559,824	(10.6%)
Serbs	54,874	(1.0%)
Others	145,822	(2.8%)

(Figures from C.A. Macartney, *Hungary and her successors*, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 252)

Subsequent Romanian statistics are untrustworthy because they have been compiled, and indeed, falsified, with a strong chauvinistic bias. According to responsible reports, however, the rate of natural increase of the Romanian and Hungarian communities in Transylvania has been approximately equal during the last seventy-five years, whilst the German element has not kept pace with them, due partly to the policy of the West German Government of literally purchasing its fellow-Germans from Romania and resettling them in the Federal German Republic. Assuming, therefore, that the present-day population of Transylvania is approximately eight million and making allowance for some further Romanian immigration from the Regat (the original Romanian state), the ethnic composition of Transylvania at this time can be estimated as follows:

Romanians	4,400,400	(55%)
Hungarians	2,450,000	(32%)
Germans	640,000	(8%)
Others	400,000	(5%)

It is clear therefore that Hungarians and other non-Romanian ethnic groups still constitute a very significant minority in Transylvania.

Turning now to the treatment of ethnic minorities in Transylvania during the Hungarian and Romanian administration respectively, we find that under the centuries of Hungarian rule, the Romanians were able to develop their religious and cultural life freely and were economically prosperous. Indeed, the ancestors of the present-day Romanian population of Transylvania came to Hungary because they had a much better deal there than in their own homeland. The original Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (from the union of which the state of Romania was formed in 1866) were ruled despotically by petty tyrants who made life for the common people utterly miserable. The legendary Dracula was not a Transylvanian but a Romanian prince of Wallachia, Dracul Vlad, whose favourite pastime was to execute his opponents by impaling them. On the other hand, Romanian settlers in Hungary were treated most liberally and received land and many privileges. The very fact that Romanians were able to grow into an absolute majority in Transylvania during Hungarian administration, testifies to the benevolence of Hungarians towards them.

Once Transylvania came under Romanian rule, however, the Romanian authorities engaged in systematic oppression of the ethnic minorities. In particular, the Hungarians "suffered considerable obstruction, intimidation and even violence" from the outset of Romanian rule (Macartney, op. cit., p. 291). Even whilst Romania was a kingdom, chauvinistic organizations like the Iron Guard engaged in a savage campaign of oppression against the Hungarian minority, and the position became infinitely worse after 1945. Ignoring all pretence of "Socialist brotherhood", the current Ceausescu regime has deliberately set out to annihilate all ethnic minorities, not only culturally but also physically. There has been a systematic destruc-

tion of the rich Hungarian cultural heritage of Transylvania, cemeteries have been desecrated, ancient buildings demolished, libraries and archives confiscated, schools and colleges closed down. The large Hungarian and German minorities of Transylvania are even abused for speaking their native language and anti-Hungarian propaganda has been viciously effective in turning the Hungarian minority of Transylvania into a denigrated and persecuted race.

In the present scheme of things, the Romanian majority of Transylvania are also in a miserable state, although they live in their own country. The experience of the past centuries and the lesson of the present teach us that these Romanians need a strong Hungarian influence for their own well-being.

It must also be pointed out that Transylvanian forms an integral part of the Carpathian Basin which is a perfect geographical and economic unit and functioned extremely well as the historic kingdom of Hungary for over a thousand years. On the other hand, the present state of Romania, bisected as it is by the towering ranges of the Carpathians, is a geopolitical monstrosity.

The enlarged state of Romania has also been a complete economic failure but a Transylvania united with Hungary would be as before economically healthy and prosperous.

The conclusion is therefore inescapable that the people of Transylvania, including the Romanian population, would fare infinitely better and their basic human rights would be much more secure if they were united with Hungary again. It is, however, not suggested that this union should take place in a unitary state. During most of its long history as part of the Hungarian kingdom, Transylvania enjoyed a large measure of autonomy and was administered as a separate province. In any future association with Hungary, this autonomy must be preserved and even enlarged, so that all ethnic groups in Transylvania may develop freely and take their due part in the government of their area. This principle should also be extended to other parts of the Carpathian Basin, resulting in a federation which would create unity with diversity and lead the inhabitants of this part of Europe to a better future.