

The Hungarian Quarterly



The Carpathian Basin

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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.

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The Legacy of 1956

A Joint Declaration of Central European Dissidents

Thirty years ago, on October 23, 1956, students, workers and servicemen took over by force the radio tower of Budapest because they were fed up with "official lies", wanted to hear the truth and voice their demands. The insurgents toppled the statue of Stalin, and discredited the system which called itself "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "People's Republic". Their struggle made it clear that the people of Hungary desired independence, democracy, a free and peaceful life, fit for human beings.

The Hungarian revolt, then the East Berlin uprising, the "Spring of Prague" as well as the "solidarity movement" of Poland were defeated, crushed, either by Soviet interference or domestic military power. Nevertheless, due to these movements, life in our countries during the last thirty years became more and more tolerable. We may air our grievances once in a while without being arrested and sent to prison. However, the basic demands of the insurgents have not yet materialized.

We ask our friends all over the world to remember with us during this anniversary of the Hungarian uprising of those who gave their lives for the cause of freedom, democracy and independence. We declare this day that we will keep on fighting, side by side, for these ideals: political democracy, independence of all nations, the peaceful unification of Europe, and the rights of all minorities. We support each other in our struggle for the freedom of our countries and the freedom of the entire human race.

Our strength derives from the legacy of the 1956 Hungarian Uprising.

On October 23, 1986, Warsaw — East Berlin — Prague — Budapest.

Signed by: 28 from Poland, 24 from Czechoslovakia, 16 from East Germany and 54 from Hungary.

GOD BLESS THEM ALL!

Cultural Identity Under Attack

by Albert Wass

Cultural identity is the root-system of the human soul. Reaching into the depth of a nation's culture, built layer upon layer through centuries and inherited by the individual from his ancestors: it feeds the intellect with those basic spiritual values which enable him to fulfill his purpose in life. This inherited root-system is man's most important treasure. It is composed of songs, legends, customs, tales, historical background, taste in the field of arts, and latent talents in the areas of science; but most of all, the rich inheritance of the mother tongue; our individual and unique art of self expression. By virtue of his cultural identity man is not a lonewolf in the human jungle: he is part of a distinct group, a tight unity which gives him the feeling of belonging; the feeling of security. Without it he is nothing but an autumn-leaf blown by a wayward wind.

Today nations are no longer bound together by inheritance of blood alone. They are united through their cultural identity; that mysterious bond which reaches far beyond the memories of their own existence into the collective core of a basic culture which sustains and supports their spiritual consciousness with a firm foundation of one big brotherhood. It is a tightly woven structure of a collective spiritual and intellectual identity they regard as sacred because it was endowed to them by God. The deeper these roots are embedded into the collective past of a nation, the richer are the spiritual values of this "cultural identity," enabling the individual to survive adverse conditions of any kind and resist any attempt aimed against his national status and affiliation. Since the beginning of the twentieth-century this fact is being more and more recognized by those powers whose purpose is to subdue and swallow up any nationality group within the territory they happen to rule, in order to amalgamate them into one single mass of people.

The Carpathian Basin is especially vulnerable in this respect, due to the overlapping of the different coexisting nationality groups. Though these nationalities are living side by side, widely intermingled for many centuries, their national identity was never endangered, not even challenged until the twentieth century, due to the very structure of the society in which they lived. The feudalistic system of the olden days did not recognize nationalities, only classes. Under the St. Stephen's Crown every nationality group was free to develop its own national culture. Assimilation, as such, unfolded naturally. Where the fringes of nationality groups overlapped and intermingled, on the lower level of society, the higher culture yielded to the inferior and a downward assimilation took place. This phenomenon was simply due to the fact that those on a higher cultural level learned the language of the other group faster and easier and it was just a matter of convenience. At the same time those members of a minority nation who through their abilities succeeded in breaking through the social barriers and were elevated into the nobility class, the leading class of the Hungarian Statehood, assimilated upwards and became Hungarians.

Assimilation as a political goal was first invented by the Austrian emperor, Joseph Habsburg II, (1780-90) while attempting to "germanize" Hungary. The immediate reaction of the Hungarian nation was an outburst of patriotism, which created a strong feeling of nationalism for the first time in Hungarian history. This nationalism culminated in the famous Hungarian Liberty War of 1848-49, which was crushed by the sixteen year-old Emperor Franz Joseph, with the military aid of the Czar of Russia. The oppression which followed served to strengthen the nationalistic feelings instead of eliminating them.

It was also the political manipulation of the Habsburg Empire which created the first frictions between Hungarians and Rumanians in Transylvania by instigating the massacres of several Hungarian towns and villages during the Liberty War. Those bloody massacres built a barrier of hatred and resentment between the two nations, which has never been completely resolved; not even during the "golden years", after reconciliation between Austria and Hungary. Meanwhile, the Rumanian clergy, encouraged and financed by the newly established Rumanian Kingdom east of the borders, became engaged in a well organized political campaign against the very same Hungarian government upon which its livelihood depended. As a result of those political machinations which were supported by the Slovaks in northern Hungary, the Serbians and the Croats in southern Hungary; the Hungarian Kingdom, after nurturing all these different nationalities and aiding them in their cultural development for centuries, was torn apart and divided into small national states. Four million Hungarians, living in Transylvania, Upper Hungary, and Southern Hungary were cast into minority status with minority rights secured in the peace treaties, but never implemented and never enforced.

The Hungarians of Transylvania were hit the hardest, especially economically. Those in public offices lost their jobs. The landowners lost most of their land, while those in commerce and industry were double-taxed and suffered all sorts of chicaneries. Nevertheless, due to the many centuries-old cultural identity of their population, the Hungarian character of the Transylvanian towns and cities remained unchanged in spite of the oppression.

The original native culture of Transylvania, just as in Upper Hungary and Southern Hungary, was the Hungarian for ten centuries. Transylvania was regarded as the Eastern frontier of the Western Christian civilization. Their culture was deeply imbedded into the land and the people. Invaded and attacked by a foreign culture, Balkanic and Byzantine, the cultural identity of the Hungarians reacted immediately by retreating behind their spiritual, cultural, and intellectual fortifications: their churches, educational institutions, and cultural organizations. Thus, they were able to survive successfully almost thirty years of Rumanian op-

pression as a solid group. They increased their cultural output and excelled internationally in the fields of arts and literature.

However, after the communist take-over the Rumanian attitude changed. The confusion created by the war enabled the Rumanians to completely eliminate the leadership of the Transylvanian Hungarians. More than twenty-thousand Hungarian clergymen, educators, economists, writers, and artists were exterminated or deported into forced labor camps. Then a thorough "de-Hungarianization" program was implemented. Everything that could be regarded as a symbol of the Hungarian past was systematically destroyed: old cemeteries, old churches, libraries, museums, archives, historic landmarks, etc. The educational platform was taken out from under the Hungarian culture, step-by-step. The use of the Hungarian language was forbidden; first in public places, then everywhere. Hungarian children who dared to whisper to each other in their mother tongue in the school yard were beaten and tortured. Beating and torture became the general punishment for every crime; e.g., singing a Hungarian song, telling a Hungarian folk tale. Those who dared to protest were arrested, beaten, and in many cases killed. The Hungarian culture was outlawed and silenced. The most barbaric methods were used for more than twenty years with the aim of breaking and annihilating the cultural identity of the three-million-strong Hungarian minority within the Socialist Republic of Great Rumania.

The result? The cultural identity of the Transylvanian Hungarians is stronger than ever. It is still there, in the misery and deprivation; hidden in the catacombs of the soul. With all the historic documents regarding the past confiscated and burned: libraries, museums and archives destroyed, all geographical names changed, schools "romanized", the population uprooted, deported and relocated into foreign neighborhoods; they carry their cultural identity silently in their hearts. It is like a fire smoldering underground. The heavier the pressure, the more brutal the force, the stronger the silent reaction. Suffering never brought peace to man; only with wisdom, understanding and tolerance, together with mutual respect and the clear recognition that man was born with inalienable rights can peace be attained.

There will be no peace in the Carpathian Basin until those in power realize that assimilation cannot be forced, and prosperity can be built only in an atmosphere of freedom which releases the positive forces within the human soul; and which is embedded into the cultural heritage of each person and turns those latent

forces into positive productivity.

The diversity of nationalities will always be there and will always overlap, like the colors and motifs in an oriental script. Eliminating and destroying these colors is not only impossible, it would be a crime; which would not benefit anyone.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania is Found Guilty!

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Socialist Republic of Rumania is found in flagrant violation of each of these basic human rights in regard to the Hungarian minority.

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

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

*The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." "They will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development."

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

"They (the participating states) consider that their frontiers can be changed, in accordance with international law..."

Clause V provides the means for such changes:

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

Excerpts

from the *Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania*:

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

The State shall guarantee the equal rights of the citizens. No restriction of these rights and no difference in their exercise on the grounds of

nationality, race, sex or religion shall be permitted."

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

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

What Can the United States Do?

As a reward for her "independence" from Moscow, Rumania was granted most-favored-nation status by Congress. That decision overlooked the fact that this "independence" is not founded on decency and a healthy respect for human liberty. The fact is that Rumania today is guilty of the most blatant internal oppression of all the Soviet satellites. The only condition upon which "most-favored-nation" status was granted was the requirement of free emigration. Such systematic oppression cannot offset by an easing of restrictions on emigration. Such a "solution" could well be just what the Ruma-

nian government needs to justify a policy of exiling minorities from home, property and country. The net effect would visit even more hardship and misery on those left behind. Free emigration may solve the problem of a handful of people, but the 2.5 million Hungarians and the 400,000 Germans want to live, work and prosper in a land which, in the case of Hungarians, they have inhabited for over one thousand years.

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

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

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

A Call for Reconciliation to the Caring People of Hungary and Romania

This letter is written for reasons of conscience. It is a response to the growing cry of pain from the Hungarian people living in the Transylvania region of Romania.

We have a certain hope, that the processes causing this suffering will come to an end if people of good will unite for that purpose.

We do not wish to pass judgment on the events of our common past, for history is a bottomless pit from which facts can be arbitrarily taken to justify and rationalize the actions of one people and condemn those of another. Looking into history makes sense only if it prompts mutual understanding and appreciation and the purpose is not to incite or stir up hatred. Our deepest hope is for a new spiritual enlightenment that will cause both Hungarians and Romanians to be more thankful for the good things they have shared together; in years gone by and today.

The great river of Hungarians now fleeing from Romania has brought shock to the whole world. Forcing a man out from his country into exile and then permitting the "reunification" of his family, has been the method to effect a policy of mass deportation. The majority of the Jews and Germans have already left the country, and the remainder of their communities are making preparations to follow them. However, for the two-million-strong Hungarian community, that is not possible. They regard their own and their children's future as hopeless.

What is the ultimate goal? Transylvania without Hungarians? Is it to force out those who are unable to assimilate themselves and forcibly assimilate those who have no option but to remain? Who benefits? We cannot overestimate the damage that Romania has suffered by losing her Jewish and German communities. Now the

movement of tens-of-thousands of the most talented and skilled Hungarians means that she is losing the very people who could do much good for the common homeland. Why is this?

Distant continents are now benefitting from the skills of expelled Hungarians. The whole of Eastern Europe is losing out. By having only one language, Romania will be poorer.

Ancient treasures of Hungarian culture, the libraries, the schools and the universities: all an organic part of European civilization are being ruined. The entire continent is becoming poorer. What good will come from this? Can this process be reversed?

The idea of ruling: an anachronism.

From our position upon this moving sea of hatred we wholeheartedly support one fact: the spiritual leaders of the Hungarian people possess no desire to be rulers over another nation. We have no slogan of "give Transylvania back", not only because the present government of Hungary — very properly — would not tolerate it, but because the idea of ruling has lost its attraction to the leaders of our people. Who does Transylvania belong to? We believe it belongs to those who have been born there. What then has been the complaint of the Hungarians?

Gradual Destruction

As we travel around Transylvania we regularly hear the complaint that lessons and schools in the Hungarian language are being decreased in number year by year. It is practically impossible for Hungarian students to find a school anywhere to take entrance examinations in their mother-tongue to be admitted to higher education. As a result the possibility for further education is on the decline for Hungarian

applicants. However, if they are accepted they usually have to study far from the regions populated by Hungarians and in a foreign-speaking environment. Once they have finished, nearly all of them must move out of the area where they were brought up. Romanian school teachers who don't speak a word of the local language, are frequently appointed to villages of a solely Hungarian population.

Fewer and fewer Hungarian books are being published. Hungarian intellectuals, doctors, teachers, priests, and pastors are under constant pressure from the secret police to turn informer against their own people.

Television broadcasts in the Hungarian language have been discontinued and radio programs have decreased to a minimal level. The use of police terror is the primary means of oppressing the Hungarian minority. More and more frequently one hears of the arrest, torture, and brutal beating of those who whisper quietly of their pains.

There have already been martyrs; Géza Pálfi, the Roman Catholic priest beaten to death, and Árpád Viski, the actor who was driven to death. In order to intimidate, homes are raided daily and Hungarian literature confiscated. Hungarian Bibles are sacrilegiously pulped for toiled paper production. The use of the Hungarian language in public forums is forbidden and Hungarian written works are confiscated at the borders.

For one-hundred-twenty-thousand "Chango" Hungarians who have been geographically isolated into reservations, there is a total ban on rights of lingual expression. These are signs of large-scale abuse of the most basic human rights. The ethnic unity of our towns and villages is broken by a program of artificial settlement, resettlement and forced integration.

The daily press identifies the Hungarian people with the Fascist Horthy regime and is now on the verge of calling for a program against Hungarians.

Millions of people live in fear and terror and hundreds of thousands search for an individual way of escape.

Dwelling Together in Harmony

To live in an atmosphere of inharmony and indifference is an unnatural condition for man.

Why can't Romanians and Hungarians live for one another?

There could be numerous advantages through economic cooperation. The geographical position and the dynamic commercial policy of Hungary, together with Romania's wealth of raw materials could be mutually beneficial.

In the ecclesiastical field there could be a unique ecumenical movement. In the past our churches have often been used for the fermentation of extreme nationalism and racial hatred. Nevertheless, we are bound together by our common Christian heritage. Transylvania could be the scene of Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, and Baptist brotherhood. Orthodox spirituality would enrich our Hungarian churches, as would the emotional enthusiasm of our Romanian Baptist brothers and sisters. Our ministers could be the shepherds that draw our people together.

At the cultural level we are separated by a great wall. There could be an exchange of values if we were to view joint exhibits: works in Bucharest museums by Hungarians; and works in Budapest galleries by Romanians and Hungarians living in Romania. Let's change this growing wall into a bridge and walk over it so that we may share our cultural values.

How do we start? An appeal for action:

1. We request all Romanian and Hungarian people to reach out a hand of friendship to one another, as silent ambassadors of reconciliation.
2. People of Hungary should give urgently needed medical supplies to the Transylvanian Romanians. Hungarians abroad should collect gifts for their needy Romanian brothers. Budapest hospitals should admit Romanian patients with a special love, just as they have done for Transylvanian Hungarians.
3. All altruistic Romanians should have no part in the humiliation of the Hungarian minority, nor should they carry out the "confidential instructions" that have denied human rights. Instead they should defend the many rights of their Hungarian compatriots: jobs, peace, education, lingual, cultural, and economic.
4. Hungarians who have been denied their human rights should not return evil for evil, but should overcome evil with good. Without fear let them insist on holding to the values given to them in their mother-tongue by God, and then

follow Jesus' way of resistance. As they are beaten in the interrogation rooms of the Securitate, let them kneel down and pray aloud for their persecutors. Let them not escape into the world abroad, but trust in the power of Jesus' humility to change the enemy.

5. Hungarians should avoid displaying the hatred, mockery, revenge, and the feelings of "Hungarian supremacy". These have always been harmful. Instead they should increase the production of works of reconciliation and improve mutual understanding by means of the press.

6. We ask both Romanians and Hungarians abroad to see together a vision of a democratic future for Romania, and peaceful coexistence in Transylvania.

7. The thoughts and practice of Jesus, Tolstoy, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King should be translated into the Transylvanian situation. Let us demonstrate together small but symbolic acts of brotherhood.

8. Whenever possible we should form together communities of reconciliation as a spontaneous expression of the people. These may be in the world forums of Christianity, or two or three huddling together behind closed doors, or amongst the communities of people responsible for the human world.

Let us hope that the majority of good ordinary people will be inspired more by the ideas of fairness, justice and love, than by hatred; which inflicts pain.

A Request for Help

Hungarians and Romanians are in need of help for a Program of Reconciliation.

We request the help of the head of the Roman Catholic Church, the great community of the Orthodox and Protestants, and the World Council of Churches. None of these can continue in silent indifference. We also turn with confidence to the representatives of the people of the United States of America who have been so sensitive to human rights; and to the leaders of the Soviet Union who are striving for renewal. They must all help us together! What joy there would be in the world if in listening to the SOS message of a national minority the two super-powers jointly and effectively worked together for the reconciliation of two divided peoples. Their common action could be an example of how to work towards peace in the whole world.

Finally, we ask Europe, who has been dreaming about unity for so long, to follow her best humanitarian traditions, and not look on with folded arms at the rebirth of the demon of nationalism that is now destroying her eastern frontier.

To resist evil is a duty laid on us by virtue of being human. It remains a duty even in the face of brutality which continually tests our hope. We request all who hear or read this appeal which has been born under such tragic circumstances, to support this Program of Reconciliation between Romanians and Hungarians. Send any requests, views, or information concerning this issue to the Hungarian Review so that it may be conveyed to the writer of this article. The best news for the Council will be to hear from you that you are ready to help.

Pace Domnului!

Bekesseg Istentől!

Peace from God!

The Council for Reconciliation

Blueprint for Peace and Justice

by Dr. Julius Molnár

In the fifth issue of the **Hungarian Quarterly**, Patricia Mocsonyi de Foen comments on the problems of East Central Europe on the basis of her "multinational" origin. She also recommends the unification of the peoples of Central Europe, but it is my belief that the United States of Central Europe suggested by her is not realizable.

It is the lesson of history that peoples having diverse geographic-political interests, while they might be able to live together in a federated relationship, cannot do so with permanence integrated into a single political system. The peoples living within the Carpathian Basin would, utilizing certain modern concepts, be able to co-operate in an ideal manner. But such states as Austria, which forms an organic part of the Germanic bloc and is located outside the Hungarian Basin, as well as Poland and Rumania, could not be fitted into a single state community, on account of their divergent economic and political interests. Neither the mediaeval Hungarian Empire (whether under the House of Árpád or under the kings of different houses), nor Stephen Báthory, nor the Habsburgs were successful in establishing such a solution. The "settlement" that followed World War I was also a failure.

It is my opinion that the only sound solution would be for the peoples of the former integral Hungary to constitute themselves into a single state community. The surrounding states, namely Austria, Bohemia, Poland, the Baltic states, Rumania, the Balkan states, and even possibly the Ukraine and Italy, could then form a federated alliance with this state community, but strictly as sovereign states possessing their own interests.

Perhaps it would not be superfluous to indicate to what extent I personally might be acquainted with the relevant conditions.

I was born in Budapest. My mother's family originated in Upper Austria. My father's family were of the lower nobility of the Dunántul. At the age of ten, I came to live in the county of Gömör in northern Hungary, where I grew up on the Hungarian-Slovak linguistic border. After the occupation of this area by the Czechs, I was a medical student in Budapest, but I spent all my vacations at home in Gömör, now attached to Czechoslovakia. When I was a young physician I worked in the county of Szabolcs, as a district and municipal doctor. My wife is from Debrecen. Her family on her father's side originated within the lower nobility of Transylvania; on her mother's side they are indigenous to Debrecen.

When during the Second World War Hungary regained a number of her territories, I was active as a district and county public health physician in Huszt in Subcarpathian Ruthenia (presently the USSR), in Ujvidék (presently Yugoslavia), and in Transylvania in the area of the Mezőség. After the Russian occupation, I was active first in a farm area in Bavaria, then in Passau, and later in Trier as physician for a Polish refugee camp. We came to America in 1950.

I maintain the following on the basis of my experiences:

From the distance of seventy years, we can state that following the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the establishment of regional, national states, the post-World War I experiment of political arrangements in East Central Europe suffered a shameful failure. All of this, however, does not mean that we have to return to 1914.

The reason for the failure above all was that the powers responsible for this arrangement ignored the geopolitical and economical relationships of the area. All of this is especially true as

regards the Hungarian Basin. The conclusion, therefore, is that there exists the need for unification, on a federal basis, of the economic and ethnic interests of these peoples.

We can state without reservation that Hungary, by virtue of its central location in this Central European area, as well as of its economic, cultural, and historical basis, is called to perform a crystallizing role. As a result, the solution to the "Hungarian problem" is of central importance in the solution of the problems of the region.

Now the question is, should we demand the re-establishment of the entire boundaries girt by the Carpathians? If we do, what can we count on? 1) The opposition of the "successor states," and 2) opposition by other nations to the danger thus posed to the status quo.

If this is so, what can we do? On whom can we depend in our struggle? We remember the proverb, "Help yourself, so that God will help you." But what is the situation here? Could we get results through our own political, not to say military efforts? We must realize that if we were not able to defend our frontiers by our own strength in 1918 in the face of the successor states which were then merely in the formative stages, then we cannot achieve this today after the passage of over sixty years.

If, thus, we cannot reach the goal on our own, we must look for help. The question is, on whose aid can we count? One thing seems certain, that merely on account of sympathy, without considerations of their own interest, no one will help us. There remain, therefore, those whose interests are concurrent with ours. But who are these? Obviously, those peoples or countries who are dissatisfied with the present situation. I am thinking here primarily of the Hungarians, the Slovaks, the Ruthenians, the Transylvanian Rumanians and Germans, also of the Croats. Secondly interested would be the people of the Baltic States, the Poles, the Rumanians, the people of the Balkan States, Austrians, and possibly the Italians.

Let us take a look at the current power situation. Before the Second World War, Germany and Great Britain were powers on a world scale. Today this is no longer the case. Today, the sole choice remains between the interests of the two world powers. Europe merely counts insofar as it constitutes a prize in the contest bet-

ween the Russians and the United States.

To gain effect for Central European interests, therefore, we must increase our strategic power before this ultimate rearrangement of world powers occurs. Today this can only be hoped for on the basis of a Central European federation which would constitute a sufficiently strong buffer to counter Russian or even possible German expansion. This Central European buffer, whose core would be the strategically located and readily defensible state of the Hungarian United Nations Republic, and to which secondarily other interested Central European nations might join by treaties, would be wedged between the expansionistic attempts of the Russians or the Germans.

This federation could effectively block the unification of Europe, thus preventing the creation, under the domination of the Russians or Germans, of a frightening rival to the United States of America or even to the states of the Far East. If we could have this idea take root in the diplomatic thinking of Washington, possibly even of the Far Eastern states, then we could count on the support of the United States and of the Far Eastern powers also.

The importance of Hungary for such a Central European confederation is easily proven. Merely by pointing to the map it becomes obvious that this central core is a necessary ingredient of such a confederation.

The question arises at this point of how I can hope for the reestablishment of Hungary's integral boundaries? In today's political climate, without the acquiescence of the former nationalities, it is undoubtedly impossible. One means of decreasing the sensitivity of these nationalities would be the use of the term Hungarian United Nations.

We would also have to make clear that in this country each citizen would have exactly the same rights and responsibilities before the law, without regard to ethnic, racial, or religious affiliation. But in a state containing multiple nationalities, the practice of the rights of citizenship would not be simple. Here I am thinking primarily of the official language used. This problem would be greatly eased, however, by the political system based on an upwardly ascending hierarchy, as detailed below, in which each community would naturally use the language appropriate to the inhabitants who compose it.

In areas with a homogenous linguistic population, there would naturally be no problem; in areas of mixed language populations certain special procedures would be needed. Thus, for example, in certain districts, where the population shows a linguistic division between 25 per cent and 75 per cent, the institution of a bilingual administration would be necessary. The language of the federal machinery would most appropriately be Hungarian, since, if each nationality language is taken individually, Hungarian would hold the majority. If, however, there were significant opposition on the part of the other nationalities to this provision, we could consider the use of English, which is today the world-wide diplomatic and commercial language.

In order to prove to other nations the sympathy of the nationalities and their willingness to join the confederation, we would need some sort of pronouncement from them, or a request for a vote. In such a case, we could appeal to the Wilsonian principles, in fact even to the Helsinki accords, and demand unification on the basis of a people's right to self-determination.

In the interest of effective government, internal checks within the system, and the ideals of democracy, I propose the establishment of a federal governmental mechanism divided into three branches:

- 1) Parliament: Bicameral, that is with a house based on occupations and one on political affiliation
- 2) The Highest Court: With supervisory authority and responsibility for the defense of the constitution
- 3) The Head of State.

I. The Parliament

1. The Chamber Based on Occupations

Each occupational branch would select, on the basis of universal secret ballot, its own delegates from among its ranks. The hierarchy would move from the bottom to the top, with the election of local, precinct, district, and country-wide leadership, which might be called secretariats. Each occupational branch would be independent of all others and have an autonomous administration. Each country-wide secretariat would choose, also by secret ballot, the leader of each occupational branch, whose rank and area of responsibility would be of

cabinet level. This body would then form the so-called occupational legislative body.

The various occupational sectors could be, as needed:

1. The Agricultural
2. The Industrial
3. The Commercial
4. Social Welfare
5. Educational
6. Defense and Security
7. Judicial, and whatever else would develop as needed.

The mandate of the occupational Secretaries would be for 4-6 years, without prejudice to re-election.

2. The Political House

The other component of the legislature would be the Political House. At first, it might seem that the occupational sectors would represent the opinion of the entire country and that thus this other branch would be superfluous. It is, however, not so simple, because citizens have political ideas and convictions also in addition to their occupational and chiefly economic interests, and the publicizing of these political convictions and debate about them is, in the eyes of most citizens, a basic right and duty of citizenship.

Here I would like to emphasize that we must definitely reject the one-party system that leads so easily to dictatorship and which, in any case, is today very unpopular. However, in contrast to the overblown, multi-party system of many democracies, which makes effective work almost impossible, I would consider more appropriate the introduction of the two-party system. I would suggest this all the more because in the multi-party system, within the various coalitions, a two-party system effectively emerges: the government coalition and the opposition. As I see it, with two parties in the political system, let us say a conservative and a liberal party, the battles and compromises between various views would occur within the parties.

Legislative proposals could begin in either House; after debate and decision, it would send the bill to the other House. This House would also either accept or reject it on the basis of a two-thirds majority. In the case of rejection, the Head of State would decide the fate of the bill.

II. The Highest (Constitutional) Judiciary

To complement the work of the Parliament sketched above, the Supreme (constitutional) Court has to be established. This Court would most practically be composed of three members, with one member nominated by each House of the Legislature, whom the Head of State would then have to appoint. The third member would be chosen by the Head of State.

The judges would serve for life, or until retirement, but by a unanimous decision of the two Houses and the Head of State they could be questioned on their actions, and in serious matters, might even be stripped of their position.

The judiciary would decide on cases brought before it on the basis of a simple majority. Its jurisdiction would be decisions in constitutional questions, as well as the holding of the members of the two Houses accountable for matters of constitutional rights.

III. The Head of State

The Head of State would be elected for his or her lifetime by a simple ballot and through a secret vote by the two Houses of the legislature. In the case of an inability to decide on the part of the legislature, the Supreme Court would decide.

The Head of State could also initiate legislation, which the two Houses would have to debate. Assent or rejection by both Houses would mean passage or non-passage of the bill. The Head of State would be obligated to sign such a bill. Inasmuch as the decision of the two Houses would differ, the Head of State would decide the fate of the bill on the opinion of the Supreme Court.

Declaration of war and the making of peace would require such a decision of both Houses. In the case of inability to decide, the Head of State would be obliged to decide on the basis of the opinion of the Supreme Court. The Head of State may also veto the decision of the two Houses within 24 hours, in which case the Supreme Court would likewise be obliged to decide within 24 hours. The Head of State would be obliged to sign this decision.

In extraordinary situations, primarily in the case of war, the Head of State would assume all power for the duration of the war. In this case, the Head of State would suspend the Parliament and would act with dictatorial powers. In the case of significant decisions, he would be obliged to get the opinion of the Supreme Court, without, however, being obliged to follow it.

In order to allow for a free review of the dictatorial powers exercised during the state of war, at the end of the war the Head of State would be placed on a compulsory administrative leave for the duration of two months. During this time, the rights of the Head of State would be exercised by his permanent deputy, the Nádor.

During these two months, a tribunal composed of the presidents of the two Houses and the members of the Supreme Court would be obliged to examine the actions of the Head of State taken under the period of dictatorial rule. The judgment would be approval or censure. In the case of censure, with the consent of the two Houses and the Supreme Court, the Head of State may even be impeached and deposed. In order that the decision may be implemented in all cases and without delay, such a tribunal must in all cases be composed of an uneven number.

Hungarian Minority Education in Czechoslovakia

A case study of a social movement for ethnic survival, delivered at the Oscar Jászi Memorial Conference in November 1985 at Oberlin College.

by Károly Nagy

In the past thirty years the government has eliminated 314 Hungarian elementary schools in Slovakia where 559,800 Hungarians constitute 11.2 percent of the total population according to the 1980 official census.¹ They have also completely discontinued the higher education programs for Hungarian teacher training.

Table 1.

Number of Hungarian elementary schools in Slovakia, 1950-1982

Year	Number of Hungarian elementary schools
1950	609
1970	490
1982	295

Most of Czechoslovakia's 579,600 Hungarian nationals² live in Slovakia. 1,084,000 Hungarians were annexed there without their consent after the 1920 Treaty of Trianon.³ According to 1980 census data, in 451 Slovakian towns Hungarians still constitute the majority of the population.⁴

Slovakia's Hungarians — just like Europe's largest minority group: the two million strong Hungarians in Rumania — are subjected to a political economic, social and cultural existence of double jeopardy. On the one hand, they are deprived of a democratic life with guaranteed human rights and freedoms, like all citizens of the country, ruled by a communist one-party dictatorship. On the other hand, Hungarians are also subjected to additional pressures, discrimination and deprivations, those resulting from governmental policies of denationalization, of forced assimilation.⁵

Nowhere is this policy more flagrant and damaging than in the educational sector: which, next to the family, is the most important institution of language and culture preservation. School closings, discontinuation of Hungarian language use and instruction, political-social pressures on parents to enroll their children in Slovak-language schools all add up to a dangerously diminishing opportunity for ethno-cultural continuity. School enrollment statistics show that, besides studying the Slovak language which is compulsory in all schools, the chances for Hungarian and other national minority students to receive instruction in their own language is steadily diminishing. An example: in the 1977-78 school year 76 percent of all Hungarian students attended Hungarian elementary, high and vocational high schools and Slovak schools which offer at least some Hungarian instruction. Five years later, in the 1982-83 school year this ratio decreased to 72 percent or 62.5 percent if we add the ratio in the industrial schools.⁶

Oszkár Jászi, throughout his life, consistently argued and struggled for the rights of the national minorities. He leveled his strongest criticism against the forced assimilation practices of his own Hungarian government and society at the beginning of the century, upholding ethnic autonomy as the only humane, democratic and practically, even politically viable principle. He wrote in 1911: "There exists a universal, minimal national minorities program, common to all national minority questions of the world without the solution of which nowhere in the world was it ever possible to

Table 2.
Hungarian students receiving
all or some Hungarian and only Slovak instruction

School type	Percent of Hungarian students receiving all or some Hungarian instruction		Percent of Hungarian students in schools offering only Slovak instruction	
	1977-78	1982-83	1977-78	1982-83
Elementary	79	76	21	24
High	83	75	17	25
Vocational High	67	64	33	36
Industrial	n.a.	35	n.a.	65
Total:	76	62.5	24	37.5

achieve peace, order and cooperation. This program can be succinctly summarized thus: ...good schools, good government administration and good jurisdiction which can be good only if offered in the people's own language".⁷ Jászi was a socialist, but he also recognized that international solidarity is not possible without recognizing the importance of national or ethnic identity first. He wrote: "Mankind is made such that there is only one road leading to internationalism: the one through national existence. There is no other cultural recipe possible."⁸ In his 1926-28 monumental work about the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy he also bemoans the fact that the new rulers of the dismembered Monarchy successor states continue the inhuman forced-assimilation policies which became one of the chief obstacles to Central European cooperation in a Danubian Federation.⁹ He wrote: "We can witness that the same policies which gave a pretext for dismembering Hungary are now practiced by the former victims of that policy."¹⁰ "The new ruling nations, in some places, are practicing the same political and cultural methods, which were used before the war by the Germans, the Hungarians and the Poles to maintain their hegemony over the people they ruled." "Some of the victorious people did not learn from the tragic fate of the Habsburg Empire and most of these old methods live on in education as well as in administrative life. Excesses of the most flagrant nationalistic fever are poisoning the air in some places." He specifically refers, in this part of his book, to disturbing reports about practices of discrimination against minority Hungarians in the successor states.¹¹

After the Second World War, the peace treaties have again thrust all the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Rumania and Yugoslavia into minority status. With the possible exception of the latter country, the communist one-party governments demonstrated more continuity than discontinuity during the past forty years with regard to discrimination against the Hungarian minorities. What Jászi observed in 1928, prevails still today: some of the victorious people did not learn from old mistakes, most of the old forced-assimilation methods are still practiced in education as well as in administrative life, excesses of the most flagrant nationalism are poisoning the air in some places. To be sure, Jászi did not have any illusions about anticipating democratic humanism of the new "socialist" ruling model. After visiting Hungary in 1948, on the eve of the Communist Party's total take-over there with the support of the Soviet occupying forces, he bemoaned the fact that "the increasingly permeating atmosphere is that of Eastern totalitarianism and the omnipotent state" "copying Russian dictatorship in every essential aspect".¹² He argued that "Austrian absolutism and the Nazis were annihilated in vain if the country submits itself now to a new, ruthless imperialism."¹³

Subsequent events have proved Jászi's forebodings all too correct, and not only for Hungary: totalitarian dictatorships suffocated the Soviet-dominated regions of Europe for about a decade to come. And, although after violent upheavals of protest in East Germany and Poland, after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the "Prague Spring" of 1968 economic

reforms and a semblance of democratization have achieved some changes from totalitarianism towards authoritarianism in Hungary, Czechoslovakia is still suffering from a very tightly anti-democratic dictatorship in all spheres of life and Rumania's population is completely subjugated by a totalitarian police state.

It is in these latter two countries — as in the Soviet Union itself — that the minorities — Hungarian, German, Ukranian, Jewish and others — suffer from the most persistently aggressive discrimination, described by some as European Apartheid, cultural genocide or ethnocide.

Notes

¹1950 and 1970 data: *Szlovákiai jelentés a magyar kisebbség állapotáról* [Slovakian report on the state of the Hungarian minority], (Paris, Magyar Füzetek könyvei 4., 1982), p. 34. 1982 school and census data: Juraj Zvara: *Nemzet, nemzetiség, nemzeti tudat* [Nation, nationality, national consciousness], (Bratislava, Madách, 1985), pp. 192-193 and p. 98.

²Official census data are usually unreliable. According to current reliable estimates, Czechoslovakia's Hungarian population is 6-700,000.

³See Béla K. Király et. al. ed.: *War and Society in East Central Europe, Vol. VI., Essays on World War I: Total War and Peacemaking, A Case Study on Trianon*, (New York, Social Science Monographs, Brooklyn College Press, 1982.)

⁴Juraj Zvara: *Nemzet*, p. 138.

⁵For recent documentation of these policies and practices, see: Kálmán Janics: *Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority* (New York, Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1982.) and Ölvedi, János: *Napfogyatkozás* (Eclipse), (New York, Püski, 1985.)

⁶See: *Szlovákiai jelentés*, p. 42, and Juraj Zvara: *Nemzet*, pp. 192-193.

⁷Jászi Oszkár *publicisztikája*, (Budapest, Magvető, 1982.) p. 158.

⁸*Op. Cit.*, p. 172.

⁹See: Jászi, Oszkár: „Miért nem sikerült a Dunavölgyi Federációt megalkotni” [Why the creation of a Danubian Federation not succeed], *Látóhatár* (München) 1953. 1. 2.

¹⁰Jászi, Oszkár: *A Habsburg-monarchia felbomlása [The dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy]*, (Budapest, Gondolat, 1982.) p. 422.

¹¹*Op. Cit.*, pp. 559-560.

¹²Jászi, Oszkár: *Marxizmus vagy liberalizmus*, (Paris, Magyar füzetek könyvei 6., 1983.) pp. 211-212.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Data in this section, unless noted otherwise, were derived from personal sources and from: *In Defense of Hungarian Schools in Slovakia: Documents*, (New York, Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, 1984.)

¹⁵Duray, Miklós: *Kutyaszorító [Trap]*, (New York, Püski, 1983.)

¹⁶Jászi, Oszkár: *Magyar kálvária, magyar feltámadás* [Hungarian calvary, Hungarian resurrection], (München, Aurora, 1969.) pp. 170-171.

¹⁷„Duray Miklós levele” [A letter by Miklós Duray], *Nyugati Magyarság* [Hungarians of the West], (Calgary, Alberta) September, 1985.

¹⁸István Bibó: “The Principle of Self-determination”, in: *Democracy, Revolution, Self-determination — Selected Writings* (New York, Atlantic Research and Social Science Monographs, forthcoming.)

Why Count Janos Eszterhazy Had to Die in Eduard Benes' Prison

Reflections on the thirtieth anniversary of this martyr's death.

by Dr. Gabor Szent-Ivany

Count Janos Eszterhazy, vice-chairman of the United Hungarian Party in Czechoslovakia from 1936 until he became the chairman of the new Hungarian Party in Slovakia under the Tiso administration, was sentenced to death by the National Court in 1947, while Eduard Benes was still in power as president. The death sentence had to be commuted to life-imprisonment because of the pressure from abroad. He died at the Mirov Prison on March 8, 1957. The "Spirit of Benes" was jubilant. Blinded by its ultra-chauvinistic fervor it destroyed the man who stood in its way to carry out the openly propagated mass-liquidation of thousands of innocent people. For it, there was no other way to resolve the national minority problem but the most radical and cruel: mass liquidation. It happened about thirty years ago.

Count Janos Eszterhazy was an exceptionally noble-minded and courageous man who had to endure the rage of the utterly intolerant and blindly nationalistic "Spirit of Benes"; at the same time he was the number one target of Hitler's henchmen. He was arrested and put in jail by the Nazis in Hungary; directed by the German politicians because he was not willing to reorganize the Hungarian Party along Nazi lines. That was not all. He had to suffer from the Russian and the Czech communists as well. When he returned to Slovakia in late 1944 he was advised by his friends to leave for the West at once as the Russian armies were advancing. He remained, to be with his brothers. The Russians arrested him as a war criminal and took him to Russia. During his absence Benes' National Court sentenced him "in contumaciam" to death. He was charged with plotting to break

up Czechoslovakia by collaborating with Nazi Germany. These absurd charges and his death sentence shocked the public sentiment beyond the borders. The death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In spite of his strong anti-Nazi attitude he was to be liquidated. One might ask with good reason how such a horrible event could happen. Janos Eszterhazy had to be liquidated along with thousands of innocent Hungarians because of the insane ultra-chauvinistic anti-Hungarian frenzy stirred up first by the "Spirit of Benes".

A look into history may provide some background for understanding the ominous turn of events which led to the fracture of the centuries-old relationship between the Hungarians and Slovaks.

It is generally accepted that up until the 19th century there was a peaceful, cordial cohabitation between Hungarians and Slovaks. During the 16th and 17th centuries the relationship was quite amiable. They fought together defending themselves against the Turkish power. Similarly, under the leadership of the Hungarian princes of Transylvania, particularly that of Ferenc Rakoczy II, they fought side-by-side to defend their religion and freedom against Austrian oppression.

The majority of inhabitants of the region of Northern Hungary, which was taken away in 1920, and later became Slovakia, were Hungarians. During the Turkish occupation, (end of the 17th and on into the 18th century) the number of Hungarians decreased radically. It was during this time that the Slav population increased. In the last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th the Hungarians

recaptured their status of the pre-17th century.

Awakening of nationalism in the 19th century introduced new problems hitherto unknown in Europe; first of all the language problems. The ideal in western Europe became the "nation-state" and the model to be followed was the "nation with one language". This overall trend had an unmistakable effect on the western states, and Hungary was no exception. It became particularly poignant during the debates in the Diet in Pozsony (Bratislava) on the declaration of the Hungarian as the official language. The declaration offended many Slovaks. The situation became greatly aggravated with the Czechs, for their own political advantage, constantly agitated the Slovaks; urging them to oppose the Hungarians. Nevertheless, when Hungary had to rise up against the Austrian oppression in 1848-49, more than 30,000 Slovaks fought under Louis Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian uprising; though some of the high officials of Czech origin serving in Vienna supported the Habsburgs.

The anti-Magyar sentiment fomented by the Czech leaders among the Slovaks was to serve as an antidote to German expansionism and fitted well in their plans of Czechoslovakism. They needed the Slovaks and their land. That was the core of Czechoslovakism; an effective political propaganda device that succeeded for a while. Later the Slovaks rejected the plan.

The Austrian-Hungarian Compromise reached in 1867 formed the Dual Monarchy. This new development greatly annoyed the Czech leaders. "The Czechs want a parliament for the Bohemian lands, they would like to be as independent as the Hungarians; that is the goal of our struggle," said T. Masaryk in 1902.

The Compromise of 1867 was followed by the Nationality Act in the next year. The main tenet of the Act was, "All citizens of Hungary compose one nation, politically speaking an indivisible unified Hungarian nation, in which everyone, no matter which nationality he or she should belong, enjoys equal rights before the law." It was the first law in Europe to ensure the free development of the national minorities. The radical leaders of the nationalities however wanted much more than protective measures. The Slovaks, agitated by the Czechs, wanted no compromise. Instead they wanted to establish

an ethnic district where the Slovak language would be the sole official language in the civil administration, as well as in the church. Such excessive demands and uncompromising attitudes discouraged the liberal Hungarian politicians. Application of the law was incomplete. Proponents of the "nation state" grew stronger. The more extreme leaders responded to the excessive demands with accelerated Magyarization.

The anti-Magyar propaganda by the Czechs reminded the Slovaks constantly of their "perilous" situation threatened by the Magyars; which was just pure fabrication. Later when the Slovaks attempted to achieve their autonomy in the Czechoslovak state, agreed upon in Pittsburgh in May, 1918, they were told they would be unable to withstand the "Magyar menace". Their campaign became more pragmatic and organized when Eduard Benes appeared in the political arena. Now, Hungary was depicted as being the main oppressor in Eastern Europe, beside Germany. "Hungary ought to be dismembered; it would serve the interest not only of the Slavs and of Europe, but of the whole world," stated Benes in 1916. This was the true manifestation the "Spirit of Benes" who pitted one nation against the other, continuously undermining any attempt at reconciliation. Benes and his collaborators bombarded the Western Powers with memoranda cleverly using the fiction of Czech-Slovak unity. He had not yet alluded to the Czech-Slovak unity in 1908; on the contrary, he listed the Slovaks among the other nationalities of the Monarchy and advocated trialimus, similar to the demand of Masaryk. Eight years later he wrote his infamous pamphlet, "Detruisez l'Autriche Hongrie".

The Western Powers however were almost unanimous in denying any plan to break up the Monarchy. Their attitude was soon to change. The Powers had to make promises to Italy, Romania, and other nations; subsequently finalized in secret treaties. The "Spirit of Benes" tried every avenue possible, eventually distorting ethnical and historical facts, to convince the Western Powers, particularly France, that setting up Slav and Romanian states would be the only bulwark against German expansion. Their political campaign, based on deception was victorious; the result was the Treaty of Trianon.

Hungary had no choice but to ratify it in June 1919. The treaty was based on strategic and economic principles rather than ethnic. Prior to 1919 the Slovak leaders based their territorial claims on ethnic considerations. Milan Hodza, who was sent to Budapest by the Czechoslovak government, negotiated on ethnic grounds with O. Jaszi and A. Bartha in October, 1918. They found a mutually agreeable formula; Benes rebuffed Hodza and summoned him back.

The Treaty marked a new era in the Hungarian-Slovak relationship. The new border, outlining the new Slovak territory which had been part of Hungary for a thousand years was set up as a result of Benes' diplomatic triumph. For a while it brought the Czechs and Slovaks together. They became united against the Hungarians. East Central Europe started its way toward polarization, making an easy access for German and Russian expansion. All this had a profound effect on Hungarian-Slovak relations and foreshadowed the ominous events which began in 1945. Some of the Slovaks accepted the new arrangement wholeheartedly; others demanded autonomy.

Until the Munich Agreement in 1938, the Hungarians maintained their basic position; that they would like to change the terms of the Treaty of Trianon by peaceful means. The Slovak efforts to attain autonomy and the Hungarian attempts to achieve peaceful revision became more acute during the late 1930's. Due to the radical changes in the balance of power in Europe the Western Powers felt it necessary to meet Hitler's demands head-on. Hungary desperately tried to resist the enormous pressure of Hitler's Germany. They wanted military cooperation in an impending attack on Czechoslovakia in exchange for allowing Hungary to acquire the whole Slovakia and Ruthenia. The leaders of Hungary "believed that the western opinion could now at last be won over to accept Hungary's claim for a revision of the territorial settlement made after the First World War, if she confined herself to demands that had an ethnic justification."

Hitler was antagonized by Hungary's refusal to take part in the attack on Czechoslovakia and offered again his territorial solution. In Munich the Hungarian and Czechoslovak governments were ordered to settle their problems by direct negotiations. The Hungarian

demand was for cessation of the Magyar areas, and plebiscites for the Slovaks and Ruthens. Benes resigned October 5, 1938. The new foreign minister Chvalkovsky began at once a fully pro-German policy and the Hungarians began to feel Hitler's pro-Slovak sentiment. Shortly before, the Slovak delegates declared the autonomy of Slovakia. The direct negotiations collapsed and the problems had to be sent to the four great powers, according to the Munich Agreement. The confidence of the Slovak leaders in Germany and the expectation of a favorable decision from Ribbentrop was instrumental in bringing about the Axis arbitration in place of the Four Power Conference. Prague requested an opinion in the matter from the British government. They replied favorably: "His Majesty's Government saw no objection to the settlement of the Czech-Hungarian question by means of arbitration of Germany and Italy, if the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Governments agreed to settle the differences this way." The Vienna Arbitration awarded Hungary with ethnic principles in contrast to the Treaty of Trianon and not unlike the Hodza-Jaszi and Bartha agreements of 1918; which was annulled by Benes. Chamberlain stated in the British Parliament on November 14: "Agreement was in fact reached between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian governments when they agreed to accept as final the arbitral award of the German and Italian governments, and in consequence, no question of action by His Majesty's government arises."

Soon the anti-Hungarian propaganda machine began rolling again. The arbitration, according to them, rewarded the Hungarians for taking part in the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. That was again the same negative, extremely rigid attitude which characterized the "Spirit of Benes" since 1920. Instead of giving at least some recognition and understanding to the Hungarian grievances and trying to reach some compromise and ultimately reconciliation, it continued its irrational policy. At the same time total loyalty was demanded from the Hungarian minority leaders; first from Janos Eszterhazy. They were accused of being one of the main causes of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia. The staunch anti-Fascist writer, Zoltan Fabry wrote, "During the victorious hours of Facism, Janos Eszterhazy and his par-

ty, the Hungarian Party in Slovakia, did not cooperate and the Hungarians as a whole became the standard-bearers of anti-Hitlerism... The Hungarian ethnic group was the only one, which as a group could stand the test of Fascism in the whole Slovakia and remain immune against infection of Hitlerism..." As a leftist writer and well-known anti-Nazi he cannot be accused of being biased.

The fate of the Jews was a fundamental problem of Nazism. Headed by the staunch anti-Semitic Tiso, Slovak collaborators took great advantage of the tragic situation of the Jews. "Slovak Fascism redeemed the Slovak privileged status in Europe by the sufferings, deportations and deaths of the Jews," wrote Z. Fabry.

The Hungarian minorities' attitude as a whole was sharply against those Fascist measures. As chairman of the Hungarian Party, Janos Eszterhazy was the only representative in the Slovakian Parliament who dared to vote "no" in the debate of the anti-Jewish legislation. The Nazi oriented news media in Pozsony (capital of Hungary for centuries, where eleven of the Hungarian kings were crowned, renamed Bratislava; after the Treaty of Trianon) reprimanded Eszterhazy. He was arrested by the German controlled Nazis in Budapest and the Gestapo watched him closely.

The fervent anti-Jewish attitude of the Slovaks was transformed soon, and fanned by the "Spirit of Benes", turned into a fierce anti-Hungarian sentiment. "Yesterday the price of the privileged Slovak well-being was Auschwitz; today the Hungarian minority," said Zoltan Fabry. Pozsony, that ancient Hungarian city became the center of the anti-Hungarian activities directed by Karmasin and Mach and controlled by the German Nazi apparatus. Soon they turned against their former mentors, the Czechs. When Benes escaped from Prague in 1938 he started his political maneuvering at once. The atmosphere in the West, however was not favorable until Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1940. His great political triumph came in 1943 at the meeting in Moscow. The most devastating effect of it was the introduction of Soviet power in East Central Europe.

Benes' return to Prague on April 5, 1945, heralded the beginning of the darkest era in the life of the non-Slavic minorities in Czecho-

slovakia. Those measures taken against the national minorities were hitherto unknown in that part of Europe, except for the persecutions of Jews. All of the principles agreed upon by Benes and Stalin in Moscow with the aim of converting Czechoslovakia into a nationalist (Slav) state, were incorporated and codified into the "Kosice Program" adopted in Kassa (Kosice) in April, 1945. This sinister document became the basic source of law for all the sufferings of the minorities during the following three years. As Benes declared, "This state is the state of the Czechs and the Slovaks only and of nobody else." This was the most shameful era in the Slovak history, for which the Slovaks have never tried to excuse themselves. Hungarian families were rounded up. Their properties, livestock, and equipment were confiscated. They were herded into cattle wagons, transported to Bohemia and used as slaves by Bohemian farmers.

Amidst the reign of unbearable terror, Janos Eszterhazy was arrested in Hungary by the Nazis, then returned to Pozsony at the end of 1944. Then he resigned from his chairmanship. The Gestapo was looking for him. He hid from them but would not leave his brothers. The Russians captured him and he was moved to the Soviet Union as a war criminal. When he was returned to Slovakia in 1948 he was arrested again. He learned that during his absence the National Court condemned him to death by hanging on September 16, 1947. The death-sentence was converted to life imprisonment. He died in the Mirov Prison in Bohemia on March 8, 1957. It is the irony of fate that Eduard Benes had to resign on June 1948, not quite a year after Janos Eszterhazy had been sentenced.

The Czechoslovak ultra-nationalism which buried Janos Eszterhazy and caused suffering for thousands was contrived by the "Spirit of Benes", then carried out by the Slovaks in collaboration first with the German Nazi regime and later with the Czech communists.

Eszterhazy's appeal to the Hungarians when the war broke out should be remembered: "Try to follow the command of love to the best of your ability!" Love of your brethren can not stand against senseless hatred and overwhelming brutal physical forces. Janos Eszterhazy had to perish: this was the verdict of the "Spirit

of Benes" and the reawakened imperialistic Slav nationalism. The Hungarian minority, represented by him, stood in its way to march forward into the Danubian Basin.

We should add that he died in dignity and his memory will long outlive the obsolete "Spirit

of Benes" to give way to a new spirit: the awakening "Danubian Spirit", which will lay the groundwork for reshaping East Central Europe by peaceful means built on mutual understanding, tolerance and respect.

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Book Review

by *Albert Wass*

CROATIA AND THE CROATIANS, by George J. Prpic. (Associated Book Publishers, Scottsdale, Arizona. ISBN: 0-910164-05-3.)

Since Croatia is an important part of the Carpathian Basin, and the Croatians an important asset within the multinational population of Central Europe, it is important that the English speaking world be properly informed of this brave and honorable nation. Professor Prpic dedicated his book "to all earnest seekers of objective and complete truth about the land and the people of Croatia." His book is indeed a complete lexicon; a remarkable collection of data and biographies, and very valuable as such. As far as it goes, the "truth" is not in question. Everything the book tells passes the test. Its weakness is not in what it says, but what it fails to mention.

For long centuries Croatia was an important part of the Hungarian Kingdom, as one of the "Lands of the St. Stephen's Crown". Its coat-of-arms is included in the old coat-of-arms of the Hungarian Kingdom. Hungarians and Croatians (known as Horvats, derived from the ancient name Hrvat) fought side by side for centuries against intruders and oppressors. The Croatian nation gave outstanding leaders to the Hungarian Kingdom, and they are referred to in our history books as Hungarians of Croatian origin, and earned much respect from us.

Professor Prpic mentions only two of these leaders: Ferenc Frangepan and Peter Zrinyi, who were both executed for conspiring against the Habsburgs. Hungarians regard them as heroes: the book calls them traitors. Nor is there any mention of the famous poet and great military leader, Count Miklos Zrinyi, one of the greatest men of sixteenth century Europe, whose well-known slogan is still being quoted today: "not multitudes but spirit works miracles!"

We are proud of Zrinyi, the Hungarian poet and military leader, irregardless of the fact that he was also a Croatian. Apparently the author of this book is not. Would this be some sort of "discrimination" because of his Hungarian role in European history?

Perhaps we would not be so touchy, if the trend to forget everything that was or still is Hungarian, would not be so obvious lately in all the works of Slovak, Rumanian, or Serbian authors. However, we are surprised to find the same antagonistic attitude from a Croatian, whose countrymen we always regarded as good neighbors and brothers-in-arms. It is indeed difficult to understand why Professor Prpic would mention the Duke Jellachich, who helped the Emperor Franz Joseph and the Czar of Russia crush the Hungarian Liberty War of 1848-49, and why he would forget to be proud of those two Croatian regiments that fought for liberty under the flag of Kossuth and under the command of General Damjanich, a Serbian, against Habsburg oppression?

Our histories are richly interwoven. There were Hungarians who played important roles in the Croatian history and culture, and there were Croatians who left their mark on the history of the Hungarian Kingdom. For some reason the author does not want to recognize this fact. This is sad because it builds a wall between two neighbors, who for the most part of their history had no walls between them, but lived side-by-side; suffering or prospering together. There were many Croatians who, as members of the Hungarian nobility, played decisive roles in the history of the Kingdom, and there are many Hungarians whose name is Horvath, meaning "the Croatian". This book denounces all of them.

Perhaps it is fashionable today to falsify history. However, this attitude does not get us anywhere. If we want to live together, for reason of survival we must learn to get along without

stepping on each others' toes. We are tied together not just by our past but geographically as well. Until we learn to act as good neighbors, instead of naughty children of a multi-lingual family, there can be no reconciliation and no cooperation between our co-existing nations in the Carpathian Basin. We will never be on our own again, but always under the rule of some foreign power.

As a child, just learning to read and write, I was travelling in a railway car with my father from Szamosujvar, which was our railroad station to Kolozsvar, some 40 kilometers away. Standing by the window I noticed some writings on the window pane below. The first line was in Hungarian and told me that it was dangerous to lean out. The second line was in German; the third in an unknown language. As my six year old tongue sounded the letters "opasnojevansenagnuti", my father told me that was Croatian. This happened in 1914 in Transylvania. We sure came a long way on the road to hate and intolerance over the years. Will we ever find our way back into peace and mutual respect?

Hungarian Cultural Influence in Europe

*During the Habsburgs (1825-1867)
Compiled by Prof. L. Konnyu, Cultural Historian*

At the beginning of the Hungarian Reform Period we should mention two outstanding Hungarian scientists who contributed to the European culture.

The chemist *János (John) Irinyi* was born in 1817 at Nagyleta, Hungary. He studied chemistry at Vienna Technical University. In his experiments Irinyi discovered the soundless phosphor match which he started to manufacture in (Buda) Pest in 1840. His books were published in German: *Über the Theorie der Chemic in allgemeinen und die Schweifelsaure insbesondere* (About the Theory of Chemics in General and Sulphuric Acid in Special), Berlin, 1838.

The next Hungarian scientist was the great Oriental linguist, *Alexander Csoma de Körös* who was born in the second part of the XVIIIth Century, but whose publications came out in the Hungarian Reform Period. He studied Oriental languages with English scholarship at the University of Gottingen, Germany. In 1814 Csoma started his Asiatic trip through Turkey-Iran-Afghanistan and India. In 1823-24 he studied the Tibetan language. In 1824-26 he stayed mainly in lama-klosters. Between 1827-30 he compiled the Tibetan Grammar and Dictionary. These books were published in Calcutta, India in 1834. On his way to find the original homeland of the Hungarians, Csoma died in 1842 at Darjeeling, India. There is a monument in his honor. As the author of the first English-Tibetan Dictionary, Alex Csoma de Körös enjoys a great reputation in the English Philology.

In this period lived the world-famous Hungarian drama writer, *Imre (Emery) Madach* (1823-1864), the author of "The Tragedy of Man". (Adam, reviewing in his sleep the history of Mankind, is confronted with the new and



Alex Csoma de Körös, Compiler of English-Tibetan Dictionary.

earthshaking ideas of various eras.) This mystery play has been translated into 29 languages and had theatrical successes all over the world. The first English translation was done in 1909 in New York by Wm. M. Loew, and the last rendering in 1985 in Budapest by Joseph Grosz.

The painter *Michael Zichy* was born in 1827 in Zala, Hungary. First he studied art in Buda (Pest), then at Master Waldmuller in Vienna, Austria. In 1846 he won first prize with his romantic painting "Lifeboat". In 1847 he went to Russia, and as a court-painter he worked for four czars, till the end of his life in 1906 at St. Petersburg (today Leningrad). Zichy painted masterly pictures of the court-life and also about liberal ideas. He became a genial illustrator of great literary books of Gautier, Dumas, Victor Hugo, Goethe, Byron, Arany, Petőfi, Madach, Lermantov, Puskin, Rusztaveli and Gogol. In illustration Zichy created a graphic-art-school in



Michael Zichy: Lifeboat, 1847.

Russia and also became one of the greatest illustrators of his age.

Victor Madarasz (1830-1917) was born in Csetnek, Hungary. He started his art education in Hungary, then from 1853 to 1856 he studied with Professor Waldmuller in Vienna, Austria. In 1856 Madarasz went to Paris, France where Coquet was his master. Madarasz stayed in Paris for 14 years and became acquainted with the leading artist Delaroche, critic Gautier, historian Thiery and also painted their portraits. In 1866 in Paris Salon Madarasz won the golden medal with his "Christ on the Mount Olive". Empress Eugenia bought this altarpainting for the Parisian Trinity Church. After his return to Hungary in 1870, he finished his successful career in Budapest.

Charles Lotz was born in 1833. He started his art studies in Budapest, Hungary. In 1852 he became a student of Professor Rahl in Vienna, Austria. In 1857 Lotz helped Rahl to paint the Greek Church in Vienna. In Rahl's company Lotz learned all the details of fresco-painting. His outstanding contributions were in the Weapons' Museum, the Heinrichshof, and the Tedesco Palace. After returning to Budapest, he painted great murals at the Vigado (Amusement Palace), Karolyi Palace, National Museum, Exhibit Hall, Parliament, Operahouse, Basilica, Liptay Palace, Adam Palace, University Library, New City Hall, Franzstadt Church,

Casino of Tereziastadt, Eastern Railway Station, Academy of Science and the King's Palace. Lotz also painted beautiful portraits and nudes, and exhibited them all around the world.



Charles Lotz: Muse, oil.



Julius Benczur: Reoccupying of Buda in 1686.

Julius Benczur was born in 1844 in Nyiregyhaza, Hungary. After graduating from Kassa's high school he went to study painting in Munchen, Germany. In 1861 he became a student of Professor Piloty, and a follower of historical paintings: Farewell of L. Hunyadi, Reoccupying Buda (the best Hungarian historical composition), The Capture of Francis Rakoczi II. From 1876 to 1883 Benczur became a professor of painting at Munchen Art Academy. Then he returned to Budapest where he started a Graduate (Masters') School. His further famous paintings are: portrait of Bavarian King Louis II., Louis XIV an Dubarry, Baptizmal of Vojk, King Matthias, Homage at the Millennium. Benczur's self-portrait is in the possession of Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Italy.

In the same year (1844) was born another genial Hungarian artist, *Michael Munkácsy*. He started his career as a poor cabinetmaker apprentice and by diligent study and training he became a millionaire artist. Married a cultured baroness, and for the rest of his life he lived in Paris in luxury and pomp. Decorated by kings



M. Munkácsy: Apotheosis of the Renaissance, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

and presidents, he won almost every kind of medal and award. Although Munkácsy painted mostly genre pictures from everyday life, his great success came with his historical and



*M. Mukácsy: Christ Before Pilate, oil, 20'x13'
Philadelphia, Wanamaker.*

religious paintings. His 20'x13' "Christ Before Pilate" and "Christ on Calvary" were bought by Mr. Wanamaker, owner of the Philadelphia Department Store for 200,000 Golden Franks.

Ladislas Paal, one of the greatest talents of landscape painting, was born in Zam, Hungary, in 1846. As a high school student he got acquainted with the already famous Hungarian master, Michael Munkácsy. Following his example, Paal started to study painting from Hungarian artists. In 1864 he went to Vienna, Austria to study from Professor Zimmermann. In 1870 he started to copy the great Holland masters. After that he accepted Munkácsy's invitation to Dusseldorf, Germany. Looking for new techniques, in 1871, he studied Constable in England. The next year he went to France and settled at Barbizon. He painted "open air", "paysage intima" style. There he became acquainted with famous artist of Barbizon and in the assembly of great painters he represented the Hungarian painting. Because of his early death in 1879, in Charenton, France, he left relatively few paintings for posterity.

John Fadrusz was born in 1858 in Pozsony, Hungary. He started his career as a locksmith apprentice. An artist noticed his skill for sculpting and that gave him the impetus to

study art. First in Hungary and later in Vienna, where he became a student of the Hungarian master sculptor, Victor Tilgner, and later of Professor Hellmer of the Academy of Vienna. His first international success came with a great white marble crucifix in Vienna. In 1894 he was commissioned for a bronzed equestrian statue of King Matthias in Kolozsvár, now Cluj, Rumania. In 1896 the state ordered a life-size white marble statue of Queen Maria Theresia in Pozsony, now Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. In



*M. Munkácsy: Milton Dictates "Paradise Lost"
New York Public Library.*

1901 he finished a statue of Louis Tisza in Szeged. Finally he sculpted statues for the Kings'

Palace in Budapest. Fadrusz exhibited all over Europe, and died as a famous man in 1903.



John Fadrusz's statue: King Matthias in Kolozsvár (now Cluj, Rumania).

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

Your idealism is commendable. The cause you try to promote is beautiful: the unification of Central Europe, the Carpathian Basin or whatever geographical unit it may be. However, you are faced with insurmountable obstacles. Some of these are: inherited or recently kindled prejudices, misconceptions, half-baked ideologies, stubborn adherence to the "status-quo", and just plain stupidity.

Apparently people have not suffered enough yet, for only suffering can burn all this mental garbage away and make us realize that a peaceful future can be achieved only if we all work at it together — as you so aptly suggest — and not always against each other.

There is much to be learned from history, that is true. But much has to be forgotten also in order that a genuine cooperation may be attained. Weighing the two side against each other, it seems there is much more to be forgotten then retained in memory.

Like I said, I admire your idealism and your tenacity. However, it is not enough. You don't seem to realize that sowing seed into frozen ground will not make a harvest, and good wine does not come from unripe grapes. The human race is still unripe today and its mind is frozen. Your work, noble as it may be, is doomed to failure.

*Adam Korpan
Milwaukee*

Friend:

Nothing can be accomplished without trying. If the direction we face is the right one, we may stumble, we may even fall a few times, but every inch we gain brings us closer to the goal: peace on earth, freedom and justice to mankind through love, understanding and mutual respect.

The Editor.

Editor:

I am sick and tired of reading in the newspapers that the Russians are people just like we are. They are not and I can prove it. I am one of the sixteen survivors of Nagydobrony, Ruthenia, population 5638, a Hungarian farming community, which was erased off the face of the earth by the Russians.

My father was a communist and he put out the red flag when the Russian troops arrived in the Fall of 1944. They made him mayor. I was sixteen at that time. One year later the Russian district commissar sent orders that every farmer must deliver all the crops he harvested that year. The date was set. My father went into the district capital to "talk" with his comrades. He had no success. Every ounce of grain had to be delivered, he was told, and the people will be fed by the state.

Then the day came, and nobody moved. The people of Nagydobrony were waiting for some official person to come out and discuss the order. Perhaps they could convince the authorities to leave at least half of the crops, so they could survive the winter.

The day went by and nobody came. Then the next morning soldiers showed up, hundreds of them. They surrounded our town from a distance of about half-a-mile; like an iron ring. We watched them from the village and tried to figure out what they were up to. Then we heard airplanes roaring. Many of them. When they were above us all hell broke loose. They bombed our village until there was nothing left but burning ruins and dead people. Those who tried to run out were shot by the soldiers: men, women, and children. There was no mercy for anyone.

Part of the metal roof of our barn fell on me and I was trapped there all day. I got burned badly, but survived. After the bombing was over, the Russians searched the ruins and shot all the wounded they could find. They did not find me. As I found out later, there were sixteen

of us they did not find. At nightfall I crawled from under the metal and started for the woods. The pain was terrific, but I just had to get away from there. After reaching the woods I crawled into the underbrush from there. Next day the Russians returned with bloodhounds to find those who may have survived. They found me and fifteen others. We were taken first to a hospital, then transported into Russia where we were put to work in labor camps. Five years later they let me free and gave me a job in the forests of Eastern Siberia at a saw mill. The lumber we produced there was shipped to Japan. After three years I was able to escape on a tugboat loaded with lumber. The Japanese took me in and were good to me. We even have a

small Hungarian Club here in Tokyo. That's where I saw your Quarterly.

So this is my story and the story of Nagydobrony. Today I was told there is nothing there but a big empty field. The Russians plowed under the ruins and planted millet on top of them. They even had a big sign there for a few years, which said in four languages, "that's what happens to those who defy the orders".

Don't let anybody fool you: the Russian communists are not like other people. They are cruel and ferocious. We of Nagydobrony learned it the hard way!

*Istvan Kocsis
Tokyo Japan*

Was This Oppression?

Rumanian historians claim that the Rumanian minority of Transylvania suffered "unbearable" oppression under the Hungarian government before World War I.

Nevertheless, the statistics show (K.U.K. Ecclesiastical Statistics, Wien, 1910) that in 1840 there were 1,517 Hungarian churches (Roman Catholic and Calvinist) and 616 Rumanian churches (Greek Orthodox and Greek

Catholic) serving the population in Transylvania.

Seventy years later, in 1910, there were only 1,381 Hungarian churches left, while the number of the Rumanian churches increased to 1,114.

We wish the Hungarians of Transylvania would be "oppressed" today by the Ceausescu-regime the same way.

Letter from Transylvania

"Hungarian children from eight to fourteen are being taken from the schools three to four times a week to work in the fields, while those in the middle schools are transported during the summer for two months into "old Rumania" to build roads, railroads or work in stone quarries. Some of them return crippled or die during those two months. Those parents who dare to object, lose their jobs or get beaten by the police.

Even the right to complain is taken from

Hungarians by the Rumanian government. Those who often complain are either beaten to death or taken into the Danube Delta to forced labor, from where they never return.

They have public debates in the U.S. on the Palestinian problem, Kurd problem, Apartheid problem, and many more, but there seems to be no Transylvanian-Hungarian problem. Our people are being systematically exterminated and they don't ever have the right to cry..."

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