

Trouble Over Transylvania

GEORGE BAILEY

ROMANIA, in its own inimitable fashion, offers an instructive sampling of the tensions and contradictions that are tearing the Communist world apart. In this country, a general restiveness and political opportunism have gone so far that criticism of Moscow's leadership has taken more or less official forms.

Shortly after the return of a Romanian delegation that had been dispatched to Peking early this year in an attempt to mediate the Sino-Soviet dispute, the Romanian Workers' Party published a fifty-page declaration on its position with regard to the international Communist movement. The tract was explicitly directed against the Khrushchevian doctrine of apportioning economic activities to individual nations within the Communist bloc. As a declaration of economic independence, the document was anticlimactic. In the

first five years of its drive to achieve "rapid and comprehensive industrialization," Romania had already doubled its volume of trade with non-Communist countries while reducing its trade volume with Communist countries by one quarter. Within the same period Romania had spent roughly half a billion dollars for industrial plant, equipment, and employment of technicians from the West, and more than a billion dollars have been earmarked for purchases in the West during the next five-year period. Moreover, at a time when all other satellite countries were sharply reducing their trade with China, Romania actually increased its China trade appreciably. In effect, Romania had already become another Yugoslavia, a comparison that has been heightened by Yugoslavia's recent accession to Comecon as an associate member, while Romania has been loosening

its ties with that economic organization of the Eastern Bloc.

But the declaration last April was much more than a formulated insistence on "economic self-determination." It was a manifesto proclaiming "the basic principles of the new type of relations between Socialist countries" and ruling out interference of any kind from any quarter in the political and cultural as well as the economic affairs of a "socialist and therefore truly sovereign country." The manifesto turned the Soviet prescription for collective action inside out, since it declared foreign policy an inviolable part of individual state sovereignty.

Above all, coming as it did in the form of a report on the mission to Peking and a subsequent stopover in the Crimea, it took on the color of an official ruling on the Sino-Soviet dispute. In this sense, while professing incidental preference for some of the Russian arguments, the Romanian leadership found for China. The finding was reinforced by Romania's refusal to attend Khrushchev's ill-starred congress of Communist Parties to deal with China. The Romanians had long ago discerned what the explosion of a Chinese atom bomb and its complement, the fall of Khrushchev, have since made generally clear—that China could not and can never be drummed out of the Communist movement. And both of these recent confirmatory developments have made the Romanian leadership more confident than ever.

IN FACT, the Romanian Communists have outwitted and outmaneuvered the Soviet Union at virtually every turn in a long course of events extending at least as far back as the 1952 ouster of the Moscow loyalist Ana Pauker and her clique. Then, or not long afterward, they reverted to their native tradition of circumspect double-dealing and discreet intrigue. Among the switches and shifts of the ideological shell game that en-

sued, there was none more successful than the Romanian substitution of de-Russification for de-Stalinization. To the delight of the Russophobe populace, by 1963 the Romanian authorities had liquidated the Gorki Institute of Russian Studies, the Russian bookstore, the Romanian edition of the Soviet magazine *New Times*, and the obligatory study of the Russian language in all schools and universities. Since then virtually all Russian street and place names have disappeared.

But de-Russification is merely one of the many negative aspects of Romanization. Acting ostensibly as the honest and impeccably Communist broker between the Soviet Union and China, the Romanians have actually cleared the way for their own traditional brand of supernationalism. "Greater Romania," said a Communist diplomat recently, "is the whore of the Socialist camp, a Balkan whore bent on Balkanizing the Communist bloc." The Romanian talent for divisiveness has nowhere been more evident than in the handling of the oldest Balkan problem of them all: Transylvania.

Graustarkian Showpiece

It has long been axiomatic that great powers adjust Balkan borders to suit their own purposes. This is particularly true of Transylvania, which has been passed back and forth almost as often as a bottle at a Balkan party. In the Treaty of Trianon, 1920, the Western Allies dismantled the Austro-Hungarian Empire, stripping Hungary of two-thirds of its territory and almost one-third of its population and ceding the greater part of both to Romania. With the Vienna Award of 1940, Hitler gave the northern half of Transylvania, including its capital city of Cluj, back to Hungary and so stimulated a competition between Hungary and Romania for Nazi favor in the field against the Russians, the Hungarian troops fighting for the addition of the southern

half of Transylvania, the Romanians fighting for the return of the northern half. Similarly, the Soviets at the close of the Second World War restored the Trianon border between Hungary and Romania, calculating that this would tend to offset the Soviet Union's annexation of Bessarabia and the Bukovina from Romania on the east and provide a popular national issue favoring the Communist-dominated government in Romania; furthermore, the consequent failure of the not-yet Communist Hungary to obtain any sort of satisfaction on Transylvania might weaken the leading Smallholders' Party, which was the main obstacle in the way of a Communist take-over in Hungary. Like Hitler, the Soviets sought to use the Transylvanian issue as a means of keeping both Hungary and Romania under control.

Naturally, there are a great many people who consider themselves Hungarians now living in Romanian territory. More than half a million of them inhabit the strip of territory some thirty miles wide along the Hungarian-Romanian border. This area, properly speaking, is not and never was part of Transylvania. It is made up of four counties of the old Kingdom of Hungary and is geographically an extension of the central Hungarian plain. The other main concentration of Hungarians in Romania is the solid block of Szeklers, some seven hundred thousand strong, who have inhabited most of eastern Transylvania since the tenth century. The Szekler area lies almost exactly in the center of Romania, more than one hundred miles to the east of the Hungarian border. King Carol had agreed to cede the border area—the so-called "Partium"—to Hungary even before the Vienna Award was forced upon him, and the

Hungarians had great hopes that the Soviets would undertake some doctoring of the border, especially after Hungary became Communist.

Instead the Soviets chose to provide an object lesson in Marxism-Leninism by applying the principle of "genuine proletarian internationalism for all Communists" to the 1,700,000 Hungarians in Romania, who constitute the largest ethnic minority in Eastern Europe. Thus, Article 82 of the Romanian constitution of 1952 provides that "Every individual national group may freely make use of its own language, and may freely visit at every level those institutions of general education in which instruction is given in its mother tongue . . .," and Articles 19, 20, and 21 attempted to solve the millennial problem of the Szeklers through the creation of the Autonomous Hungarian Region. Modeled on the autonomous regions within the individual Soviet Republics, it was clearly meant to serve as a show-piece of "genuine proletarian internationalism." Communist functionaries from Moscow, Bucharest, and Budapest converged on the region. Stakhanovites from all three countries were sent to instruct and inspire the workers, youth brigades were organized, factories and roads were built, farmers were persuaded or forced to join collectives. But then came the Hungarian revolt.

IN RETROSPECT, it is apparent that the Hungarian revolt in the fall of 1956 was the turning point in the course of Communism in Europe. Establishing the Hungarians as the archculprits in the eyes of the Soviets, it provided the Romanian Communist Party with a classic opportunity to demonstrate its loyalty to the Soviet Union. The Romanian Com-

munists were in a position to render the Soviet Union a signal service in playing host to Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter, and other leaders of the Hungarian revolt during their long incarceration and subsequent execution, relieving the Russians of the onus of deporting the rebels to the Soviet Union. They were also able to help the Soviet Union in Hungary by sending Hungarian-speaking goon squads to Budapest and the provinces to reinforce the decimated and thoroughly demoralized Hungarian Security Service.

At the same time, the Hungarian revolt thoroughly alarmed the Romanian Communists. The reason was simple enough: the same anti-Communism that exploded in Hungary immediately spread to the Hungarian minority in Romania. As in Hungary, students, teachers, and university professors were in the forefront of the action. There were student demonstrations in Cluj, in Medias, in Timisoara, and in the administrative center of the Hungarian Autonomous Region, Tirgu Mures—in fact in every area where there were Hungarian students in any numbers. Furthermore, the revolt threatened to catch fire among the Romanian peasantry and the country's intellectuals. Some of the more circumspect Romanians were only waiting to see whether the West would support Hungary. When that didn't happen, the Hungarians were obviously doomed.

There followed the Soviet isolation of Hungary and the branding of the Hungarians as fascists and chauvinists. The Romanians were quick to take the Soviet cue, exploiting the official condemnation of the Hungarians to the hilt and applying it particularly to the Hungarian minority in Romania. For the moment

the Hungarian minority in Romania rose in sympathy with the Hungarian revolution, Romanians tended to see the whole thing as part of the old campaign for the annexation of territory in Transylvania to Hungary. Thus the Romanian Communist Party was not only fighting for its life, it was also fighting for what every Romanian considers Romanian national territory.

Russian troops put down the disorder in Romania and thousands of Hungarians were arrested, perhaps hundreds put to death. In one trial alone in Cluj, thirteen out of fifty-seven accused were executed. This year some eight thousand political prisoners were released with considerable fanfare by the Romanian government in a general amnesty. But as far as I could ascertain in my recent travels through Transylvania, not one of the Hungarians arrested during the revolt has yet been released.

The Capital of Limbo

Two years after the revolt, the Romanian government received the great and all-important prize for loyalty and services rendered to the Soviets—the withdrawal of the Red Army. "Genuine proletarian internationalism" is also gone, and the Romanian desire to keep the Hungarian minority in its place has found more and more ways of expressing itself. In 1959, the rector of the Bolyai University, Professor Lajos Takacs, expressed his regret over the "nationalist isolation" of the Hungarian minority and requested the ministry of education "to examine the advisability of having two universities in Cluj." In June, 1959, the students and professors "unanimously approved" the merger of their university with the Roma-

nian Babes University.

Late in 1960, the Romanian government undertook the administrative reorganization of the entire country, ostensibly to effect a more rational economic division among the various territories. Actually, the reorganization achieved the ethnic gerrymandering of the Autonomous Hungarian Region, and the authorities have used economic measures to break up the Szekler communities and disperse the fragments throughout the country. The closing of Hungarian cultural institutions has also continued. The six-hundred-year-old Hungarian college at Aiud was closed and its library impounded. In 1962 the last Hungarian institution of higher learning, the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy at Tirgu Mures, was liquidated outright; the Romanian authorities did not even bother to cloak the operation as a merger. The liquidation was officially described as "the reduction of Hungarian-language classes" at the institute.

It was in 1962 that the Romanians launched their main administrative assault against the Autonomous Region. All key positions in administration and industry were taken over by Romanians. Dimitru Puni, a Romanian, was appointed chairman of the regional people's council. The Hungarian Writers' Association in Tirgu Mures was merged with a Romanian Writers' Association imported for that purpose. In the same way, the Szekler State Theatre was enlarged by the addition of a Romanian section. The most far-reaching measure, however, was the merging of Hungarian with Romanian schools. By the end of 1962 there was no longer a single wholly separate Hungarian school in Romania. Within two years the new dispensation

had made a mockery of the constitution's guarantee of access to schools where instruction is given in each people's "mother tongue." Romanian has effectively replaced Hungarian at every level as the language of official and public life. This is not only because the leaders and key functionaries of the region are all Romanians who know no Hungarian; employees throughout the region have been put on notice that if they fail to use Romanian in public they will be summarily dismissed.

I have seen how these regulations work. When I stepped into a shop in Tirgu Mures and addressed the salesclerk in Hungarian, he answered in Romanian. I persisted in Hungarian. He persisted in Romanian. Finally I asked him if he spoke Hungarian. "Whenever I can," he answered in Hungarian, "but we are under orders to speak Romanian to customers." I asked if Tirgu Mures was not the capital of the Hungarian Region. "This is the capital of Limbo," he replied.

ROMANIA's transformation from an obsequious satellite practicing "genuine proletarian internationalism" to a fiercely independent national state pursuing a policy of forcible assimilation of minorities is accompanied by a propaganda offensive on a broad front that includes the reinterpretation of history as a method of furthering the Romanization of Romania. Romanian writers have taken issue with Soviet historians on the apportionment of roles in the liberation of Romania from the fascist yoke and won their point. The spate of articles and brochures produced to document the party's leading role in the "victorious armed uprising of August, 1944," and the exploits of "the new Romanian



Army" is often supplemented with situation maps giving the positions and movements of the Romanian units and "patriotic battle groups" in overrunning the "German-Hungarian forces" in Transylvania. The last map in one series I have seen delineates "the participation of the Romanian Army in battles on Hungarian and Czechoslovak territory" in such a way that the Romanian Army—not the Soviet Army—clearly developed the main thrust in the campaigns to liberate Budapest and Prague.

The main target for historical revision, however, is what Romanian writers refer to as "the Habsburg occupation," especially during its final period. At a conference of historians held last May in Hungary, Romanians expounded their theory of "double exploitation and oppression of the masses by the dominant nations of Austria-Hungary." The great majority of landowners, they said, had been Hungarian and German; the great majority of peasants had been Slavs and Romanians. This had resulted in a double burden of national as well as social oppression. The Hungarian hosts, a West Ger-

man, and a Soviet historian denied the validity of the theory, which not only equates classes with nations but also distinguishes between the nationalism of dominant nations ("imperialist chauvinism") and the nationalism of suppressed nations ("national liberation movements"). The theory was not designed merely to denigrate the Hungarians retroactively as chronic imperialist chauvinists and justify Romanian possession of Transylvania; it was also the academic celebration of Romania's right to develop its entire range of basic industries as a unitary, independent, and fully equal state, not to be exploited by industrially dominant countries such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany within Comecon.

The Hungarian Handicap

There is no doubt that the legacy of the Habsburg Empire and its hangnail Horthy "regency" of 1920-1944 has weighed heavily on the Hungarian Communists. As model proletarian internationalists, they have been constrained from the first to single out Hungarian history for special censure, an exercise in which

they found themselves enthusiastically abetted by Romanians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs, all of whose countries have large Hungarian minorities. For faithful Communists, the Hungarian revolt only proved that the Hungarians have still not managed to outlive their fascist-chauvinist past. In his preface to the new two-volume *History of Hungary*, which appeared early this year, Eric Molnár states that the purpose of the work is "to expound Hungarian history in connection with the histories of our neighbor nations and by this means liquidate the Magyar global Hungarocentric, nationalistic point of view."

Even for Communists, it is difficult to promote their national interests while decrying the national character. The Romanians can—and repeatedly do—tie the Hungarians in knots merely by reminding them of the Leninist rules by which the Hungarians (but not, apparently, the Romanians) are bound. Thus the world was treated in early 1962 to the spectacle of the Hungarian government prosecuting Hungarian patriots on Hungarian soil at the insistence of the Romanian government. A group of refugee Transylvanian intellectuals—there are many such in Hungary—had been holding regular meetings to consider what could be done to relieve the plight of the Hungarian minority. The Romanian government learned of the activity and demanded that the Kadar régime make an example of the group's leaders or bear responsibility for the breakdown of "Hungarian-Romanian friendship." Three of the former Transylvanians were tried and sentenced. One, Dr. Sándor Püski, was sentenced to four and a half years in prison; the others got off a little lighter.

In retrospect, we can see that the Hungarian revolt, whose first demand was the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, made the continued presence of Soviet troops in Hungary essential to the existence of a Communist régime. Furthermore, the revolt virtually stripped the Kadar régime of any room for diplomatic maneuver inside as well as outside the Soviet bloc—particularly since the Romanian Communist Party was able to turn the revolution to its own nationalistic purposes. And in the process, not surprisingly, Hungary's unequal struggle with Romania has strained many a prominent Hungarian Communist's doctrinal allegiance to the breaking point. There is the persistent rumor in Budapest that former Foreign Minister Endre Sik, who had done yeoman service for the Kadar régime in the United Nations following the 1956 revolt, resigned in September, 1961, when Kadar refused to forward to Moscow a protest note Sik had prepared on the Transylvanian situation. I can report that the atmosphere in even the top echelon of the Hungarian Communist party is such that the rumor seems entirely plausible.

MEANWHILE relations between Hungary and Romania have deteriorated still further. Traditionally the churches have played a signal role in the alternate Magyarization and Romanization of Transylvania; in general, the Catholic and Protestant Churches reflect Hungarian and German interests, while the Orthodox Church has always embodied the ethnic state religion of the Romanians. As a result, Romanian Communists have taken to supporting the Orthodox Church as their pawn in the struggle and persecuting the

Catholic and Protestant Churches as Hungarian pawns. This spring, Romanian authorities announced their intention to demolish the historic church of Saint Layos, which they characterized as an eyesore, in the middle of the main square of Oradea. To prevent this, several thousand Hungarians took up a day-and-night vigil around the church for more than a week—an action that paralyzed traffic and threatened to produce a major riot at any moment. The Romanian authorities finally reversed their decision—"temporarily."

The greatest single source of irritation to the Hungarians is the state cultural agreement with Romania. Strict Romanian application of the terms of the agreement has prevented the Hungarian government from establishing any sort of cultural link between the homeland and the minority. Hungarians in Romania are restricted to a mere half dozen classical Hungarian authors such as the nineteenth-century epic poet János Arany and the lyricist Endre Ady. Most other books in Hungarian are translations of Romanian authors. According to the terms of the agreement, no book concerning Transylvania may be published in Hungary without the approval of the Romanian censors. Radio and television broadcasting are not restricted by the agreement, and here the Hungarians enjoy a geographical advantage since most of Transylvania is closer to Hungary than to Bucharest, which is on the other side of the Transylvanian Alps in any event. However, Radio Bucharest competes with Radio Kossuth in Hungarian-language programs, and the Romanian authorities advise against listening to the Hungarian state radio.

The only comic relief in the situation is provided by the use both

sides have made of the Hungarian-Romanian film-exchange program. The Hungarian government always takes the maximum of eight films a year—even though the notoriously poor Romanian films are box-office poison—in order to insinuate an equal number of Hungarian films into Romania. The Hungarians were incensed, however, when the Romanians dubbed in Romanian-language sound tracks and then added insult to injury by providing the minority with Hungarian subtitles. When the Hungarian government protested, the Romanians stopped the dubbing and provided Romanian subtitles—but then deliberately desynchronized the Hungarian sound tracks. The old subtitles in Hungarian were at least legible.

The Romanian authorities have adopted a wide variety of other measures to isolate the Hungarian minority from contact with what most of them think of as their homeland. A Hungarian in Romania must wait from six months to a year for permission to visit relatives in Hungary—if he is lucky. Foreign tourists in Romania are allowed the run of the country—unless the tourist happens to be a Hungarian citizen. In this case he is restricted to a radius of six kilometers from the center of the location he designates as his destination upon entering the country. If he oversteps this limit, the Hungarian tourist is arrested, interrogated, and summarily deported—if he is lucky. There were thirty-two Hungarian-language dailies in pre-war Romania; today there is one—which nobody reads at all. All these changes, Hungarians on both sides of the border must remind themselves ruefully, are the fruits of Communism.

A hopeless dilemma confronts the once powerful Hungarian wing of

the Romanian Communist Party: its members must support, if not actively implement, the Romanian government's anti-minority policy. As a result, the Hungarian wing has been purged by the Romanian party leadership and ostracized by the Hungarian minority. As nearly as I could make out, the only crumb Hungarian Communists in Budapest can proffer to Hungarians in Romania is the advice that they should infiltrate the Romanian Communist Party in order to promote the practice of Leninist principles, particularly as regards minorities.

According to one historian I talked with, the organization of the Szekely area as an autonomous region put the Russians in a position "to balance the old Transylvanian question between Romania and Hungary." But the position was abandoned with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania. Since then, the Soviet Union has kept pretty much out of the situation. In a speech during his visit to Hungary last spring, Khrushchev made a watered-down reference to the proper care and feeding of minorities. The Hungarians were openly dissatisfied with it, but about all they have been able to do is make official but unpublicized protests to the Romanian government. Recently, Premier Kadar

upbraided the Romanian delegation in Budapest over the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Romania, but the premier apparently succeeded only in leaving his visitors "highly offended."

THE ROMANIANS were among the first to recognize "genuine proletarian internationalism" as merely a Soviet device to justify maintenance of military bases in Eastern Europe and so secure Soviet economic exploitation. And even this Soviet desire has been skillfully used by the Romanians in the service of their own national cause, leaving others to make the sacrifices for the sake of international Communism. In effect, Romania capitalized on the misconceived gallantry of the Hungarians, whose revolt gave their neighbor a chance to win concessions from the Russians.

And through it all, the Romanians clearly foresaw the re-emergence of nationalism, which Communist theoreticians used to call "the main danger to the successful construction of the new state system." Far from being surprised by the Sino-Soviet split, the Bucharest government was banking on it. As a widely quoted Romanian proverb has it: "In time the waters recede, the rocks remain."

DOCUMENTS

past and present

How minorities live in Rumania in Past

MINORITY CITIZENSHIP IN RUMANIA

At Last — after Two Decades — a Satisfactory Law

Sad to say, two decades had to elapse after the ratification of the Peace Treaties before the Rumanian Administration decided to settle the question of minority citizenship in a satisfactory way. The Rumanian official gazette, the "Monitorul Oficial" No. 243, of 20th October 1939, contains the text of a new law. In terms thereof, all that is now required of applicants who wish to be enrolled *de post facto* in the list of Rumanian citizens is proof that they *were living* in the area attached to Rumania, or at some place in the Old Kingdom, on 1st December 1918 (the date of union) or on 26th July 1921 (the date on which the Trianon Treaty was ratified), and that in the interim between these dates and the present day they have not applied for citizenship of another country. Applications are to be investigated by the Minister of Justice. The date up to which applications for citizenship may be filed has been prolonged to 1st February 1940, and until this term expires the law provides all applicants with facilities of complying with the necessary formalities.

What gave rise to the difficulties attending the question of minority citizenship in Rumania was the difference between the provisions contained in the Rumanian minority treaty of 9th December 1919 and those contained in the Trianon Treaty. The minority treaty stipulates *permanent residence* and descent from parents who were permanently resident in the areas attached to Rumania. According to the Trianon Treaty, on the other hand, all persons who possessed domiciliary rights in any territory formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy automatically acquired citizenship of the State exercising sovereignty over the territory in question (Article 61.). The Hungarian Peace Delegation wished to substitute "place of dwelling" for "rights of domicile", but this suggestion was rejected by the Peace Conference. The first Rumanian Citizenship Act, passed on 24th February 1924, in conformity, not with the minority treaty, but with the Trianon Treaty, established the principle that to obtain Rumanian citizenship it was necessary to have been in possession of rights of domicile in the attached areas on 18th November 1918 (Article 96.). Besides this, the recognition of a man's Rumanian citizenship was conditional on certain formalities (application for enrolment in the citizenship lists had to be made in person, etc.). In consequence, the citizenship of hundreds of thousands of minority subjects became uncertain. No special importance having been attached anywhere during the Hungarian era to a formal acquisition of rights of domicile, very few people

were in possession of the required certificates. The possession of those rights on 18th November 1918 presupposed — in terms of the Hungarian (Parish) Act XXII of 1886 — that the person concerned had lived for at least four years before that date in the village in question and had been a ratepayer there. It may be imagined that people of the lower classes, such as agricultural labourers and industrial workers, changed their places of abode pretty frequently, not staying long enough in any one place to acquire rights of domicile. Any chance of these people being enrolled in the lists of Rumanian citizens was therefore forfeited as soon as it came to the point of proving rights of domicile, and as a result the citizenship of large sections of the minority population became uncertain. This proved a great disability, for citizenship is the basis of most civil rights, of all political and many private rights too. It will suffice to point out that for two decades the chaos surrounding the question of citizenship was responsible for the circumstance that the minorities lived under a constant threat of dismissal from public posts, the loss of their pensions and, in the case of merchants and craftsmen, of their trade and commercial licences, to say nothing of the danger of being expelled from the country. The number of people whose Rumanian citizenship is a matter of doubt is approximately 400,000, and of these 90% are of Magyar nationality.

By not requiring proof of rights of domicile, the new Rumanian Citizenship Law will undoubtedly in principle do away with the old uncertainty surrounding the question of citizenship. All we would ask is why it was necessary to wait twenty years and keep millions of minority subjects in the greatest suspense for such a long time, despite the fact that the representatives of the minorities continually urged a satisfactory solution of the problem. Another question we should like to put is: will not this law share the fate of so many others that were passed by the different Rumanian Governments, but have never been put into execution?

A WAVE OF LAWSUITS

Leaders of Magyar Minority Before Military Court. — Count Mihály Toldalaghy, president of the local branch of the Magyar Ethnic Community in the County of Maros-Torda, together with four land-owners living in the same county, was summoned before the military court under the charge of activity hostile to the State. On February 4th, 1939, the Count addressed a farmers' meeting in the village of Backamadaras and in his speech he referred — among other things — to the tasks facing the Magyar people. His statements were considered hostile to the State, and he was therefore ordered to appear before the military court. He was, however, acquitted of the charge, it being found that the "informer" had selected only certain passages from the Count's speech, and that the whole speech did not convey the impression of having been directed against the interests of the State.

Hungarian Editor's Appeal Rejected. — A few years ago M. Zsigmond Gyulai, a Hungarian editor, was sentenced to six months imprisonment for publishing in his paper (in Marosvásárhely) an article of the "Manchester Guardian" dealing with the situation of the Danubian States. The editor actually spent 37 days in prison, after which he was temporarily released, owing to illness; in the meantime his punishment was by royal amnesty reduced to four months imprisonment, but the editor appealed for pardon. His petition was, however, rejected, whereupon he has now returned to the prison for the rest of his confinement. (Eszilap, December 13.)

Hungarian Editor Charged With Treason. — M. László Baradlai, editor of the daily "Sajtó" (The Press), appearing in Szatmár (Satu Mare), was arrested by the local police and ordered to appear before the military court of Kolozsvár (Cluj) charged with having received mysterious sums of money from abroad. After an inquiry lasting for six weeks the editor was released, as it was proved that the false accusation was supported by forged receipts and was, as a matter of fact, invented by his enemies. (Brassói Lapok, December 17, 1939.) —

Hungarian Parish Clerk Punished for Writing Local History. — A few months ago the Rumanian Ministry of the Interior instructed all parish clerks to compile monographs of their villages, or to collect particulars of local history. In describing the past and the social conditions of the village of

Pusztaszentmárton, the district clerk of Aranyosronk referred to a historical work written by a Transylvanian historian, Baron Balázs Orbán. In this work the village is described as an ancient Magyar settlement Rumanianized in the course of centuries. On the other hand, the parish clerk also referred to the theory put forward by Prof. Nicholas Iorga, who maintains that the Szekler villages of Transylvania were originally Rumanian settlements successively assimilated by the Magyar elements of the population. The Hungarian parish clerk was therefore ordered to appear before the military court at Kolozsvár (Cluj), charged with having preferred the theory of the Hungarian historian to Prof. Iorga's, whereby he had committed an offence against the dignity of Rumania's national history and institutions. After 28 years of absolutely unimpeachable public service, the Hungarian parish clerk was fined 3.000 lei and costs.

Punished for a Telephone Report. — Charged with committing an offence against the honour of the Rumanian nation, M. László Sebestyén, a journalist resident in Marosvásárhely (Targu-Mures), was ordered to appear before the military court at Kolozsvár (Cluj) on account of a telephone report which he was alleged to have sent abroad. The counsel for the prosecution asked the judge to sentence the journalist to three years imprisonment, whereupon the counsel for the defence proved to the court that the journalist had been stopped by the censor while telephoning his report, so that it would be absurd to punish him for something he could not possibly have done. The journalist was fined 2000 lei and costs.

Punished for Coffee-House Conversation. — The military court at Temesvár (Timisoara) has sentenced M. József Fazekas, a manufacturer of Orsova, to the payment of a fine of 4000 lei on the charge of irredentist statements which he is alleged to have made during a coffee-house discussion. The fact is that he, as a Hungarian member of the company, was asked to give his opinion on a political question; his answer was as follows: "The time will come when the Rumanian and Hungarian nations will walk hand in hand; it will be necessary, however, to make further concessions to the Hungarians first."

Chief Rabbi Charged with Hostility to the State. — M. Géza Seidner, religion teacher and Chief Rabbi of Karánsebes, was charged with hostile intentions against the State, in connection with a religious festival held three years ago, the programme of which — it was said — had displayed the Rabbi's ill feelings towards the State. No trustworthy evidence having been produced against him, the Rabbi was acquitted by the military court. (Népujság, December 17, 1939.) —

House-Owner Accused of Insult. — The military court of Kolozsvár (Cluj) has sentenced to the payment of a fine of 10.000 lei Mrs. Lederer, a house owner, who had been denounced

by a former tenant for insulting the honour of the Rumanian nation. (Ellenzék, December 8, 1939.) —

Further Military Court Sentences. — The military court at Brassó (Brasov) has sentenced M. Antal Balázs, County of Csik, to three months imprisonment for sensation mongering and insulting the honour of the Rumanian nation. — The military court at Nagyszeben (Sibiu) has sentenced M. György Páll, one-time secretary of the late Hungarian Party, to three months imprisonment. — The military court at Kolozsvár (Cluj) has passed the following sentences for crossing the frontier without permission: János Zsikány, ten years' penal servitude, Sándor Jenei, László and Juliska Balogh, András Farkas Balogh, János Bogdán and Ferenc Tóth, two years' imprisonment each. All are residents in the County of Bihar. The following persons had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment each for holding meetings without permission: Viktor Katona, Karolin Fülöp, Julia Trombitás, Zsuzsa Popas and a friend. They all live in the County of Maros-Torda.

Magyar Law-Student Sent to Prison For a Year on the Charge of Agitation Dangerous to the State. — The Kolozsvár military court has sentenced John Tökés, a Marosvásárhely law-student aged 20, to one year's imprisonment on the charge of agitation dangerous to the State. According to the prosecution, Tökés sent a letter to a relation living in Hungary in which he used expressions equivalent to subversive agitation and abuse of the Rumanian nation. The letter fell into the hands of the authorities by way of the *Cabinet Noir*, and proceedings were instituted against him. The young law-student was arrested immediately after sentence had been passed.

LAND BELONGING TO TRANSYLVANIAN REFORMED CHURCH PARISH EXPROPRIATED AND MADE OVER TO STATE

Forty acres of land have been expropriated in the prefecture of Körösbánya. Of this area twenty-one acres belonged to the Reformed Church parish of Körösbánya. The greater part of the expropriated land will be made over to State institutions and the State Church.

NO SETTLEMENT YET OF QUESTION OF STATE GRANTS (CONGRUA) TO PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN IN TRANSYLVANIA

We have several times referred to the striking inequality, that exists in respect of State grants between the treatment meted out to minority and to majority clergymen respectively.

Not long ago a delegation headed by the Reformed Church Bishop of Transylvania appeared before the Rumanian Minister of Religion and Education and again urged the settlement of the question of State grants to Protestant clergymen. The delegation begged the Minister to settle this question in terms of the agreement arrived at between the leaders of the Magyar minority and the Government, and to do so at latest by January.

MINORITY SCHOOLS IN ARAD RECEIVE ALMS INSTEAD OF REASONABLE SUPPORT

The municipality of Arad appropriated 2,000,000 lei for educational purposes. Of this sum the denominational schools received only 35,000, while the Arad State schools were given the remaining 1,965,000 lei. In other words 99% of the grant went to the State schools, which are in any case in a safe position, while the denominational schools struggling hard to maintain their very existence had to be content with 1%. The 35,000 lei were distributed as follows: 5000 each to the Arad Roman Catholic boys' and girls' schools, the Lutheran German elementary school, the Jewish and the Serb elementary schools, the remaining 10,000 being given to the Serb elementary school at Aradgaj. The committee of the Magyar minority in Arad has lodged a protest against the disproportionately small sums allotted to the denominational schools and has stated that this unequal treatment has given rise to general feelings of dissatisfaction among the minority inhabitants. ("Magyar Ujság," Dec. 18.)

MAGYAR MINORITY DEMANDS NOT ONLY A MINORITY LAW, BUT ALSO ITS ENFORCEMENT

The *Rumanian Administration* — as we have repeatedly reported — settled the question of minority rights by means of the so-called Minority Statute. This Minority Statute consists of a Royal Edict and a resolution passed by the Cabinet Council, but the rights guaranteed therein, with one two exceptions, have not been granted. The provisions of the Minority Statute are being as little observed as were the stipulations of the so-called Minority Treaty — concluded in Paris on 9th December 1919 between Rumania and the Allied and Associated Powers — by the successive Rumanian Governments. Quite recently the new Rumanian Premier, M. George Tatarescu, received the Chairman of the Magyar Parliamentary Group, with whom he discussed the situation of the Magyar racial minority. The communiqué issued by the Presidential Board of the Magyar Ethnic Community states that Premier Tatarescu announced his intention of drafting a minority law. In connection with this plan the wish of the Magyar minority is that the leaders of

the Magyars should be allowed to assist in preparing the draft of that law, in order to guarantee its efficacy and ensure that in scope and scale it shall be satisfactory. The *Chairman of the Magyar Parliamentary Group* expressed to the Press the hope that the promises received would not prove empty words, that the Government would not consider it sufficient to frame a law, but would see that it was enforced in every field alike. This was what the Magyars would demand, for unless they were enforced, all laws and decrees were merely so many scraps of paper. ("Magyar Lapok", December 20.)

SITUATION OF DISCHARGED MAGYAR OFFICIALS STILL UNCERTAIN

An oath of allegiance was demanded by the Rumanian Government from the State, municipal and village officials in the Hungarian areas attached to Rumania at the time of occupation — that is to say, long before the ratification of the Peace Treaties. Those officials, standing on their rights in terms of international law, refused to take this oath. Thereupon the Rumanian Government discharged thousands of them without paying them any compensation or pensions, which meant that they were plunged into the greatest destitution. It was only 10 years later that some of the civil servants who had refused to take the oath received a pittance in lieu of pension, but not as from the date of their dismissal. (The members of the Hungarian gendarmerie, for instance, are still suing for their pensions in the civil courts.) Later on fresh batches of minority officials were discharged after language tests on the pretext that they had an inadequate knowledge of the official language of the State. This meant that again thousands of minority public servants were reduced to beggary by the Rumanian Government, for naturally they were dismissed without compensation or pensions. A report from Bucharest states that the Magyar Parliamentary Group has now submitted another memorandum to the Government, requesting a general and equitable settlement of the question of the discharged Magyar public employees. (Magyar Lapok, December 20.)

ONLY NOW, AFTER TWENTY YEARS OF WAITING AND LITIGATION, ARE THE DISCHARGED MAGYAR RAILWAY EMPLOYEES TO GET THEIR PENSIONS

The personnel of the *Royal Hungarian Railways* (M. A. V.) in the Hungarian areas attached to Rumania were discharged without compensation or pensions by the Rumanian Government. After twenty years of litigation, they are at last in

possession of a juridical decision in re their pensions. The supreme Rumanian court of law, the Court of Appeal, has pronounced that the Rumanian State is the legal successor of the Hungarian State in those areas and has therefore inherited not only these assets, but also the liabilities and obligations, of the latter. The Court of Appeal has therefore instructed the Minister of Finance as representing the Rumanian Government to pay the plaintiff railway employees their dues. This finding is a defeat for the Rumanian Government and a reflection on its behaviour, particularly in view of the fact that the men whose right to pensions the successive Governments have denied for twenty years were minor employes, platelayers, pointsmen, etc. These humble persons were plunged into the greatest social and economic distress only because they happened to be minority citizens. This juridical sentence does not however apply to the *Magyar railway officials* dismissed from their posts in recent years owing to their failure to pass the language tests. No arrangement concerning them has yet been made ("Népujság", December, 16.)

SZÉKLER JOINT TENANTS (COMPOSSESSORATI) MAY NOT SELL THEIR OWN WOOD

The joint tenants of *Gyergyószentmiklós* decided to fell and divide among themselves 10.000 cubic metres of wood. This they announced to the proper authorities, and received permission to fell the trees, but only on condition that they did the work and used the wood themselves. In a word they cannot sell it to other people. The farmers concerned, who are most seriously affected by this prohibition, have appealed to the leaders of the Magyar minority for help to obtain a redress of this wrong.

SUPPRESSION OF GERMAN MINORITY PAPER

The Censor has prohibited the appearance for ten days of the German daily paper "*Extrapost*". The paper is alleged to have been guilty of disrespectful conduct and various offences against official ordinances. (Magyar Lapok, November 23, 1939.)

in Present

TESTIMONY OF SOME HUNGARIANS ON THE SITUATION OF THEIR COMPATRIOTS IN TRANSYLVANIA

The statute of the Hungarian Minorities in Transylvania was established in the Trianon Treaty (May 2, 1920) and after World War II in the Peace Treaty with the Allies, in December of 1947 (Part. II - Section 1 - Article 3).

This statute is being systematically violated by the Rumanian authorities. There is, on the part of these authorities, the desire to avoid that the Hungarians of Transylvania may enjoy the rights which are assured them by the statute of the minorities.

It is important that the UNO, through its special Commission for Ethnical Minorities, accomplishes, through an investigation, the moralizing task of denouncing the pressure carried out by the Rumanian authorities against the Hungarians of Transylvania.

This would be rather defficult to do, because the Hungarian government being a satellite of the Government of the Soviet Union, it cannot present officially a more lively interest for the subject and, on the other hand, the Hungarians of Transylvania who live abroad are afraid of public accusations because of the possible reprisals on the part of the Rumanian authorities against their families living there. These Hungarians, however, feel that it is their duty to do something for their compatriots, even if to do so they have to stay in anonymity.

Due to these circumstances, some Hungarians appeared before the undersigned and stated several facts which they personally verified in Transylvania. The documents containing these testimonies are attached.

For the reason already stated, the depositions are not signed. The Pro Transylvania Movement of São Paulo has in its hands all these testimonies. *The deponents are ready to reaffirm their depositions before any Commission of the UNO charged with the investigation of the pressure on the Hungarians of Transylvania, on the part of the Rumanian Government, provided their names are maintained anonymous, for fear of retaliation.*

The undersigned do state that they have heard from the very authors the reports which follow:

TESTIMONY Nº 1

On May 4, 1975, Mrs. N.N. gave the following testimony:

1 - Family

I have three children. I enrolled them in Rumanian language schools, because I was convinced that children who go to Hungarian schools have no possibilities of learning any profession or to continue their studies in higher schools. This because the selection

examinations —including those of the professional grade— are made in the Rumanian language. If the candidate does not speak perfectly the Rumanian language, he will not pass the examination and cannot be a qualified laborer. He will always be a common laborer, without qualification, always remaining in the "kolkhoz"

2 — Situation of the Hungarian worker

It was very difficult to get a job. I finally got a job with the protection of a relative, a member of the Communist Party. I worked in a factory, as a laborer. In this factory the percentage of Hungarian workers was 80% to 90%. But all directive positions were held by Rumanians. The remuneration was made by piece produced. We also worked on Sundays, with the same basis of remuneration. If somebody did not accept working on Sundays, he was promptly transferred to another section, with a considerably lower remuneration.

3 — The political situation of Hungarians

When the factory failed to comply with the production plan of the Government, the members of the Communist Party made the Hungarian workers responsible for the failure, accusing them of sabotage acts against the Rumanian direction of the factory.

A concrete case: In 1972 there was a director of Hungarian descent. This director assured the Hungarians the same treatment as that of the Rumanians. He also required the same income for all. However, very soon this director was lowered to a less important function. In his place a Rumanian was named without any qualification for the job.

In the cities where the majority is of Hungarian origin, the use of the Hungarian language is forbidden in public departments. In the Police Departments nobody is allowed to speak Hungarian. If somebody does not speak Rumanian, he cannot be served.

There are a few Hungarian workers in the Police Department, but these few do not have the courage to speak Hungarian with their countrymen. Sometimes these public officers give information on the street in the Hungarian language, to those who do not speak Rumanian.

I did not join the Communist Party. It was compulsory to belong to the Labor Union. The Labor Unions however do not worry about the situation of Hungarian workers, they only worry about the competitions of production. Official advertising speaks of equality of Hungarians, but actually Hungarians are treated just like third class citizens.

TESTIMONY Nº 2

On May 15, 1975, Mr. N.N. gave the following testimonio about his trip to Transylvania:

1 — Our trip

In September 1974, I and my wife visited as tourists Transylvania, which is now part of the Peoples's Republic of Rumania. There we visited the Hungarian towns of more historical significance: Nagyvárad, Kolozsvár, Déva, Gyulafehérvár. Our biggest difficulty was the lack of knowledge of the Rumanian language. It is to be noted that I and my

wife speak well four languages. In hotels and in stores we had to ask for improvisatorial translators in order that we might understand each other regarding absolutely necessary matters.

This left us rather bewildered, since we perceived that the officials and salesmen understood Hungarian but insisted in not speaking it and saying that they did not understand it. In a store, a woman of a certain age, offered her services as translator and asked us why we did not speak Rumanian. We then explained that we came from Brazil, where we lived. When the personnel of the store heard that we came from Brazil, they started to speak Hungarian with us. They underscored the advantage of a common language and even praised our Hungarian.

In a restaurant we came to know a couple of teachers who offered to help us as interpreters. They made a lot of questions about Brazil and when a mutual understanding had already been reached, the couple started to describe to us the regrettable situation of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

We shall make a resume of what they said and of what we found out for ourselves.

2 — The situation of the Hungarians

The Hungarian population, in the larger cities, during the last decades, is going through a process of forced and accelerated "rumanization". There is no chance in these cities of employment for Hungarians. The Government transfers Rumanian workers to the territories where Hungarians are the majority. Therefore, there exists a forced exchange of populations. But the Rumanians have all rights and integrate themselves very quickly, while the Hungarians are always left in a secondary position.

As regards the language, the laws insure the teaching in Hungarian, provided there is a sufficient number of students, as provided for by law and provided the parents expressly want it. In reality, however, this is very different. The compliance with this legal requirement is made impossible by the procedure of the Government: In the cities, the living quarters are distributed by the competent authorities which employ all sorts of tricks and take care not to join Hungarian families with children in school age of the same age level, so as to make it impossible to obtain the number of pupils necessary to form special classes that may be taught in Hungarian in accordance with the law.

The parents are compelled to put their children in Rumanian schools, because they are afraid that their children may be adversely affected in the continuity of their studies. The higher teaching, excepting for very rare cases, is always given in the Rumanian language. In employments, the perfect knowledge of the Rumanian language is required and so the very survival compels the young Hungarians to learn the official Rumanian language, at a loss to the Hungarian language which remains only for the restricted limits of the family. In the "székely" zones, i.e., the territories where Hungarians are exclusive, the presence of three Rumanian families is sufficient to have the teaching in the Rumanian language declared to be official.

The subsistence of the Hungarian language in Transylvania is furthermore threatened by the reduction of printed publications of books and magazines.

There is an official planning which establishes the standards for the choice and publication of printed matter. In the bookstores, together with the publications in Rumanian, there are works in Hungarian language, but only of political subjects and of propaganda of the Government system. But almost nothing of Hungarian literature. Demand is always greater than supply. Many times the number of issues of a publication which would have a good market among Hungarians is reasonable. However, the distribution of Hungarian issues is

made, very much on purpose, only in territories of exclusively Rumanian population. The result is that there are no sales. And that is what the Government wants, because that way the sales statistics, which are always taken as a basis, make licenses for new publications in Hungarian language difficult. And as a consequence of these tactics the publications in Hungarian language are decreasing.

Even the religious life of Hungarians is being hit. It is in opposition to the Marxist regimen which dominates the country. The Government destroys churches, saying that it is necessary to modernize cities and the need for the opening of new avenues and streets. Cementeries are also disappearing under the claim for "modernization" of cities.

Historical monuments with which the population was identified are disappearing this way. The weakening of the religious life, by the difficulties the Government creates in connection therewith is to be deeply lamented, because it happens in a land where for the first time in Europe, religious liberty was proclaimed.

As regards arts, it is well to be noticed that presentations of theatrical groups and Hungarian choirs are very rare, in spite of the fact that their number is quite important. In addition, the artistical theatrical presentations suffer in their programming the political and ideological influence.

As for folklorical dancing groups, the Hungarians present only one third, the major part being of national Rumanian character.

It is well to remember that in the National Folklore Group of the Republic of Hungary all ethnical elements existing in the country are to be found, something which does not happen in the folklore groups in Rumania.

All this type of acting on the part of the Rumanian Government is in the service of its purpose of transforming a multinational country in a uninational country. This is against the international statutes of the ethnical minorities.

TESTIMONY Nº 3

On May 15, 1975, Mr. N.N..... who lived until 1974 in Kolozsvár, Transylvania, stated the following:

In Transylvania there is no possibility for Hungarians to get positions of direction in any field of activity. In the Army, in the Aeronautics and in the Police and generally in public offices the Hungarians are not accepted. When there is a necessity to recruit candidates for these positions, it is required to submit several credentials, including those of the family and the Hungarians are not able even to take the selective examinations.

Education

I started my studies in a basic Rumanian school, since my parents were afraid that if I would study in a Hungarian school, I would have no possibility in the future.

In my class, the percentage of Hungarians was from 60% to 70%, but all the teachers were Rumanians. In the middle schools the situation was the same. In the classes of History, they distorted the facts, stating that the Hungarians took possession of Transylvania previously occupied by the Rumanians.

After finishing the eight years of the basic school, I went to study in a professional course. In this course there existed an admission examination made exclusively in the

Rumanian language. The Hungarians who did not know the Rumanian had no chance to enter the course. The admission examination was held in Kolozsvár by the Rumanian inspectors who had come from Bucarest. The professional course lasted three years. Each year, during three months, the classes were theory and during nine months they were practical. The practical classes were given in a factory under the supervision of teachers. These teachers, in their majority were Hungarians, but all managers were Rumanians. At the end of three years there were the following examinations: Rumanian language, technology, practice and drawing. The failing in the Rumanian language meant the repetition of the year, while the failing in any of the other matters admitted the possibility of a second examination.

In the workshops, although the majority of workers was Hungarian, the official language was Rumanian. In offices and in Government departments the Hungarian language was always repressed.

Party way of living and the society

I was a member of the UNIUNEA TINERETULUI COMUNISTE - UTC. There, all political seminars were presented in the Rumanian language, without any consideration to the Hungarians who might be present. From the UTC any young man might join the party. But there only were admitted those that had been introduced by the Rumanian managers, of the factories.

The Hungarian member of the party who denounces any type of racial discrimination practiced on one of his compatriots is discharged from the party and is fired from the job he holds, in the name of Rumanian nationalism.

Military life

It is necessary to give evidence of descent up to the second generation: generally, the Hungarian recruits had to serve in traditionally Rumanian places. I know of none officer of Hungarian descent.

The residential problem

The houses built by the Government are distributed by Rumanian managers. In this distribution the Hungarian are always placed on an inferior rank, while the Rumanians are habitually favored.

The Rumanian occupation

The Rumanian pressures in Transylvania are general and continuous. Close to the frontier with Hungary—the land of the "szekely"—where from 70% to 90% are Hungarians, there can be no traffic sign in Hungarian language.

The general opinion in Transylvania is that the ethnical minorities in Hungary enjoy rights that the Hungarians in Transylvania do not know. They are attached to Rumania, living as a national minority in a land that is theirs for more than a thousand years.

TESTIMONY Nº 4

On May 15, 1975, N.N. who visited Transylvania in 1974, gave the following testimony:

During the last year, 1974, in the month of July, I visited Transylvania, staying there four days, visiting the cities of Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Gyulafehérvár and Arad. I stayed more time in Kolozsvár, because during the years 1942 and 1943 I studied at the College of Economics of that City.

I tried to find friends and colleagues of that time. I had no results. I found very few. Even so I got in touch with people from which I received news regarding common friends. One of them told me a case which gives a good picture of the discriminatory policy of the present Rumanian Government against the Hungarian minorities. The case is the following:

... daughter of a friend of mine, finished her studies at the College of Kolozsvár in 1972, graduating as Professor of Mathematics, qualified to teach in the course of secondary education. This young lady, with an extraordinary capacity and great willpower, got the first position in the class of that year. She expected then to get a job which would be adequate to her graduation and close to the place of residence of the family.

Her colleagues, though, ridicularized that hope. How could she, and Hungarian girl, expect a good employment in a city where the Hungarian population predominated? And they were right who thought so. The appointment came, but it came for a city 200 miles away in a region where there were no Hungarians. The young lady refused the job and started to carry out an activity which was very much below her preparation and her culture.

Later on, this lady married a recently graduated Hungarian physician. The young man has a job in a small and distant village, where only Rumanians live, and comes back home only on week-ends.

TESTIMONY Nº 5

On May 15, 1975, N.N. who was in Transylvania in 1974, made the following statement:

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

In accordance with the opinion of Hungarians of Transylvania, the fate of the Hungarians in that region is sealed: those that do not leave their ethnical roots, due to the directives of the national Rumanian policy do not get a good job and neither a good education.

The official policy of the Government in relation to the minorities, on paper, proclaims the equality of rights and possibilities for all ethnical groups, but the Government has as a tactic, the systematic pressure on the inhabitants. The Hungarians, in practice, are treated like second class citizens.

The Hungarian youth in Transylvania can only study in a middle or superior school if they abdicate of their language. Diplomas are only given to those that submit to examinations held only in the Rumanian language. The public employments connected with the activities within the Party are practically impossible for Hungarians: the direction of the Party only accepts Hungarians that have renegated their own countrymen and all those that show some signs of attachment to Hungarian traditions are excluded.

The housing policy is also discriminatory. The houses in the cities are offered by preference to Rumanians. The Government makes visits of Hungarians from Transylvania to Hungary difficult. However, Rumanians can visit Hungary freely. The Hungarians who visit Transylvania may not stay in the houses of their relatives.

The purpose is to make the contact between Hungarians difficult. In the public departments the Hungarian language is not allowed and information signs in the Hungarian language are disappearing.

TESTIMONY Nº 6

On May 15, 1975, N.N. who lived in Transylvania up to 1974, in the City of Nagyvárad, gave the following testimony:

Education

I made the basic course in a Rumanian school, because if I had studied in a Hungarian school I might not continue the studies in a professional, technical, or superior school. One cannot make examinations in the Hungarian language to enter these schools. Everything is done in Rumanian. In the Rumanian basic schools, there were more or less 30 students in each class. Around 90% of the pupils of every class are Hungarians. It is forbidden to speak or to sing in Hungarian.

Possibility of Work

After eight years of basic schooling, I took examinations in a professional school, in the Rumanian language and before an examination committee made up exclusively by Rumanians. In the professional school, in every class there were about 50 students and of these, more or less 50% were Hungarians. The Rumanian language was obligatory.

In the factory, among the supervisors and masters, 90% are Rumanians. Among the workers, however, 80% are Hungarians.

In offices, one can only get an answer if one can speak Rumanian. In the workshops one can only talk in Rumanian.

Party way of living and the society

I was a member of the Uniune Tineretului Comunist - UTC. There were two obligatory meetings per month, and during these meetings one could only speak Rumanian.

In this organization there are no Hungarian managers. The Rumanian workers who submitted good yield were praised. For those of Hungarian origin however no praise, even if their results were exceptional.

Any protest on the part of the Hungarians against these discriminations and prohibitions to speak Hungarian is immediately strangled.

One cannot change the employment without the authorization of the managers of the factory. With a recommendation of the UTC, one could join the Communist Party. The

Party would only accept those Hungarians who depart from their ethnical traditions. About 90% of Hungarian jews of Transylvania were compelled to emigrate. In the cities of Transylvania only a few jews remained, generally those that had celebrated a mixed Jewish-Hungarian marriage.

(Signed): Emilio Jordan
(Signed): Waldemar Valle Martins
(Signed): István Zolcsak
(Signed): Irineu Vinha Augusto
(Signed): György Troykó
(Signed): José Conceição Paixão
(Signed): Tarcio Ferreira Camargo
(Signed): J. R. Mendes
(Signed): Bertalan Zágon

(Overleaf): 7th Notarial Office - Antonio Alves Ferreira, Notary Public. José Silva Alvin, Head Clerk. 183, Quintino Bocaiuva Street — São Paulo. I certify the signatures on the reverse side hereof, of Messrs. Emilio Jordan, Waldemar Valle Martins, István Zolcsak, Irineu Vinha Augusto, György Troykó, José Conceição Paixão, Tarcio Ferreira Camargo, João Roberto Mendes and Bertalan Zágon, to be genuine. São Paulo, June 9th, 1975. In witness whereof (initialed and signed) Luiz Felício Paschoal, Deputy Notary Public.

CERTIFIED TO BE A TRUE AND CORRECT TRANSLATION OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT SUBMITTED' WRITTEN IN THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE:

São Paulo (Brazil), June 20th, A.D. 1975.

Berthaldo Bammann
PUBLIC SWORN TRANSLATOR