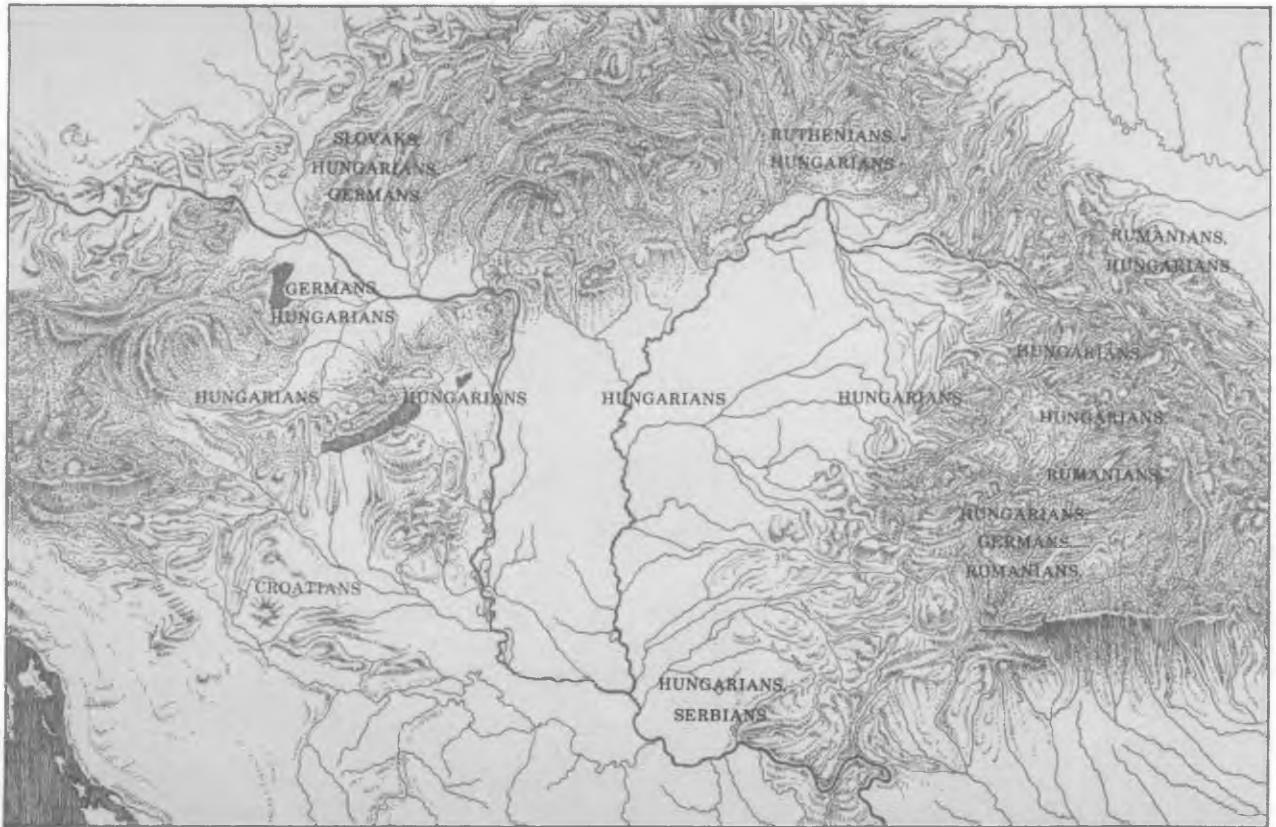


The Hungarian Quarterly



The Carpathian Basin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Hungarian Quarterly

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

Published by
The Danubian Press, Inc.
Astor, FL 32002

In cooperation with the
Danubian Research and Information Center

Editor: Albert Wass
Assistant Editor: Dr. Anne Atzél

Editorial Board:
Dr. Edward Chaszar
Rev. Fr. Christopher Hites
Dr. László Juhász
Dr. László Könnöy
Dr. Antal Lelbach

Subscription: U.S. \$12.00 yearly. Single copy U.S. \$4.00.
Overseas U.S. \$18.00.
Address: Danubian Press, Rt. 1, Box 59, Astor, FL 32002 USA.

Printed by:
Franciscan Fathers
Catholic Publishing Company
1739 Mahoning Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio 44509

January 1986

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Letter from the Catacombs | 3 |
| Transylvania: a Condensed History | 5 |
| Declaration..... <i>by Attila Ara-Kovács</i> | 9 |
| Memorandum of the National Committee of Hungarians from Czechoslovakia in North America | 10 |
| The Legacy of Yalta..... <i>by Louis F. Molnár and Julius Gönczöl</i> | 15 |
| What is the truth about Yalta? | 17 |
| <i>by László Varga</i> | |
| Burgenland | 19 |
| <i>by Dr. Anne Atzél and Dr. László Juhász</i> | |
| Ruthenia..... <i>by Charles Hokky</i> | 20 |
| Hungarian Cultural Influence in Europe, During the Anjous, 1308-1437 | 22 |
| <i>by Professor L. Könnö</i> | |
| Letters to the Editor..... | 26 |
| Book Reviews..... | 27 |

Letter from the Catacombs

This is the condensed translation of a letter to President Ronald Reagan, published October 21, 1985, in the underground newsletter of the Democratic Resistance Movement in Transylvania.

“Mr. Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, Washington, D.C.

We, leaders of the Democratic Resistance movement of Transylvania are turning to you in the hope that you will listen to what we have to say.

The deplorable situation of the national minorities in Rumania is known today all over the world. Close to ten-million Hungarians, Jews, Germans, Bulgarians, Gypsies, Serbians, Croatians, Greeks, Turks, Ukrainians, and other smaller ethnic groups who have been native inhabitants of this country for centuries, are fighting for their survival today under the super-nationalistic terror regime of “Fuhrer” Nicolae Ceausescu. While the free press in the West keeps publishing articles week after week about the abuses and discrimination we suffer, and international organizations keep petitioning the Rumanian government to change its oppressive policy toward the minorities, the situation here is getting worse. Not even our most basic human rights are recognized by the Rumanian authorities. House searches, arrests, beatings, and deportations occur daily. The use of our native languages is forbidden, and those who dare to raise their voice in protest either disappear after their arrest or become victims of hit-and-run drivers who are never apprehended.

Mr. President, we implore you to send a delegation to Rumania as soon as possible to see the situation first hand, town by town and learn the truth. This delegation should not be forced to visit only those places and talk only to those people the authorities designate. The delegation must have the freedom to visit anybody anywhere and talk to Hungarians, Jews, Germans, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and any other nationality groups without the presence of the police.

Mr. President, those who speak in the name of the Ceausescu regime are deceiving the free world. They say one thing and do the opposite. They also hide behind the slogan that any questions asked concerning the treatment of minorities is “interference with internal affairs.” Does the principle of

sovereignty give the right to a government to exterminate the native inhabitants of a province which was given to them due to a political mistake?

We implore you Mr. President, to investigate thoroughly the internal as well as the foreign policies of the Rumanian Socialist Republic and demand that the minorities be treated as citizens with equal rights, not just on paper but in practice also. It is your right to demand this, and to a degree your obligation since when signing the peace treaties the United States of America guaranteed that on all the territories taken from Hungary and given to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia the Hungarians and other minorities would be granted equal rights. Year after year the Rumanian government turns to you for aid while at the same time here at home it engages in a strong anti-American propaganda campaign. While the paid agents of the Rumanian government give fancy talks in your country about the "principles of democracy," here at home the minorities are persecuted, tortured, and killed.

What goes on here today is the shame of the twentieth century! Today the United States of America is the only power able to take a firm stand on moral principles and help us, using the weight of your country's economic and political strength. For millions of oppressed minorities here in Rumania you are the only hope left, Mr. President. You and the people of the United States of America.

God bless you, Sir.

Temesvar-Timisoara, the twenty-first of October, 1985
Board of Directors of the Democratic Resistance Movement in Transylvania."

*The Editorial Board of the **Hungarian Quarterly** sincerely hopes this letter did indeed reach, or will reach the President of the United States, regardless of the almost impenetrable wall built around his person by White House staff.*

Transylvania: A Condensed History Part II. 1919-1985

*Compiled by the Danubian Research Center
Edited by Albert Wass*

For nine centuries the dividing line between East and West was firmly established along the high mountain ranges of the Eastern and Southern Carpathians. Transylvania, as part of the Hungarian Kingdom, became the Eastern-most citadel of the Western Christian Culture, bordering across the mountains with the "buffer zone" of the Byzantine Empire on the South, and with the no-man's land of migrating tribes on the East. These tribes were driven westward from the distant steppes of the ancient Scythian homeland by invading forces pouring out of Asia. Most of these tribes were related to the Huns and the Hungarians, all of Scythian origin, belonging to the same language-group. However, by the time of their arrival, the Hungarians (Magyars) were already settled into a Western-type Christian kingdom, serving as a bulwark against these invaders in the defense of Central and Western Europe.

With the decline of the Byzantine Empire, the lands between Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, and the Adriatic Sea were taken over by small, roaming tribes of Slavs as well as non-slavic people, the Albanians and the Vlachs. These two co-existed as neighboring tribes along the Adriatic Sea for centuries under Byzantine rule, which explains certain similarities in their culture.

When Byzantium (today Istanbul) was over-run by the Turks, pushing their Ottoman Empire from Asia into Europe, some of the sheepherding Vlach tribes began to move northward, across the Danube, trying to find safety as well as good pastures on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. The land between the Black Sea and the eastern Carpathians was ruled by

the Cumans (today's Moldova) while the lands between the Danube River and the southern Carpathians were formally under the Hungarian Kingdom with a few Hungarian towns like Hosszumezo (today translated into Campulung).

During the 13th century a small tribe of Vlach herdsmen asked permission to cross the Carpathians and settle on the northern slopes of the mountains. The permission was granted and the first Vlach immigrants settled in southern Transylvania under their own tribal chief, who was elevated according to the customs of the Western Feudalistic System into the ranks of the Hungarian nobility.

During the following centuries more and more Vlachs migrated into Transylvania to escape the harsh rule of the Cumans on the East and the invading Turks on the South. These Vlachs were settled mostly as serfs in separate villages by Hungarian landowners in those parts of Transylvania where the Hungarian population had been massacred by the invading Tartars, Turks, and the mercenary armies of the emperors of Austria. The Hungarian landowners built them churches, gave them Greek Orthodox priests, and allowed these immigrants to keep their own culture. After the decline of the feudalistic system the Hungarian government and the Hungarian administration of the counties took over the burden of maintaining the churches, schools, and other cultural institutions of the Transylvanian Vlachs whose leaders changed the name Vlach to Rumun. After the Kingdom of Rumania was established beyond the mountains in 1866, the name of the descendants of Vlach immigrants was changed to Rumanian.

Because of international intrigues aimed to weaken the defenses of Central Europe against future Communist aggression, the Hungarian Kingdom was dismembered after World War I and based on the presence of Rumanians, Transylvania was "given" to the Rumanian kingdom by England, France, and the United States in 1919.

The first twenty years of Rumanian occupation was just that: occupation by military force. Though all the public office-holders and their families, approximately 100,000 Hungarians, were forcibly removed from Transylvanian and dumped into mutilated Hungary, the Hungarian culture still remained the only visible and dominant culture in Transylvania. The Rumanian sub-culture, though receiving unprecedented governmental aid from Bucharest, remained separate, hardly visible to foreign visitors. After all the cities, towns, and villages were re-named (mostly by translating the name from Hungarian to Rumanian) and all the street markers were changed to give the newly acquired province a more Rumanian look, the cities and towns as well as the farming villages still exhibited the distinct marks of the ancient Hungarian culture in their architecture, in their monuments, as well as the language of the streets, restaurants, theaters, and shops. The Rumanian culture, pouring into the occupied country from across the mountains, was still the culture of the Balkan and was unable and incapable of taking over and dominating the established Western culture of Central Europe.

Though the Hungarian population of Transylvania was oppressed politically, deprived economically, handicapped and discriminated against professionally, during the twenty years under the Rumanian Kingdom the Transylvanian Hungarian literature and art reached an unprecedented peak. Books by Transylvanian Hungarian authors became best-sellers in Transylvania as well as in Hungary and the rest of Central Europe. The Hungarian theater of Kolozsvar (Cluj) became the springboard of talented actors and actresses to Budapest, Vienna, and even Hollywood. Transylvanian Hungarian painters, sculptors, musicians, and composers, gained international fame. The three large Hungarian language newspapers grew from provincial to international status. Separated from the homeland, the Transylva-

nian Hungarians adhered to their newspapers, literary magazines, publishing houses, theaters, museums, art galleries, archives, churches, social organizations, and cooperatives. Though all the state maintained schools abolished the Hungarian language and teaching was done in Rumanian only, the Hungarian education was kept on a high scholastic level in the old church affiliated high schools, called gymnaziums (corresponding to grades 5 - 12 in the American system). These schools were supported by the Presbyterian, Unitarian, Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches. Most of the schools dated back to the 15th and 16th centuries. Within six months of the Rumanian take-over hundreds of small parochial schools were established by the Hungarian citizenry and maintained by donations, coming mostly from local Hungarian land-owners. Thus the Hungarian-language education was maintained without state support up to the college level. Since the old and famous University of Transylvania in Kolozsvar (Cluj) was taken over by the Rumanian government, young people graduating from the Hungarian parochial high schools had the choice to enroll in the Rumanian University and attempt to overcome the heavy handicap of discrimination and hostility or complete their education in Hungary, Germany, France, or England.

The cultural exchange between Transylvania and the rest of Europe was following the established customs dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries and was oriented to the Transylvanian Hungarians and not their new rulers. When Colonel Lindberg flew from Budapest to Kolozsvar, the eastern-most point of his flight across the ocean, he was the guest of Transylvanian Hungarian writers, artists, journalists, and was greeted by the three Hungarian bishops: The Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, and the Unitarian. The corner table where he sat in the well known Kolozsvar restaurant was decorated with a copper plate bearing the inscription in Hungarian language: "Here sat the famous American, Colonel Lindberg, the first man who flew across the ocean."

For the first seventeen years of Rumanian occupation Transylvania was still dominantly Hungarian in culture as well as in commerce and industry. However, the rapid rise of Hitler gave inspiration and support to Rumanian nationalists. The notorious Iron Guard was born

and grew into power within a few years. Jews and Hungarians, declared the "Enemies of the Rumanian nation" were attacked, beaten, and murdered on the streets, in railroad stations, and bus depots by juvenile mobs. Signs appeared everywhere: "Speak Rumanian only!" Those who disregarded these signs were arrested and beaten by the police. The buildings of the three major Hungarian newspapers were vandalized.

Though the leaders of the Iron Guard were arrested later and the organization broken up in order to pacify the West, the atrocities against Hungarians continued, unchallenged. The situation gained international attention and the government of Hungary demanded that Rumania be forced to respect the stipulations of the peace treaties of 1920 in regard to the treatment of the Hungarian population, or Transylvania be returned to the Motherland.

In August 1940 the royal government of Rumania turned to Germany and Italy for arbitration. The arbitration took place in Vienna and resultantly the northern half of Transylvania was returned to Hungary. During the first two weeks of September 1940 the Hungarian troops moved in, freeing 1.4 million Hungarians from Rumanian oppression while close to one million in southern Transylvania, Moldova and the rest of Rumania were left to the mercy of angry Rumanians. Within days northern Transylvania was Hungarian again with only a vestige of the past twenty years remaining. Southern Transylvania on the other hand, crowded with angry Rumanian military units and officials of state, county, city, and rural administrations, became a huge torture chamber for the native Hungarians. Beatings, rapes, and lootings were daily occurrences, especially in the rural areas. Hungarian ministers, teachers, and landowners were arrested under false pretenses. They were beaten, their homes ransacked, and they were deported into Rumania proper.

In order to deal with the atrocities and abuses a German-Italian Officers' Commission was established with one Rumanian and one Hungarian liaison officer attached to the Commission. From September 1940 to June 1944 this Commission investigated 93 Rumanian complaints in northern Transylvania of which 41 proved to be legitimate and those responsible

were prosecuted and punished through due process of law by Hungarian courts.

During the same time in Rumanian occupied southern Transylvania the Commission investigated 1116 complaints of which 416 dealt with the killing of defenseless Hungarian civilians by Rumanian police and military units. The remainder of the complaints dealt with false arrests, beatings, and rapes. Irregardless of the energetic efforts of Colonel Kenschinsky, the senior German Army officer who headed the Commission, the Rumanian courts were able to prolong the cases presented to them until the end of the war, so that none of the culprits has ever been arrested or punished.

Beginning with June 21, 1941, when Rumania officially entered the war on the side of Hitler's Germany, about 60,000 Hungarian men of all ages were called in for military service in southern Transylvania, and sent unarmed as "unreliable elements" into Besarabia and the Ukraine to build roads and bridges. They were treated like convicts, but their families could not register a complaint with the Commission because of the objection of the Rumanian liaison officer who claimed that the men were enlisted in the army and were fighting the Russians.

In the Fall of 1944, two months after Rumania switched from the German to the Russian side and the Rumanian Army returned to northern Transylvania under the protection of the Russians, an unprecedented blood-bath took place which took the lives of more than 40,000 Hungarian men, women, and children. Another 50,000 Hungarian men were dragged out of their homes or grabbed off the streets and sent back into Russia to rebuild roads and towns as part of Rumania's reparation for damages caused during the war. Very few of these men ever returned home.

Between 1945 and 1965 another 100,000 Hungarians, men, women, and children were moved out of Transylvania by force into Rumania proper. Some of these Hungarians, declared "enemies of the Rumanian people," were taken into the forced labor camps situated in the swamps of the Danube delta to dig canals by hand, working sixteen to eighteen hours a day in the most miserable conditions, without proper food and medical care. These camps were known as death camps. Most of them died there and were buried in mass-graves. Other

Hungarians were evacuated from their homes. Entire villages or city blocks were loaded into trucks with nothing more than they were able to carry in their hands, taken out of Transylvania and "resettled" in some undesirable location in Rumania proper. While this was occurring Rumanians were brought in to the displaced Hungarians' villages and homes so they could fill the jobs in the newly built industrial plants and their presence would dilute the dense Hungarian population of the district.

The most ferocious attack against the native Hungarian population began with the rise of the new dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu. Once an ardent Nazi and active member of the Iron Guard, the new leader of the Socialist Republic of Rumania turned his entire police force toward the destruction of the Hungarian culture. First, all the ancient landmarks were drastically removed; historical monuments, statues, old buildings, cemeteries, museums, and archives. All the Hungarian books and documents were burned. Any books or letters in private possession, written in Hungarian had to be reported to the authorities and were confiscated. Any unreported material found during house searches, including family Bibles, gave reason for the dreaded Securitate to arrest entire families, mete out severe beatings, and send adults into forced labor camps, their children into juvenile centers.

Within a few years after Ceausescu's rise to power, there was not a single educational institution left where the Hungarian language was allowed to be spoken, except the three theological schools, one for each of the three Hungarian churches. Those were kept under strict quota in regard to the number of students permitted to enroll, and the numbers are shrinking year after year. All the old Hungarian parochial schools, the last bastions of the Hungarian culture in Transylvania, were taken over by the state and Rumanized. Hungarian publishing houses, literary institutions, art centers, social organizations, Hungarian language newspapers, and periodicals were closed. Today the only publications in the Hungarian language are being prepared and printed in very limited editions by the propaganda agency of the Rumanian Communist Party in Bucharest. No books or other printed matter in Hungarian language is permitted to enter the

country. The Bibles sent by the Hungarian American Churches to their sister churches in Transylvania were confiscated, recycled, and put to use as toilet paper.

Writers, educators, clergymen, and other Hungarian intellectuals who dare to raise their voice in protest are arrested and sent to prison without any trial or simply beaten to death in the torture chambers of the Securitate.

News reports appearing almost every week in some of the most prestigious newspapers of the Western World testify to the fact that the persecution of the Hungarians in Transylvania continues today. Never, during a thousand years of history were the people of Transylvania exposed to such brutal dictatorship as today under the Rumanian rule of Ceausescu. The native Hungarian population of this ancient land which used to be called "the citadel of Western civilization" is facing today the danger of total annihilation.

By comparing the first nine-hundred years of Transylvanian history with the last sixty-six, there is a lesson to be learned. While the Vlach immigrants, forefathers of today's Rumanians who asked and were granted permission to settle in Hungary, were allowed, encouraged, and aided in maintaining and developing their own ethnic culture for centuries under Hungarian rule; sixty-six years of Rumanian despotism sufficed to destroy the established Hungarian culture of the land, and degrade the people who have maintained the culture their forefathers built to third-class citizens deprived of their rights, robbed of their heritage, and mocked as "strangers" in their own ancestral homeland. The history of these sixty-six years represents the most mortifying and disgraceful chapter of the history of Central Europe, clearly displaying the enormous difference between the practices of Western Christian civilization and Balkan mentality.

Whenever the time should come for the needed reorganization of the Carpathian Basin and the rest of Central Europe, the lesson drawn from this terrible and disgraceful chapter of our history will certainly provide a basis for making the right decisions for the sake of justice, practicality, and lasting peace.

Declaration

*by the Transylvanian Hungarian Poet Attila Ara-Kovács,
published October 1985 in the Transylvanian underground publication.*

My experiences of the last few years, the beatings and tortures I was subjected to, the constant harassment of my friends and relatives, made me realize that the present day Rumanian regime, which consistently violates the most basic human rights of its citizens, is unfit to solve the problems of our country in a fair and decent manner. Therefore, I don't see any possibility to regain the free exercise of my rights and the rights of my people by citing laws, quoting the constitution and asking for a reasonable dialogue.

I am not begging anymore! I DEMAND our rights and I PROTEST against the barbaric treatment we are exposed to! I ACCUSE our government, the government of the Social Republic of Rumania of an all-out violation of every right our people have according to the constitution, and I declare that every one of these violations is a criminal act against the future of this people!

I object to the fact that men, women and children are made to disappear in this country without a trace! I object to the fact that people are killed by the SECURITATE while in custody! I object to the barbaric oppression under which more than two million Hungarians are suffering in this country, and I protest against the policy of this government aimed to turn one oppressed nationality against another!

I object to the fact that each time we raise our voices against injustice, we have to face danger to our lives! I object to the screams and howls of the tortured we can hear day after day from behind the doors of the police stations! I object to the hordes of spies and informers who lurk around us everywhere and report on any conversation we have. I object to the lack of freedom of speech and freedom of movement! I object to everything that can still befall us in today's Rumania!

I also want to use this opportunity, perhaps the last in my life, to thank all those in the world who were driven by their devotion to social and political freedom to sympathize and identify with the fate of the oppressed and the tortured, and have taken the trouble of turning again and again to the conscience of the human race on our behalf.

I have no illusions anymore concerning the possibilities of our own efforts. But I have hope in the solidarity of those who are privileged to be free!

signed: Attila Ara-Kovács

Editor's note: *The poet Attila Ara-Kovács was arrested by the SECURITATE eight times during the last six years for his literary activities. He was released each time due to international pressure. His fingers and toes are broken, his kidneys are bleeding and he is about to lose one eye due to the tortures.*

Violation of the Cultural Rights

of the Hungarian Minority in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

MEMORANDUM

submitted to

THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM

**of the Signatory Governments of the Final Act
of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe**

by

**The National Committee of Hungarians from Czechoslovakia
in North America**

MEMORANDUM

This Memorandum is respectfully submitted in the spirit of cooperation and the promotion of harmonious relations among nations as a precondition to peace.

The Committee observes that policies of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia are, on several points, in violation of valid international agreement relating to the Hungarian national minority:

- The provision in Article 27 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights is violated by the limitation of the use of the Hungarian language as a vehicle of culture.
- The provisions of the last paragraph of the Chapter entitled "Cultural Cooperation and Exchange", and that of the last paragraph of the Chapter entitled "Cooperation and Exchange in the Area of Education" of the Final Document of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation are not carried out by the Czechoslovak state.
- The cultural and educational policies pursued by the Czechoslovak state and, most of all, by the Slovak Socialist Republic, in the area inhabited by Hungarians, are contrary to the "Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights";
- The educational policies of the Czechoslovak state, and, most of all, of the Slovak Socialist Republic, particularly the dictatorial limitations of the Hungarian language as a language of instruction implemented against the intentions of the parents, cannot be reconciled with the substance of Paragraph (a) of Article 4, and, with Paragraph (1c) of Article 5 of the "Convention on the Struggle Against Discrimination in Education";
- The policies of the Czechoslovak state, and, most of all, of the Slovak Socialist Republic regarding kindergartens and schools do not correspond to Principle 2 of the 1959 "Declaration of the Rights of the Child".

On the basis of the above, the Committee declares that the obligations assumed in Clause VII of the Chapter entitled "Questions Related to European Security" of the Final Document of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation are not carried out by the Czechoslovak state.

In the spirit indicated at the beginning of this Memorandum, a voice of strong protest must be raised with regards to the condition of cultural life of Hungarians in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republics. We feel constrained to point out that these policies represent also a violation of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic itself, and hereby repeat the grievances of the

Hungarian minority voiced earlier by the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Hungarian Nationality in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as follows:

In the year 1969 Constitutional Law 143/1968 amending Constitutional Law 100/1960 of the CSSR (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) took effect. This law pertains to the federal structure of the state. Concurrently Constitutional Law 144/1968 pertaining to nationality affairs was also passed.

We have to note that the implementation of Constitutional Law 144/1968 did not fulfill the expectations of the nationalities. The reasons are as follows:

1. It failed to secure the social, economic, and cultural development of the nationalities aiming at the reduction of differences that developed since 1945 vis a vis the two nations.
2. It failed to secure the collective participation of the nationalities in the state's political life.
3. It failed to secure the proportional development of all levels of education for the nationalities.
4. It failed to stop the forced assimilation of the nationalities.

The failures listed above are the results of non-implementation by supportive legislation either by the National Assembly or by the Slovak National Council.

During the past years the neglect of constitutionally recognized principles affected most seriously the Hungarian nationality living in the SSR (Slovak Socialist Republic).

This unconstitutional discrimination manifests itself clearly in the following areas:

I. Education

- Neglect in establishing Hungarian language nursery schools;
- Reduction in the number of Hungarian language primary and secondary schools;
- Reduction in the number of pupils by about 30% in Hungarian language primary schools in proportion to the number of children of school age;
- Experimental substitution of Slovak for Hungarian as the language of instruction;
- Unsatisfactory quality and level of Hungarian secondary education in technical schools and industrial vocational institutions.
- Abolition of the Hungarian Division of the College of Education in Nitra/Nyitra effectively ending teacher training for basic schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction;
- Low number of Hungarian students in the colleges and universities of the CSSR;
- Hindering of study and acquisition of academic degrees at the colleges and universities of the Hungarian People's Republic;
- A deepening educational chasm between the Hungarian minority and Slovak majority.

II. Culture

- A deliberate reduction of cultural, literary opportunities for citizens of Hungarian nationality;
- A deliberate narrowing of developmental opportunities for citizens of Hungarian cultural institutions;
- Almost complete blocking of development of publishing outlets for citizens of Hungarian nationality in their native tongue (For example, the greater part of the Madach Publishing House's capacity is devoted to translations);
- Limitations placed on the development and improvement of Hungarian language papers and periodicals;
- Reduction in numbers of books imported from the Hungarian People's Republic. Complete exclusions of Hungarian books published in the Rumanian Socialist Republic, in Yugoslavia, in the Soviet Union, or in other countries. Customs authorities hinder the importation of books from the West — especially from the dollar area — in violation of the Helsinki Accords of 1975;
- An approximate 53% surcharge placed on the price of books imported from the Hungarian People's Republic [and a recent 100% to 400% increase in the price of certain periodicals from Hungary, amounting to a cultural "blockade"];
- Limitations placed on Hungarian popular culture;
- Postponement of the creation of an independent institute of social studies serving the needs of the Hungarian nationality in the CSSR.

We urge the Czechoslovak authorities to examine the above mentioned problems and to take immediate action in order to achieve equality of cultural and educational rights for the Hungarian minority on the basis of the following specific measures:

A. Education

In conformity with Constitutional Law 100/1960, Chapter II, Art. 19, Par. 2, Art. 20, Par. 2, Art. 24, Par. 3, and Art. 26, as well as Constitutional Law 144/1968, Art. 3, Par. 1/a the following steps must be taken:

- The education of Hungarian youth in its native language must be guaranteed. This must begin with the establishment of Hungarian nursery schools, continue with the expansion of the network of Hungarian kindergartens, and extend to all elements of primary and secondary schooling, including gymnasia, specialized technical high schools, as well as secondary vocational schools for apprentices. These steps must be taken in all regions inhabited by citizens of Hungarian nationality to satisfy the needs of such regions.
- Concrete steps must be taken to increase the number of Hungarian students (by approximately 250%) in the colleges and universities of the CSSR to a level proportional to the number of citizens of Hungarian nationality living in the country. This is most important in the faculties of medicine (approximately 500%), law (approximately 400%) and economics (approximately 500%);
- Hungarian language instruction must be guaranteed at the College of Agriculture of Nitra/Nyitra and the College of Veterinary Medicine of Kosice/Kassa, while the Hungarian student census at these institutions must be increased by 300%;
- The right to Hungarian language practicum and the right to examinations in native tongue must be guaranteed at the Komensky University of Bratislava/Pozsony, at the faculty of chemical technology of the J. P. Safarik University of Kosice/Kassa, at the departments of chemical, mechanical, architectural/structural, and electrical engineering of the Slovak College of Technology of Bratislava/Pozsony, as well as at the department of mechanical engineering of the College of Technology of Kosice/Kassa.
- The department of Hungarian language of the philosophical faculty of the Bratislava/Pozsony Komensky University must be expanded into a full-fledged department of Hungarian Studies;
- A Hungarian College of Education should be created in Bratislava/Pozsony to train Hungarian educators for primary and secondary schools;
- We are asking for guarantees against attempts to change the language of instruction from Hungarian to Slovak;
- Study opportunities at colleges and universities in the Hungarian People's Republic for citizens of Hungarian nationality must be expanded, especially in areas of the social sciences, and disciplines of special relevance to the needs of Hungarian settled areas.

B. Culture

In conformity with Constitutional Law 100/1960, Chapter II, Art. 24, Par. 2, and Art. 28, as well as Constitutional Law 144/1968, Art. 3, Par. 1/b/c the following steps must be taken:

- The cultural needs of citizens of Hungarian nationality must not be reduced simply to belles lettres, and must not be degraded by amateurism. Efforts must be kept of high quality, and must be permeated by professional competence and consciousness;
- Hungarian theater culture must be strengthened by the creation of a permanent Hungarian theatre in Bratislava/Pozsony;
- Professional activities in the area of mass culture must be developed to ensure a balanced and multifaceted evolution of Hungarian popular culture. Within the framework of the Institute of Popular Culture in Bratislava/Pozsony the nationalities section must be strengthened, and na-

- tionality sections must be attached to district houses of culture;
- A Hungarian Library must be established with local branches;
- A Hungarian Cultural Center must be established in the CSSR for the institutional assistance to professional efforts in the areas of fine and performing arts. Organized efforts in fields of folk and local art, both intellectual and material, must be initiated;
- The print and paper capacity of Hungarian publishing efforts must be increased. The variety in the approved thematic areas of the Madach Publishing House must be increased. Personnel policies in regards to the expansion of editorial staffs must be improved;
- In addition to the periodical devoted to literature, independently published periodicals in the fields of natural and social sciences must be founded to ensure the wide dissemination of scientific/technical knowledge;
- An independent Hungarian weekly devoted primarily to social problems must be established;
- The scattered and sporadically published local papers of low quality must be fused into bi-weeklies published for three regions. Western Slovakia needs two such bi-weeklies, while the Central and Eastern Slovakian regions need one each;
- Hungarian language programs must be introduced into the programming of the Bratislava/Pozsony television;
- A research institute with a social studies division for the study of the development of the Hungarian nationality must be established. The majority of researchers must be of Hungarian nationality;
- Proper employment opportunities for Hungarian individuals with higher education must be created in order to prevent their outmigration from the CSSR by marriage;
- The deliberate neglect of Hungarian culture because of financial considerations must be discontinued.
- Nationality Councils composed of nationality experts (Hungarian and Ukrainian) on the regional level must be created in the SSR;
- Nationality Councils attached to district committees must be created for the oversight of nationality affairs especially in education, culture, labor, social, and health matters;
- In districts with mixed population nationality sections must be created in the local and municipal committees, charged with concern for education, culture, and public health;
- Citizens of nationality origin must be able to use their native tongue effectively in official written and oral communications. This right must cover districts with mixed population, and must extend to the regional and central organs of state and party. In the SSR this means the use of Hungarian and Ukrainian.
- In areas of mixed population, on local as well as on the district level, bilingualism must be made obligatory in affairs of administration, telecommunication, and transportation.
- In addition, the use of Hungarian place-names should be permitted, including the posting of bilingual signs where appropriate, as it is customary in other countries containing nationality groups, for example Austria, Italy, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, or Yugoslavia.

C. Rights

In conformity with Constitutional Law 143/1968, Chapter V, Art. 76, par. 2, as well as Chapter VI, Art. 87/b, Art. 89, Par. 9, and Art. 93 the following steps must be taken:

- The non-implementation and neglect of the provisions of Constitutional Law 144/1968, Articles 1, 3, 4 and 5 must be investigated.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are submitted for consideration:

(1) The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must review its constitutional and legal responsibilities, as well as the obligations assumed under international covenants. Remedial, compensatory, "affirmative" action should be contemplated in view of the discrimination and violation of minority rights.

(2) All signatory States of the Helsinki Final Act should accept their responsibilities under the pact and work toward the securing of minority rights to the Hungarian population of Czechoslovakia.

(3) Contacts between Hungarian minorities of different East European countries, as well as contacts between Hungary and the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring states must be encouraged, expanded, and guaranteed by the governments concerned. "Basket Three" of the Helsinki Final Act provides for intensified contacts and regular meetings across borders on the basis of family ties, reunification of families by way of emigration, marriage between citizens of different countries, travel for personal and professional reasons, improvement of the circulation of, and access to, information, as well as cooperation and exchanges in the fields of culture and education.

(4) We can not escape a comparison of the treatment of national minorities by the government of the Hungarian People's Republic with that of the policies of Czechoslovakia. In terms of numerical proportions we are forced to conclude that the cultural, educational as well as socio-economic situation of national minorities — including the Slovaks — in Hungary is infinitely better than the situation of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, we urge the concerned governments to explore the possibility of creating organs, institutions, processes through bi-lateral arrangements which would be empowered to monitor the treatment of respective minorities in both countries. This would be a significant contribution to the Helsinki process, and it would be entirely consistent with both the spirit and the letter of the Final Act and subsequent pronouncements.

September 18, 1985

Kristof Hites, Chairman
National Committee of Hungarians
from Czechoslovakia
in North America

The Legacy of Yalta

*by Louis F. Molnár and Julius Gönczöl
for the News Conference at Cleveland State University on Yalta*

February 4, 1985

In the history of Europe, February 11, 1945 was the greatest day of defeat and infamy. That was the day when the leaders of Western democracies concluded the Yalta agreement that gave their consent to the partition of Europe. As a result of this agreement the Soviet frontiers now surpass anything Czarist Russia ever held in Europe.

And now 40 years later, millions of exiled Eastern Europeans are struggling with the legality of this decision and the fate of 130 million people. They are asking if the Yalta decision in fact constitutes a treaty with illegality, being conducted in violation of basic principles of international laws according to which no state can, without its consent, be deprived of its rights by other states. Looking back to the Yalta agreement we can conclude that what we need today is diplomacy guided with historic experiences, knowledge of facts and constructive imagination. At least, we must not forget the fact that Europe today is divided into two spheres of influence, and as a result millions of her population are living outside the European community.

During the past the trend of the Atlantic community was to preserve the status quo in Europe and thus escape a Nuclear war, a position which has been viewed by the people of Eastern Europe with anger and contempt. Every effort on the part of the West to conduct European security treaties, test ban treaties, freezes and arms limitation proved to be futile exercises, simply because they were lacking the most basic elements, that are the foundation of a free Europe. The first step to a meaningful process of European security is the **Renunciation of the Yalta Agreement and its outgrowth, The Helsinki Accord**, which the Soviet leadership

has used as their right to maintain hegemony over Eastern Europe. Only after this can we enter into an era of sound security and disarmament treaties. The current NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances have turned Europe into two opposing armed camps each at the disposal of a Superpower. We are continually faced with the dilemma of Yalta. The Soviet Union's primary initiative in any security agreement is to maintain the status quo in Europe in which will result in long term Soviet control in Eastern Europe. The security agreements will not replace the existing military blocks nor will they provide a true European security. At the Helsinki conference in 1975 the rationale for accepting the status quo according to western proponents was that by so doing the West can diminish the Soviet sense of insecurity, which has in part brought about the division of Europe.

The ink was not even dry on the Helsinki Accord, known as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, when Henry Kissinger's official spokesman, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, U.S. Department counselor launched his trial balloon at the meeting of the American Ambassadors to European nations in London in mid-December, 1975, telling them that the relationship between Moscow and Eastern Europe based on military power threatened world peace. So he concluded, "it must be our policy to strive for an evolution that makes the relationship between the Eastern Europeans and the Soviet Union an organic one." He further declared that the Kremlin relies on the presence of sheer Soviet military power, "because a more viable organic structure is lacking and there is a great desire among Eastern Europeans to break out of the Soviet strait jackets." Sonnenfeldt felt pity

for the Soviet Union that they should experience any problems in maintaining the Colonialism in Eastern Europe and stated that the "Soviet inability to acquire loyalty in Eastern Europe is an unfortunate failure historically, because Eastern Europe is within their scope and area of natural interest. It is tragic that in this area of vital interest and crucial importance it has not been possible for the Soviet Union to establish roots of interest that go beyond sheer power." Sonnenfeldt also cautioned that any excess zeal on our part could reverse the desired process," that is the Soviet-Eastern European Organic Union."

It is obvious that such U.S. foreign policies have been lacking principles and moral values. The Sonnenfeldt Doctrine violated the principles of the U.S. Constitution and the Charter of the United Nations. These foreign policy statements are a direct consequence of the Yalta Agreement. When our organization, the Hungarian Freedom-Fighters Movement has approached the Senate Foreign Relations committee on this subject the response was regret that such remarks have been "leaked out" from the executive branch.

Let us remind the present administration, that there was none, is none, and there will not be any peace and security in Europe until the U.S. Foreign Policy renounces Yalta, Helsinki and the various doctrines that were dreamed up by the State Department Think Tanks who look upon the 130 million Eastern Europeans as articles in flea markets. We must remind the policymakers that what happened in Hungary in 1956 can happen again on a much larger scale. We also must remember that while the Soviets have achieved the status quo in Europe with Western help, they have also extended their empire into Afghanistan. The Soviet Unions' expansionism reflects the dreams of the Czarist Russia. Let me read the will of Peter the Great. It was published in New York, by Ernest Ludwig the counsul for Austria-Hungary in Cleveland, and Dr. Konstantia Theodor Damba, Ambassador of Austria-Hungary 1915.

Peter the Great's Will (1682-1725)

According to the document, Peter enjoins the Russians to observe these instructions as

the Jews observed the laws of Moses, and prophesied they will be successful.

1. Russia must keep her men continually in training for war. She would be at peace only when it is necessary for her to recuperate financially. Thus war must serve peace, and peace war for the greater glory of Russia.

2. Every able general, every learned man among the best instructed nations of Europe who can be induced to settle in the dominion of the Czar is an advantage gained.

3. We must take part in all the affairs of Europe. We must especially sow and foster discord in Germany.

4. Poland must be divided. We can let the neighboring powers have a share until we can retake what we have yielded.

5. Sweden must be subjugated, therefore we must separate Sweden from Denmark and keep up a rivalry between them.

6. The wives of Russian princes should always be chosen among the German princesses, to increase our influence in Germany.

7. Commercially, we must ally ourselves with England. We need English gold and want her seamen and traders to teach ours.

8. We must incessantly extend ourselves along the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea.

9. We must advance towards Constantinople and India. When we have India we can do without English gold, for the power which holds the wealth of India is the true mistress of the world. We must make war continually upon both Turkey and Persia until we have compassed the downfall of both. We must try to revive the ancient commerce of the Levant and Syria with Europe and India.

10. We must promise to Austria our help in making her mistress of all Germany, and must excite the jealousies of the German princes against her.

11. We may give Austria a share of Turkey when we drive the Turks from Europe. What we give her, we can retake afterward.

12. All adherents of the Greek churches in Hungary, Turkey and Poland we must support. They will be our friends in the midst of the enemies' country.

13. When Sweden, Persia, Poland and Turkey have been subjugated, when the Baltic and the Black Seas are guarded by our ships, we must first offer to France, and, if she refuses, to

Austria, to share the world with her. Thus using one to destroy the other, we can rush the remaining one at our ease.

14. If both refuse we must excite their jealousies until they exhaust each other by continual wars. Then Germany must be attacked with overwhelming forces. When Germany and France are overcome, the rest of Europe will immediately submit to us. Thus can and must Europe be subdued.

Today, the new tsars in the Kremlin have more inflated ambitions than their forerunners and are going farther in the pursuit of the policies of aggression and expansion and great Russian Chauvinism. While clinging to the Chinese territories annexed by the old tsars they are after more and try to lay their hands on land which the old tsars failed to seize. While their predecessors dreamt of dominating Europe and exercising hegemony over Eastern European Slav peoples the new tsars not only want to conquer Europe but are frantically engaged in expansionism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in a bid for world domination.

We Hungarian Freedom-Fighters in 1956 had defeated the Red army and regained our freedom. Unfortunately the Eisenhower administration informed the Soviet Union the Yalta Agreement was still in effect, and the United States Government did not want to see unfriendly nations on the borders of the Soviet Union. Consequently the Soviet Union invaded Hungary with 20 divisions and crushed our Revolution.

Let us remind the free world that giving away the self-determination of Eastern Europe did not stop the Soviet Union from going into Afghanistan, nor will it provide any security for the West against a Nuclear War. Only strength and determination will bring peace and security in Europe and elsewhere. Let us remind you that the people of Eastern Europe 40 years after Yalta are still fighting to regain their independence. The people of Eastern Europe are in **SOLIDARITY IN THIS STRUGGLE** to regain their freedom. It is our obligation to provide the tools to achieve it. Let's send a message to the Kremlin leaders. **NO MORE YALTAS.**

What is the Truth About Yalta?

*by László Varga, attorney at law,
Former member of the Hungarian Parliament*

During the eight days of the Yalta conference — (February 4-11, 1945) — Sir Winston S. Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and J. V. Stalin discussed not only the problems of the occupation and control of the defeated Germany, the liberated Europe, Poland, Yugoslavia, but also the establishment of the United Nations.

The foundation of the United Nations was laid at Dumbarton Oaks (Scotland) in August-October, 1944 by the representatives of the United States, China, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. They agreed on the purpose of the organization but not on the voting procedure. Therefore, in the Declaration of the Yalta Conference the three signatories happily announced

that "the present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty." However, the happiness was very short-lived.

Soon after the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom left Yalta, the USSR started to undermine the noble purpose and goal of the United Nations to use the World-Forum for her own political aim — as she does today. — A few weeks after the end of the Yalta Conference, Gromyko, then Ambassador of the USSR to Washington, informed the State Department in Washington that the Soviet Union will send to the inauguration of the United Nations in San Francisco in June 1945, not **ONE DELEGATION**, but **THREE**: the

USSR, Byelorussia, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Gromyko's statement was the first political bomb to undermine the unity and the equality of the United Nations Charter.

Edward Stettinius, then Secretary of State of the United States, was shocked by the Kremlin tactics, as was W. A. Harriman, then Ambassador of the United States to Moscow.

Stettinius immediately informed the then very sick President Roosevelt and proposed to send a strong telegram to Stalin protesting the manipulation by the Kremlin. This was on March 19, 1945, just 25 days before Roosevelt died. The telegram never reached Stalin. Not because of the sickness and the death of Roosevelt, but because Alger Hiss, then Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., sabotaged the telegram and paved the route for the Kremlin's fiendish goal. Mr. Hiss' activities were discovered by Nixon in 1947, when he was Congressman and Chairman of the Committee to investigate anti-American activities, Mr. Hiss, on January 20, 1951, was sentenced to five years in jail for his subversive action to help the Kremlin.

So, Stalin easily won his first political victory in the United Nations before its existence, and in June 1945 in San Francisco, the Kremlin showed up with its three delegations. The only country that had more than one delegation.

But Stalin got another — unfortunately — greater victory, 110 million people behind the Iron Curtain.

Was this the purpose of the Yalta conference? Not at all.

The "Declaration of the Liberated Europe of the Trilateral Document states: We reaffirm the principles of the Atlantic Charter — the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live — the restoration of sovereign rights — and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

The above language is crystal clear and doesn't need any explanation, but not one international document raises so many doubts as the Yalta agreement. Many politicians, even scholars, believe that it was a secret agreement

according to which the peoples behind the Iron Curtain were given to Stalin.

It is impossible to think that Churchill would give Poland, a country for which England went into a bloody war, to the Soviet Union. Also, it is difficult to believe that Roosevelt made any "secret agreement" with Stalin, without Churchill's consent.

There wasn't any such secret agreement. But I am certain there was secret action from Alger Hiss, who played a very important role during the Yalta Conference. He participated in many meetings, wrote the minutes, interpreted the contents of them, therefore, he was in a position to suggest to the Soviet partners that the countries behind the Iron Curtain would be under the rule of Stalin.

The peoples behind the Iron Curtain executed the Yalta agreement — all the countries elected democratic governments, but the fist of Stalin and his communist puppet-parties prevented them from exercising their own will. As an example, in Hungary the Communist party in 1945 and 1947 — the last free elections held — got only 16% of the votes, and in 1956, during the historical Revolution, the Communist party disappeared in a few days. But the Kremlin and its puppet-communist parties still have control over Hungary.

Fortunately, lately the cloudy sky of Yalta has started to brighten. The speeches of the Vice President of the United States, George Bush, on September 21, 1983 in Vienna; the Secretary of State, George Shultz; the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Claude Cheysson on January 17, 1984 in Stockholm, indicated there was never an agreement on the division of Europe.

This was reaffirmed by the statement of President Ronald Reagan on February 5, 1985: "The reason Yalta remains important is that the freedom of Europe is unfinished business... Long after Yalta, this much remains clear: the most significant way of making all Europe more secure is to make it more free. Our forty-year pledge is to the goal of a restored community of free European nations. To this work we recommit ourselves today..."

This is a warning to the Kremlin, that they are occupying territories without the consent of the people, and is also a message to the people behind the Iron Curtain: **THEY WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN.**

Burgenland

by Dr. Anne Atzel, based on the study, "Burgenland"
by Dr. Laszlo Juhasz, Munchen, West Germany
Dr. Juhasz is a recognized expert on the history
and the political problems of the province.

Before the arrival of the Magyars into the Carpathian Basin at the end of the ninth century A.D., this western-most corner, of the pre-World War I Hungarian Kingdom was known as the frontier of Pannonia. After the arrival of the Magyars this strip of land bordering on the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations, was settled by the tribe of Koppany. During the first two centuries of the Arpad dynasty this frontier land was fortified by a long line of forts and castles for the defense of Hungary from the West. During the invasion of the Turks in the 16th century the same Hungarian fortifications saved Austria from devastation.

Today barbed-wire fence cuts across this ancient Hungarian land guarded by the machine gun towers of the Soviet dominated communist regime of Hungary. West of this line stretches what is known today as Burgenland. The last free chunk of historic Hungary, four-thousand kilometer square, granted to Austria after World War I. Previously this piece of land did not have a name, it was a part of western Hungary. It included three counties: Moson, Sopron, and Vas. As a new Austrian province it derived its name from burg, meaning fort, which word occurs in the German names of three towns located on this strip of land: Wiesenburg, Odenburg, and Eisenburg. The Hungarians (Magyars) still inhabiting this land, though in a minority status, were settled there during the 11th century, when the forts were built. They were from the tribe of the Szekelys, who used to be professional frontier guards and were settled into the two opposite corners of Hungary; the eastern-most tip of Transylvania, and the western-most tip of Transdanubia, or western Hungary. Dr. Sandor Torok deals with this question in great detail in his book, "Settlement History of the Carpathian Basin." He points out that most of the geographical names of today's Burgenland are of Szekely origin and correspond with names found in the eastern-most part of Transylvania, known as Szekley-land. Even the Hungarian dialect spoken today in Burgenland corresponds in many aspects with the ancient dialect

found among the Csangos, living in the Rumanian province of Moldova, which happened to be the eastern-most frontier of the Hungarian Kingdom in the 12th century.

The German element began to move into this strip of land after the 13th century as carpenters, blacksmiths, cartwrights, bootmakers, tailors, etc. They were brought in by the Hungarian noblemen who commanded the forts and were settled inside the gates of the outer walls of the fortifications. Their purpose was not the defense of the frontiers like that of the Szekely villagers who served as man-power during the wars, but to supply the needs of the forts, which became slowly surrounded by small German towns within the protective walls.

During the 150 year long war against the Turks these German settlers living inside the gates were much more protected than the Szekely-Magyar population of the farming and cattle raising villages. Therefore, while the number of Magyars (Hungarians) kept decreasing, the German population multiplied. In 1910 twenty-six thousand Hungarians lived in the territory of today's Burgenland. After the take-over by Austria in 1920 most of the intellectuals moved into what was left of Hungary, and many of the small farmers who did not speak German and therefore were handicapped under the Austrian rule, emigrated to America.

Today the western-most frontierland of the Hungarian language and culture is dwindling rapidly. Though its people were able to survive for centuries through devastating wars by leaning on their constitutional privileges such as Hungarian language schools, Hungarian administration, and most of all being partakers of the cultural vitality of the rest of the homeland, they felt doomed being cut off and isolated in a German-speaking country. The national consciousness of the Burgenland Hungarians was broken down first during World War II, following the Anschluss (the union of Austria with Hitler's Germany) when the scorn of the German national socialist authorities descended upon them for not be-

ing of the German race. After 1945 they felt ashamed for all the killings, deportations, and mock trials that went on across the frontiers in the motherland during and after the communist take-over of Hungary. As Lajos Szeberenyi, Hungarian teacher of Felsőlova, Burgenland, said: "For long years were were completely sealed off from our Hungarian brethren just across the fence, in spite of the fact that some of the large Hungarian cultural centers were less than half an hour away. What could have made it worthwhile from the viewpoint of the simple people to stay Hungarian; to remain part of a vanishing minority of poor peasant folk talking a language nobody seems to understand anymore?"

Another reason for the rapid decrease of the Hungarian population can be found in the fast changing way of life. The small parcels of land were unable to supply the needs of the village population and the noblemen turned Austrian aristocrats, became more and more mechanized and the German-speaking administrators of these estates preferred German speaking workers. Thus, those seeking employment were forced to move into Austrian cities. The young Hungarians who grew up around the Austrian factories are ashamed of their native tongue and prefer to talk in German even among themselves. In mixed marriages always the majority nationality wins out. Hungarian clergymen are complaining that even in the Hungarian villages of Burgenland there is more and more demand for performing the ceremonies of marriage or christening in German instead of the Hungarian language. More and more Hungarian

parents are choosing German names for their children.

While just a few miles across the Danube, in Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian minority, persecuted politically and culturally, discriminated against in every phase of their existence; is fighting a silent but fierce battle against forced assimilation. Yet the Hungarian minority in Austria is giving up its national heritage without any outside pressure.

It seems the more brutal the persecution, the more force is applied by a conquering nation against the conquered to rob them of their cultural heritage and to assimilate them, the more vital the resistance of that minority group to hold to this heritage. Where there is no force involved, where the minority in question is not suffering any oppression and their rights are not being violated, the assimilation follows the practical demand of economical success.

Dr. Juhasz concludes his study with a question worth pondering: "At the end of the twentieth century it is not enough to just tolerate historic minorities. Their survival deserves deliberate and consistent support, since every culture no matter how small, represents a certain color in the overall picture of a country. This certain color if lost can never be replaced and its loss makes the whole less colorful, even drab. In the case of plantlife and wildlife endangered species are protected. Why would a civilized state forget to sustain an endangered nationality group in order to save it from extinction?"

Interesting question, indeed.

Ruthenia

Fortress of the West or Spearhead toward the West?

by Charles J. Hokky

Former Senator of the Czechoslovakian Parliament

(Excerpts from the book, "Ruthenia, Spearhead Toward the West", 1966, Problems behind the Iron Curtain, Series No. 2.

For more than a thousand years Ruthenia was the fortress of the Danubian Basin from the North. To acquire Ruthenia was a long-cherished aim of Russian foreign policy during the time of the Czars. Many Russian divisions perished on this natural fortress of the Carpathian mountain ranges during World War I,

in the many vain attempts to break through the Hungarian defenses and to occupy the Carpathian Basin. So Benes (Czechoslovakia) as the Soviet Union recognized the strategic significance of Ruthenia as a spearhead toward the West.

Benes asserted at the Peace Conference after World War I that Ruthenia constituted a bulwark against Communist aggression, therefore it was necessary to have it under Czech control and supervision. A few years

later, however, in 1922, he made an agreement with the Soviet Union according to which the Communist Party gained free access to Ruthenia, while Masaryk has already voiced his views in 1920 that Ruthenia had to be regarded as a pawn, which would have to be handed over to Russia at the first opportunity. (Narodny Listy, July 1924, No. 11)

At that time the population of Ruthenia was 423,062, of which 56% were Ruthenians, 30% Hungarians, 2% Slovaks, 4% Rumanians, the rest Germans, Jews and Gypsies.

Benes wanted to hand Ruthenia over to the Soviet Union in 1932, but Stalin did not judge the time ripe for such move. The transaction took place after World War II instead. With this move the Soviet Union gained legalized entrance into the Danubian Basin and a strategically important spearhead toward the West.

The Daily Mail Chicago Press reported shortly after the annexation that Russia had begun intensive fortifications in Ruthenia. In an unusually short period of time Ruthenia became one of the most fortified countries in Europe. It was reported as early as May 1951 that Ruthenia had been transformed by the Soviet Union into a massive Central European arsenal and fortress. In the fall of 1956, when the Russian army was forced by the Hungarian uprising to leave Hungary, the Soviet Union was able to re-group her forces in Ruthenia and to launch an unexpected surprise attack. If Ruthenia had been still a part of Hungary, as it had been for a thousand years, the Russian Army would have been forced to retreat completely from the Carpathian Basin, and perhaps the course of history would have been changed. Even today, there are about ten divisions continuously stationed in this once happy land of forests, pastures and vineyards. Russian strategists have fully grasped the immense significance of Ruthenia,

from a viewpoint of controlling Budapest, Vienna and Belgrade.

The importance of this geographical location was pointed out many times by such experts as the Generals Fuller and Wedemeyer, Colonel Claudius Meyer and Leland Stowe. All the experts seem to agree that the stronghold of the entire territory between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean lies in the Carpathian Mountains. These circumstances, and the very fact that Ruthenia was handed over to the Russians by the Czech government, means the annulment of all military defenses in Central Europe.

While seeking long-lasting solutions to the manifold problems of this region, we must realize that peace can be achieved only through justice, sincerity and good will toward every ethnic group which calls the land its home. The biased, arbitrary decisions of the past, which were influenced by prejudice and used contemporary doctrines only to disguise their chauvinistic aims, has brought nothing but suffering to all concerned. The present situation, which is a direct result of the mistakes made in the past, can not be regarded as permanent, for two reasons. First, because no dictatorship contains the ingredients of peace and happiness. Second, because the cultural heritage as well as the economic needs of Ruthenia clearly define it as an integral part of Central Europe, a fortress of the West and not a spearhead of the East. The Eastern culture-circle, so totally different from that of Central and Western Europe, has no justifiable claim, either South or West of the Carpathian mountains.

The culture-community of the Danubian Basin must be restored in a modern and practical form, acceptable to every ethnic group of freedom loving people. Until this is done, peace and stability will never return to Central Europe.

Hungarian Cultural Influence in Europe

II

During the Anjous

(1308-1437)

Compiled by Professor Leslie L. Konnyu, Cultural Historian

As the male line of the Árpád dynasty died out, in 1308 the female descendants of Stephen V inherited the Hungarian throne. The Italian-French Anjou royalty jealously kept their Hungarian heritage. Charles Martell (1271-1295) assumed the title "King of Hungary". He used the united Hungarian and French coat-of-arms and on occasions he wore a



United Hungarian and French (Anjou) coat-of-arms.

Hungarian gala outfit. The family also kept a Hungarian "Home" crown brought by Mary, daughter of Stephen V. This Hungarian crown was inherited by her granddaughter, Princess

Clementia Martell, who married the French King Louis X. In her dowry there were also precious rings, brooches, and silver pitchers decorated with the united Hungarian-French coat-of-arms. She also brought into her French royal bedchamber a luxurious bed with a ceiling decorated by Hungarian coat-of-arms.

After the first Hungarian Martell-Anjou, Carol (Charles) Robert (1308-1342) had restored order in Hungary, he started a new economic policy. A direct result of his reform was the blooming of the precious metal industry. At that time Hungary was the greatest European producer of silver and gold. This new economic policy, the supply of precious metals, and the capability of Hungarian artisans gave impetus to a thriving export of Hungarian jewelry art in Europe.

When Carol Robert sent one of his sons, Andrew, to take over the throne of Napoli (Naples), he had made for Andrew a *legendarium*, which is a "beautiful reading book" or a collection of illustrated, illuminated biographies of the saints. Among these saints were St. Stephen, St. Emery, St. Gerhard, and St. Ladislás. This *legendarium* was made by the Hungarian master, Hertul. It survived its owner and went to the Jagiello House of Lithuania where it was divided into three parts. The largest part was sold to the Vatican Library. A smaller part went to the Russian Ermitage, and later, another part to the New York Morgan library.

Not only King Carol Robert but many of his high government officials patronized Hungarian art. The king's former tutor and later his

wealthy minister of finance, the Italian schooled Demeter Nekcsei had a beautifully illustrated Bible made by the Hungarian master, Hertul. This richly decorated 14th century NEKCSEI BIBLE, like many other Hungarian objets d'art, was later brought to America and is now one of the most treasured codices in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

King Carol Robert laid down the foundation for a strong and rich country but the sole beneficiary was his son, King Louis (Ludovic), the Great (1342-1382). Andrew, the younger brother of King Louis, was killed when he sought the kingship of Napoli. In seeking vengeance, his brother, King Louis marched into Naples with his victorious Hungarian army and became King of Napoli (Sicily). An outbreak of bubonic plague cut his Neapolitan stay short, but not before Italy had learned the strength of King Louis and his Hungarian troops. On his way home, Louis the Great entered Rome and the enthusiastic city gave him the title, "Lord of Rome."

Louis the Great was not only a talented leader in the politics, economics, and military power of his age, he was also a great friend of the Arts and Sciences. In 1368, the Pope gave him permission to open a university in the south Hungarian bishopric city of Pécs. During his reign the Kolozsvary Brothers, the famous sculptors from Transylvania (now Rumania),

not only carved many magnificent statues for Hungary, but also for foreign countries as well. In 1373, they completed the unique equestrian statue of "St. George and the Dragon," which still stands in Prague, Czechoslovakia (then Bohemia).

In the 13th century, Blessed Ozseb of Pilis founded a Hungarian monastic order, the Paulists. In the 14th century they extended into Germany, Spain and Portugal. In 1370, when Louis the Great became king of Poland, he sent a Byzantine-style dark Madonna painting to Poland, which was placed in the church of Jasna Gora (Bright Mountain). To take care of the shrine, the Polish regent established there a monastic community of Paulists monks from Hungary. This monastery became the famous Polish National pilgrim place, Czestochova.

Another famous pilgrim place in Austria, Mariazell, became a virtual depository of Louis



Louis the Great's Statue at the entrance of Mariazell Cathedral.



Kolozsváry Brothers: St. George Statue in Prague, 1373.

the Great's generosity. After his victory over the Mohammedan Turks in 1377, he rebuilt in Gothic style, Mariazell's church and chapel. The gothic tower, the beautiful chapel, and his leaden statue at the entrance of the cathedral — all these are still witnessing his cultural achievements. His icon, donated to the shrine, was painted by the Siena artist, Andrea Vanni around 1370. The icon has an artistic silver frame decorated with an enameled Hungarian



Icon donated by Louis the Great to the Cathedral.

and Polish coat-of-arms. This is evidence that it was created by Hungarian silversmiths between the years 1370-1382 during the time of the Hungarian-Polish personal union. Louis the Great and his wife, Elizabeth, also donated their wedding apparel, mass vestments, and precious chalices to the cathedral.

Louis the Great was a devoted son of Rome. He fought against the heretic bogumils on the Balkan Peninsula and he founded Catholic bishoprics on Hungary's Eastern and Southern borders. At that time in the Balkan area the Catholic religion was called the Hungarian faith.

Louis the Great was succeeded by his daughter, Mary Anjou (1382-1387), who in turn



Mary Anjou's silver-crystal cup, in Dresden Museum, 1370.

was succeeded by her husband, Sigismund Luxemburg (1387-1437). From his early age he was educated in the court of Louis the Great and became completely Magyarized. He spoke fluent Hungarian and on festive occasions he wore Hungarian gala garments. Besides the Hungarian crown, Sigismund acquired the Bohemian, German, Lombardian crowns and also the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Although he wore many crowns he realized the financial base of his realm was based on the wealth and stability of Hungarian economy. For this reason he wore his Hungarian costumes when he traveled in Western Europe. His main imperial officeholders were Hungarian aristocrats and prelates. When he officiated at the Council of Constance (1414-1418), he was accompanied by Hungarian theologians of Obuda University. For Sigismund's influence, the Council confirmed the right of the Hungarian Apostolic Kings to name bishops in the Hungarian Kingdom. Sigismund also helped to depose three popes and elect a fourth one. His portrait, painted by the famous Italian artist, Pisanello, shows Sigismund wearing his Hungarian fur cap. This portrait is kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna.



King Sigismund in Hungarian fur cap, by Pisanello, Wien: Kunsthist. Museum.

Sigismund had a very influential minister of finance and commander-in-chief named Philippo Scolari, alias Pipo Ozorai (1369-1426), an im-

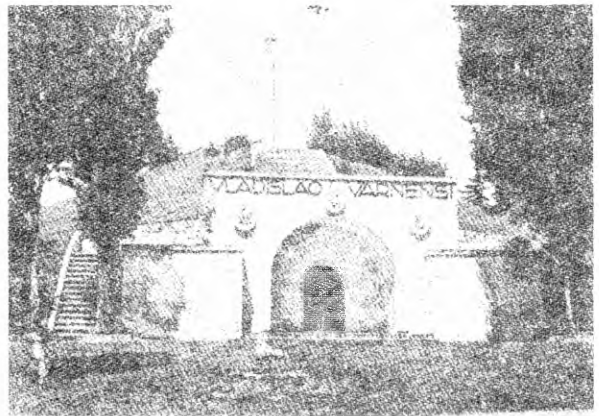
migrant from Florence (Firenze), Italy. He became so rich that he built fortresses, castles, and churches in Hungary. The frescoes in his palaces at Lippa and Ozora were painted by the famous artist, Masolini. He received permission from Sigismund to build a mausoleum for himself near the royal cemetery at Szekesfeher-var. Because Philippo became such an influential figure in the Hungarian government, Florence, his birthplace in Italy had his portrait painted for display in the city hall. Scolari also bought property in Florence and had Brunelleschi, the famous architect, build a



Sigismund's General, Philippo Scolari, alias Pipo Ozorai, City Hall, Florence.

chapel there. Numerous publications of Philip-po's biography have kept his memory alive in Florence.

Sources: Desider Dummereth: *Az Anjou-Haz nyomaban (In the Footsteps of the Anjou House)*. Budapest: Panorama, 1982. Janos Horvath: *A Magyar irodalmi muveltseg kezdetei (The beginning of Hungarian Literary Culture)*. Budapest: Magyar Review, 1931. Kenyeres, Agnes et al: *Magyar Eletrajzi Lexikon (Hungarian Biographical Encyclopedia)*, Budapest: Akademia, 1982. Stefan Korbonski: *Black Madonna*. Liguorian Magazine, July 1985, pp. 18-22. Joseph Szamosi: *Mariacelli Emlekkonyv (Album of Mariazell)*. Munchen: Verlag Schnell und Steiner, 1979. 1979.



King I Ladislas Jagello's Mausoleum at Varna, Bulgaria, 1444.

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

I am enclosing a clipping from the Washington Inquirer, dated November 8, 1985. I wholeheartedly agree with Stephen Green's article "Ban Soviet Slave Labor Exports" and I think your periodical should publish a similar article entitled "Boycott American Companies Which Profit from Romania's Slave Labor." There are about a dozen big American companies which are keeping the Romanian Communist Dictator Ceausescu in the saddle by funneling millions of dollars into this most oppressive and most terror-dominated country on Earth. We are up in arms about South Africa. That's a Garden of Eden compared to Romania. I know, I come from there.

D. V. Smidt, New York, NY

Editor's note: *These companies which lobby in Washington for aid to Rumania are listed in the book just published by the Danubian Research Center and the Transylvanian World Federation, "GENOCIDE IN TRANSYLVANIA — NATION ON THE DEATH ROW, A DOCUMENTARY."*

Editor:

I was surprised to notice that you consistently use the terms 'Rumania' and 'Rumanians' instead of the official 'Romania' and 'Romanians'. Though born in Canada, I am of Rumanian descent. My grandfather came over from Transylvania, district Fagaras, before World War I. He called himself Rumun, and was quite upset about the new trend to call the Rumuns Romanians in order to underline the theory of our Roman origin which may or may not be true.

He taught us when we were children that back in the old country we were 'Rumuns', while 'Romani' was the name the Gypsies called themselves. As I have found out later, they still do, all over the world. Our old college dictionary published in 1912 lists the Kingdom of Roumania, which was the French spelling of Rumania. Webster's dictionary published in

1980 has both, Roumania and Romania.

I am sorry for what is going on today in Transylvania, though I bear no responsibility. My grandfather told us that 'ARDEAL', that's how he called Transylvania in his Rumun tongue, was a land of three languages: the Rumun, the Maghiar (Hungarian) and the German. I think it should stay that way.

John Bota, Cincinnati, Ohio

Editor:

I read your introduction in the October issue of The Hungarian Quarterly. It is a piece of fine writing and it is typically Hungarian. Hungarians are dreamers. They live in illusions. But no matter how beautiful your dreams are, they don't have a chance. Why? Because we live in a dog-eat-dog world. The strong and the aggressive devours the weak and the gentle.

Your idea of a united Carpathian Basin is economically sound. A united Danube valley or perhaps a Polish-Czech-Slovak-Hungarian-Croatian-Romanian federation would be even better. But it won't work. There is too much hate, too much national pride, too much prejudice to make it work. And too much stupidity, yes.

Your beautiful idea could be materialized only one way: by outside force. If the United States, England and France would decide that yes, it is a practical idea and useful to them and simply force the people of all those small countries to obey the orders and unite. But even then, it is questionable whether the Soviet would agree to it?

Sorry to disappoint you sir, but the way I see it: it will take another century and the extermination, elimination of a few million people in order that the economical as well as the political unity of that entire region could be accomplished — under the absolute domination of one nation of course.

I am sorry, but I come from there.

A. T. Hirsch, L.A.

Book Reviews

The Transylvanian Hungarian Folk Art its origin and interpretation



compiled by
Albert Wass de Czege

Copyright 1983, Danubian Press Inc., Astor, Florida 32002

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| |
|--|
| INTRODUCTION/9 |
| ORIGIN OF THE HUNGARIAN FOLK ART/12 |
| THE CHURCH/17 |
| THE HOME/19 POTTERY/23 |
| FOLK COSTUMES/25 |
| NEEDLEWORK/28 |
| KALOTASZEG/30 |
| TOROCKÓ/33 SZÉKELYLAND/36 |
| MEZŐSÉG/40 |
| KÜKÜLLŐ-VALLEY/41 |
| SZILÁGYSÁG/42 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY/47 |

The Transylvanian Hungarian Folk Art:

Its Origin and Interpretation. illus. map. bibliog.
Astor, FL: The Danubian Press, 1983. 48 pp.
0-87934-029-0. \$18.00.

As in many countries, the political climate influences the artistic accomplishments. For 1000 years Transylvania was part of Hungary and their arts and crafts reflected the Magyar distinction. Since the end of WW I it has been occupied and annexed by Rumania. The Transylvanians continue to cling to their old crafts and folk art, and this book is perhaps a requiem to a disappearing culture. There are chapters on the origins and meanings of the designs and styles of needlework, church architecture, and interiors and exteriors of homes, vividly designed pottery and even more vividly designed costumes. Time is running out for Transylvania the compiler says and unless the design material is permanently recorded today it will soon be gone forever because they are not being permitted to cultivate their ancient heritage and handwork.

Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam

by Gar Alperovitz, Vintage Books

While the book was written almost two decades ago, with recent efforts to get the United States government to review and renounce the so called Yalta Agreements, the book's message acquires great significance.

Alperovitz argues in a well documented study that President F. D. Roosevelt not only disregarded the advice of his own State Department in his dealings with Stalin, but after his death, American administration officials, especially Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, had convinced the new President, Harry S. Truman, that the Soviet received an overly generous settlement, and Truman should attempt to reverse some of the bargains. According to Alperovitz one of the reasons for testing the atomic bombs was to demonstrate our strength to Stalin just before the Potsdam conference, and thus increase Truman's clout in his dealing with Stalin.

As for the dropping of the Bomb in Japan, it had a devious ultimate purpose: "By its dramatic blast it would herald a new and unprecedented advance in American power and... its force would permit a new American initiative in European and Far Eastern diplomacy." (p. 187)

The books' conclusion is that "undoubtedly, the best summary of the position taken by the West at Potsdam has been provided by General De Gaulle: 'The Americans and the British hoped to recover in application what they had conceded in principle,'" (p. 233).

The book focuses on the loss of Poland and of Central Europe as the result of Western weakness at the negotiating table. In both cases the admission is significant: it was a mistake, Truman did recognize it and attempted to correct it, but as subsequent events had demonstrated, he was not successful. It is up to the current, or some future American administration to complete Truman's efforts. (Professor Sándor Balogh, Hudson Valley Community College).

Genocide in Transylvania Nation of the Death Row

*A documentary compiled by the Transylvanian World Federation
Danubian Press, 1986, \$10.00*

As the introduction declares "this work is dedicated to the conscience of all free men and women, and it is based on the Christian doctrine that all of us and everyone of us is responsible for the well being of others. This responsibility demands that we aid the oppressed and defend the victims of terror.

"We, Americans of Hungarian descent, have been ringing the bells and lighting the torches for many years now, in order to turn the attention of this indifferent world to the sufferings of our Hungarian brethren who are being murdered, tortured and persecuted daily by their Rumanian task masters in the land of Transylvania.

"It is indeed the shame of our civilized world that the native population of the very land where tolerance and religious freedom was first legalized and practiced on the face of this Earth many centuries ago, must suffer today, forsaken by everyone, from the most barbaric terror and savagery that land has ever known.

"What you are going to read here, is true. It was compiled from newspaper reports, from the Congressional Reports, from letters, eyewitness testimonies and articles written and published by those few who strive for a better future and a lasting peace."

New!

Authentic!

Documented!

**Scholastic Books on East-Central Europe
Approved and Released
by the Danubian Research Center:**

| | |
|--|---------|
| Genocide in Transylvania, a documentary | \$10.00 |
| Dr. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation..... | \$ 5.00 |
| Baross: Hungary and Hitler..... | \$ 4.00 |
| Dr. Chaszar: Decision in Vienna..... | \$10.00 |
| Haraszti: The Ethnic History of Transylvania | \$10.00 |
| Haraszti: Origin of the Rumanians | \$ 5.00 |
| Dr. Major: American-Hungarian Relations 1918-1945..... | \$10.00 |
| Kostya: Panslavism..... | \$10.00 |
| Nánay: Transylvania, the Hungarian Minority in Rumania | \$ 5.00 |
| Szemák: Living History of Hungary | \$ 3.00 |
| Szilassy: Revolutionary Hungary..... | \$ 5.00 |
| Varga: Human Rights in Hungary | \$ 4.00 |
| Wagner: Toward a New Central Europe, a symposium | \$10.00 |
| Wass: Our Hungarian Heritage | \$ 2.00 |
| Transylvania and the Hungarian-Rumanian Problem, a symposium | \$15.00 |
| Transylvanian Hungarian Folk Art, illustrated | \$15.00 |
| Zathureczky: Transylvania, Citadel of the West..... | \$ 4.00 |

Hungarian Literature in English:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Ilona Károlyi Széchenyi: The Pendulum Swings..... | \$10.00 |
| Erzsébet Kisjókai: Counsel for the Defense | \$10.00 |
| A. Wass: Deadly Fog at Dead Man's Landing | \$ 5.00 |
| A. Wass: Hungarian Legends, illustrated | \$10.00 |
| A. Wass: Eliza and the House that Jack Built | \$10.00 |
| A. Wass: Man by the Side of the Road..... | \$10.00 |
| A. Wass: The Purple Ghosts of Damnation Row | \$10.00 |

Prepaid orders will be mailed free of charge.

**DANUBIAN PRESS
Rt. 1, Box 59
ASTOR, FLORIDA 32002**