



AMERICAN HUNGARIAN EDUCATOR

NEWSLETTER of the AMERICAN HUNGARIAN EDUCATORS' ASSOCIATION

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News items or articles for inclusion in the AHEA newsletter should be sent to the Editor: Katherine Gyekenyesi Gatto, Classical and Modern Languages Department, John Carroll University, University Heights, Ohio 44118. The newsletter is published three times a year, in the Fall, Winter and Spring.

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GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

The Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) has announced that a number of 1988-1989 Fulbright Grants remain available to U.S. faculty in the field of history (non-U.S.). One of the countries still available is Hungary. Scholars in all academic ranks including emeritus, are eligible to apply and it is expected that applicants will have a Ph.D., college or university teaching experience, and evidence of scholarly productivity. U.S. citizenship is required. Interested scholars are urged to inquire as soon as possible. For information, call or write CIES, Eleven Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 939-5401.

The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) has announced the availability of Developmental Fellowships. These are fellowships funded in part by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, to strengthen American scholarship on the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. Applicants may be U.S. citizens planning either doctoral dissertations or postdoctoral research requiring materials available through exchange participation. Recipients are expected to apply to the appropriate IREX exchange program the year following their tenure. Disciplinary Fellowships are open to applicants not already in Soviet and East European studies in fields such as archaeology, anthropology, business, economics, geography and demography, law, musicology, political science, psychology and sociology; Fellowships to Develop Dual Area Competence are open to applicants with Soviet, East European, or other area expertise wishing to develop competence in another world region. Scholars may apply for up to twenty-four months of academic tuition; language training allowance for summer work, academic year work, or tutoring; and stipend support. Applications are due February 15, 1988. For further information, write to Barbara Sassone at IREX, 126 Alexander Road, Princeton, NJ 08540-7102 or call (609) 683-9500.

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The Experiment in International Living has recently announced two new programs related to Hungary. With the support of the Soros Foundation, the Experiment will offer a Hungarian-American Peer Group

YOUTH EXCHANGE TO BEGIN THE SUMMER OF 1988. Under this program, an equal number of American and Hungarian high school age youths will visit each other's countries, engage in language and cultural study, and live with a host family. The exchange will conclude with a series of seminars and discussions involving both the American and Hungarian participants. In addition, the Experiment is planning a College Semester Abroad program in Hungary for 1988. Through this program American college students will gain credit by spending a semester studying in Budapest at the Eotvos Kollegium, with whose cooperation this program will be administered. The CSA program will be balanced with an incoming program of study for Hungarians, such as English language instruction or English language teacher training in Brattleboro, Vermont at the Experiment's School for International Training. If you are interested in the programs, or have any suggestions, please contact Lee Levin, Project Assistant, East-West Exchanges, EIL, E 2, Kipling Road, Brattleboro, Vermont. Or you may call him at (802) 257-7751 x 207.

Ilona Faust of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida has announced the opening of the U.S.'s first Hungarian language boarding school in Knightstown, Indiana, commencing with the academic year 1988-1989. The Academy will start with the middle grades 6,7,8,9. This exciting, new project needs the support of at least 50 Hungarian families to make it a reality. For further information write to: Ilona M. Faust, 2420 Castilla Isle, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301. Telephone: (305) 523-2420.

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HUNGARIAN FOLK GROUP TO TOUR U.S.

The Kodaly Ensemble Hungarian Dance Theater will tour the United States for the first time during the 1988-1989 theater season. The KEHDT was established in 1984. Their musical versatility, technical skill, avant-garde choreographic concepts and originality are exceptional. The members of the group are among the most talented dancers in Hungary today. Most of the dancers are decorated folk artists. If you are interested in sponsoring a performance by this unique and outstanding Ensemble (12 dancers, 5 musicians, a singer, a technician and a manager) in your area, get in touch with Centrum Management, Division of Amimpex, Inc., P.O. Box 2073, Teaneck, NJ 07666 or call (201) 836-4869 or (914) 268-4118. The project director is Susan Snyder-Kotansky. The Executive Manager is Sandor Sallai.

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NEW BOOKS

The University of Toronto Press has announced the publication of the first historical and critical survey of works written in Hungarian by Canadian authors. Hungarian-Canadian Literature by George Bisztray encompasses an overview of Hungarian literature before the Second World War, the major works of literature produced during the waves of immigration after the war, an analysis of the contributions of the most significant authors, and also includes a biographical bibliography and the results of a questionnaire filled out by the authors themselves on the dilemmas confronting the Hungarian-Canadian writer. The book, of

great interest to those in the disciplines of multicultural studies, comparative literature and Hungarian literature, is available from the publisher for \$18.95 plus a \$2.00 handling fee. Address; 63 A St. George Street, Toronto, Canada M 5S 1A6

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COMPUTERS

Nota Bene, the word processing program used by many humanities scholars and recommended by the MLA, has announced the availability of Special Language Supplements, among them Hungarian. For more information about the program such as general features, hardware requirements, and cost, contact: Dragonfly Software, 285 West Broadway, Suite 500, New York, NY 10013-2204. (212)334-0445.

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FULBRIGHT SCHOLARS AVAILABLE FOR LECTURING

Many scholars from Hungary, and in the U.S. under Fulbright sponsorship during the 1987-88 academic year, are available for lectures at your institution. CIES can assist with travel costs under the Occasional Lecturer Program. Contact Georgene Lovecky, or Ruth Franz at CIES for information concerning procedures for inviting scholars to give lectures or to be Scholars in Residence at your institution for the 1988-89 or 1989-90 academic year. Address: Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Eleven Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036-1257. The following are Hungarian scholars in the U.S. this year:

- Dr. Zoltan Abadi-Nagy; Associate Professor, Department of English, Kossuth Lajos University, Debrecen.
L: Contemporary American Literature, 9/87-7/88, at Department of English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455. Contact: Kent Bales, phone 612-625-3363.
- Dr. Jenő Bardos; Associate Professor, Department of English, Foreign Language Institute, Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest.
L: East European Studies, especially Hungary and the USSR; and Language Teaching, 12/87-6/88, at Slavic Dept, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. Contact: William Derbyshire, phone 201-996-2063.
- Dr. Magdolna Csath; Associate Professor of Strategic Management, Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest.
L: Strategic Management, 1/87-8/88, at Department of Management, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, VA 24061. Contact: Robert Litschert, phone 703-961-6353.
- Dr. Andras Csillag; Research Scholar, Dept. of Modern World History, Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest.
R: Joseph Pulitzer and the American Press, 1880-1910, 9/87-7/88, at Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. Contact: Donald Shanor, 212-280-3571.

- Dr. Marta Feher; Assistant Professor, Philosophy of Science, Dept. of Philosophy, Technical University of Budapest, Budapest.
 L: Philosophy of Science; Symbolic Logic, 8/87-6/88, at Dept. of Philosophy, Davison Hall, Douglas Campus, Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, NJ 08903. Contact: Martin Bunzl, phone: 201-932-9861.
- Dr. Maria Foldeaki; Research Engineer, Research Dept., The Engineering Industry, Budapest.
 R: Investigation of magnetic after-effect in non-crystalline alloys, 10/87-4/88, at Department of Materials Science and Engineering, MIT, Cambridge, MA 02139. Contact: Robert O'Handley, 617-253-6913.
- Mr. Istvan Kaldor; Chief of Laboratories, Chinoin Pharmaceutical and Chemical Works Ltd., Budapest.
 R: Natural Product Related Organic Synthesis, 1/87-11/88, at Dept. of Chemistry, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester NY 14627. Contact: Andrew S. Kende 716-275-7253.
- Dr. Eva Komaromi; Deputy Head, Department of Decision Analysis, Management Training Center, Budapest.
 L: Optimization Theory, 9/87-6/88, at Department of Mathematics, Univ. of Toledo, Toledo, OH 43606. Contact: Paul Shields, 419-537-2069.
- Dr. Janos Laszlo; Senior Lecturer, Department of Physics, Technical Univ. of Budapest.
 L: Theoretical Surface Physics, 8/87-7/88, at Dept. of Physics, Brevard Community College, Cocoa Campus, 1519 Clearlake Road, Cocoa, FL 32796. Contact: W. Fiplowski, 305-632-1111.
- Dr. Andras Vetier; Associate Professor, Dept. of Mathematics, Technical University of Budapest, Budapest.
 L: Theory of Dynamical Systems, 8/87-6/88, at Mathematics Dept., Brevard Community College, Titusville Campus, 1111 N. U.S. #1, Titusville, FL 32796. Contact: Joe Lee Smith, 305-269-5664.

MEETINGS

The Hungarian Studies Association of Canada has issued a call for papers for its Fourth Annual Meeting, June 2-3, 1988 at the University of Windsor. The leitmotiv for the meeting is whether Hungarians now have the opportunity for "A New Beginning." For more information, contact George Bisztray, Hungarian Chair, Univ. of Toronto, 21 Sussex Ave., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1. The officers of the Association are President, George Bisztray, Vice-President, Robert Blumstock, Secretary, Adele Csima; Treasurer, Eva Tomory.

Some of the membership might be interested in attending the 1988 International Standing Conference for the History of Education to be held at Janus Pannonius University, Pecs, Hungary H 7604 Pecs, P.O. Box 9. For exact dates in late August, write to Professor Sandor Komlosi, Conference President, at the above address.

The Discussion Group on Hungarian Literature of the Modern Language Association of America arranged a program on "Modern Hungarian Fiction," at the MLA's annual convention in December, 1987, which this year was held in San Francisco. Presiding over the papers and discussion was Ivan Sanders. Participants and topics included John Fekete (Trent Univ.



"Modern Hungarian Science Fiction," Anna B. Katona (College of Charleston)
 "A Hungarian Version of Dreiser's An American Tragedy," Enikő Molnár
 Basa (Library of Congress) "The Sociographical Novel in Hungary: A Woman's
 View-Erzsébet Galgóczi," Ivan Sanders (Suffolk County Community College)
 "Narrative Strategies in Péter Nádas's Emlékiratok könyve." The
 Discussion Group's Executive Committee is made up of the following
 members: Katherine Gyékényesi Gatto, John Carroll Univ. (1987),
 Ivan Sanders, (1988), Eva L. Corredor, U.S. Naval Academy (1989),
 Julius S. Nyikos, Washington and Jefferson College (1990), and Enikő
 Molnár Basa, Library of Congress (1991).

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THE NATIONAL SZÉCHÉNYI LIBRARY, HUNGARY has announced the
 availability of its skilled craftsmen and restorers in the restoration,
 conservation and correction of manuscripts and other valuable archival
 materials such as documents, wills, maps, rare and leather bound books,
 newspapers, diplomas, etc. The charge for their services varies from
 \$13.00 to \$15.00 per hour depending on the materials needed, plus the
 cost of the round trip Hungary-U.S.-Hungary, and the necessary insurance.
 If interested write to: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest I.
 Budavári Palota F épület, H-1827 Budapest, Hungary.

Kino International Corporation has announced the distribution of
 six Hungarian classics from the sixties and seventies. Featured are
 two of the earlier films of István Szabo (Father and 25 Fireman's
 Street), three of Márta Mészáros' best works, including Berlin's Golden
 Bear winner Adoption and Zoltán Huszarik's Sinbad. These films are
 now possible to rent or purchase in film and video formats. Call
 Dennis Doros at Kino (212) 629-6880.

The Hungarian Studies Review editors have recently reported that
 all issues of 1987 and 1988 are ready for production and that the
 journal will be on schedule by late next summer. Some of the issues
 will focus on the twentieth century Hungarian avant-garde and the
 Hungarian minorities.

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NEWS FLASH! "Dr. Zhivago play wins 12 curtain calls"

BUDAPEST (AP) --A stage version of Boris Pasternak's novel
Dr. Zhivago drew 12 minutes of curtain calls and applause at a packed
 theater in the east Hungarian town of Szolnok, Hungarian radio reported
 yesterday. The novel, which won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1958
 after it was published in the West, was banned in the Soviet Union for
 its portrayal of communist society. (The Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1/88)



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Total cost of the tour is \$2714, including air fare of \$797. Prices are based on tariffs and exchange rates in effect as of August 1987 and are subject to change.

Inquiries to: Marietta Netti-Meltzer, 215-854-8443.
236 S. 20th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19103

I would be interested in the excitement of Hungary. Please send me the itinerary.

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DR. CHARLES WOJATSEK RETIRES AFTER A TEACHING CAREER WHICH SPANNED ALMOST HALF A CENTURY

The announced retirement of Dr. Charles Wojatsek, Professor of History, effective at the end of the current academic year, marks the conclusion of forty years of teaching, twenty of them at Bishop's University. He is a native of the disputed territory between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but he remarks with great delight that he was born in the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy. Due to the dismemberment of the Habsburg empire, his hometown was placed under different national sovereignties three times during his lifetime.

Dr. Wojatsek comes from a region where three languages and cultures — Hungarian, German and Slovak — meet. The environment influenced his scholarly interests and gave opportunities for studies in different languages, which broadened his intellectual viewpoint. He received his education in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as in Switzerland and Canada. His post-graduate studies took place at the Université de Fribourg and at the Université de Montréal, culminating in a Ph. D. in history. As a result of the combination of circumstances which led to studies in several countries, he speaks six languages and uses an additional four for research purposes. He also received two diplomas in education, one from Hungary and another from the Province of Ontario. He has extensive teaching experience in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Ontario, and, before coming to Bishop's University, he taught at the Université de Montréal and at the University of Colorado. He taught a course in the history of Germany at the Université de Sherbrooke as invited professor.

The curriculum vitae of Dr. Wojatsek reveals that he has had three books published, has written fourteen articles and seventeen bookreviews on a variety of topics in professional journals, and presented forty papers at conferences on both sides of the Atlantic ocean. During his career, he was active in numerous professional organizations, and was on the editorial board of three journals. At Bishop's, as well as serving on several University committees, he was chairman of the Department of History. In 1982, the Canadian International Academy of the Humanities and Social Sciences, at its annual meeting in Ottawa, awarded Dr. Wojatsek the Humanarum Scien-



Dr. Charles Wojatsek

tiarum Doctor honoris causa degree in recognition of his promotion of international scholarly relations. He also was named to the Conseil pluriculturel des ethnies du Québec.

Dr. Wojatsek received many academic honours and fellowships, among others, the prestigious American Fulbright-Hayes Fellowship for research in Paris, and research scholarships from West Germany, Poland, Italy, England and the Canada Council.

It is not surprising to discover that this renowned man is listed in:

Dictionary of American Scholars,
Dictionary of International Biography,
International Who's Who in Education,
Hungarian Who's Who in America.

As a typical Central European man, Dr. Wojatsek turned his cultural curiosity to Budapest, Vienna, Pressburg, Prague, Cracow, Weimar, Fribourg, Paris, London and Rome. In those cultural centres with longstanding tradition of studies in the humanities, he had the opportunity to examine the pervading national characteristics of several European national civilizations, which put him in an excellent position to observe the history-forming forces of several nations. This understanding of European history made it possible for him to bring to the classroom the contributions of several European nations to the formation of European thought.

So many lives have been enriched by Dr. Wojatsek's presence in the university community! He endeavoured to instill a love of history that would help students to comprehend past and contemporary society. He strove to make each class meaningful. At Bishop's, both his undergraduate and graduate students attest to the fact that they regarded him not only as a dedicated teacher, but also as a loyal friend. He was always willing to take time from a busy schedule to advise, encourage students having difficulties or simply pose for pictures at graduation ceremonies. His pleasant, courteous manner endeared him to many.

His retirement plans include finishing research now in progress, remaining active in professional organizations in North America and Europe and devoting more time to his farm in the Eastern Townships. One must admit that his retirement is well-earned. May his retirement pursuits fulfill all of his expectations.

It has indeed been a privilege for me to have had the opportunity to meet and work with such a distinguished scholar.

Janice Parsons
B. A., '76,
M. A. (History), '78

FRANK R. LAUTENBERG
NEW JERSEY

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COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND
PUBLIC WORKS

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United States Senate

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HACKENSACK, NEW JERSEY 07601
(201)342-0936

July 31, 1987

Mr. Eniko Basa
American-Hungarian Educators
Association
707 Snider Lane
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

Dear Mr. Basa:

I will be travelling to Romania, including Transylvania, later this summer as part of a Helsinki Commission delegation trip. The Helsinki Commission is a Congressional watchdog agency that monitors worldwide human rights conditions and abuses for the Congress, and presses for improvements.

During this trip I will be meeting with Romanian church and government officials, as well as community leaders and citizens. This trip will allow me a valuable first-hand assessment of the current situation in Romania.

I recently met with a group of leaders from the Hungarian-American community in New Jersey in anticipation of my upcoming trip. I heard firsthand of the oppression and problems faced by the Hungarian minority in Romania. I also learned that Hungarian-Americans want me to bring a message of hope to their relatives in Romania, and assure them we have not forgotten their plight. I pledge to press the Romanian government to make good on the promises it made when it signed the Helsinki Accords in 1975.

As you may know, on June 26, 1987, the Senate approved an amendment to the Trade bill to suspend Most Favored Nation status to Romania for a period of six months. A country which receives MFN status is allowed to export its goods to the U.S. at the lowest possible tariff rates. I voted for this amendment to warn the Romanian government that the United States will not continue extending valuable trade privileges to Romania until that government makes real progress on human rights.

Most Favored Nation status was granted to Romania over a decade ago with the expectation that significant improvements in human rights practices would result. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. Romania today is one of the most repressive regimes in the world. The repressive and violent acts perpetrated by the Ceausescu regime against its citizens, particularly the two million ethnic Hungarians seeking to express their cultural identity cannot be ignored.

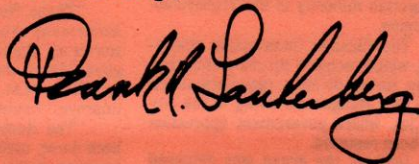
July 31, 1987
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This legislation reaffirms our country's longstanding commitment to human rights and sends a loud, firm signal that we are dead serious about this issue. Linkage between MFN status, human rights and emigration is in accord with U.S. policies supporting human rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The importance of progress on civil and human rights must be stressed to the Romanian government at every opportunity. I am pleased that this amendment was incorporated in the recently passed Omnibus Trade Act of 1987.

On July 15, I also joined fifty-two of my colleagues in defeating an amendment that would have negated the Senate's earlier action to suspend MFN to Romania for six months. This amendment would have allowed the grant of MFN status to Romania if the President sent a report to the Congress that the suspension of MFN would make it more difficult to improve human rights in Romania or to enhance opportunities for emigration from that country. Since the President has already made clear his desire to renew MFN to Romania this year, passage of this amendment would give him an easy way to reverse Congress' earlier withdrawal of MFN. I was pleased that the Senate stood firm and defeated this amendment fifty-three to forty-four.

Let me assure you of my continued interest in the issue of human rights in Romania. I look forward to working with individuals and groups like the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, whose longstanding concern and dedication to human rights monitoring activity is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,



FRL:mk.

Romanian leader scoffs at human rights pressure

J. Scott Orr of The Star-Ledger Washington Bureau is accompanying Newark Archbishop Theodore McCarrick and U.S. Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.) on their trip to Poland, Romania and Lithuania. Orr will be filing periodic reports on their meetings with the leaders and citizens of those countries.

By J. SCOTT ORR

BUCHAREST, Romania—Romanian-Communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu told a group of congressmen yesterday that he will not allow threats of U.S. trade sanctions to influence his government's human rights policies.

Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.) emerged from a morning meeting with Ceausescu yesterday to say that the leader of the Romanian Communist Party has not been impressed by congressional efforts to suspend Romania's most-favored nation (MFN) trade status.

"He said that Romania got along just fine for years without MFN status and that it can get along just fine again if the Congress suspends it," Lautenberg said.

"Ceausescu said he does not want the U.S. to come around every six months to check on human rights as a condition of MFN. He said we should make it permanent or forget the whole thing," Lautenberg added.

Lautenberg was one of three members of the Helsinki Commission on human rights to meet with Ceausescu at the close of a three-day visit to Romania to examine the nation's human rights record.

The meeting, which lasted nearly two hours, was dominated by Ceausescu, who denied his policies have restricted religious freedoms, discriminated against the Hungarian minority in Transylvania and limited emigration.

"He totally denied that any problems exist. He wanted to talk about human rights violations in the U.S.," Lautenberg said.

Ceausescu has maintained that Romania is entitled to MFN status under a 1974 agreement with the U.S. and that any attempt to change that status amounts to a treaty violation.

Both the House and Senate have voted to suspend Romania's MFN trade status for six months as a means of forcing an improvement in its human rights record.

The measure is contained in a sweeping trade bill that has been the subject of veto threats from the Reagan administration, which opposes, among

other provisions of the bill, the suspension of MFN for Romania.

Romania, a nation that has forced its people to accept strict austerity to help pay off its multibillion-dollar foreign debt, has maintained a trade surplus with the U.S. for years.

In 1986, Romania exported \$839 million of petroleum products, chemicals, aluminum and steel products to the U.S., while importing only \$251 million of U.S. goods. The U.S. market accounts for 7 percent of the Romanian exports.

According to U.S. trade projections, Romania will accept only about \$200 million of U.S. goods, while sending \$800 million in exports to the U.S. this year.

"It's not as if this country can afford to get along without the U.S. as a trading partner. We make up a significant share of their export market," Lautenberg said.

Lautenberg and Newark Archbishop Theodore McCarrick, an observer to the Helsinki Commission, said they have received countless complaints from Romanian-Americans about human rights violations alleged to have taken place under the Ceausescu regime.

They both complained that the Romanian government frustrated their efforts to document human rights problems, particularly those involving the Hungarian minority in the Transylvania region.

The Helsinki Commission delegation, which included its chairman, Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), requested meetings with Hungarians living in the city of Cluj, where government oppression has been reported.

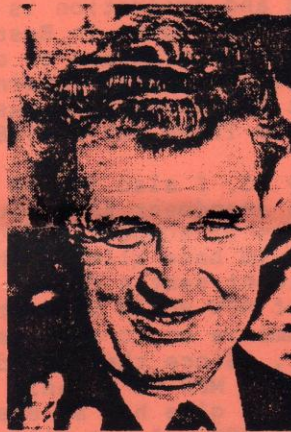
Instead, the group was detoured by the government to another area of Transylvania where Hungarians are in the majority and avoid conflicts with the government.

The group was put up overnight in a posh ski resort where they were entertained by Romanian folk dancers. The only Hungarians they met were a few of the entertainers and a provincial government official.

"We really weren't allowed to see the things we came here to see because the government maintained such control over where we went and who we saw," McCarrick said.

Both McCarrick and Lautenberg said they did not accept the government line that the Hungarians are receiving fair treatment under Romanian law.

"When I was the bishop of Metuchen, where there are many Hungarians, I heard many, many complaints



Nicolae Ceausescu
Lectures U.S. visitors

about the treatment of Hungarians in Romania. There have been too many complaints for the problems to be nonexistent," McCarrick said.

In preparing for his trip, Lautenberg met with some 150 Hungarian-Americans in New Brunswick who complained of human rights violations that have affected relatives in Romania.

"These New Jersey Hungarian-Americans were not making these stories up. The first thing the Ceausescu government should do is admit that problems exist then start working to improve," Lautenberg said.

"The Romanian government has been naive, arrogant and sinister in its handling of this mission. Naive in that

they believe they can fool us with dinners and fancy meals, arrogant in that they think this will satisfy us and sinister in that they deliberately tried to mislead us," Lautenberg said.

"I know from contacts in the church that religious freedoms are very, very limited in Romania. Yet, if you listen to the people we were allowed to talk to, there is no problem," McCarrick added.

Hoyer cautioned that Romania, who have emigrated to the U.S. already, have had differences with the government and that their complaints about human rights problems should not be blindly accepted. He added, however, that the government's line also should be questioned.

"I think the truth probably lies somewhere between the charges made by Romanian-Americans and the story we've been presented with here," Hoyer said.

Rep. Christopher Smith (R-4 Dist.), a member of the Helsinki Commission and a leader in the drive to suspend Romania's MFN status, said recently in Washington that the Ceausescu regime repeatedly has denied the facts in defending its human rights record.

"The whole system is geared toward misleading us through lies and fine print. They say there are no political prisoners, for example. That is true, because they arrest them for other offenses and they do not call them political prisoners," Smith said.

Smith, who twice has visited Romania, said Romania has made effort to improve its human rights record, but only at times when MFN was threatened, after which "they flipped right back to their old ways."

COMMISSION HOLDS HEARING ON STATUS OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On May 5, 1987 the Commission held a hearing on the status of the Hungarian minorities in Romania and Czechoslovakia. The hearing was called in response to allegations of increasing repression and discrimination against the ethnic Hungarian citizens of these countries over the past few years.

Testifying before the Commission were Thomas Simons, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs; Romanian-born ethnic Hungarian Geza Szocs, a poet who was held by Romanian authorities for his championship of the ethnic Hungarian heritage; George Schopflin, lecturer in Eastern European history and politics at the London School of Economics and School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London; and Robert Robertson, a businessman involved in international trade with Romania who has on several occasions met with the top leadership of that country.

Presiding over the hearing was Commission Chairman Steny Hoyer. Also present were Co-Chairman Dennis DeConcini, Commissioners Edward Feinan and Chris Smith, and Representative Tom Lantos.

Convening the hearing, Chairman Hoyer noted that the need to clarify and publicize the Hungarian minority issue has become increasingly important in light of Congressional debate over whether to extend Romania's Most Favored Nation status in September. Co-chairman DeConcini, in his opening remarks, observed that Romania's treatment in the human rights and human contacts spheres appeared to be neither humanitarian nor productive, and thus must be the subject of close scrutiny in Congress in the following months.

Mr. Simons, testifying for the State Department, said that the Hungarian minority issue was exceptional in that it has created a rare, open, and sometimes fierce debate between Hungary and Romania, two Warsaw Pact nations. There is enough evidence of maltreatment to warrant proper concern for the rights of the Hungarian minority. He stated that while the Romanian Government made a commitment to the rights of all their citizens by signing the 1947 Treaty of Peace and the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, "it has become evident that the opportunities for minority groups in Romania to express and maintain their

cultural heritage have steadily narrowed in recent years, and this is a matter of concern to us."

The Hungarian minority issue has created discord between Hungary and Romania.

Mr. Simons attributed the increased pressures on minorities in Romania to the country's efforts to modernize under President Nicolae Ceausescu. Though the Romanian government's policy of rapid industrialization has resulted in economic distress for the entire populace, minorities have borne a significant portion of that burden, and have suffered disproportionately from budget cuts to their cultural and educational institutions.

Assimilation into Romanian culture is another problem facing the Hungarian minority in Romania, said Simons. Although a degree of cultural assimilation is natural in an ethnically diverse nation which seeks to industrialize and modernize, there is serious evidence that Romanian authorities actively seek to push the natural process of assimilation forward, in practice if not as a matter of policy. Mr. Simons cited such practices as the closing of social and cultural institutions and the banning of minority publications as examples of the absorption of the minority into the majority culture.

Turning to the situation of the ethnic Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, Mr. Simons said that they, like the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, live under a system which disregards the basic human rights of all of its citizens. But there are several further reasons for Hungarian minority dissatisfaction in Czechoslovakia. The amount of resources that the Czechoslovak government is willing to spend on Hungarian minority education is minimal: Hungarian language instruction at the elementary and secondary levels is being reduced, and the lack of opportunities for higher education in Hungarian is creating a growing shortage of qualified Hungarian language teachers. Furthermore, ethnic Hungarians complain that they are underrepresented in high level jobs in industry, the government, and the Communist Party apparatus.

In his testimony, Mr. Szocs stated that the Romanian government was implementing a policy of denationalization and forced assimilation. This process of "homogenization" includes "the artificial alteration of the ethnic composition of Hungarian-inhabited regions through forced population transfers into and outside of those regions," usually through creating incentives for ethnic Romanian workers to come to predominantly Hungarian regions, and through placing ethnic Hungarians in jobs outside of these regions. This "homogenization" was further aided by the severe restriction of Hungarian-language institutions at

(continued on page 6)



Testifying at the Commission's hearing on the Hungarian minority in Romania and Czechoslovakia are (left to right): Robert Robertson of the Occidental Petroleum Company; George Schopflin of the University of London; Thomas Simons, State Department; Geza Szocs, an ethnic Hungarian who recently emigrated from Romania.

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

At the Vienna review meeting of the Helsinki Accords, U.S. Delegate and Commission staff member Lynne A. Davidson gave the following statement about the right of people to travel for family reasons—a right restricted throughout much of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Her comments, made on May 25, came in support of the Western Human Contacts proposal WT. 24, which calls upon the signatory states to deal favorably and expeditiously with all applications for travel, particularly for humanitarian reasons. The full text of her speech follows:

Mr. Coordinator, as a co-sponsor of WT. 24, my delegation associates itself fully with the comments of the Norway, Netherlands and Belgian delegations. The expeditious solution of the kinds of cases highlighted in WT. 24 is in keeping with the commitments contained in the CSCE Third Basket and with the Universal Declaration's Right to freedom of movement. The number of travel cases of an urgent humanitarian character, as has repeatedly been pointed out, would not be large in number if governments routinely would abide by their existing commitments.

That members of a family, who so desire, should be able to travel together for family reasons seems so obvious a proposition that thirty-five governments should not have to deliberate for months and reach a momentous political decision in order to make it possible. That we are here doing just that, and what is even more remarkable, that we are hearing counter-arguments against WT. 24's provision on the subject, is graphic evidence of the great distance this process itself must travel.

Similarly, the idea that governments should have any problem providing exit documents in order to reunite minor children with their parents is extraordinary. Yet, government bureaucrats actually resist our proposal to that effect. Mr. Coordinator, due to failures on the part of some governments to fulfill their Helsinki commitments, children are born and the old or sick die within a broken family circle. Milestones in personal or public life are reached and left behind. The rites and ceremonies that unite families and create a sense of community are held and then pass. When these occasions are missed due to the insensitivity of governments, there are no second chances for the citizens involved.

Keenly felt absences - a missing face in the family photograph - or an increasing sense of isolation from the larger European community, are the sad results.

I would therefore again urge the positive consideration of WT. 24. The words and ideas contained in it are straightforward, and, in themselves, unremarkable. What is remarkable, is the pressing need for their adoption and implementation twelve years into the CSCE process. Isn't it about time?

Hungarian Minority Hearing

(continued from page 5)

all levels of the educational system, the banishment of Hungarian language from all areas of public life, the liquidation of cultural institutions, the harassment of minority churches, and an aggressive campaign against ethnic minorities which is designed to destroy their ethnic identities.

Mr. Szocs claimed that there were thousands of ethnic Hungarians waiting to come to the United States in the hopes of living without such harassment, but that the vast majority would prefer to remain in Romania and live in peace with their basic human rights.

Mr. Schopflin presented a slightly different interpretation of the present situation and the possible future of the Hungarian minority in Romania and Czechoslovakia. "It is still an open question whether the Romanian and Slovak leaderships are aiming unequivocally at assimilation and ethnic homogenization. They both need the minority in the short term as a way of underpinning their nationalist credentials. But subject to this, a wide ranging set of measures has gone a very long way toward curtailing minority rights in culture, education and right to use the language."

Stressing that it is difficult to show relative discrimination in a nation which imparts significant burdens upon all of its citizens, Mr. Schopflin said that evidence such as "the closings of Hungarian language schools, the destruction of cultural monuments, and the removal of the visible signs of a Hungarian presence supports the premise that the idea around which the Romanian and Czechoslovakian states are constituted excludes the Hungarians." As for the future of the Hungarian minority in Romania, Schopflin indicated that in consolidating power, any post-Ceausescu government will need to, at least in the short term, court the support of the entire population. This could mean a short term improvement of the situation, but because the Hungarian minority represents a potential scapegoat for any future Romanian regime, further repression in the long term is highly likely.

In contrast to the other witnesses, Mr. Robertson stressed the improved treatment of the Hungarian minority by the Romanian authorities, as well as improved human rights performance in

general. To support this view he cited the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1986. Thus, he said, MFN status for the Romanian government should continue as stipulated by the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Mr. Robertson further stated that in his business dealings he had seen no evidence of the mistreatment of the Hungarian minority, and that he had met ethnic Hungarians in positions of authority who confirmed his observations.

Following the testimony, the witnesses responded to a series of questions from the Commissioners. On whether assimilation of its Hungarian minority is the goal of the Ceausescu regime, Mr. Simons remained unconvinced but said that it is at least a "side effect" of Romania's industrialization policy and its accompanying educational revolution. Mr. Schopflin was more convinced. "In the long term," he said, "an ethnically homogeneous Romania is the goal of the authorities. Insofar as Romanians consider themselves Romanian, they find it unacceptable that such a large number of Hungarians live on their soil." As to the nature and scope of the repression of the Hungarian minority in Romania, Mr. Schopflin felt that the absence of Romanian laws to protect the ethnic heritage of the Hungarian minority was tantamount to oppression, and that while the entire populace was subject to the repression of the authorities, Hungarian minority members suffered "double jeopardy" because of their ethnicity.

Responding to Mr. Hoyer's question as to what would be the most effective course of action for the United States to adopt, Mr. Szocs suggested an increasingly public campaign accompanied by the suspension of Most Favored Nation status. But Mr. Robertson objected, saying that this would have the worst possible effect on both U.S.-Romanian relations and the condition of the entire Romanian people. "Ever since MFN has been in place, there has been an annual visit by U.S. businessmen under the aegis of the U.S.-Romanian Economic Council of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. What good has it done, how has it been used? A forum has been created with high ranking officials, one which would otherwise not exist. It is in these fora that we are able to bring up human rights concerns." Mr. Simons echoed these sentiments. By suspending MFN for six months, he argued, we are essentially putting it to an end forever. He concluded that the positive effects of MFN may be difficult to see at times, but the damage of suspending MFN—particularly the loss of U.S. leverage on Romania's human rights performance—is unquestionable.

Hungary, Romania in ages-old dispute over Transylvania

LOS ANGELES TIMES

CLUJ-NAPOCA, Romania — In their book-lined studies less than 500 miles apart, two white-haired history professors are modern versions of medieval champions sent forth to defend the honor of their realms.

But for Stefan Pascu, a Romanian, and Laszlo Makkai, a Hungarian, the weapons are scholarly works and artifacts left by a people who lived more than 2,000 years ago.

The two are in the forefront of a dispute that has its roots deep in the past, a tug-of-war over the people of the region known as Transylvania. Transylvania is now part of Romania, but it has been ruled at one time or another by Romans, Mongols, Turks, Germans, Austrians and Hungarians.

The dispute has gone on for centuries. Today it pits one Soviet Bloc ally against another, and involves a degree of hostility unmatched since the end of World War II.

According to Pascu, a professor at the University of Cluj, in Romania, Transylvania is the property of the people who live there, and "the majority of the population has been, is and will be Romanian."

Makkai, once a graduate student with Pascu at Cluj and now a professor at the University of Budapest, in Hungary, argues that Hungary's claim is stronger. He said the tone of the dispute has changed radically. In the past, he said, "there was a kind of rivalry or competition between the peoples," but today "there is hatred."

Not long ago, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu denounced his neighbors and ostensible East Bloc allies for "fascist, chauvinist and even racist theses" that serve "the most reactionary imperialist circles."

According to a Western diplomat in Bucharest, the Romanian capital, "Ceausescu has a lot of problems, but the Hungarians have given him the one issue that the Romanian people will stand together behind him on."

Hungary's obsession with Transylvania, and Romania's resentment of it, can be traced to the trauma of two world wars. As a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, from 1867 until the end of World War I in 1918, Hungary was virtually autonomous. The empire's Hapsburg rulers kept a capital in Budapest as well as one in Vienna. But Austro-Hungary was on the German side in the war, and the empire was broken up afterward.

Hungary emerged as an independent state but without two-thirds of its territory. The largest of the lost territories was Transylvania, which became part of Romania, for Romania had fought on the side of the Allies.

In 1940, after the start of World War II, the question was reopened. The authoritarian Hungarian regime of Miklos Horthy, tempted by the prospect of recovering Transylvania, sided with Nazi Germany, and was rewarded with the northern part of the region. But when the war ended, Hungary and Romania both fell into the Soviet sphere, and in 1946 Hungary abandoned its claim to Transylvania.

Yet Hungarians apparently do not intend to forget their kin in Romania. Most people in Transylvania may be Romanian, but there are also more than a million Hungarians and a handful of ethnic Germans.

Hungarians have been alarmed by reports from Romania that Hungarian-language schools there were being closed, that there were fewer Hungarian-language classes in regular Romanian schools, and that steps were being taken to change from Hungarian to Romanian the names of museums, streets and other institutions.

Romanian officials say classes are available in Hungarian from kindergarten through high school, if enough students want them.

Hungarians also contend that entertainment in their language is being reduced in Transylvania, but Romanian cultural officials denied this too.

Publication by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences of a three-volume history of Transylvania enraged the Romanians.

The history was written by Makkai, among others.

According to a prospectus issued by the Academy of Sciences, the history traces developments in Transylvania through the Roman era and details "the succession of Turkic, Germanic and Slavic peoples who swept away this Roman culture to replace it with their own."

Romanian historians deny that their ancestors were ever swept away. They argue that the area's earliest people, known to historians as the Dacians, submitted to Roman conquest only after bitter fighting, and that most of them stayed on after the Romans left in the face of new invasions from the east.

Historians have been arguing the case for decades. In a history of Transylvania published in 1946, Makkai argued that there was no evidence of a Romanian presence in Transylvania until the 13th Century. The recent three-volume history grants that Romanian-speaking shepherds may have migrated in and out of southern Transylvania as early as the 8th Century.

The Romanians accuse their Hungarian colleagues of deliberately ignoring archaeological evidence of Dacian settlements before and after the Roman period.

Pascu and his Romanian colleagues rely on ancient pottery, Roman carvings, linguistic analysis and the account of an anonymous Hungarian scribe who said that when the Magyar invaders arrived in Transylvania they found a Romanian ruler there.

For his part, Makkai said that while Romanian-speaking shepherds may have grazed their sheep as early as the 8th Century below the Carpathian mountains that define Transylvania in the north and east, there is no reliable evidence to prove it. He cited what Hungarians say is an absence of Romanian-language place names before 1360 and the presence of several hundred Hungarian-language place names before 1200.

Western diplomats doubt that such issues will be decided soon.

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK. . .

Due to unforeseen circumstances, the fall issue of the Educator is now published together with the winter one as a special issue. I am sorry that the exact dates, location and nature of our 1988 conference have not been decided as of the publication date, thus, I cannot include a call for papers. Please look for the AHEA's announcement in a separate mailing as it becomes available.

Much has been said lately in the news about the plight of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. As a special addendum to the newsletter, I am enclosing copies of articles that appeared in the American press plus a copy of the letter written by Senator Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey to Enikő Molnár Basa and other pertinent documents which I'm sure will be of interest to you.

Also in December, I received a letter from Ferenc Hörcher, a Hungarian Sőrös Scholar, studying at Oxford, who would like to visit the U.S. in connection with his research on Thoreau. He would be willing to pay his own expenses, including accomodations and subsistence. What he does need is an official invitation and if possible, the name of an institution or person who would sponsor him and his work. If you can help this young Hungarian scholar, you may write to him at Oriol College, Oxford OX1 4EW. His Hungarian M.A. thesis dealt with Táncsics and Eötvös.

Happy New Year!

Katherine Gy. Gatto, Editor

P.S. Dues for 1988 should be sent to E.M. Basa by Feb. 15, 1988.

* * * * *

Aristoteles írta Nagy Sándornak:

"Az első pohár bor az egészségé,
a második a barátságé,
a harmadik a jókedvé,
a negyedik a gyalázaté."

* * * * *

MEMBERSHIP FORM-AHEA

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Enikő Molnár Basa
Executive Director, AHEA
707 Snider Lane
Silver Spring, MD 20904

P.S. Canadian members, please send money order in U.S. dollars.

Hungary is one of the countries involved in the 1989-90 exchange. The number of positions available and the eligibility requirements vary by country. Applications will be available in the summer of 1988. (Programs are announced a year in advance and are subject to change.) Completed applications must be received by USIA postmarked by October 15, 1988. For further information, write: Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program, E/ASX, United States Information Agency, 301 Fourth St., S.W., Washington, D.C. 20547 Tel: 202/485-2555.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE AHEA

Saturday, May 21, 1988

The general meeting of the American Hungarian Educators' Association was held on Saturday, May 21 at 8:30 A.M. President Martha Pereszlényi-Pinter opened the meeting with a call for the Secretary's report, which she summarized to emphasize that members should report news to the Secretary for inclusion in the Newsletter. Members are also asked to make sure that their correct addresses are forwarded either to the Secretary or to the AHEA office (P.O. Box 4103, Silver Spring, MD 20904). Arthur A. Bartfay, Treasurer, then reported on the financial situation of the Association: we have \$2442.80.

Most of the discussion centered on upcoming conferences. The 1989 meeting will be held in Toronto according to established custom and George Bisztray's earlier invitation. George also conveyed Peter Pásztor's offer that the AHEA adopt a 4-year rotation for meetings. Toronto would host every fourth meeting, rather than every third as now; Montclair would host a meeting every fourth year also; the intervening years would then be free to be hosted by other schools where a member is willing to arrange it. The plan was accepted in principle. With the concurrence of the Hungarian Studies Association in Canada, the schedule for the upcoming years would be: 1989 Toronto; 1990 (free); 1991 Montclair State College; 1992 (free); 1993 Toronto. A tentative bid was submitted for a conference at John Carroll University to be organized by Katherine Gatto in cooperation with Dénes Gulyás and Andrew Ludányi. The absence of two of the potential organizers prevented any definitive discussion.

Established AHEA guidelines for the organization of conferences were again emphasized: the place should be accessible, or transportation of some sort has to be arranged, and accommodations should be reasonably close to the site. It is also essential to have the program and information on housing, etc. sent well in advance. Because organizing a conference does take more than a year, the rotation should provide everyone with sufficient time.

There was a suggestion from the floor to do away with annual conferences, and simply meet or organize panels at meetings of various professional organizations. The majority of the members supported

annual meetings. Furthermore, as Enikő M. Basa pointed out, the organization of panels at professional meetings has always been a goal of the Association, encouraged in the By-laws and the organizing documents of the AHEA. Those who have been active in this area will continue to be so; others are not likely to engage in such activity for the same reasons they have not done so up to now. There is also the problem of conflicts, cost (considerably more than at the AHEA), and the Association's commitment to meet the needs of members who do not have suitable "professional" affiliations.

The Nominating Committee reported that the slate of nominees has not yet come together, but should in the next week or so. The ballots will then be sent out to all members in good standing, that is, all who have paid dues for 1988. Members will be notified by mail of the results.

A suggestion was made that a survey should be conducted of the U.S. and Canadian universities that have some sort of Hungarian studies program. This can be undertaken through the Newsletter. Suggestions are welcome, and may be sent to Enikő M. Basa who will try to get the survey started.

Before the meeting concluded, Thomas Szendrey read a brief commemoration of the members who died in the last years: Dieter Lotze, Michael Sozán, Miklos Korponay and György Ránki. Their support and presence will be missed by all.

* * * * *

Tamás Bácskai, Visiting Hungarian Chair Professor, Indiana University, has announced the vacancy of the Hungarian Chair as a result of the untimely death of Professor György Ránki. Also a György Ránki Memorial Scholarship Foundation has been established. Contributions may be sent to Mrs. Karin Ford, Uralic and Altaic Studies, Goodbody Hall, 157, Bloomington, IN 47405.

APOLOGY

DUE TO PROBLEMS WITH THE TRANSFER OF FUNDS AND THE DELAYS IN CHECKS BEING DEPOSITED, SEVERAL MEMBERS HAVE NOT BEEN CARRIED ON THE BOOKS ACCURATELY. REGRETTABLY, THE NAMES OF MEMBERS WHO JOINED IN CANADA WERE NOT FORWARDED TO THE SECRETARIAT IN SILVER SPRING UNTIL APRIL AND MAY OF 1988, SO THEY COULD NOT BE ADDED TO THE MAILING LIST. IN SOME CASES, WE STILL HAVE NO ADDRESSES. SIMILARLY, SOME OF THOSE WHO PAID THEIR DUES AT THE TIME COULD NOT BE CREDITED UNTIL THIS INFORMATION WAS FORWARDED. WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO STRAIGHTEN OUT ALL THESE MIX-UPS, AND ASK YOUR INDULGENCE AND YOUR COOPERATION. PLEASE WRITE TO ENIKŐ M. BASA, 707 SNIDER LANE, SILVER SPRING, MD 20904 IF YOUR ADDRESS IS INCORRECT, AND ESPECIALLY IF YOU KNOW SOMEONE WHO IS A MEMBER YET HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVING MATERIALS. YOUR FOREBEARANCE IS APPRECIATED.

Report of the Executive Director

We continue to work with the American Hungarian Folklore Centrum whose many programs are separately reported in the Karikdzo. A major project is the U.S. tour of the Kodaly Ensemble now being planned. The Sixth Hungarian Folk Dance and Folk Music Symposium, also organized by the American-Hungarian Folklore Centrum, will be held July 9-16, 1988 at the William Penn Camp in Wellsburg, West Virginia. I'm sure most of you have already been contacted regarding these events.

The AHEA regularly receives reports of the Helsinki Committee in Congress, now chaired by Stenny Hoyer. On occasion we are asked to report on our perception of how cultural contacts are working, ease of travel, help or hindrance in research, etc.

More and more exchange and study abroad programs are being established with Hungary. In addition to Interfuture and the Rotary programs, the Experiment in International Living has launched a Summer in Hungary program. Contact Kat Peterson, Associate Director, Kipling Road, P.O. Box 676, Brattleboro, VT 05301 (802)257-7751. The American Council of Teachers of Russian has inaugurated a Summer Language Study Exchange with Hungary, with intensive language training to be given at the Karl Marx University in Budapest. Their address is ACTR, 815 New Guelph Rd., Bryn Mawr, PA 19010 (215)525-6559. It was the ACTR that helped coordinate the visit of some 70 Hungarian students and teachers of English under the Soros Foundation last summer. The Fulbright Program has also been expanded, and I had some materials specially selected for the AHEA at the meeting. Lecturing awards are now available in Economics and Business Administration, Historic Preservation and Urban Planning, Literary Translation. The total awards now are five lectureships and four or more research awards. It might be of interest also that the Czechoslovak awards include lectureships in American literature at universities in Pozsony and Kassa, and the Romanian one for language and conversation classes at Kolozsvár and Temesvár. Given the political realities, the governments concerned might not accept a nominee of Hungarian background, but. . . Information and forms can be obtained from Georgene Lovecky, Executive Associate, CIES, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, D.C. 20036-1257.

Finally, the Jozsef Attila University in Szeged is also starting a Hungarian Studies in English program. Detailed information is available from E.M.Basa (brochures will be sent on request), or directly from the school: Hungarian Studies Program, Attila József University, Faculty of Arts, SZEGED, Petöfi sgt. 34, H-6722 HUNGARY. This program joins the ones in Pécs and Budapest. It is a two semester program with a choice of either a Hungarian Studies or a Hungarian language concentration. The two may also be combined.

E.M.BASA

AWARDS! AWARDS!

The Academy of American Poets has awarded the 1988 Harold Morton Landon Translation Award to one of our members, Peter Hargitai, for his translation of the poetry of Attila Jozsef. The prize winning book, PERCHED ON NOTHING'S BRANCH (Apalachee Press, 1987) was selected by the distinguished poet May Swenson. Peter also received a cash prize of \$1000.00.

Peter Hargitai is a poet and translator of Hungarian origin and a graduate of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, where he received his Master of Fine Arts degree in writing. His work has appeared in Prairie Schooner, California Quarterly, The Palmetto Review, and other journals, and his scholarly treatment of the problems of translating Attila Jozsef appeared in Translation Review. Currently he is translating Antal Szerb's 1936 novel, UTAS ES HOLDVILAG (Traveler and the Moon) and teaching English at the University of Miami. Our congratulations to you!

Peter Hargitai and Katharina Wilson are the recipients of the first of the Fulbright translation awards.

* * * * *

NEW BOOKS

1. Gyula Szekfu: A Study of the Political Basis of Hungarian Historiography. (Ph.D. thesis) by Irene Raab Epstein. Published by Garland Pub. Inc., 1988.
2. Georg Lukacs and Thomas Mann: A Study in the Sociology of Literature by Judith Marcus. University of Massachusetts Press, Box 429, Amherst 01004, December, 1987.

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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK. . .

As we all know there is an awful lot going on in Hungary today, especially in the political and economic spheres. For your perusal and enjoyment (I hope) I have enclosed copies of some of the articles in the American press that attracted my attention. Likewise, the situation of the Transylvanian Hungarians continues to draw the attention of Congress and the press. Also the Dept. of State has recently issued a job description which holds special benefits for those who can speak Hungarian.

All in all, enjoy the readings, have a great summer, look for the ballot in the mail and vote. Since this is the last issue which I will be editing as Secretary of the AHEA, I would like to thank all of you for your interest and cooperation and I wish much success to the new editor.

Kadar out in Hungary; Grosz is new party chief

By JACKSON DIEHL
WASHINGTON POST

BUDAPEST. Hungary — Janos Kadar, who led Hungary from the bloody suppression of its anti-communist revolution in 1956 to reforms of socialism that have become a model for the Soviet bloc, was removed as general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party at a special party conference yesterday.

Kadar, who will turn 76 next week, was replaced by Karoly Grosz, 57, who will continue in his post as prime minister. Kadar was given the honorary

title of party president but was dropped from the ruling Politburo.

Grosz will lead a new party Politburo and Central Committee purged of many of Kadar's longtime allies and seemingly shifted toward proponents of rapid economic and political change.

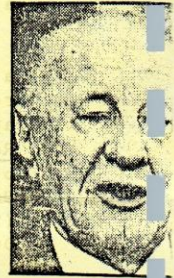
Eight of the 13 members of the Kadar-led Politburo were dropped, along with 40% of the 100-member Central Committee. Among the six new Politburo members elected were the two best-known advocates in Hungary of radical political reforms, Patriotic People's Front chief Imre Pozsgay and

Rezso Nyers, architect of Hungary's first economic reforms in the 1960s.

The leadership shift was the second in the six Soviet-allied nations of Eastern Europe since Mikhail S. Gorbachev took power in Moscow in March 1985. Unlike Milos Jakes, the conservative and colorless politician chosen last December as the Communist leader of Czechoslovakia, Grosz is considered an energetic and pragmatic politician who has adopted Gorbachev's open style.

Grosz's selection was made final on the third day of a party meeting that

SEE HUNGARY/6-A



Janos Kadar

Hungary

FROM/1-A

included some of the most open public debates held by an Eastern bloc Communist party in recent years. Party leaders said the conference should assure Hungary's place in the vanguard of efforts to replace the Stalinist version of socialism with free-market economics and a more open political life.

Grosz, who built his career in the party political apparatus, has promised tolerance for opposition views within and outside the party.

In a speech to the conference Saturday, Grosz said he sought to expand democratic procedures within the party to match some of the "practical advantages" of western multiparty systems.

As prime minister, Grosz pushed for parliament's acceptance of a three-year economic stabilization program last September, including such austerity measures as cuts in state subsidies, the closing of inefficient state companies at the cost of moderate unemployment, and the gradual raising of prices and wages to world market levels.

He also pushed through a government reorganization last December, and last week he agreed on a stabilization program with the International Monetary Fund, which will pay Hungary \$350 million to help with payments of its \$10 billion foreign debt.

Grosz's consolidation of the top

government and party posts is rare in the Soviet bloc and nominally works against the party's policy of slowly separating party and government functions and making the government more independent.

Top party officials said the arrangement was temporary and Grosz would give up the prime minister's post, though estimates of how long he would wait to do so ranged from six months to two years.

Kadar, who led Hungary as an isolated and occasionally beleaguered pioneer of economic reform

after 1968, nevertheless was seen as an obstacle to further change during his last years in power. Widely blamed for the country's growing economic problems, he resisted mounting pressure to retire and even during the party conference seemed reluctant to acknowledge a change reportedly agreed to at a Politburo meeting on Tuesday.

Last night, Kadar opened the session that announced his retirement and received an ovation from the 940 delegates as his new honorary post was announced. In a brief

statement, he said the conference had committed itself to progress and thanked outgoing leaders. However, he did not congratulate Grosz.

Despite considerable criticism at the conference of Hungary's present situation, Kadar's overall record of leadership continues to be praised by even the most liberal party leaders.

His tenure of 31½ years, the second-longest in Eastern Europe behind Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria, encompassed both the bloodiest repression ever seen in postwar

Eastern Europe as well as the most progressive reforms.

Moscow installed Kadar, a minister of interior during the repressive Stalinist period, as leader when Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest on Nov. 4, 1956.

Until the mid-1980s, Kadar seemed to enjoy considerable popularity within Hungary, and though the reforms he oversaw are considered inadequate by the present party leadership, they surpass the changes implemented so far in the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

Grosz climbs to top using his political savvy

Faces economic changes with energy, decisiveness

By HENRY KAMM
NEW YORK TIMES

BUDAPEST, Hungary — Karoly Grosz has become the chief of the Hungarian Communist Party largely because the country's stagnating economy is believed to require radical changes. And that fact is a measure of his political skill and consummate adaptability.

In a career spent almost entirely in the party's bureaucracy, Grosz, until last year, had earned a reputation of stolid conservatism.

Then the man whom he replaced yesterday, Janos Kadar, named him premier. Many Hungarian officials and foreign diplomats believed the wily Kadar, who until yesterday had outlasted all potential rivals for power, put him at the head of the government as a mark of his opposition to seeing Grosz become his successor.

They believe Kadar wanted to put his rival, whom he is said to have suspected of excessive ambitiousness, in a position where he was obliged to implement the tough austerity measures that were bound to make him unpopular.

If that was so, Kadar did not miscalculate, but his analysis did not prove correct. Grosz earned no popularity by levying heavy new taxes and further reducing the average Hungarian's standard of living, but he imposed his energetic personality on influential people.

The new head of government accepted the necessity of revamping an economy that had exhausted its potential for progress and took on the task with energy and

demand for discipline.

For his decisiveness and organizational skill, he has earned the respect of economic managers and bankers, here and in the West, to which Hungary owes \$18 billion.

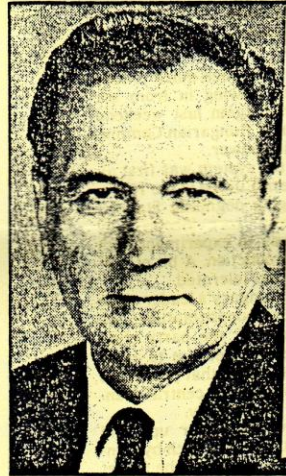
Equally important, he has clearly impressed the Soviet leadership. To its modernist sector, represented by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Grosz has proven his strong will and efficiency on the path toward economic restructuring. And to its conservative elements, his career shows no worrisome lapses into political liberalism. To both, he offers assurance of unbroken fidelity to the alliance with Moscow.

Born in 1930 to working-class parents, Grosz is the youngest man to rise to the party leadership in an Eastern European communist nation. Of Gorbachev's generation, he is the first Hungarian leader who has lived all his political life under communist rule.

To the new party chief, communist rule represents neither the realization of a revolutionary dream, as it does to Kadar, nor the victory of an ideology that he had once been taught to oppose. He takes it for granted and, with single-minded application, has forged a successful career in its administration.

"He is not deeply ideological," said a diplomat who has spoken with him on several occasions. "What he believes is difficult to say." With less detachment, Hungarians who consider Grosz an enemy of intellectuals and unorthodoxly described him as an opportunist.

"He is very controlled, specific,



party organization before returning to Budapest in 1974 as chief of agitation and propaganda, which made him the top authority over all publications and broadcasts.

For five years, starting in 1979, he was party boss in the Miskolc region and became head of the Budapest party organization in 1984, before being appointed premier.

He was named to the Central Committee in 1980, and to the Politburo in 1985.

Like most communist leaders, Grosz has preserved his family life from public view, and no details are given in his sketchy official biography. His wife is reported to be seriously ill, and he is said to have two adult sons.

HEUTER

KAROLY GROSZ: Given honorary title.

and confident," the diplomat said. He described him also as a quick learner, who needs no notes to discuss complex subjects competently and quick also in making decisions that have reached his desk after long delays in the bureaucratic machinery.

Grosz wasted no time in joining the new power that captured Hungary, and he became a party member at the age of 15 in 1945, when the war ended. He learned the printer's trade but later graduated from Budapest University and the central party school, which prepares those chosen for party careers.

Grosz worked at party headquarters starting in 1950 and then served in the army as a political officer. From 1958 until 1961, he was editor of the party daily in the Miskolc region and then returned to a higher job at party headquarters.

In the 1960s, he was secretary of the party committee at state radio and television, a job that gave him considerable power over programming. In 1968, he was called back to headquarters as deputy head of agitation and propaganda.

Grosz was sent to head a regional

In Hungary, Flexibility As Doctrine

By HENRY KAMM

THE Hungarians have often been quick to take advantage of changes blowing in from the East. They proved that again last weekend when a new generation of Hungarian Communist leaders succeeded in seizing power.

When the idea of changing the system was first allowed to be discussed in Eastern Europe in the 1960's, the talk was of replacing highly dogmatic Stalinist leaders with Communists who were ideologically sound but undogmatic — ready to experiment with their economies to increase production. A bit of borrowing of ideas from the West was tolerated.

In those days, Janos Kadar, Hungary's leader since 1956, became the first of the nondogmatists, the deviser of "goulash Communism," the party chief who allowed his economists some freedom to allow changes based on the capitalist notion that producers and consumers are better able than a central planning bureaucracy to stimulate an economy.

Hungarian economic efforts had their ups and downs under Mr. Kadar, dictated not so much by Hungary's needs or Mr. Kadar's wishes as by the Soviet Union's increasing or decreasing fear of the political effects of movements for change in its dependencies in Eastern and Central Europe.

Since Mikhail S. Gorbachev came to power in 1985, Communist leaders, seeking Soviet approval as the best way of rising to the top, have been inspired not only to be nondogmatic but even to let it be known that they are "pragmatists." Last Sunday, the first of the new pragmatists reached the pinnacle. Prime Minister Karoly Grosz replaced Mr. Kadar as General Secretary of the Communist Party. Only 15 years old when Communism came to Hungary with the conquering Soviet Army, the new leader reached maturity with the first generation of Eastern Europeans for whom there has never been an alternative to Communism. Nothing about the 57-year-old Mr. Grosz (whose name is pronounced KA-roy Gross) shows his pragmatism more clearly than his newfound devotion to downgrading ideology.

Until the ascendancy of Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow, Mr. Grosz had been counted as a leader in the orthodox wing of the party bureaucracy. He had overseen the ideological purity of the press and broadcasting and served as a tough party chief before becoming Prime Minister last June.

For most Hungarians, the removal of Mr. Kadar, who retains a ceremonial role in the newly created position of party President, appears to be a psychological boost. They see it as the end of an era in which the boom of the 1970's soured in this decade to stagnation, inflation of about 20 percent a year, the painful introduction of capitalist-style income- and value-added taxes, falling real wages and the threat of unemployment. Hungarians have been pained in recent years to see the shrinkage in the purchasing power of their wages and extra earnings in their second and third jobs, as well as in the tolerated but marginal private sector. From proudly calling their country "the best barracks in the socialist camp," they have taken to comparing their economic standard to that of the deprived Poles. The truth, economists here say, lies somewhere in between.

Toughness and Ambition

The vast majority of Hungarians, who have never been persuaded that Communism is the road to well-being, believed that Mr. Kadar's nondogmatic ideology was not the worst, but not good enough. They would like to believe that the new official talk about pragmatic approaches and the emphasis on decentralization and market mechanisms is sincere.

They hope that Mr. Grosz, whom they associate more with toughness and ambition than with liberal changes, will continue to see advantage in his new orientation. In this hope, they find encouragement in the arrival of two new Politburo members who are regarded as earnest advocates of change, Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay.

Since he became Prime Minister, Mr. Grosz has made himself a spokesman for the market system and relations with the West. He has paid official visits to West Germany, where he obtained a one-billion-mark (about \$590 million) line of credit, and to Britain, where he won the pragmatic approval of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. He has received the public assurance that President Reagan is looking forward to his visit to Washington, tentatively set for July. A supporter of Mr. Grosz has called his efforts "realpolitik." Mr. Grosz has invited American businessmen such as Edgar M. Bronfman, Ronald S. Lauder and George Soros to visit Budapest. A belief that good relations with Jewish businessmen are a key to success in the capitalist world did not vanish in Hungary with the victory of Communism over traditional nationalism.

Mr. Kadar did not meet the customary East European fate of either holding power until death or being overthrown by a Politburo coup and disappearing into oblivion. His election to a ceremonial post and the public handshake — no matter how sincere — between the new and old leaders, are seen as accomplishments of the era of Gorbachev and pragmatism.

A Pragmatist Ascends



Gamma-Liaison/Alain Keiser

Karoly Grosz, the new General Secretary of Hungary's Communist Party.

Hungary's vain attempt at freedom

IN THE NAME OF THE WORKING CLASS: The Inside Story of the Hungarian Revolution. By Sandor Kopacsi. Translated by Daniel and Judy Staffman. With a foreword by Gerald Jones. Grove, 304 pp., \$17.95.

By **RICHARD CAPLAN**

In the final days of Hungary's 1956 uprising, as Soviet troops were extinguishing the last flames of revolt there, the radical journalist I.F. Stone was quick to grasp the larger significance of these extraordinary events:

"The world will never be the same again when this prolonged battle is over," Stone declared. "An era is dying... the era of the Russian Revolution, the era in which — for all its faults and evils — defense of that revolution was somehow the moral duty of all progressive-minded men."

Stone was right to invoke the Russian Revolution at that time. For if the events of 1917 have come to be known as "10 days that shook the world," the uprising of 1956 deserves to be remembered as "the revolt that shook the foundations of communist faith."

Not only did thousands flee the East as a consequence of that revolt — as many as 9,000 Hungarian refugees made their way to Cleveland alone — but countless others quietly abandoned their commitment to a revolutionary movement whose betrayal by the premier communist state was perpetrated "in the name of the working class."

Now we have the memoirs of a key witness to those events: Sandor Kopacsi, Budapest's chief of police when the revolt erupted on Oct. 23, 1956. Kopacsi served as deputy commander of the armed forces under the short-lived, revolutionary government. Arrested and convicted of mutiny by the Soviets, he spent five years in prison until his release in 1963 under a general amnesty. In 1975, Kopacsi emigrated to Canada, where he works as a janitor.

Kopacsi's memoirs are not the reflective offerings of a Lev Kopelev or a Milovan Djilas, whose firsthand accounts of life in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, respectively, bear the marks of intellectual titans.

What Kopacsi provides instead is a plain-spoken yet deeply absorbing re-creation of the events surrounding those few weeks in Hungary when hopes soared in the belief that "out of this bloodbath

will emerge the first and only socialist democratic state in the world," as one of Kopacsi's friends would exclaim.

More than just a catalog of events, however, *In the Name of the Working Class* is also a portrait gallery, featuring rogues and heroes, the familiar and the obscure. Yuri Andropov, the future Soviet leader and then ambassador to Hungary, has several walk-on roles, including one in which he dances for over an hour with Kopacsi's wife at a New Year's eve party, praising the beauty of her eyes while the band is requested to play over and over the same popular Russian song, "Black Eyes."

Though branded by the Soviets as a counter-revolutionary plot hatched abroad — the usual hackneyed charges of that era — the 1956 uprising clearly had its origins in a program of modest reforms undertaken with the blessing of the Kremlin, initially at least.

Indeed, as Kopacsi tells it, when the reform-minded Imre Nagy was appointed Hungary's prime minister in 1953, as part of Moscow's efforts to de-Stalinize its ranks, he was even rebuked by one member of the Soviet Politburo for failing to pledge more sweeping change.

But while the Kremlin fiddled — it wavered on the question of reform, yanking Nagy in and out of office — Hungary burned. Popular demand for liberalization mounted, erupting in a peaceful student-led demonstration on Oct. 23, 1956, which in turn provoked a violent reaction from paranoid security forces. In a short time thousands were taking to arms.

Nagy was hastily restored to power by the apprehensive Soviets who, in the same breath cynically launched their military invasion of the country, leading Nagy to renounce the Warsaw Pact and declare Hungary's neutrality —

bold acts that would cost him his life.

Kopacsi makes it clear that the 1956 uprising was first and always a *communist* uprising. There was never any question of restoring capitalism. "That regime, fortunately, is dead," Kopacsi quotes Paul Maleter, minister of defense, addressing the first meeting of the revolutionary armed forces. "There will never be capitalists and landowners in Hungary again." This should give pause to those who like to view every rent in the Iron Curtain as evidence of an innate hankering for the free-enterprise system.

Ironically, Hungary today enjoys a greater measure of freedom than perhaps any other Eastern bloc country. Kopacsi welcomes this liberalization, but he is evidently unimpressed with what, at bottom, he views as merely cosmetic changes. (Since this account was

written before Mikhail Gorbachev's ascent, one can only wonder what Kopacsi makes of the new Soviet leadership and its apparent impatience with the pace of change in its satellite countries.)

For all he has endured, Kopacsi is not embittered by his experiences — a testament, perhaps, to some abiding but unspoken faith. Rather than bemoan the loss of privilege and prestige, Kopacsi finds it fitting that he should return to his working-class roots, unburdened by the dreaded weight of communist officialdom, where, as he puts it, "a scapegoat must be found and punished for the regime's every failure."

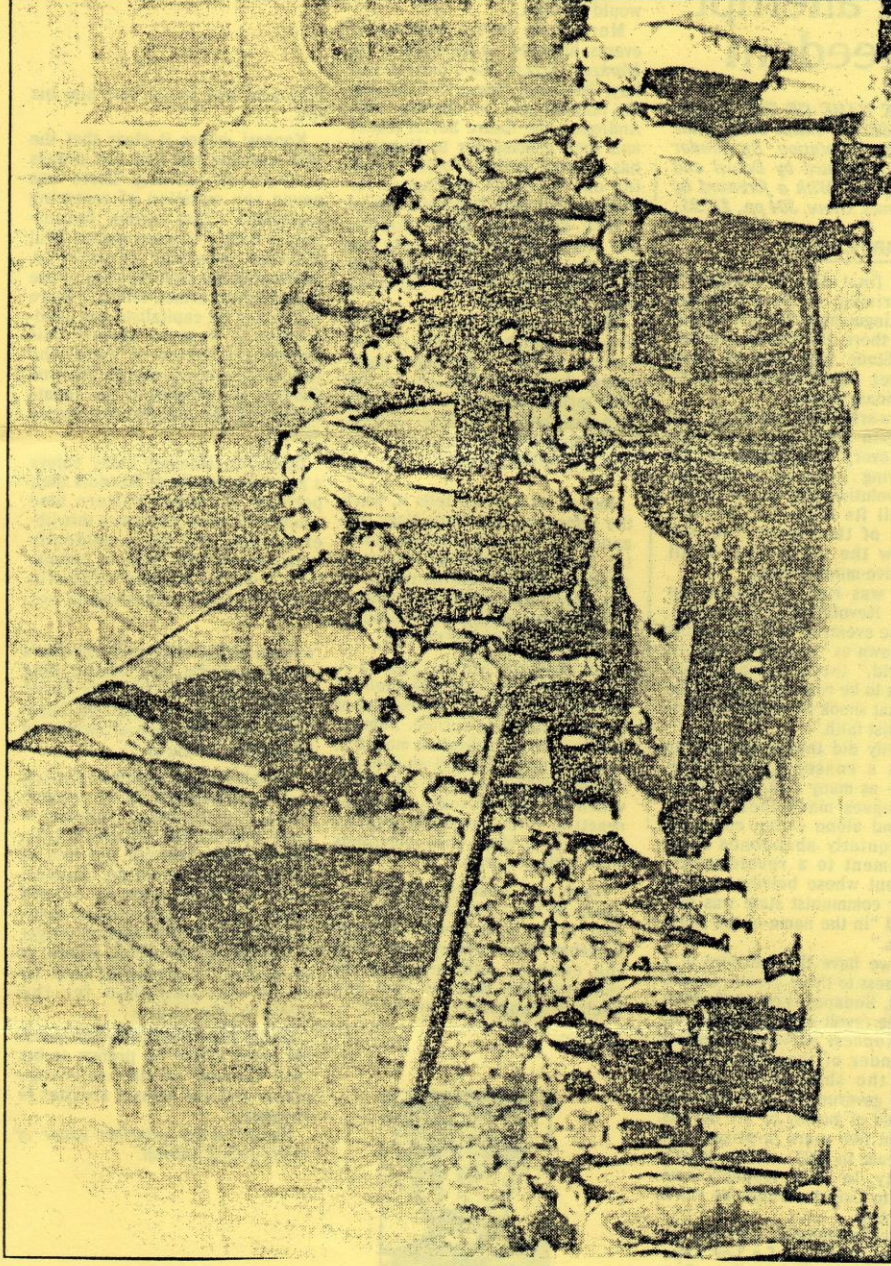
In the end, Kopacsi is unequivocal about where he prefers to be: "Mr. Cleaner would not change places with any cabinet minister in Hungary."

Caplan is an associate editor of *World Policy Journal*.



Sandor Kopacsi, 1955.

Rattling communism's chains



AP
Hungarian rebels wave the flag of their country atop a captured Soviet tank in front of the Parliament building in Budapest during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. In the following months, about 9,000 Hungarian refugees moved to Cleveland.

Comrade Therapist

In Hungary at Least, A Modern Communist Now Can Be Neurotic

Psychoanalysis Has Returned From Years Underground —Just When It's Needed

Margit Decides to Talk It Out

By BARRY NEWMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
BUDAPEST—Hungary's establishment has overcome one of Marxism's oldest ideological hang-ups: Even a Communist, it admits, can suffer a tortured soul.

"Twenty years ago, this was a make-believe world," says Livia Nemes, the president of Hungary's still-provisional psychoanalytic society. "We pretended people's problems didn't exist. Now they have surfaced. In socialist conditions, we can have neuroses."

As its therapists like to say, this country is in the midst of a "psycho-boom." Hungarians go in for sensitivity training, relaxation therapy, meditation, psychodrama. The state has reissued Freud's "The Interpretation of Dreams," and the rehabilitation of its author, the bane of orthodox Marxist thought, is nearly complete.

For the heirs of Freud's early disciples in Hungary, this is the reward of an uncommon persistence. First, the Fascists harassed them. Then, the Communists suppressed them. But the analysts of Hungary hung on as they have nowhere else in Eastern Europe, and kept the ground prepared for all the therapies Freud's ideas helped engender. Now the sciences of the psyche have reached the steep last leg of a long climb—from the underground to the institutions of communism.

Performance Anxiety

Marx would never buy it; he blamed capitalism for humanity's economic woes and its personal misery, too. Much of the East Bloc still does. Soviet psychiatry pins most mental disorders on physical defects. It administers drugs, not the "talking cure." Soviet-style treatment calms the ill and the disaffected alike, whose ailments occasionally include "an aggravated sense of justice."

But even if Marx were right, his pronouncements couldn't comfort the modern-day proletariat. As communism reforms, capitalism has lost its monopoly on stress. The coming of competition has suddenly raised the pressure to perform, on pain of unemployment. People in these countries don't just cope and carp anymore. They worry.

And the Hungarians worry most. The East's first reformers are also, per head, its deepest debtors. To beat austerity, thousands have taken to working two full-time jobs—16 hours a day. They are tired, nervous. A third of them get migraines, 50% say they can't sleep, 15% take tranquilizers. The suicide rate has tripled in 20 years and is the highest in the world. Weighing the numbers, the Communist Youth League's magazine concluded that half the country is neurotic.

Social Insecurity

"We were promised the perfect society," says Laszlo Tringer, psychiatrist, neurologist and psychologist. "All problems would be solved. We were put in a comfortable situation—a low material standard, but 100% sure. This seems to have been a fiasco. So we tried to make reforms, and that brings out new tensions: suicide, divorce, alcoholism. An unknown insecurity has struck us."

Its victims come to Dr. Tringer's state clinic, a back-street building still bullet-pocked by the distant traumas of revolution and war. Margit, a woman of 40, arrives every Thursday at 10 a.m. for an appointment with Anna Geczy, her therapist.

"She is here for a fear of mass transportation," Miss Geczy says as the patient enters her office. "It's a phobia."

And much more.

Margit sits stiffly on a couch, clutching her knees. Divorced for 14 years, she has raised two sons on her own. Until September, when she had her breakdown, she worked in the kitchen of a sports stadium from early morning to midafternoon, went home for three hours, then returned to work as a cleaner until late at night.

Fear of Fainting

"The pay wasn't big," she says. "I had to moonlight. I was anxious about the children. Were they home? Did they eat?" Miss Geczy nods silently. "My jobs were exhausting. But I couldn't sleep. I had no time to myself, no chance to meet anyone. You can work two jobs, but not for that long. You have to break down."

She lost her appetite, got headaches. One day, she collapsed. In the hospital, a psychologist came to see her, and Margit revealed her greatest concern: that she would faint on a tram.

"I just don't know where this fear is rooted," she says.

"Deeply," says Miss Geczy.

"But I found out here how to fight this thing. Just by talking. It was a surprise to me. Just sitting and talking."

The notion was plausible enough in 1918, when Budapest was the host to the Fifth International Psychoanalytic Congress. Freud, who came over from Vienna, was so impressed by it that he predicted the city would become the movement's world center. In 1919 Budapest's medical faculty awarded the world's first chair in psychoanalysis to Freud's Hungarian disciple, Sandor Ferenczi.

But then history got in the way, and stayed in the way for going on seven dec-

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Continued From First Page

ades. In the 1920s, Hungary veered to the extreme right and psychoanalysts became suspect; many were leftists and most were Jews. A Jewish quota hit the universities. Analysts were forced to work in private.

Yet life never grew as grim for them as it did in Germany. There, the psychoanalytic society folded in 1933 and Freud's works were burned. When Hitler annexed Austria in 1938, 102 analysts escaped. Freud fled to England and died the next year. But the Nazis didn't occupy Hungary, and kill half a million Jews, until 1944. They never did destroy the Budapest ghetto. Of Hungary's 46 analysts, eight died. The rest taught, treated, and lived.

Liberation restored their honor. They joined medical faculties, took public-health posts, spoke on the radio. "We are living in a free atmosphere," wrote Ferenczi's eminent follower, Imre Hermann. "We have new possibilities in our work." But Stalin stopped them. In 1948, the new Communist rulers ejected the psychoanalysts from public life and condemned them to 15 more years of silence.

"It was sheer stupidity," says Livia Nemes. "It had nothing to do with a conflict of theories. It was a matter of power."

Analytic Underground

The president of the provisional psychoanalytic society sits in her study's velvet easy chair, her back to the couch. Outside her top-floor window stands the gray ruin of a ghetto synagogue. Before the war, as a Jew, she couldn't get into college. After the war, as a bourgeois intellectual, she sewed collars in a shirt factory. She trained as a psychoanalyst in the Freudian underground.

"Freud emphasized the individual and not the society," Mrs. Nemes says. "The Marxists' guiding principle was that the mentality of the people is determined only by broad material conditions. It's taken a long time for us to prove this isn't right."

To begin with, it took a revolution. After 1956, words with the prefix "psych" appeared in the press, and the state published extracts of foreign articles on psychoanalysis. But not until 1965 did the psychoanalytic society dare to form again, in secret. And it was 1970 before its members made tentative contact with their former colleagues in the West.

"We met at Imre Hermann's home once a month, on Sunday afternoon," says Gyorgy Hidas. He was a medical doctor at the time, deep in his own psychoanalytic training. "There was an atmosphere of fear. You didn't know what was allowed and what wasn't."

When she was 19, in 1966, Judit Szekacs went to the university to study psychology. But her professors still wouldn't mention Freud. They taught neurology, anatomy. "We dissected for two years," she says, "and nobody knew why." A budding fascination with psychotherapy won Miss Szekacs few friends. "You had to be slightly loony to go into it. It was like computers. People didn't know what it was all about. Fights broke out over whether there was an unconscious, over whether you could ever say so in public."

Hungarian change welcome in Cleveland

By **KAREN HENDERSON**
STAFF WRITER

Leaders of Cleveland's large Hungarian community reacted mostly positively to the announcement yesterday that Janos Kadar, leader of the Hungarian communist party since 1956, had been replaced by reform-minded Premier Karoly Grosz.

"We waited a long time for this," said John B. Nadas, a Cleveland lawyer and president of the National Federation of American Hungarians.

Nadas said the immigrants have not forgotten Kadar was cruel to Hungarian youth. "I hope Grosz can reach an understanding with the people," he said. Because of the change, Nadas hopes for some liberalization and greater personal freedom within the country.

"We have no right to vote and no free speech," he said. Nadas said if free elections were held today, it would mean the end of communism in Hungary.

Rose Nadas, his sister and a 30-year federation member, cried tears of joy when she heard the news.

"We certainly think it might be an improvement. It might be the beginning of political change," she said. She said she hoped it would lead to the end of Soviet dominance in Hungary, but she really did not believe this would happen. "We have the hope; without hope, you cannot live."

John Nadas said 105,000 Hungarians live in Greater Cleveland, about 200,000 in Ohio and 1.7 million in the country.

Geza Andahazy, president of the Cleveland Chapter of the World Federation of Hungarian Veterans, said

most of the Hungarian community had anticipated the change.

"We saw it on the horizon because of his (Kadar's) strict, old-timer policies and his age," Andahazy said.

"My personal opinion is that it is certainly a moderation. It shows the Kadar regime didn't accomplish anything. So Grosz, I hope, will be more lenient and skilled and have better connections with western countries."

Grosz said Kadar was particularly unpopular because he asked the Soviets to send in troops in the bloody 1956 Hungarian revolution which Soviet troops and tanks crushed. The Soviet domination has continued.

Kathy Szabo Haraszthy, secretary of the United Hungarian Societies, reacted more pessimistically.

"I don't think it's going to be much of a change," she said. "He's a communist; it's the same thing. Things are not very good in Hungary."

Haraszthy, who has a Hungarian radio program on WCPN, and the others hope President Reagan will convince Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev to allow free elections in Hungary.

Karl Bonutti, a Cleveland State University economist, believes the change is in response to Gorbachev's efforts to modernize the economy and his unprecedented admission the economic structure in communist countries is a failure.

Bonutti predicted the leadership change could lead to total liberalization of the economic and political structure. The United States will "have to give them the kind of support that would allow an evolutionary process to change the system," he said. "It will take time."

The \$4 Hour

Oppression's aftertaste lingers. A state that pays for basic health care can't quite call psychotherapy "basic." It won't pay at all for psychoanalysis, even at \$4 an hour. And at Dr. Tringer's clinic, it won't pay therapists for their work with trainees.

"The attitude, even now, is somehow against psychotherapy," the doctor says. "Ideology sticks in the mind."

Late on a weekday afternoon, four young Hungarians gather for group therapy in the clinic's back room. All have finished college. All feel empty and alone. For three hours, they listen as a man of 20 opens up and lists his troubles: his mother, his jobs, his studies, his women. When it's over, Judit Nemessuri stands, stretches, and hands out a questionnaire that will help her chart the group's emotions on her computer.

Then she walks out into the hall, lights a cigarette, and lists some troubles of her own. At 32, she is a psychiatrist and an expert in group therapy. But she is attached to a "closed, conservative psychiatric department in a hospital."

"Now, I am told I must learn neurology, too," she says. "My director insists I have two specializations, not one."

So Dr. Nemessuri lives the same frenetic life that drives many a Hungarian to seek her services. By day, in a neurology clinic, she treats epileptics. By night, in the psychotherapy clinic, she treats neurotics. In her case, however, there is one difference: When she moonlights in psychotherapy, the doctor doesn't get paid.

Comrade Therapist: As Hungary Changes, Psychoanalysis Returns

Her one recourse remained the old-time psychoanalytic survivors. They trained today's generation of analysts, now numbering 70, who went on to let therapy out of the Communist closet. As economists began to toy with reform, the psychotherapeutic weekend appeared in Hungary, direct from the U.S. Hundreds of doctors, nurses and hard-line psychiatrists attended in the mid-1970s—and converted.

The state had to admit, in 1980, that psychiatry and neurology were distinct sciences. The psychiatrists set up an association and let therapists and analysts in. That made them legal again after 32 years. Universities have since founded departments of psychotherapy and established it as a medical specialty. Last fall, they introduced a three-year course teaching psychotherapy in 25 variations.

Under the reform banner, therapy has even gone private. Six specialists, including a "therapeutic gymnast," have opened a service called "Psychoteam" in Budapest with a "psychological first aid" hot line manned 24 hours a day. It is very busy.

In January, analysts and therapists won the right to practice privately, full time, freeing them from state jobs that had little to do with their real work. Only one official hurdle remains: leave to form independent associations. It could come this year. If so, Freud's progeny will at last gain standing with professional bodies in the West. And still, they won't be totally out of the goulash.

Attention, Comrade Gorbachev: Your Hungarian satellite is finding that trying to make a socialist economy a bit less socialist is like trying to get a little bit pregnant.

"The Soviets are now in a very romantic period"

By Peter Fuhrman

HUNGARIANS, famous for their gallows humor, tell the story of the country's leader, Janos Kadar, calling in his minister of finance. "Comrade," Kadar asks, "what kind of year will 1988 be?"

"Average," replies the minister.

"Average?"

"Yes," the minister explains. "Worse than 1987, but better than 1989."

This in a country that for many years was the paradise of the Eastern

bloc. Smart shops were full of chic apparel, appliances, fine china, crystal—and the Hungarians eagerly consumed. Throughout the little country (about the size of Indiana), food counters overflowed. So willing were Hungarians to hold the national currency, the forint, that seldom could a tourist get even 5% over the official rate for dollars or deutsche marks on Budapest's black market. A most unsocialist Communist country.

All that has changed for the worse. Today black marketeers offer 50% premiums for Western currencies

likely to maintain their value against the 20% price rise set for next year. Along Budapest's Kigyo Street, Hungarians who remember the hyperinflation that followed the end of World War II line up to buy silver and gold jewelry. The Hungarian economy has stagnated since 1982, with economic growth averaging less than 1% a year. Hungary's exports to the West are below their 1980 level. Its current account, which registered a surplus as recently as 1984, showed a deficit of more than \$1.4 billion last year.

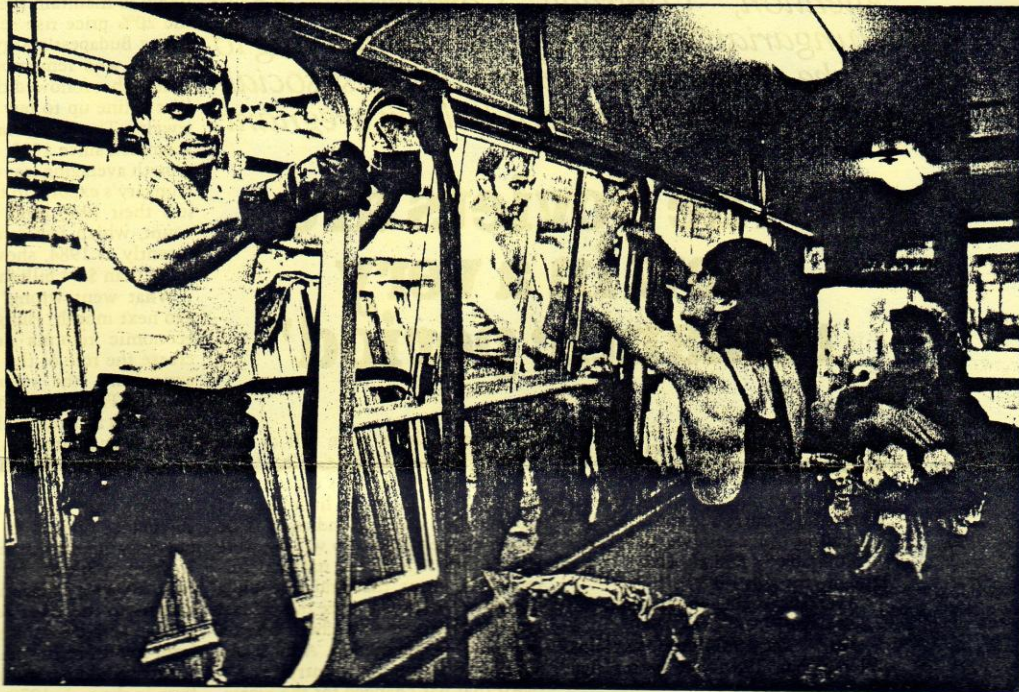
What went wrong? Twenty years ago next month, Hungary introduced economic reforms designed to increase the role of the free market. In agriculture, the reforms took root quickly. Free to sell their pigs, chickens, fruits and vegetables either to the state, at guaranteed minimum prices, or to private merchants at market prices, Hungarian farmers began working long hours and soon sent an abundance of food to urban markets not only in the Eastern bloc but in western markets as well. At their peak in 1982, Hungarian agricultural exports to the West generated a \$1.1 billion surplus—that's a lot of food from a country so small.

After a temporary retreat from reform in the early 1970s (caused largely by disapproval from Moscow), the Hungarians resumed the process. The



Window-shopping on Budapest's Vaci Street
Hoping for better times to come.

Will van Overbeek



Icarus workers assembling a bus bound for the U.S.S.R.

The few well-managed companies have been forced to subsidize the weaker ones.

underground service economy was legalized, up to a point. Currently, private businesses can employ up to 12 workers; the maximum jumps to 30 next year. Excellent restaurants, fashion boutiques and other small enterprises quickly blossomed and made socialist life more bearable.

When it came to subjecting industry to the rigors of market competition, however, free-enterprise socialism foundered on its contradictions.

It was okay to turn farms back to the farmers, and to allow a few friends or relatives to start a translation agency or software business. But to turn large factories and large-scale enterprises back to capitalists was something different. As Hungary's brilliant economist Janos Kornai has observed (*FORBES*, Aug. 1, 1983), socialist economies labor under a shortage mentality on the part of central planners. All goods, even those shoddily produced by inefficient factories, could be sold. So bankrupting big, inefficient state factories was a possibility that few socialists could contemplate.

A large number of state-owned enterprises still dominate the country's economy. Most of these have grown fat on socialist subsidies. Ten Hungarian firms account for an estimated

15% of the country's national income. These companies are overmanned and grossly inefficient, spewing out goods of poor quality, acceptable only to fellow socialists who have no alternatives. Fewer than half of Hungary's industrial companies turn a profit. The others continue to survive on government handouts.

Hungarians throw more than \$1 billion a year worth of subsidies and credits at the little country's loss-making factories. The money comes from Hungary's smattering of small free-enterprise factories and few profitable state enterprises, whose profits are taxed at 90%.

Consider Icarus, the Hungarian bus manufacturer. It is one of the country's few profitable large companies and consistent foreign exchange earners. Last year Icarus earned a pretax profit of \$50 million on sales of \$500 million. But the government took \$45 million of that profit as a tax, to help finance the losses of other state-owned businesses. It is as if Texas' Democratic congressman Jim Wright were to expropriate Ford Motor Co.'s profits to bail out Texas thrifts.

Hungary's new value-added tax, to be introduced next year, is meant to raise revenues and to lower direct cor-

porate taxes. This will save Icarus and other well-managed companies from subsidizing weaker ones. But the transition—if it occurs—will be painful. "Our actual, aftertax profits will be lower in 1988," says Istvan Lepsenyi, technical director of Icarus. "We are also expecting difficulties in obtaining parts as our suppliers struggle with the VAT and with tighter restrictions on foreign exchange."

Until the party ended, Hungary could finance itself by borrowing from U.S., European and, most recently, Japanese banks. Hungary's gross debt to these Western financial institutions rose by more than \$10 billion over the last five years. Last year alone Hungary borrowed \$4.2 billion from the West to pay off old loans and finance its trade and budget deficits.

The party is over. As a result, Hungary now has a serious balance-of-payments problem, and has little in the way of competitive industry to earn the foreign exchange to repay the debt. "Lending money to Hungary," says one Western banker, "is like paying to repair a car that should be thrown on the scrap pile."

At any rate, Hungary now must pay the fiddler. Western banks, along with the World Bank and the International

Monetary Fund, are demanding that the Hungarian government cut off the flow of funds to its money-guzzling, inefficient state businesses.

At the IMF's behest, the government plans to slash spending by \$1 billion next year to eliminate a budget deficit equal to 4% of GNP. Living standards will fall by another 15% to 20%. Income taxes, another painful precedent for a socialist country, will begin taxing away income earned above the poverty level of \$1,100 a year. The prospect of 20% inflation has already led to a round of panic buying as Hungarians withdraw their savings and try to buy anything with a reasonable store of value.

The government is gambling that, thanks to the legalization of much of the underground economy, most Hungarians will be cushioned from severe hardship under the austerity plan. Around half the country's workers now have second and even third jobs, doing everything from translation to car repair. Income from these

Budapest's bond bourse

A Communist securities market? With \$800 million (face value) in issues now outstanding, Hungary's bond market is the Eastern bloc's only private capital market. Begun in 1982, the market has grown rapidly this year as issuers—primarily municipalities and state-owned companies like the State Railways and Peramarton, a chemical company—try to reach the market before Dec. 31. After that most bonds lose two of their strongest appeals: Their state guarantee will be withdrawn, and their interest will be taxed at 20%.

The bond market was introduced to allocate capital more efficiently. But the flood of new issues is being met by an equal tide of investor redemptions. The government, which sets the rates, has announced that the bonds will pay only 13.5% interest next year. That will be at least 6% below next year's inflation rate (see story). A negative rate of return, plus 20% tax on interest, is sending bondholders onto the market's small, baroque floor to unload holdings.

"We have to continue to buy all bonds offered for sale," says Zsigmond Jarai of the Budapest Bank. "If we stop buying, the whole market will collapse." That would be a serious blow to reform.—P.F.

legal "second economy" jobs have maintained most living standards over the last 5 years. The government hopes they will continue to do so.

Unfortunately, the second-economy jobs are not disbursed evenly across the country. Miskolc, Hungary's second-largest city, is Hungary's Pittsburgh. Its Lenin Metallurgical Works is one of the most seriously ailing of Hungary's large firms, and Miskolc is in the midst of a 1930s-style depression. Here there are few opportunities for second jobs, and the typical family's standard of living has dropped by a third. The city's shops are mostly empty.

According to one West European diplomat, "It would be cheaper for the government to send the [Lenin Works] workers on a yearlong, all-expenses-paid vacation, than it would be to keep the foundry going for another year."

So why doesn't the government

"For 40 years we've been telling the worker that he is the owner of the factory. How can you fire the proprietor?"

make good on its promise to shutter the Lenin Works and Hungary's other moneylosers? For the same reason Mikhail Gorbachev and his *perestroik*ers will find it next to impossible to put any Soviet factories out of business: It is an article of faith in communism and socialism that unemployment exists only in capitalist countries. So jobs must be maintained, cost what it costs.

"For 40 years we've been telling the worker that he is the owner of the factory," frets Sandor Nagy, secretary of SZOT, the Hungarian trade union. "How can you fire the proprietor?" Besides, even if you do fire the owner-workers, what then?

It's a crossroads. If Hungary extends free-enterprise reforms it will have to accept some unemployment and do other things unacceptable to socialist orthodoxy. If Hungary goes back to centralized planning and full-dress socialism the country will sink to the socioeconomic level of the rest of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Hard choices. The same choices will be facing the Russians if Gorbachev is successful in liberalizing the rigid Soviet economy.

Peter Rona is chief executive of New York's IJB Schroder Bank & Trust Co. Rona fled Hungary with his parents in 1956 but still has strong ties to his former country. He muses

that there is much Hungary could do to earn its way in the world if the political structure were less rigid, and if the reforms on the books were put into practice. The nation has, for example, excellent music recording studios, and technicians who could easily produce recorded music products competitive in Western markets. But apart from a smallish deal between CBS and Hungaraton, Hungary's state-owned recording company, little has been done to exploit the advantage. Laments Rona: "They haven't really even tried to promote the music expertise." It's not the sort of thing socialist planners would think of. Or encourage. Too messy. Too unpredictable. Too... un-Marxian?

Do Hungary's leaders have the courage—and enough leash from Moscow—to resurrect their economy while burying their ideology?

The answer to those questions rests primarily with Janos Kadar, the 75-

"The Soviets feel the future lacks unmanageable problems," says Rezso Nyers. "This, Hungarians know, is a naive view."

year-old general secretary of the Hungarian Communist party. Installed by the Soviets in 1957, Kadar first saw to the imprisonment and execution of many of his compatriots, and then shrewdly traded fealty to Moscow for permission to introduce economic reforms. But the shrewd, cynical Kadar is showing his age. He seems to be avoiding hard decisions. One senior member of the Hungarian Communist party speaks frankly but off the record. "The whole country is now under the bureaucratic control of a small group of men," he says. "Without a real breakthrough, there will be no economic improvement, only catastrophe."

From his Kremlin office 1,000 miles northeast of Budapest, Mikhail Gorbachev watches uneasily as one step in Hungary's reform process leads to another, and another and another, with each step forward moving Hungary away from socialism toward capitalism. Listen to Central Committee member Rezso Nyers, a key architect of Hungary's 1968 reforms: "The Soviets are now in a very romantic period. They feel the future lacks unmanageable problems. This, as we in Hungary know, is a very naive view." In short, the whole world may be in the process of learning that there can be no such thing as free-enterprise socialism. You have the one. Or the other. ■

Farm Plan In Rumania Draws Fire

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, May 28 — Hungary has charged that a vast program in Rumania to consolidate villages is intended to erase the Hungarian heritage in areas of Transylvania that were severed from Hungary after World War I.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry, which has not made a formal statement on the matter to the Rumanian Government, has given foreign reporters translations of articles from Hungary's Government-controlled press. The articles protest the program.

The articles charge that President Nicolae Ceausescu has decided to accelerate a program to reduce the number of villages in Rumania from 13,000 to 6,000 and to convert the land where the villages stood to agriculture. Rural populations are to be consolidated in small agricultural towns.

Western diplomats confirmed that Rumania has been consolidating villages on a small scale since the program was adopted in 1978. The fear now is that the project will be stepped up. Rumania acknowledges the program but denies that its intention is to decrease the rights of minorities.

Diplomats assume that the program is a personal project of Mr. Ceausescu, similar to his destruction of much of central Bucharest, Rumania's capital, to replace traditional homes and historic churches with a grand avenue. With one of the lowest population densities in Europe — 90 people for each 247 acres — Rumania is not thought to suffer from a shortage of tillable land.

Hungarian newspapers said Mr. Ceausescu has ordered all the agricultural towns to be under way by 1995 and to be completed by the year 2000.

The Western diplomats agreed with Hungarian charges that the mass relocation of villagers would dilute the cultural identity of the two major ethnic minorities in Rumania — Hungarians and Germans. Hungary says the number of ethnic Hungarians in Rumania



The New York Times/May 28, 1988

Budapest wants to protect Transylvania's Hungarian heritage.

exceeds 2 million, while Rumania puts the number at 1.7 million. There are 350,000 ethnic Germans. Rumania has a population of 23 million. Hungary's population is 10.5 million.

Villages in Transylvania, in northwest Rumania, have historically been distinctly Rumanian, Hungarian or German in character, with only small representations of the other ethnic groups. Hungarians fear that the consolidation of population will further diminish the number of schools and classes using the Hungarian language.

Magyar Ifjusag, the newspaper of Hungary's Communist Party youth organization, has accused Rumania of threatening to erase the Hungarian heritage. It lamented the expected loss of "the native villages of grandparents, the monuments, the cemeteries where tombstones speak the ancestral language, the churches, where psalms are sung in the Hungarian language."

Hungary admits Rumanians seeking asylum, 80 to 90 percent of them ethnic Hungarians. A Hungarian official said 4,000 Rumanians were registered as "temporary settlers" this year.

The Hungarian official said ethnic Germans and Rumanians among the refugees are quietly sent to Austria, marking the first time a Warsaw Pact country has helped citizens of a member nation go to the West.

The Hungarian press has reported that since last month, Rumanian minority-language publications have been forbidden to use minority place names. Most Transylvanian villages have three names — Rumanian, Hungarian and German — and only the Rumanian names are now permitted.

U.S. Senator Howard M.
METZENBAUM
of Ohio

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Labor and Human Resources
Energy and Natural Resources
Select Committee on Intelligence

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Date: February 26, 1988

Contact: Nancy Coffey
(202) 224-2315

**METZENBAUM PRESSES EFFORTS TO STRIP ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT OF
MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS**

WASHINGTON -- Ohio Senator Howard Metzenbaum has intensified his efforts to strip the government of Romania of most favored nation status. He insisted that the U.S. Trade Bill contain an amendment that would deny special privileges to Romania.

"We cannot allow the administration to reward Romania for its outrageous behavior. The reports of persecutions of Hungarians, the denial of religious freedom and other physical abuse and destruction are most disturbing and must not be tolerated.

"I know many Ohioans are concerned about their loved ones behind the Iron Curtain and want to see us take a firm stand against the human rights abuses by the Romanian government," Metzenbaum said.

Metzenbaum pressed for the amendment in a letter to Sen. Lloyd Benston, D-Tex., chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. The Finance Committee has responsibility for the Trade Bill.

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EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

THE PLAIN DEALER, THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1989

Hungarian aid urged

WASHINGTON — Rep. Edward F. Feighan, D-19, of Lakewood, is circulating a petition signed by 192 members of Congress, urging the Reagan administration to provide emergency relief for the thousands of ethnic Hungarians fleeing their Transylvanian homeland in Romania. In the last year more than 20,000 ethnic Hungarians and about 8,000 Romanians fled Romania, contending that they had suffered political and economic repression under President Nicolae Ceausescu's government.