

Committee and the World Union of Free Romanians hold that the continuation of the MFN status for SRR is not in the best interests of either the United States or the freedom loving people of Romania. We urge that no further extension should be granted until radical improvements in the matter of human rights and living conditions are evident.

We consider of critical importance the following points:

1.- a. full recognition and unimpeded right to travel and to emigrate;

b. relaxation of the vexing administrative procedures for obtaining passports and lowering the passport and emigration fees to a single, reasonable sum;

c. put an end to physical harassment and desist from forceful, unfair liquidation of would-be emigrants' assets.

2.- a. restoration of the right to worship and to practice their faith to all religious denominations;

b. full restoration of spiritual and material rights to the Uniate Church (Catholic Church of Byzantine Rite) and unrestricted right for the 1½ million Uniate faithful to practice their religion.

3.- bring to a halt the demolition of historical and architectural monuments and sites which are a cultural heritage of the Romanian Nation and an integral part of the World cultural patrimony.

DENIAL OF THE RIGHT
TO EMIGRATE AND OF
RE-UNIFICATION OF FAMILIES
BY
THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT

Since June 2nd 1984 the following cases, involving 122 families and 309 people, were monitored:

Aurel NEGRU and his family, Bucharest, Str. Soldat Cindea Nr. 6, Sec. 5, originally applied to emigrate 4 years ago. They were turned down. Negru re-applied whenever given a chance. They had 14 negative answers so far. Their guilt:

They are Seventh Day Adventists and have to pay heavy fines because they do not send their children to school on Saturdays.

Eugenia BABOTA (55 years old), and her son Florin OPREANU (32 years old), of Buftea, Str. Fabricii de Oxigen, Bl. A, Apt. 4, Sector Agricol, Ilfov, applied to emigrate in June 1980. The authorities asked them to give up their Romanian citizenship and pay a fee of 1,000 Lei each. They were asked to hand over their home to the state. They complied with all this in vain. Six negative answers.

Maria MUNTEANU and her family composed of Gabriela DINACHE and Mihai DINACHE, her children, Anton MUNTEANU, brother, of Bucharest, Str. Aleea Valea Viilor No. 1, Bl. M34, Ap. 50. They applied to emigrate two years ago. Anton MUNTEANU, a highly qualified chemical engineer was demoted. He is now employed as an unskilled worker; sweeps the yard, cleans lavatories, etc. at the "Grivita Rosie" steel plant.

Gheorghe BRACIU, and his wife Ana BRACIU, nee FINGERHUT of Dudestii-Noi, Nr. 233, Jud. Timis, cannot leave Romania although her brother Josef FINGERHUT lives in Stuttgart and their children Filippi Victor BRACIU in Königsbrunn and Adrian BRACIU in Ditzingen. Their pleas for the re-unification of the family were turned down.

Karoly BIRTA, (32 years old), of Sovata, Str. Maistrului Nr. 6, Jud. Tg. Mures, cannot leave to join his brother Anton BIRTA, who lives in Sydney, Booth St., Annandale, 2038, Australia.

The Baptist Pastors Beniamin COCAR and Ion STEFFE, of Medias, are being interrogated and harassed for their preaching. Dr. Ernest GORDON, the President of CREED in Washington, D.C., visited their church in Medias in March 1984 and established that the two Pastors only preached according to the Baptist tradition.

Corneliu TUDOR and his two small children Ana Maria (aged 3) and Patrick Emanuel (aged 2), of Bucharest, Bld. Iosif Broz Tito, Nr. 57A Bl. B., Sc.L., Sec. IV applied in 1983 to join Dr. Patricia TUDOR, wife and mother, who lives in Königssee, Germany. Refused.

Lucia BROSU, (76 years old), of Bucharest, Str. Galati, Nr. 69, cannot leave to join her daughter Maria Manuela BROSU who lives in Görrerstr. 28, Munich, Germany.

Erwin KRAMER of Schwabenberg Str. 123, 7000, STUTTGART, 1, cannot get his parents out of Romania although they are sick and old and have applied for the right to leave.

Rosemarie LUNGU, nee ZAKEL and her husband Cornel LUNGU, of Sibiu, Str. Jezer, Bl. 5, Sc.B, cannot be re-united with Christina Manuela LUNGU of Grenzstr. 21, 7858 Weil-Friedlingen, Germany.

Petronela KANDRAI, (73 years old), of Str. V.I. Lenin, Nr. 170, 2566 Cugir applied 5 years ago to join her son Ladislav KANDRAI of Sieberausstr. 23, 7551 Steinmauern, Germany. Repeatedly turned down.

Gheorghe FLOREA, his wife Natalia and children Veronica and Corneliu, of Bucharest, Str. Prevederii Nr. 3, Bl. PM., Ap. 22, Sec. III, applied to leave Romania permanently in March 1980. They are Baptists. Still no answer.

Dumitru GUIU, his wife Victoria and children Beatrice, Adelaide and Lucian, of Bucharest, Str. Simonide Nr. 12, Sec. V, have a U.S. visa but cannot obtain permission to leave, despite repeated applications since 1981.

Gheorghe IONESCU, of Bucharest, Sos. Stefan cel Mare Nr. 1, Sc. 3, Ap. 100, an old age pensioner, has had his application regularly turned down for the last 2 years. He wants to join his sister Maria IONESCU, of 355 Broadway Blv., Ap. 19, Reno, NV 89502, U.S.A.

Iusuf DOGAN, of Constanta, Str. Suceava, Nr. 5, Bl. 5B, Ap. 187, first applied to leave on September 15, 1977. Still being refused.

Corina DUMITRESCU and her children Candia-Sabina HARTTMANN (3 years old) and Shari HARTTMANN (1 year old) of Bucharest, Str. Moise Nicoara, Nr. 38A, Bl. C2, Ap. 154, cannot obtain permission to join their husband and father, Aba HARTTMANN, in Tel Aviv, Israel.

Mr. & Mrs. TEKESER and their son, of Valea Viilor, Nr. 423, Jud. Sibiu, cannot join their daughter and sister, Renate RODEHORST of Erlangen, Stettiner Str. 20, Germany.

Verona STOCHECI (45 years old) and her son Sorin STOCHECI (17 years old), of Bucharest, Str. Vulturilor, Nr. 40, B., Sec. III, are trying since 1980 to leave permanently to join Liviu Gheorghe TEODORU, in Sydney, Australia.

Dr. Lucian TURLEA, his wife Constanta and children Christina (6 years old) and Irina (3 years old) of Gh. Gheorghiu - Dej, Alea Parcului, Nr. 5, Ap. 97, Jud. Bacau, continue to apply since 1982 for emigration.

Leocadea PUTINELU, of Grabati, Nr. 279, Jud. TIMIS cannot join her brother Dr. Michael LOGHIN, of 8074 Gaimersheim, Lessingstr. 6, Germany.

Agnes BOROS of Cluj-Napoca cannot join her fiance, Mircea CHINDRIS, in Los Angeles, CA, U.S.A.

Josef DOBROVOLSKI (b. 1908) and his wife Maria (b. 1923) of Duestii Noi, Nr. 540, Jud. Timis cannot join their son in Germany.

Iosif BLUM, his wife Elfriede and children Isolde and Manfred, of Jecica Mica, Nr. 214, Jud. Timis, want to be re-united with their family in Germany.

Iosif Schmidt (54 years old) his wife Elizabetha, nee Hoffmann, their daughter Ana and her husband Iosif REGERT and their children, Sebastian (4), Tanja (3) and Ion (2), of Duestii Noi, Nr. 84, Jud. Timis cannot join their families in Germany.

Ion FLORESCU, his wife Camelia and their two children, of Bucharest, Str. Pionerilor, Nr. 9, Et. I, Ap. 7, Sec. IV, cannot join their brother George FLORESCU in Melbourne, Australia.

Ion CHRISTMANN and his wife, of Jecica Mare, Jud. Timis, cannot leave despite applications since 1979.

Georgeta ITIGAN, her husband and daughter, of Bucharest, Aleea Moldovita, Nr. 6, Sec. IV, applied in 1981 to leave permanently for the U.S.A. Turned down.

Mr. PORR of Cristian, Str. Republicii, Nr. 10, Jud. Brasov, has tried for the last 22 years to join his brother Johann PORR in Munich, Seydliz Str. 43. Always turned down.

Stefan, Maria and Gertrud WERBER of Alba Iulia, Blv. 6 Martie, Nr. 89, Bl. A2, Sc. C., Ap. 56, cannot join their relative Johann WEBER of 7000 Stuttgart 31, Geibelstrasse 23.

Ecaterina KRAUSZ and her children Petru, Ecaterina and Ilse MULLER, of Duestii Noi, Nr. 121, Jud. Timis are refused permission to join their relatives in Germany.

Sofrona BARSANU (80 years old), Nicolae BARSANU and Ion CRISTINARU, of PTRAIIE, MAINI, Jud. Suceava, cannot go to brother Vasile BARSANU in Salzburg, Austria.

Ioana RUPA and her children living in Resita Felix Bloe 4, Apt. 14, has been refused permission since 1982 to join the husband and father, Victor RUPA who lives in Reid, Austria.

The priest Radu MIHAL, of Bucharest, served the Romanian community in Sweden and Denmark for 7 years. In May 1984 he was urgently recalled to Bucharest (on the pretext that his mother was gravely ill). His wife and 3 children were left behind in Sweden. He found his mother perfectly healthy but he lost his passport. All applications to rejoin his family have been so far refused.

Ioan HERTA and his family, of Lugoj, Str. Cornet, Nr. 48, Jud. Timis, tries ever since 1980 to emigrate to the U.S.A.

Gheorghe LAZAR and his family of Lugoj, Str. Vasle Alecsandri, Nr. 12, Jud. Timis, whose original application was turned down in 1980, is interrogated, beaten up and terrorised by the Security Officer, Lt. Major Vid Teodor.

Maria-Ioana HORTOPAN has been refused permission to visit her mother Marie-Liliana VASILESCU in Brussels.

Permission to emigrate to the U.S.A. has been denied to Alexandru Constantin FELVINTI, of Turda, Str. Macilor, Apt. 39, Jud. Cluj.

The family of Zaharia COJOCARU, his wife and 4 children, living in Bazeseu, Jud. Teleorman have been refused permission to go to the U.S.A.

A Pentecostal family, Nicolae b'59, Constantin b'64, Georgina b'68 and twins Michael and Gabriela b'69 living in Motru, Aleia Panselutelor bloc 14, Apt. 12, Jud. Gorj have not been allowed to be united with their father Constantin ANDRITOIU in Vienna. Similarly a visa has been denied to Elena ANDRITOIU aged 72 years and Constantin ANDRITOIU living in Clesnesti, Jud. Gorj.

Ana TACHE and her daughter Sorin RACHINOIU of Bucharest, Aleia Istru 2A, Apt. 20 have not been allowed to visit Jenica RACHINOIU of Recanatti, Italy, daughter and sister of the above named.

Permission has been refused for Franz THIES of Timisoara, Str. Leandruului Bloc 11, Apt. 65 to visit his brother Michael THIES living at 8041 Diebersheim, Hauptstrasse 7 and also for Elisabeta THIES of the same address to visit her mother Sara THIES of 8400 Regensburg 11 Vittusstrasse 14.

Lucia BROSU, 76 years old of Bucharest, Str. Galati 69 has not been given a visa to visit her daughter Maria Manuela BROSU, an American citizen, of München, Görresstrasse 28.

Permission to emigrate to West Germany was refused to Johann HALMEN, Regina HALMEN, Regine STIRNER, Ingrid STIRNER and Michael STIRNER all of Saros Dumbraveni, Jud. Sibiu to join their family already established there.

Jacob GARTNER and Anna THILL living at Peciu Nou 752, Jud. Timis were not allowed to join their son and brother Martin GARTNER living at 8700 Wurzburg, Neubergstrasse 9.

Antoniu FOLOSANU b.04, suffering from cancer, married to Veronica FOLOSANU b. 14, both of German nationality and living at Strada Fluierului 23 Bucharest has been refused permission since 1980 to join their sister Frau FOLOSANU of An Schulgarten 11 6800 Mannheim 1.

The family of the engineer Gavril TIRLESCU Strada Scinteii 41, Caransebes, Jud. Caras Severin have not been allowed to join the other members of the family in Traiskirchen, Austria.

Rodica RADUT, their children Michaela and Claudiu-Alin RADUT of Moldova Noua bloc 49, Apt. 10 Jud. Caras, Severin have been refused permission to join the husband and father ION RADUT of 65B Cambridge Avenue, San Leandro, California, U.S.A.

The following family members have been refused permission to join their brother David LAZARESCU of 39 Cambridge Ave., San Leandro, California: David LAZARESCU, his wife Ecatarina, his daughters Ioana Adriana and Teodora Cristina of Bucharest, Str. Ruginoasa 12 and also Corneliu LAZARESCU with his wife Eugenia and children Razvan and Amalia of Bucharest, Str. Bonea Marin 2, Apt. 15.

Domnica COSOROABA of Blvd Constantin Brancoveanu 104 Bucharest has been refused permission to join her son Adrian BURLAN COSOROABA of 457 Greenwood Santa Clara, California.

Permission has been refused to Florin VLASACHE of Bucharest Str. Astrului 12, Apt. 35 to go to live with her parents Nicolae VLASACHE of 1576 Sunnyvale Avenue 39, Walnut Creek, California.

Stefan GLIGA of Aleia Fizicienilor 9 Bucharest has not been allowed to join his brother Alexander GLIGA of 379 Everest Avenue, Palo Alto, California.

Iulia CONSTANTINESCU of Bucharest, Blvd Ion Sulea 31 Bloc N3 has not had permission to join her fiance in California, Mihai OLARU of 457 Greenwood, Santa Clara.

Permission to join his father has not been given for Cornel POPESCU, Caracal, Str. Anton Caracalla Bl. K Apt. 3. His father Gheorghe POPESCU lives now at 457 Greenwood, Santa Clara, California.

Anghel VOINEA and his wife Catalina Romanita Ilea have not been able to get permission to go to Eugen COBAN, 457 Greenwood, Santa Clara.

The family Johan WADT b'26, Regina Malvina WADT nee Seiverth b'31, Gerhard-Michael WADT b'60 and Ana WADT b'62 all living in Soala 36, Jud. Sibiu have not been allowed to emigrate to their relative Hans-Reinman WADT of Köln 80 Kattowitz Str. 10.

Letters have been received by Ioana STANCIU, Elena DUMITRIU and Doina POPESCU in Paris confirming that Eugenia BOBOTA and her son Floriant OPREANU of Buftea Str. Fabrica Buciumeni Bloc A, Apt. 4 Jud. Ilfov has been refused since 1980 to emigrate to West Germany.

Ioan HERTA, Lugos, Str. Cornet 40, Apt. 4 has constantly been refused permission to emigrate to the U.S.

Gheorghe LAZAR, Lugos, Str. Vasile Alec-sandri 12, has tried for 4 years to leave for U.S.A.

Beniamin BUCUR, 87 years old, of Str. V. Lucaci, Nr. 12, Sc. B, Et. 2, Apt. 8, refused, on 26th April, 1985, to go to his daughter Rodica Ratiu and her family of 525, Mandana Blv., Apt. 211, Oakland, CA 94610, U.S.A. He is totally alone and ailing.

Teodor RUSU of Bucharest, Str. Moldovita, Nr. 6, Sec. IV, cannot join his son Octavian RUSU in Munich, Germany.

Rudolf FODE and his family, of Brasov, Str. Mihai Viteazul, Nr. 69, cannot re-unite with his mother, Luiza FODE, in ULM, Merziweg, 12.

Gheorghe IONESCU of Bucharest, Sos. Stefan cel Mare, Nr. 1, Sc. 3, Ap. 100, cannot go to his sister Maria IONESCU of 355 Broadway Blv., Ap. 18, Reno, Nv, 89502, U.S.A.

Eugenia TELEA, of Sibiu, Str. Rahova, Nr. 51, Ap. 29, cannot get a passport for medical treatment arranged for her by Brigitte Ehler of Westend Str. 105, 8000 Munchen, 2.

Nicolae AVRAM, Maria AVRAM and Mircea STET, of Saliste, Str. Spitalului, Nr. 1051, Jud. Sibiu cannot visit their daughter and cousin who is married to Rev. George Doru GAGE in Indiana, U.S.A.

Nicolae STAN, 26 years old of Bucharest, disappeared in August 1984 when he was handed over to the Romanian authorities by the Yugoslav frontier guards.

Costel GALALE at present in the Bucharest prison hospital as a result of the beatings received at the Poarta Alba, Jud. Constanta where he was imprisoned in October 1982 as a consequence of his wife, Maria GALALE not returning to Romania. She lives, with their 4 children, in Chrysander Str. 151, 2050 Hamburg, 80.

Grafina OZARCHEVICI and Gheorghe PETRESCU, of Bucharest, Str. Caimatei, Nr. 16, Sec. II. Their application to leave refused since 1983.

Martian DELIMAN, of Comlosul Mare, Jud. Timis. A Baptist, had his application to emigrate to the U.S.A. refused.

Ana NEAGU, of Bucharest, Intrarea Armasului, Nr. 8, Ap. 3, Sec. I, 67 years old, cannot obtain permission to visit her son, Gabriel NEAGU of Munchen.

Luminita SAS, of Bucharest, Blv. Iosip Broz Tito, Nr. 70, Bl. P.M.-26, Sc. 4, Et. 5, Ap. 132, Sec. III, has her application to emigrate turned down ever since 1981.

Rodica BUJOR, of Bucharest, Str. Calarasi, Nr. 148, Sec. III, cannot go to her brother Constantin BUJOR in Melbourne, Australia.

Albert SCHLOPP, of Bececherecul Mic, Nr. 654, Banat, cannot join his family in Germany.

Ioan MICHELS, of Jimbolia, Str. 1 Mai, Nr. 12, Jud. Timis is not allowed to re-join his daughters in Germany.

The WEIDENFELDER family - Johann, Anne Marie, Rosemarie, Benno-Hans - of Sibiu, Aleea Infanteristilor, Bl. 2, Sc. C., Ap. 50, cannot join their family in Padeborn, Rothenauer str. 26. Despite countless applications, since 1957!

Ingrid CROSS her husband and child, of Codlea, Str. Magurii, Nr. 37, Jud. Brasov cannot go to her sister Liane MATHIOE of Augsburg, Alter Heuweg, Nr. 30.

Susana WEBER, of Dirlos, Str. Morii, Nr. 94, Jud. Sibiu, cannot re-join her parents, Gustav WEBER in Wolfsburg, Germany.

Mihai BRANZEI, his wife and their twin boys Mircea and Laurentiu, of Bucharest, Blv. Gloriei, Nr. 33, Sec. I, have had their application to emigrate refused since 1982. They want to join Paulina BRANZEI of Belair 1177, Quebec, Canada.

Ionel CANA of Bucharest, imprisoned in 1979 for joining the "Free Trade Union" cannot leave the country for the U.S. He has forced domicile.

Corina TUTUNARU (21 years of age) was arrested at the airport after seing off her fiance Rolf HEILER of Wagehaensel, Nr. Mannheim. Her appartment was searched and presents from abroad confiscated. They've been trying to obtain permission to marry for over 2 years.

Nicolae REPCA cannot join his cousin Radn NISIPEANU in California, U.S.A.

The mother of the exiled writer Virgil TANASE cannot get a passport to join her son in Paris, France.

Mihai MARMARA of Bucharest, Str. Ecaterina Teodoroiu, Nr. 16, cannot join his uncle Demostene MARMARA in New York.

Mrs. SIMON and her son cannot get a passport to join husband and father in Alabama, U.S.A.

Cheorghe BOROVIDA and wife are not allowed to go to their daughter, Doina, who is married to the well-known American physicist Karl COLLINS.

Ilie Tita, his wife and 4 children of Craiova, Craiovită Nouă, Bl. 65 A2, Sc. 2, Ap. 33, were refused leave to emigrate to Italy.

Eleonora TELEKI, of Cluj, Str. Tipografiei, Nr. 28, Ap. 5, cannot join her husband, Mihai Teleki, in New York, U.S.A.

Alexandrina DUINEA, of Bucharest, Str. Intrarea Barsei, Nr. 2, Bl. M-12, Ap. 86, Sec. III, cannot get a passport for emigration to U.S.A.

The CERNAT family of LUGOJ, Str. Traian Vuia, Nr. 18, Jud. Timis, cannot go to their son, the orthodox priest Emil Ambrus-CERNAT, in Detroit, U.S.A.

Stefan CALCIU, of Comani, Jud. Olt, cannot go either to his sister in Germany, or to his 3 cousins in Austria.

Eugen ZEHAN (b. 1938), of Cluj-Napoca, Str. Masinistilor, Nr. 44, has been tortured and terrorised for asking to leave Romania permanently.

Vasile COMAN, of Tohanul Vechi, Jud. Brasov, cannot go to have his kidney ailment treated as invited by Gheorghe UNGUREANU of Braband, Aarhus, Denmark.

Rev. Gheorghe Calciu-DUMITREASA, freed on August 20, 1984 is now under strict security supervision in Bucharest.

Dorel CATARAMA is now serving a 14 year sentence for fraud - a trumped-up charge. He is a Pentecostal.

Elena Alexandrina POPA, and family of Bucharest, St. Huedin, Nr. 7, Bl. 2, Sc. 2, Et. 5, Ap. 99, Sec. IV, meet only with refusal since 1979.

Nicolae BOIASU, of Arad, Str. Pelicanului Nr. 10, is on hunger strike in the Arad prison.

Mrs. IUGA and two small children cannot join husband and father Dan IUGA, who won a silver medal in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games.

Georg SILLMAN, wife Gerlinde and son Erwin, of Cisnatie, Str. Tesatorilor, Nr. 56, Jud. Sibiu, have had their passport applications refused for the last 8 years. They want to go to Germany.

Vasle HAPAIANU of Hunedoara Str. Bucegi, Bl. 4 cannot go to the U.S.A. since 1980.

Nicolae STOIA, of Timisoara, the author of the book "ADEVARUL" (The Truth) has disappeared (in June 1984).

Petru BAROS, wife Virginia and 8 children, of SAT CHINEZ, Jud. Timis, suffer privation and indignities for having applied to leave Romania permanently.

Dietmar BRENNENDORFER (b. 1961), of Brasov, Str. Magnoliei, No. 8, cannot go to her aunt, Anni BRENNENDORFER, of Nusselstr. 36-8, München 60.

Dorin TUDORAN and his wife have had their application turned down.

Georghe BUDARU, his wife and 4 children of Marghita, Jud. Bihor, cannot go to the U.S.A.

Felicia RUSU, of Lugoj, now on hunger strike in Timisoara, Str. Calea Sagului Nr. 52, Ap. 35, crossed the frontier illegally, served 7 months in prison. Is being refused a passport for the U.S.A.

Nicolae TURCAS (17 years old) and his brother Vasile (14), last address Timisoara, Str. Repin, Nr. 28, were caught trying to cross the frontier in November 1983. They are now in prison.

Corneliu ITU and his wife Maria-Tereza of Bucharest, Str. Dornei, No. 9, Sec. I, were repeatedly refused a passport since 1981.

David MARIS and his family, of Arad, Str. Lacului, Bl. L3, Et. 1, Ap. 5, cannot leave since 1982.

Susan SPECK (57) and her son HANS (34), of Sibiu, Str. 1 Mai, Nr. 7, were refused the right to join sister and aunt Malvine KAUNTZ of Melbourne, Australia.

Codruta MARC cannot join her fiancée, Ion Chirita, in Dural, Australia.

Ion MARIN, wife Florica and 7 children, of Schitul, Com. Tusla, Jud. Constanta, were turned down systematically ever since they first applied to emigrate to the U.S.A. in 1978.

Radu FILIPESCU, now in prison for 10 years for distributing illegal leaflets.

Dorel CADAR of Cluj-Napoca, Str. Pata, Nr. 147, Ap. 50, cannot join his brother, Remus CADAR, 120 World Trade Center, 350 South Figueroa Str., Los Angeles, CA. 90071, U.S.A.

Serban Petru ENESCU, of Bucharest, Str. Constantin Brancoveanu, Nr. 1, Et. 1, Sc. D., Sec. IV, cannot go to his aunt Silvia CHIRIAC of 18, rue des Communes Réunies, 1212, Geneva, Switzerland.

The GUNTER family, Jacob (b. 1922), Elisabeta (b. 1923) and Katharina (b. 1900), of Stamora-Germana, Jud. Timisoara, had their application turned down. They wanted to join Ralf GUNTHER (b. 1972), now paralyzed, of 8000, Munchen, 81, Lubeckerstr. 11, Germany.

Mihu Silviu RAZVAN, of Bucharest, Sos. Mihai Bravu, 64-84, Bl. P. 7, Sc. 3, Et. 3, Ap. 102, (b. 1956) cannot go to the U.S.A. although he has a valid visa since 1982.

Ionel VINCHICI, his wife and 2 children of Lugoj, Str. Caransebesulni, Nr. 3 have had their application to go to U.S.A. turned down ever since 1982.

Rev. Stefan GAVRILA, his wife and 7 children of Gugesti, satul Oreanu, Jud. Vrancea, have had their attempts to get to the United States systematically refused since 1978.

Petru STANESCU, his wife and 2 children, of Lugoj, Str. Olari, Nr. 27, Bl. B, Ap. 12, Micro I, had their passport application turned down since 1981.

Marin CHIRITA, of Suseni, sat CHIRITASTI, Jud. Arges, is refused to go to his son Ion Chirita in Dural, Australia.

Ion DAN (b. 1957) of Bucharest, Sos. Colentina, Nr. 35, Bl. R. 15, Sc. A., Ap. 21, Sec. II, was turned down in July 1984.

The UNGUREANU family, Gheorghe, Ileana, and the children Daniel and Jean of Suceava, and Gavril (73 years old) and Madalina (72) of Mitocul Dragomirnei, Jud. Suceava, were refused the right to leave Ramania.

STATEMENT OF FROILAN C. TENORIO
RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

HEARING ON S.680

BEFORE

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

UNITED STATES SENATE

JULY 15, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THESE COMMENTS IN OPPOSITION TO THE APPLICATION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF S.680, THE "TEXTILE AND APPAREL TRADE ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1985", TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS (CNMI). WHILE THE BILL HAS GREAT VALUE TO THE MAINLAND TEXTILE AND APPAREL INDUSTRY, AND I SEE THE NEED FOR LEGISLATION TO PROMOTE DOMESTIC PRODUCTION, IT WOULD REVERSE ESTABLISHED TERRITORIAL TRADE POLICY AND WOULD, IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH, HAVE A PROFOUNDLY-DESTRUCTIVE IMPACT UPON OUR CORNER OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

SECTION 4(4) OF THE BILL DEFINES THE TERM "COUNTRY" TO INCLUDE "AN INSULAR POSSESSION OF THE UNITED STATES." WHILE THE CNMI IS NOT CURRENTLY SUCH A POSSESSION, WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING THE NEWEST MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL FAMILY PURSUANT TO THE "COVENANT TO ESTABLISH A COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS IN POLITICAL UNION WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA", PUB. L. 94-241. ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THAT AGREEMENT, WE ARE HEIRS TO THE BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL POLICY OF FOSTERING THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORIES THROUGH THE PROVISIONS OF GENERAL HEADNOTE 3(a) OF THE TARIFF SCHEDULES. WERE THE PROVISIONS OF THIS BILL MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS, ACCESS TO THE AMERICAN MARKETPLACE FOR OUR TEXTILE AND GARMENT PRODUCTS WOULD BE VIRTUALLY ELIMINATED.

UNTIL RECENTLY, THE UNITED STATES HAD ACTIVELY PROMOTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GARMENT MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN THE CNMI, ALONG WITH OTHER INDUSTRIES TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE HEADNOTE 3(a) POLICY. TEXTILE PRODUCTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH WERE LAWFULLY LABELED AS SUCH AND PROUDLY IDENTIFIED AS "MADE IN THE USA". AS LONG AS IT COULD BE DOCUMENTED THAT THE PRODUCTS DERIVED NO MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THEIR VALUE FROM FOREIGN MATERIALS, THEY ENTERED THE MAINLAND MARKET DUTY-FREE AND WITHOUT QUOTA. BUT THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE HAS RECENTLY ACTED TO OVERRIDE THIS CONGRESSIONALLY-ESTABLISHED POLICY. LAST YEAR'S INTERIM "COUNTRY OF ORIGIN" REGULATIONS PROVIDED THAT THE PRODUCTS OF OUR INDUSTRY ARE NO LONGER CONSIDERED TO BE AMERICAN PRODUCTS EVEN WHEN THEY DERIVE MORE THAN HALF OF THEIR VALUE IN THE COMMONWEALTH.

S.680 WOULD HAVE AN EVEN MORE DEVASTATING IMPACT ON OUR INDUSTRY IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH. ALL OF THE PRODUCTS OF AN INSULAR POSSESSION WOULD BE TREATED AS FOREIGN, REGARDLESS OF THEIR LOCAL VALUE CONTENT; AND ALL WOULD BE SUBJECT TO STRICT QUOTA. THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THESE QUOTA PROVISIONS, IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE CNMI, WOULD BE TO ELIMINATE THE FLEDGLING GARMENT INDUSTRY IN OUR ISLANDS.

SECTION 5 OF THE BILL ESTABLISHES QUOTAS CALCULATED ON A BASE YEAR OF 1984. THIS INDUSTRY IS SO NEW IN THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS THAT ANY QUOTA BASED UPON THE 1984 STATISTICS WOULD BE SO LOW AS TO APPROACH ZERO. THOSE COMPANIES THAT

INVESTED IN THE NORTHERN MARIANAS WOULD BE FORCED TO CUT THEIR LOSSES AND GO OUT OF BUSINESS. SECTION 5 WOULD ALSO HAVE THE EFFECT OF DRASTICALLY REDUCING THE CURRENT QUOTA ESTABLISHED BY THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE FOR COMMONWEALTH PRODUCTION IN 1985. THE CURRENT LEVEL HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AT A VERY MODEST 70,000 DOZEN. SECTION 5 WOULD PERMIT ONLY 47,000 DOZEN, A REDUCTION OF 33%.

IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS, S.680 WOULD HAVE AN EXTREMELY-ADVERSE IMPACT UPON OUR SMALL DEVELOPING ECONOMY. ITS PROVISIONS WOULD RESULT IN TREATMENT OF MARIANAS' APPAREL PRODUCTS AS FOREIGN PRODUCTS, RATHER THAN AMERICAN PRODUCTS. ASIDE FROM THE NEGATIVE EFFECT THIS WOULD HAVE ON THE TRADE BALANCE, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT ON THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS AND PROSPECTIVE INVESTORS IN THE COMMONWEALTH WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE.

WHEN OUR PEOPLE VOTED IN 1975 BY A MAJORITY OF NEARLY 80% TO JOIN THE UNITED STATES, WE WERE PROMISED U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE "AMERICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY". THUS FAR, CITIZENSHIP HAS NOT BEEN CONFERRED, AND S.680 WOULD REVERSE MORE THAN 50 YEARS OF TERRITORIAL TRADE POLICY TO EXCLUDE US FROM THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

IT IS ESPECIALLY SAD TO NOTE THAT S.680 WOULD DISFAVOR THE U.S. TERRITORIES AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS AS COMPARED TO SUCH FULLY-DEVELOPED NATIONS AS CANADA AND THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AS WELL AS THE COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE.

FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS, I JOIN WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OTHER U.S. TERRITORIES IN REQUESTING THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO EXCLUDE THE INSULAR POSSESSIONS GENERALLY FROM THE PURVIEW OF S.680. TO INCLUDE THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS IN THE QUOTA PROVISIONS OF THIS BILL WOULD BE TO EXCLUDE US FROM THE FULL AND FAIR PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE UNITED STATES.



THE ROMANIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

1985 JUL 17 PM 2:10

Miss Betty Scott-Boom
Committee on Finance
Room SD - 219
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

July 16, 1985

Dear Miss Scott-Boom,

We are sorry that we will not be able to attend the MFN hearings for Romania. We would like if it possible, for the recent study done by the President of the Romanian Missionary Society, Dr. Joseph Ton, entitled Religious Persecution in Romania, to be included in the Congressional Record as a part of the hearings.

Sincerely yours,

George Hancock-Stefan
George Hancock-Stefan

President

Rev. Joseph Ton

Founder

President Emeritus
Dr. Peter Trutza

Executive Director

Rev. George Hancock-Stefan

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Romanian Radio Gospel Broadcasting, Christian Literature, Bibles, and Relief

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN ROMANIA

Dr. Joseph Ton
President of the Romanian Missionary Society
April 1985

In the late '60s and early '70s, the Romanian regime succeeded creating a new image for Romania as the maverick in the Warsaw Pact, and as the most independent country of the communist bloc. It was only later in the '70s and in the '80s that some in the West began to realize that Romania had as a government one of the most brutal dictatorships.

Last year, in 1984, Romania enchanted the West with its participation and great achievement at the 23rd Olympic Games in Los Angeles. Romania's participation created an instant euphoria and few people gave any thought to the fact that Romania has a bankrupt economy, along with drastic food rationing.

Atheist society a major goal. Another contrast or paradox is the fact that in Romania, one of the most dynamic religious revivals, unmatched anywhere else in Europe, is taking place. However, the Romanian government pursues one of the toughest courses of religious persecution and oppression in Europe.

The starting point of any analysis of the religious situation in Romania must be the fact that the ruling Communist Party has an official policy, declared openly and much publicized, to eradicate all religion and to create an atheist society. The initial prediction of the Communist Party, as it took power in 1948, was that religion would disappear within the next generation. By the mid '70s, the communist ideologists became confused by the religious revival, mainly in the Protestant denominations (Baptist, Pentecostal, Plymouth Brethren), and they presented a new theory which stated that for a certain time in socialism the religious feelings tend to get deeper, but of course, this was a transitory phenomenon. In the mid '70s, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, in a major speech to the nation, announced that although religion was apparently going to remain for many generations, the Party would continue to pursue its goal of creating an atheist society.

Policies of cultural revolution and isolation pursued. Another general element in the Romanian situation was that in 1971, after his visit to China, Ceausescu launched what the Romanians called the "Mini Cultural Revolution." It was mini because it wasn't as brutal as the one in China. But its impact has been felt on all aspects of Romanian culture, literature, science, press,

television, and cinema. Romania stopped sending students to universities in the Free World. Nearly all cultural exchanges with the West were drastically reduced. Import of Western literature is now almost nil. Even the use of the typewriters has been strictly controlled since 1983. Ownership of video equipment is prohibited. Romanian intellectuals are experiencing one of the greatest oppressions in history.

It is in this general context of a narrow Marxist attack on all culture that we have to understand religious persecution in Romania. The Communist Party of Ceausescu has launched a total war for the Marxist indoctrination of the Romanian people and part of this total war is the destruction of traditional culture and religion opposing the materialistic, atheistic ideology that the Party is seeking to impose on the peoples' minds.

Propaganda and smear tactics used to promote atheism and discredit religion. The atheist propaganda is massive, and it is conveyed by a huge flow of atheist books and articles in the newspapers, magazines, and lectures in all institutions with compulsory participation of all the employees. As part of this atheist campaign, there is a constant use of smear tactics on priests, pastors, and other religious activists. An example was the 1980 campaign to convince the nation that the Baptist ministers Iosif Serac, Vasile Talos, Vasile Branzai, Geabau Pascu of Bucharest, and Joseph Ton of Oradea misused the funds of their churches by committing fraud and embezzlement.

False rumors spread. Another malicious campaign was pursued in 1983, when rumors were systematically spread that the "Repenters" (the generic popular name for Baptists, Brethren, Pentecostals and Seventh Day Adventists) kidnapped children and sucked their blood, and committed other monstrous atrocities. A near hysteria was produced. The fear stopped only when we exposed these as false rumors on one of our broadcasts on Radio Free Europe.

Existence of religious persecution officially denied. The Romanian authorities furiously deny that there is religious persecution in their country. They claim that there are 14 legally recognized denominations in the country, and they point to the open churches and large church attendance as proof of religious freedom.

Religious leaders used by authorities. They also use many denominational leaders in their effort to convince the world

that there is no persecution in Romania. One should know, however, about the many ways in which the Department of Cults (the State bureau for religious affairs) and the secret police manipulate the elections and arrange that only people who give them obedience or, at least, show willingness to cooperate with them, are elected as denominational leaders. One has to also know the many types of pressure and the many techniques used by the secret police to break these religious leaders. Only then one can understand how and why it is that some Christian leaders are more the agents of the Marxist State than the defenders of their own Christian denomination. These leaders are some of the most tragic victims of religious persecution in the communist countries.

Many of the restrictions imposed on the churches are introduced by the State through such leaders. These rules and instructions are unwritten, communicated to the priests and pastors by their own leaders, in such a way that it cannot even be proved that the restrictions exist.

It is unfortunate that the largest religious body in Romania, the Orthodox Church (the former state church), has the most cooperative and obedient hierarchy of all. The contrast with Poland in this respect is total. There, the Catholic hierarchy is in active and open opposition to the Marxist ideology of the Communist Party. In Romania, the Orthodox hierarchy is a strong ally and supporter of the Communist Party. All movements for spiritual renewal in the Orthodox Church are quickly and mercilessly crushed by the church hierarchy itself. The Communist Party knows that the Orthodox Church is a sleeping giant whose awakening would shake the whole country. And they use the church leaders to stop any such awakening.

The clearest case is that of Father Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa. As soon as he decided to preach openly against atheism to young students, the Church hierarchy dismissed him from his teaching position and left him open to the attack of the communist authority.

Another relevant case is that of the five young Orthodox priests who in 1981 wrote an open letter to the Patriarch, the head of Eastern Orthodox Church in Romania.

They had the courage to demand the following:

- That churches organize and begin teaching religion to children.

- Free ecumenical ties with the other denominations.
- That the Church have access to State radio, television, and the press.
- Freedom for Father Calciu.
- Freedom for the Lord's Army (the evangelical movement in the Orthodox Church).
- Freedom for the Greek–Catholic Church (the Uniate Church).

Liviu Negoita, Viorel Dumitrescu, Ambrus Cernat, Ionel Vinchici, and Cornel Avramescu signed this bold letter.

The Patriarch's reaction was similar to the one he had in the case of Father Calciu: the five young priests were left at the mercy of the secret police for brutal interrogations and harassment, and in a short time four of them were forced out of the country. They now live in the United States.

Demolition of churches. A new aspect of the religious persecution in Romania is the demolition of many Romanian Orthodox Churches and monasteries under the pretext of area redevelopment, mainly in Bucharest. As a general rule, the communist authorities have a pretext for demolishing a church. However, a close examination of the situation shows that the church could have been saved, even in a redevelopment program. A beautiful old church could have been a jewel in a modern environment. With six or eight churches already demolished in Bucharest, it has become clear that the regime wants to take the cultural revolution to its ultimate limits: to eradicate all the traditional, cultural and spiritual values, and to replace them with whatever the Marxist government considers to be the new values for the future.

1. CASES OF DENOMINATIONAL PERSECUTION

1. **The Greek-Catholics (Uniates)** are one denomination under persecution. Their background is summarized as follows: In 1700, some of the Romanians in Transylvania (at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) accepted unification with Rome, thereby preserving parts of the Byzantine rites. They called themselves Greek-Catholics. This union with Rome had an immense impact on Romanian culture. Many young Romanians went to Rome and studied there and then went back to Romania with a new outlook. This trend gave birth to a movement called the "Latin school" in Romanian history.

When Transylvania united with Romania in 1918, the Romanian Orthodox Church was not pleased with the fact that about 2 million Romanians in Transylvania were not Orthodox. The opportunity to change the situation came only with the communist regime in 1948. This regime accepted to assist the Orthodox Church in forcing all the Greek-Catholics to "come back into the fold" of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Only 42 Greek-Catholic priests accepted to sign a "voluntary" reunification paper. The others, including the eight bishops, refused a forced reunification. They were put in prison and perished there or in internal exile. Those who survived were released in the general amnesty of 1964, but they were never allowed to open churches. Most conduct underground work.

Parallel to the Greek-Catholic believers, are the **Roman Catholics**. They are the largest part of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. They also had problems with the government, but not as serious as the Romanian Greek-Catholics.

Catholic Bishop of Bucharest recently ordained. An interesting and disturbing event has recently occurred. For the first time under the communist regime, the Roman Catholics were allowed to ordain a bishop of Bucharest. Ioan Robu is a young Romanian coming from a smaller community of Romanian Roman Catholics who live in Moldavia. It seems that the appointment of a Romanian as bishop for what is mainly a Hungarian Roman Catholic group—the appointment and the ordination were conducted by the Pope—has as one main purpose to attract the remnants of the Romanian Greek-Catholics to the Roman rite. This action is only beginning, but it is already causing a considerable disturbance, because the Greek-Catholics feel that

the Byzantine rite gives them distinctiveness as Romanians in the Catholic fold.

2. **The Lord's Army**, an evangelical movement in the Orthodox Church is still unrecognized by the Patriarch and is considered illegal by the State. One of its leaders, Nicolae Moldoveanu, a prolific poet and composer from Sibiu, had three suitcases of manuscripts hidden in the home of the retired Baptist minister Mircu Cocar. Last summer, Mircu Cocar's house was searched by the police and they confiscated a number of Bibles and other Christian literature, including the three suitcases of manuscripts of Nicolae Moldoveanu. All the attempts by this man to recover his treasured work have failed so far.

3. At the beginning of 1984, the leaders of the **Plymouth Brethren**, a denomination with 40,000 members, were asked by the Department of Cults to do three things:

- To close down all the churches of their denomination which function without authorization (the Department of Cults refuses to authorize them; they function without it; and the Department of Cults wants the denomination leadership to convince them to stop their meetings "until they are authorized").

- To exclude from church membership all those believers who have been caught by the police distributing Bibles that had been smuggled in. The reference was mainly to Dr. Silviu Cioata, Costel Georgescu and their group, sentenced in 1982 to 5-7 years in prison, but released due to pressure from Washington.

- To tell all the Brethren Churches to accept foreign preachers only after they obtain an approval from the State authorities.

Department of Cults replaced Brethren leadership. The leaders refused to implement these requests. The Department of Cults simply forced them out of office, and replaced them with three elderly men who had been leaders in that denomination until 1978. These replacements were known to have been rather docile collaborators of the regime. They are: D. Lazarovici (80 years old), Gh. Leancu (79 years old) and M. Schiau (78 years old). They tried to implement the requests of the Department of Cults, but it appears that so far, the churches have not complied.

However, they were successful in introducing another rule regarding the work of the itinerant lay preachers. As the Plymouth Brethren have no formal training for their preachers, most of the village churches depend on the visits of the itinerant preachers

who come to them from the larger churches in towns. The new rule demands that all the movements of these itinerant preachers should be scheduled at least a month in advance and the schedule should be approved by the Department of Cults representative in that county.

When one pastor protested against this restrictive rule, one of these old leaders answered: "It was imposed on us by the Department of Cults. Do not talk to me about it."

2. NEW CHURCHES

Laws regarding the formation of new churches. The law that regulates the function of religion in Romania states that wherever there are more than 20 adult believers of a particular denomination, they are entitled to be a church. The formality for becoming a licensed or registered church used to be very simple: the group had to meet for incorporation and send the minutes of the meeting to their respective denomination; the denomination gave them the Authorization of Function.

Authorization forms now controlled by the Department of Cults. Legally, the procedure is the same today. But in practice, a "small" detail has changed. In the late '50s, all the denominations (Baptist, Pentecostal, Plymouth Brethren and Seventh-day Adventist) were asked to bring all their authorization forms to the Department of Cults to be checked. The authorization forms were then confiscated and placed in the safe of the Department, and the leaders were told that whenever they have an application for a new church, they would have to come to the Department with the application. The Department would study it, and if they considered it appropriate, they would give the denomination a form to be filled out and sent to the church.

As a general rule, the Department of Cults does not approve a new church. And the denomination is unable to give that new church an authorization, because the forms are held at the Department of Cults.

This is one of the areas where the greatest suffering exists. There are hundreds of churches which were legally constituted, but which cannot obtain authorization. Many of them meet regularly for worship, in spite of the lack of authorization. In some places the local authorities seem to ignore them. But in most of the cases, the police raid their place of worship periodically and everyone who is found there is fined very heavily, sometimes equivalent to their average salary for two or three months.

The Second Baptist Church in Brasov. The church was legally constituted eight years ago, and has about 150 members. Last year it was fined a total of 17,000 lei (about ten average monthly salaries). It was permitted to pay in monthly installments and it pays that heavy fine every month.

Another such case is **Bethany Baptist Church in Timisoara.** For the last five years, the church has been paying fines of 3000 lei each month.

Elderly fined for meeting in their homes. The most recent case known to us is that of a group of elderly people who gathered for prayer in one of their homes, in the village of Duboz. They do not have an authorized church in the village. They were each fined 5000 lei (a pension in a village may be as low as 150 lei per month).

Appeals for authorization forms gain no results. *The Baptist Times* (London, August 22, 1984) quoted the President of the Romanian Baptist Union as saying that there were 300 Baptist churches in Romania without authorization. There are about 900 which have authorization. The President of the Romanian Baptist Union presented a list of 80 of these churches, considered to be the most urgent cases, to the Department of Cults and appealed for authorization forms for them. So far, they have not received one form.

We do not have the total number of the churches in the other denominations which are without authorization. We quoted above the case of the Plymouth Brethren, whose leadership was asked by the Department of Cults to close all those churches which function without authorization.

It seems that the largest number of such unauthorized churches is in the Pentecostal denomination. In the county of Bihor alone, there are 40 such churches.

3. CHURCH BUILDINGS

Need for church buildings. With the growing number of Christians in Romania, there has been an increasing need for church buildings. However, church buildings represent one of the areas of the greatest trouble and suffering.

As a general rule, the Romanian regime does not approve of new church buildings. The exceptions are very rare indeed. In most of the cases, it is difficult for the Christians to even obtain a permit to repair their existing building.

In some cases, after many years of petitioning the authorities for a permit to enlarge and improve the existing building, the Christians start working without a permit. On some rare occasions, the local authorities ignore this. In other cases, the authorities use that action as a pretext to tear down the church completely, or to demolish the part that was added. A few of the most obvious case histories will illustrate the problem, which is much larger than what can be reported here.

1. **The Baptist Church of Bistrita.** After many years of waiting for an approval to enlarge their building, the 500 members of the church decided to go ahead and do the work without the approval. They did the work from June to October, 1984. At the beginning of November, the local authorities came with demolition experts and equipment and completely destroyed the entire building. Now the congregation meets on the ruins, in a sort of improvised barn. A delegation of officials from Washington and London visited and worshipped with them on the ruins in December 1984. The district authorities (Cluj) promised these visitors that permission to rebuild this church would be granted. We checked with the pastor of Bistrita, Rev. Nicolae Minzat, and we were told that they have submitted the plans for the new building, but so far, they have had no word from the authorities.
2. **The Baptist Church of Resita.** This church of 800 members has been petitioning the authorities for 25 years for a permit to enlarge their building. They squeeze into an auditorium fit for 100. In 1983, they extended the auditorium to include a storeroom at the back of the building. The police came with bulldozers and demolished the extension. For many years, the authorities said that the reason for not

giving them the permit to build was the lack of a proper site for relocation. When the church bought a new site, at the suggestion of the local authority, the authority "remembered" that the area had been reserved for something else. The church bought three different sites, and each time, after they bought the site, they were told that it was not acceptable.

Recently, they were told by the local authority that a new church building cannot be approved. They are willing to let the church buy a large house and transform it into a church. But they cannot find a suitably large house in that town.

3. **The Baptist Church of Hateg.** This is another significant case. Again, the church has about 700 members, and their building would be properly fit for 60 people. For ten years, Pastor Peter Dugulescu knocked at the door of the authorities at all levels for a permit to build a new church. He impressed quite a few of them with his persistence and politeness. They all encouraged him and made some promises. Upon these promises he went on making all the plans and preparations for the building. For years he was told that the permit had only to be signed by this or that authority. At the beginning of this year he was told by the local authority exactly the same thing as at Resita: they cannot approve the building of a new church; it cannot appear in the records that a new church was built there; if he could find a big house, they would approve its transformation into a church. But they cannot find such a house for sale. We are not surprised to hear that Pastor Dugulescu is quite disappointed and discouraged.
4. **The Pentecostal Church in Timisoara** is located on str. Romulus. The pastor is Teodor Codreanu and the church has a membership of 4500. Their building can seat 800 people and some others squeeze in. Thousands stand in the courtyard and in the street, listening to the service on loudspeakers. For years, the pretext the authorities gave for denying them a permit to build a new church was that they did not have money in the bank for it. The congregation collected the money, 2 million lei, and deposited it in the State Bank. They still have not received the permit to build, and they cannot get their money either, because it is marked "for building."

5. **The Pentecostal Church in Oradea.** They enlarged an old building in 1979, without a permit. In 1980, the court ordered them to "restore the building to its former state," something which practically cannot be done.
The new building is still not large enough for all their 3000 members. A group of them, who live in another area of the town called Iosia, decided to form a church in that area, and they bought a house and transformed it into a church in 1984. They were initially fined 15,000 lei, then they were forced to close the church and sell the house.
6. **The Baptist Church of Gaujani.** The authorities refused to allow the members to build a church. The elder of the church, Mr. Ioan Popescu, built a house for his son in 1984. Then they decided to allow the church to use the house for a meeting place. The authorities confiscated the house in the fall of 1984, and transformed it into a kindergarten.
7. **The Plymouth Brethren Church** in Sibiu, str. Pulberariei nr. 4. This church has 500 members, and they have their own church building, but it is located near a factory and the factory wanted the building for a kindergarten. After much pressure and manipulation, a group of elders of the church were forced into signing that they accepted relocation of their church, that is, to rent a house for the church and give their own building to the State.
8. **The Pentecostal Church in Tirgu-Mures.** Because they enlarged it without a permit, the building was demolished in June 1984. They tried to meet on the ruins a week later, but a meeting of about 500 members was broken up by the police. This case did not get publicity, and because of this, it seems that nothing is being done to help them.
9. **The Baptist Church in Bacau.** The church could not get a permit to buy a house and transform it into a church. So, they bought a house in the name of one of the members, and then they started to use it as a church building. Now, for the last three years they have been struggling to register the building as church property, but with no success.
10. **The Baptist Church in Voluntari.** This is a group of about 50 Baptists located near Bucharest without church authorization. They gave money to a woman in their group, and she bought a house in her name, then turned it over to the church, and they started to meet in it. A short while

later, the police raided the church, confiscated the Bibles and hymn books, and did not allow them to meet again. They also threatened the woman with dismissal from her job if she did not sell the house. She was frightened, and she sold the house and gave the money back to the church. This happened in 1983, and since then, the church has had no meeting place.

11. **The Second Baptist Church of Oradea.** This is the largest Baptist Church in Romania, with over 2000 members, and it is standing in imminent danger of demolition. A decree signed by Ceausescu in September 1984, announced that the area where the church is located will be demolished and blocks of apartments will be built there. The local authorities issued a demolition notice to the church, but they refuse to give them an adequate site and a permit to build a new church.
The visitors from Washington and London, in December, 1984, were told that the site and permit would be given soon, but as yet, nothing has been done.
12. **Sighetul Marmatiei Baptist Church.** One hundred people meet in a room 16 meters square. For the past ten years they have been asking for a permit to enlarge the building.
13. **The Baptist Church in Ponorel, Cimpeni.** This church was demolished in 1984.
14. **The Baptist Church of Cluj-Manastur.** The members built a porch on the front of their building for which they were recently fined 5000 lei. Pastor of the Church is Rev. Mihai Husan, who is also president of the Baptist Union. They cannot even get an approval to build a fence around the church.
15. **Dumitru Prelipceanu, Str. Cosarilor nr. 6, Radauti, Suceava,** owns a house that is used by the Baptist church. A few months ago, two foreign visitors came to visit the church during the daytime. Prelipceanu was charged with overnight lodging of foreigners (illegal in Romania) and fined 7000 lei. This penalty is to stop the visits of foreigners to churches.

Orthodox churches and historical monuments. The following churches have either been demolished, damaged by displacement, or are scheduled for demolition or displacement. They are located in the Bucharest area.

1. **Buildings demolished:**

The Enei Church; the convent church of Cotroceni Palace (17th cent.); the Church of Alba Postavaru (16th cent.); the Spirea Veche Church; the Spirea Noua Church; and part of the Antim Monastery.

2. **Under demolition presently:**

The Mihai-Voda Church (16th cent.); most of the Vacaresti Monastery, one of the most important monasteries in southeastern Europe.

3. **Damaged by relocation:**

Saint Ilie Church; Rahova Church; Olari Church.

4. **In danger of demolition or relocation:**

St. Spiridon Church; The Church of the Apostles; Rasvan Church; Domnitsa Balasa Church; The Church of the Patriarchs.

Older Cases Still Unsolved

1. **The Baptist Church of Tiganesti.** The building was destroyed by the earthquake of 1977. Since then, the church has been meeting in a tent, because the authorities refuse to give them the permit to build.
2. **The Pentecostal Church of Cimpia Turzii.** Because they enlarged the building without a permit, it was demolished in 1983. The congregation meets for worship in the basement.
3. **The Pentecostal Church of Medias.** They tried about five years ago to build without a permit. They managed to finish the foundation and the basement; then they were forced by the police to stop. Since then, they have met for worship in the basement.

4. PASTORS

Pastors threatened. The pastors are under constant surveillance, pressure, and harassment. In the '50s and '60s, one of the greatest efforts of the secret police was to force them to "collaborate," that is, to turn the pastors into informers. It appears that they had some success at that time. With the generation of pastors who came into the job in the '70s, it seems that their success is much smaller: these new pastors were brought up under the terror of the '50s and '60s and somehow they developed an immunity to the pressure of the police. They are also more dedicated to serving the Lord without compromise, and many of them have a new understanding of the value of martyrdom, and are willing to go that way if necessary.

Personnel structure and salary scale severely limits pastoral ministry. Again it is necessary to explain some mechanisms of the persecution in this area. For each denomination, the Department of Cults established a "personnel structure and salary scale" about 25 years ago. In the Baptist denomination, for example, there are about 1000 churches, and in 1959, they still had about 540 pastors for these churches. Then came the personnel structure and salary scale, stipulating that the Baptists could employ only 180 pastors, about 300 janitors, and about 20 clerks for the six area associations of churches and the central Baptist Union. In the early '60s, the authorities used different pretexts to dismiss almost 400 pastors, in order to bring the number to fit the new personnel structure and salary scale.

Limits on number of seminary students. At the present time, the Baptist Union has 170 pastors. The Department of Cults maintains that they need only 10 more. Consequently, the Department approved only 10 students last fall to enter the Baptist Seminary. The students will study a four-year course. When they finish in four years, the Department of Cults will again decide how many new students the Baptist Seminary can admit.

The situation is that hundreds of churches would be able to employ their own pastors, but the Department of Cults does not approve that churches ordain people who have no seminary background. If individual churches ordain pastors without official

consent, the Department of Cults will refuse to license them to be employed as pastors.

Conflict of laws. Now it appears that there is a conflict of laws in this area. The decree on the basis of which the Department of Cults functions says that this Department issues licenses to priests and pastors. But the Constitution of the Baptist Union clearly gives the prerogative to ordain and hire a pastor to the local church, with no mention of the need to secure a license for him from the Department of Cults.

The Second Baptist Church of Oradea. The author of this report was the first to see the discrepancy, and in 1977, when the Department of Cults cancelled his license, he continued to serve as pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Oradea on a personal contract basis. He served in that way for four years, until he came into exile, in the United States, in 1981.

New pastors of Oradea church denied licenses. After the author's departure in August 1981, the Oradea Church asked two professionals to be their new pastors: Dr. Nicolae Gheorghita, a medical doctor (endocrinologist), and Paul Negrut, a clinical psychologist. They were ordained, and then they applied for a license, but the application was rejected. Then they were employed on a contract basis directly by the church (all the other pastors are technically employed by the area Baptist Association). In their case, the authorities wanted to challenge the legality of their employment in court, but a local prosecutor, after studying the case for three months, dismissed it, saying that he could not see any law broken in that kind of employment.

New pastor of Oradea church denied permission to live in Oradea. Dr. Nicolae Gheorghita, a medical doctor from Deva, was ordained pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Oradea in January, 1982. The authorities refuse to give him a license, and because of the lack of license, the local police refuse to permit him to settle in town with his family. For three years, he has commuted 120 miles over the mountains from Deva.

In December 1984, the visitors from Washington and London were promised by the highest local authority of Oradea that in the next few days they would issue his license and approval to settle in town. Instead, Dr. Gheorghita was fined again in January for "illegal" stay in Oradea.

UPDATE ON ORADEA CHURCH. On April 22, 1985, we received the news that Pastor Paul Negrut and Dr. Nicolae

Gheorghita were given licenses as pastors by the Department of Cults on April 19, 1985. This is a major victory for all in the West, who for three years, have spoken and written on behalf of these two courageous pastors who went on and served without licenses, under extreme pressure and harassment.

Western pressure achieves results. Once more, it can be seen that pressure from the West helps to solve some problems in the East. Nevertheless, we should not be misled by the fact that *two* pastors received their licenses. There are many others who did not. It is clear that the Department of Cults chose these two, who were more prominent and better known in the West, to solve their problem as a gesture of "good will." In fact, we should expect that the Department of Cults will solve other similar problems this spring, granting approvals for a few church buildings, releasing a few people from prison, and giving one or two more licenses to pastors. This will be done clearly to appease the politicians in Washington and to improve the climate for the Most-Favored-Nation Clause, due annually to be considered for extension in the summer. The summary at the end of this paper explains what the leaders in the West should aim at if they wish to improve the religious situation in Romania.

Other unresolved cases. **Daniel Cetean** of Deva, an ordained minister, was elected pastor of the Baptist Church of Sega, in Arad, in 1983. The Department of Cults refuses to license him, and he cannot settle with his family in Arad. He commutes 100 miles from Deva to Arad by train. His address is: Aleea Independentei nr. 4, Bl. E 22 A, Sc. 3, Et. 1, Ap. 36; Deva 2700, jud. Hunedoara.

Baptist Church of Medias. In 1980, the Department of Cults revoked the licenses of the two pastors of the Baptist Church of Medias, **Rev. Ioan Stef**, and his son-in-law, **Rev. Benjamin Cocar**, due to their aggressive and effective evangelism. They also became employed on a contract basis with the church. Their employment was challenged, and in the spring and summer of 1984, the Medias prosecutor was preparing their trial. Then came the amnesty of August 23, 1984. August 23rd is the anniversary of Romania's liberation from the Nazis in 1944, and every year on that day the president grants amnesty for certain cases. The prosecutor found out that if he convicted them, they would qualify for that amnesty. Therefore, he merely

wrote a letter to them, on September 28, 1984, saying that they would qualify for that amnesty, and so their case was dropped.

Another pastor whose license was revoked is **Rev. Buni Cocar**, of Giulesti Baptist Church in Bucharest. He also functions on a contract basis.

Stancu Dragomir of Deva was elected pastor of Gai Baptist Church in Arad about five years ago. He was not licensed and he is not allowed to move to Arad. For the past years, he has been commuting 100 miles from Deva to Arad.

In 1984, three new pastors were ordained without the consent of the Department of Cults, and they serve without licenses, on a contract basis. They are: **Ilie Tundrea**, of Popa Rusu Baptist Church, Bucharest; **Daniel Chivoiu**, of Bacau Baptist Church; and **Viorel Codreanu**, of Ipotesti Baptist Church.

Unlicensed pastors officially considered unemployed. They all resigned from their secular jobs and serve their churches as pastors on a contract basis. One of the results of their action is that they cannot qualify for any retirement plan, and cannot receive food ration coupons, because they are officially considered unemployed.

Rev. Daniel Chivoiu recently arrested and beaten. We have recently received word that Rev. Daniel Chivoiu, who serves not only the church in Bacau, but also small village churches scattered in an entire county, was apprehended by the police in March 1985, in the village of Agas. They told him that he had no reason to be there, and they beat him. He is under constant threat of new beatings.

We have information that many other lay people are being prepared for ordination in different parts of the country. In this area of unlicensed pastors, there are likely to be more problems, more harassment, and more suffering.

Other denominations. The situation in the other denominations is similar. As another example, the Pentecostal denomination, again with 1000 churches, is allowed to employ only 142 pastors. They are allowed to have 10 students in their seminary, and they are not allowed to employ pastors who do not have seminary background.

The shortage of priests in the Orthodox Church is even more staggering, but the leadership of that church accepts the limits imposed by the Department of Cults. For the sake of propaganda, they claim to have six seminaries, but they do not reveal how many churches have no priest, and how few students they are allowed to take into the seminaries.

5. DISCRIMINATION IN JOBS

Church activities bring job discrimination. In practice, there is only one employer in Romania, and that is the State. As the sole employer, the State has the machinery to discriminate and to punish without any constraint. As a general rule, no one who is active in a church, or who simply attends a church, can hold any prominent job. The situation is acute, mainly for the Protestants. They cannot be found in any positions of leadership, teaching, judiciary, military, police, or administration. If some of them succeed in going through university, polytechnic, or medical school, and become economists, engineers, or doctors, they will be kept at the lowest level of their profession throughout their careers. They will be given the poorest place of work, denied fringe benefits, and harassed in many other ways.

In most of the cases when someone starts to attend church after they have a higher job, they will be demoted or fired as soon as it is found out that they attend church. In some cases, this is done after exposure in a public meeting at their place of work where they are ridiculed as backward, mentally retarded, or similarly deficient. They are dismissed because they became Christians, but in most of the cases, the reason given on paper is "incompetence," so that no one would be able to use that paper to prove that there is religious persecution in Romania.

Still, we have copies of recent internal documents from some Romanian institutions, where they state that the person was dismissed because of "activity in the Baptist denomination."

The list of people who were fired from their jobs in recent years could be long, revealing a painful story. We limit it to a few more recent cases.

1. **Miss Estera Gavriiuc** of Bacau. She was a teacher for 32 years, with a good evaluation record. She took an active part in the opening of the new Baptist church in her town, and because of this, she was fired from her job on October 30, 1984. The dismissal was approved by the Ministry of Education. Miss Gavriiuc had only two more years until retirement. She is the last in a history of dismissals, demotions, and other harassments of the members of the new church in Bacau.
2. **Mrs. Paraschiva Marandiuc** of Timisoara taught English. She was questioned about her faith and was told that she

- could remain a teacher only if she gave up going to church. She refused that, and was fired.
3. **Mrs. Cornelia Gheorghita**, wife of Dr. Nicolae Gheorghita, was an entomologist at the Museum of Natural Science in Deva. She was fired from her job in 1984.
 4. **Mrs. Maria Bodor** of Oradea was an accountant who started teaching Sunday school in the Baptist Church of Oradea. Because of this activity, she was fired.
 5. **Mr. Augustin Urs** of Timisoara was the chef at the cafeteria of the Polytechnic Institute of Timisoara. A very good cook, he was much appreciated by his superiors. Because he is a Baptist, he was fired at the beginning of this year.
 6. **Silviu Vizitiu** of Craiova, Cart. Brazda lui Novac, Bloc N4, Sc. 1, Ap. 3. He is a graduate engineer who had a well-paid job until 1983. Due to his preaching ministry in the Craiova Brethren Church, he was demoted in 1983 to the lowest position of engineer. In 1984, he was further demoted to the position of technician. The demotion means the loss of more than one-third of his previous monthly salary. He has nine children.
 7. **Rodica Gaftoiu** of Brasov became a Christian in 1982. She was an architect and was subsequently fired. Unable to find another job, she lives with her mother, both living on her mother's pension.

Reliable sources have recently reported that a new order was issued from the central government, at the beginning of this year. People who engage in religious activities or who attend church are to be purged out of all administrative jobs. This order was discussed in the city council of Timisoara in March, and instructions were given for its implementation. We should expect reports that Christians throughout the country are being fired from their jobs.

6. BIBLES AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

In its declared goal of creating an atheist society, the Romanian communist regime has one of the tightest controls on what its citizens read. The Romanian borders are known to have some of the toughest customs procedures. People who enter Romania are asked at the border, "Do you have arms? Do you have drugs? Do you have pornographic materials? Do you have Bibles?"

Search and seizure at the borders. Many cars were taken apart at the border in 1984 on the suspicion that they had hidden compartments for Christian literature. Holes are drilled into vans to check if they have books hidden in them. In 1984, some Westerners who were caught with Bibles in their vans or cars were savagely beaten by the border guards. Others had their cars confiscated or simply torn apart. Others had to pay fines up to \$5000.

Still, the only way the Romanians can obtain Bibles and other uncensored Christian literature is by having it smuggled in. This is in total contrast with Poland where Bibles and Christian books can be freely taken in and distributed, and even with Hungary, where Christian books can be sent by mail.

The harshest punishment is applied to those Romanians inside the country who are caught distributing Bibles or other Christian books. Some of them are savagely beaten by the police; some have to go through long sessions of interrogation where the police try to find out from them who brought the books and to whom they were supposed to give them. Some have to pay heavy fines and some go to prison. But the thirst for knowledge is so great, and the desire to spread the Good News is so strong, that nothing can stop these people from distributing whatever Christians from the West manage to smuggle in to them.

These are some recent significant cases:

1. **Rev. Iosif Stefanut**, Baptist pastor from Braila, was arrested in a railway station when he gave one book to his deacon. The book was a study on Galatians and Romans. A house search at his place produced a few more small booklets for children. For the distribution of that one book he was put on trial and sentenced to pay a fine of 15,000 lei, plus expenses—an amount equal to eight months salary. The

- American ambassador to Romania was present at the trial, in January 1984. A court of appeals upheld the sentence.
2. **Gheorghe Pudaru**, a Pentecostal from Marghita, was arrested with 30 Bibles in November 1984, along with two other believers. They were detained six days by the police and were terribly beaten and tortured on their hands with electric devices. Mr. Pudaru was released with burns on his hands.
 3. In the spring and summer of 1984, a number of Christians from Sibiu were subjected to police raids on their homes. The police were searching for Bibles and other Christian literature. A considerable number of such books were confiscated from **Rev. Mircu Cocar, Mr. G. Grigoras, Mr. Gal** and from a few others. Usually such action is followed by a large fine or a trial. Nothing of this nature has happened at Sibiu yet.

Constantin Sfatcu recently arrested with Bibles, charged with using violence. On the night of April 19, 1985, in the city of Iasi, during a routine police inspection of passing cars, Mr. Constantin Sfatcu of Str. Petru Rares, nr. 5, Iasi, was arrested when Bibles and Christian books were discovered in the trunk of the car he was driving. He was kept incommunicado even from relatives or a lawyer since his arrest. The next day, on April 20, 1985, the homes belonging to Sfatcu, his brother Teodor Sfatcu, and his mother Maria were searched and other Christian books were found and confiscated. Also confiscated were correspondence, notes, tape recorders, and other articles received by the family from relatives in the United States.

Teodor Sfatcu was interrogated throughout the day on both April 20 and 22. Pressure was exerted on him to "confess" that he was in the car with his brother Constantin, but that he succeeded in escaping. It appears that the police are seeking to accuse Constantin Sfatcu of resisting arrest and threatening to kill the policeman.

On April 22, Rev. Iosif Morcan, the Baptist minister in whose church the Sfatcus are members, was interrogated because the car that Constantin was driving belonged to him. Rev. Morcan was pressed to make a statement that the car was stolen from him, but he refused to lie.

As the interrogation of Constantin's relatives progressed, it became clear that the authorities did not want to prosecute Constantin for the Bibles. It appears that the fact that Constantin

had Bibles and other Christian literature in the car is not mentioned in the file prepared for the trial. The reason for this omission is the fact that in 1982, 11 Romanians were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for distributing Bibles; however the protest in Washington—just prior to the vote for the Most-Favored-Nation clause for Romania—was so great that the Romanian president signed a decree of amnesty for these 11 people, and they were released on July 31, 1982. It appears that the authorities do not want to create another situation similar to that.

On May 7, 1985, Constantin's mother and brother were summoned to the police station and all the articles confiscated from their homes on April 19 were returned to them. Later on May 7, Teodor Sfatcu and his wife were taken into a room at the police headquarters. There they saw Constantin standing with his face to the wall.

They were not allowed to approach him or to see his face. A police interrogator asked Constantin, "Is it true that on the night of April 19, your brother Teodor and his wife were with you in the car?" Constantin started to cry and answered "Yes." There were other similar questions following that, obviously with the purpose of incriminating Teodor as well. One question was, "Did we force you to make these statements?" The answer was "No." Teodor, who is a medical doctor, was able to assess that his brother was tortured, drugged and forced into making these statements.

Constantin was charged with using violence against the policeman who stopped him that night to check his car. It appears that the police are seeking to incriminate Teodor also.

7. DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

Children of believers are constantly harassed in schools. They have to attend special lectures on atheism, and experts in atheism spend long hours with some of them trying to convince them that there is no God. From time to time, special orders are given to identify Christian students and to expel them from university.

Fields of study off limits to Christian students. At the present time, no Christian can go to study history, law, philosophy, or sociology. In order to be accepted to study these subjects, one has to obtain a special recommendation from the Communist Youth Union or from the Communist Party. Only members of these organizations are given such recommendations, and no Christian can be a member, because one of the conditions for membership is atheism.

Disquieting news has recently been received that either Communist Youth Union or Communist Party membership as a condition for admission into a university will be extended to all the faculties or subjects. Such a requirement would bar all Christians from higher education.

8. EMIGRATION

As a general principle, we believe that the place for Romanians is in Romania, and even more so, that the place of Christian Romanians is in Romania. As a Christian mission, we do not encourage Christians from Romania to emigrate. We encourage them to be missionaries in the place where God placed them and where Jesus Christ met them.

But there are a few situations in which we know that the only alternative left for these people is to seek emigration.

One of those situations is when they lose their jobs because of their Christian activities and the local authorities simply refuse to give them any other job. There are such cases in which people are brought to the brink of starvation, and there we would understand the desire to leave.

Another situation is when people are arrested for distributing Bibles and other Christian literature. Such people are marked for life, and they will always be in danger of further retaliation.

Another situation, of course, is family reunification.

Appeals for help for emigration came to us from people in these categories and they are listed below. One important remark here. Some of these people who were fired from their jobs, or were beaten for their activity in spreading Bibles, have been struggling for years to obtain a permit to emigrate. The same authorities who refuse to give them a job, or who beat them for distributing Bibles, now refuse them a passport. There is a sadistic attitude in these authorities, and we feel that we should help our people to get out of their grip.

1. **Ioan Vinchici, Orthodox priest**, Str. Caransebesului nr. 13, Lugoj. He was one of the five priests who signed the appeal to the Patriarch in 1981. He applied for emigration in 1983.
2. **Ioan P. Popescu**, of Danesti. In 1982, groups of Baptist believers in that area were on a hunger strike in protest against religious persecution and for the right of emigration. Ioan Popescu staged a demonstration on their behalf, was arrested, and kept in prison for six months. Then he also applied for emigration. He received a passport in August 1984, but finds it difficult to obtain entry into the U.S.
3. **Ana Gavriiuc**, mother of two children, living at Str. Stefan cel Mare, nr. 3 Bacau. Her husband crossed the border

- illegally in 1984 and lives in the U.S. She is constantly harassed and threatened by the police.
4. **Mr. Mihai Cioara** came to the U.S. a few years ago. He lives in New York City and is active in the Romanian Baptist Church of Queens. He is waiting for his application for political asylum to be processed. Back home, in the village of Sintana, Jud. Arad, his two children, Dimitrie Cioara, 14 years old, and Mihaela Cioara, 15 years old, are met regularly on their way to school by a secret police officer who threatens them: "You will be in big trouble because your father stays in America." It appears that this is a sort of blackmail for their father to return to Romania.
 5. **Ovidiu Podborski**, of Timisoara spent six months in prison in 1983. He was very active for years in collecting data about the persecution of other Christians. He has two children and after imprisonment, applied for emigration in 1984. He still has not been given a passport.
 6. **David Cernat**, Str. Drobeta, nr. 14, Bloc R 2, Sc. A, Et. 3, Ap. 1., Iasi. He used to live in Ploiesti. He was arrested with Bibles and was fired from his job. Having been promised a job in Iasi, he moved there, but the job was not given to him. He was jobless for a year and a half, with no financial help (there is no unemployment compensation or welfare assistance in a communist country). In desperation he tried to cross the border into Yugoslavia, was caught and imprisoned from March until August, 1984. He has four children and they are in a desperate situation.
 7. **Mr. and Mrs. Ambrus Cernat** of Lugoj. Their son, Father Emeric Ambrus Cernat, lives in the U.S. and he is one of the five priests who signed the letter to the Patriarch in 1981. His parents cannot obtain approval for emigration to join their son in the U.S.
 8. **Mrs. Paraschiva Marandiuc**, Str. Calea Sagului, nr. 45, Bloc 2, Et. 9, Ap. 39, Timisoara. She was fired from her job as an English teacher because of her Christian faith. She has a handicapped child who needs special care (there is no disability care or compensation in a communist country). She cannot find a job and has been refused approval for emigration.
 9. **Georghe Budusan**, of Simionesti, Bistrita. He has a long history of conflicts with the regime. His plight became worse

when he became a Christian. He has been applying for emigration since 1978, and he obtained a passport in 1984. However somehow, his file at the American Embassy in Bucharest was lost and now he finds it impossible to enter the U.S.

10. **Radutiu Aurel**, Str. Lupeni nr. 57 A, Sibiu. He has eight children and has been applying for emigration since 1978.
11. **Rodica Gaftoiu**, Str. Minerva nr. 10, Sc. B, Ap. 12, Brasov. She was fired from her job as architect because of her Christian faith in 1982. She is refused permission to emigrate on the grounds that she had access to classified documents. Whenever she tries to go to the American Embassy, she is arrested.
12. **Felicia Rusu**, a 33-year-old Pentecostal from Timisoara, began a hunger strike on March 17, 1985 in protest against the Romanian authorities' continued refusal to grant her permission to emigrate.

9. IN PRISON

Christians imprisoned on pretexts unrelated to Christian activities. There are very few Christians in prison at this time in Romania. As a rule, when the communist authorities want to put a Christian in prison, they find a charge that has nothing to do with that person's Christian activity. This way, they can pretend that Christian faith or activity is not the reason for imprisonment.

Father Calciu. That was clearly the case with Father Calciu, who angered the authorities with his seven sermons to young people in which he openly attacked the Marxist indoctrination of the Romanian youth. He was imprisoned for "fascism."

Due to immense pressure from the West, he was released in August, 1984. Since then, he has been forced to stay in his own apartment and no one can visit him or talk with him on the phone. There are two armed guards outside his door, along with other police and plainclothed secret police. Father Calciu recently said that his situation is worse now than when he was in prison, because of this total isolation and uncertainty.

The following are in prison:

1. **Dorel Catarama**, Seventh-day Adventist. His troubles started when his father and brother did not return to Romania from a visit in the U.S. He was convicted in 1982 for "embezzlement" and sentenced to 10 years in prison. At the appeal, the sentence was increased to 14 years. Dorel Catarama had a long history of activities in his church and denomination, and this is the actual reason for his imprisonment.
2. A rather strange case, which shows how far the communist authorities go in their attack on Christians, is that of **Marin Buzatu**, Micro 1, Bloc 2, Sc. 2, Ap. 2, Jud. Gorj, Motru. His wife, Viorica, was befriended by a woman who worked on her gradually and she became estranged from her faith, her husband, and her daughter. Mrs. Buzatu filed for divorce. Mr. Buzatu found out that the whole action had been arranged by the secret police, and was prepared to expose it as such at the divorce trial scheduled in December, 1984. However, in November, Mr. Buzatu was arrested and quickly tried, apparently charged with "hooliganism" (one of the most common charges brought against Christians, mainly when they are fined for meetings without authorization) and was sentenced to six months in prison.

There are two other Seventh-day Adventists in prison in Romania, but their relatives asked us not to publish their names, in the hope that they might be released soon. We respect their decision.

10. HOW YOU CAN HELP

1. **Get correct and complete information.** The first important factor is correct information about the systematic, widespread, and brutal religious persecution in Romania. The communist regime of Romania wants to have it both ways: they want to project an image of a good, liberal system, and also, they want to crush and destroy all religion. We should see that the world understands this deception and the truth about persecution in Romania. The Christians in the West should know the complete story of the plight of their brothers and sisters in Romania. Only when we know what the problems are can we start thinking of solutions.

2. **Pray.** We appeal to Christians in the West to pray specifically for individuals and churches under persecution in Romania.

3. **Support Missionary and Relief Organizations.** We ask that individuals, churches and other concerned organizations demonstrate their concern by financially supporting the missionary and relief organizations that send help to oppressed peoples and work for their freedom.

4. **Write letters.** We also suggest that Christians in the West should pick up individual cases from this paper, and as they continue to be published in our newsletters and in other publications. They should write letters expressing their concern to the Romanian Embassy in Washington, or in other Western capitals.

The address of the Romanian Embassy is:

His Excellency Nicolae Gavrilescu
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
1607 23rd Street
Washington, D.C., 20008

Letters should be brief (usually not more than one page), and to the point, expressing sincere concern. A reply may be requested. Christians in the West should also write letters of encouragement and support to those persecuted.

11. POLITICAL ACTION

Religious persecution is systematic. We plead with the political leaders in the West to come to understand that the individual cases of religious persecution in Romania are not the product of some overly zealous local communist activists: they are the product of a systematic attack on religion, conceived, organized and directed from the top.

Policy changes needed. Political leaders of the West should not be satisfied with the alleviation of a few individual cases of persecution. The Romanian authorities go out of their way to demonstrate their readiness to resolve such cases, and they do it not only to show their good will, but also with the purpose of convincing the Western leaders that these cases are merely isolated cases of abuse, and not religious persecution. The Western leaders should aim at changing the entire anti-religious policy of the Romanian regime. Of course, this is a major goal, difficult to achieve, and it cannot be done overnight. Yet, when such a goal is well defined, and when prominent leaders and governments pursue it, it can be achieved.

Economic leverage. It is clearer than ever that Romania needs all the good will and the help it can get in order to survive economically. Here, the West has the opportunity to influence and radically change the situation of the 22 million Romanians.

What Western leaders must understand is that in a communist country like Romania, everyone at lower levels acts according to instructions or guidelines given periodically from the top. If, for example, a new instruction is sent from the top, ordering everyone who is known to attend church to be demoted or fired from any leadership or administrative position, purges will take place all over the country.

We should work to reverse or change the nature of these instructions.

Major changes that Western leaders should ask for:

1. Denominations should be free to elect their leaders without State interference; the denominations should be free to conduct their business without State interference.
2. Denominations should be given back the right to open new churches.
3. Denominations should be free to determine for themselves how many priests, pastors and other employees they should

have (the abolition of the State-imposed personnel structure and salary scale).

4. Denominations should be free to determine how many seminary students they need. Churches should be free to ordain and employ pastors and other personnel as they consider necessary and are able to pay.
5. Denominations should be free to print and import Bibles and other Christian literature. No one should be penalized for distributing Bibles and other Christian literature.
6. All churches should be free to repair and enlarge their buildings, and to build new ones according to their needs.
7. All discrimination in jobs and schools on the basis of church attendance or religious belief and activity should be stopped.

If the Romanian government accepts these principles and includes them in their instructions to the lower levels, all cases of persecution like those described in this paper would cease. They are caused by the principles guiding the Romanian regime at this time and by the instructions they send down the line. We should aim at solving *this cause*, not merely the symptoms.



Free the Eagle

HOWARD J. RUFF

CHAIRMAN

CITIZEN'S LOBBY

TESTIMONY OF NEAL B. BLAIR, PRESIDENT OF FREE THE EAGLE, FOR INCLUSION IN THE HEARING ON MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS FOR AFGHANISTAN, HELD JULY 23, 1985 BY THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AS THE PRESIDENT OF FREE THE EAGLE CITIZEN'S LOBBY, I REPRESENT APPROXIMATELY 265,000 MEMBERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH THIS ISSUE.

FREE THE EAGLE IS AN ADVOCATE OF A STRONG NATIONAL ECONOMY AND SOUND FEDERAL POLICIES. WHEN DEALING WITH THE AFGHAN ISSUE, WE COORDINATE EFFORTS WITH THE FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN AFGHAN ACTION, WHICH CONCENTRATES ON SPONSORING AND ENCOURAGING LEGISLATION THAT WILL SUPPORT THE AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS. DURING THE COURSE OF OUR WORK TOGETHER, WE HAVE SEEN SOME REMARKABLE PROGRESS THAT PUTS CONGRESS ON RECORD AS SUPPORTING THE VICTORY OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE OVER THEIR SOVIET INVADERS. IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, WE HAVE DRAFTED AND WORKED FOR PASSAGE OF THE TSONGAS-RITTER EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE RESOLUTION. SINCE ITS PASSAGE IN 1984, WE HAVE WORKED HARD TO INCREASE AWARENESS OF THE PLIGHT OF THE AFGHANS AND TO LOBBY FOR MEANINGFUL LEGISLATION.

WE HAVE BEEN HEARTENED BY THE EFFORTS OF THIS COMMITTEE TO HOLD THIS HEARING SO THAT VITAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRUE NATURE AND DESIGN OF THE SOVIET-BACKED AFGHAN REGIME CAN BE

EXPOSED, AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS REVOKED.

FREE THE EAGLE STANDS READY TO LOBBY THE CONGRESS IN THIS REGARD. WE BELIEVE MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS SHOULD BE RESUMED FOR THOSE WHO ACT LIKE FRIENDS OF THIS COUNTRY AND SHARE OUR VALUES. THE BUTCHERS OF KABUL ARE COMMUNISTS USING ARMIES OF THE SOVIETS WITH TOKEN AFGHAN GOVERNMENT FORCE TO BOMB THE AFGHANS ON A DAILY BASIS. IT WOULD BE HARD TO FIND A BETTER CANDIDATE FOR REVOKING MOST FAVORED-NATION-STATUS THAN THE SOVIETS'S LAP-DOG GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN.

FREE THE EAGLE IS SENDING A LETTER URGING ALL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO CO-SPONSOR THE MOST-FAVORED-NATION REVOCATION BILL. WE ARE ALSO URGING THE RELEVANT COMMITTEES OF BOTH HOUSES TO ACT ON THIS IMMEDIATELY.

FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS WE HAVE LOOKED AT THE POLICY OF CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS WITH THE SOVIET-RUN GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN AS BEING A DOUBLE STANDARD. IRONICALLY, U.S. POLICY DENIES MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS TO THE SOVIET UNION BUT GRANTS MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS TO ITS PUPPET GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. THIS INCONSISTENCY SENDS A CONFUSING SIGNAL TO THE SOVIETS AND THE WORLD OF OUR TOLERANCE, OR RATHER, OUR ACCEPTANCE AND EVEN REWARDING OF PRIVILEGES FOR THE SOVIETS' GENOCIDAL TREATMENT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.

PERHAPS THE IRONY IS EVEN MORE GRATING WHEN WE DAILY READ OF SOVIET ATROCITIES IN THE FORM OF TOY BOMBS AND MINES, DESTRUCTION OF CROPS FOR THE PURPOSE OF CREATING A FAMINE, ARMORED AGGRESSION BY LAND AND AIR AGAINST THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, DISINFORMATION IN THE FORM OF REWRITING AFGHAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, AND THE TAKING OF INFANTS AND YOUTH INTO THE SOVIET UNION TO BE TRAINED AS TERRORISTS AGAINST THEIR OWN PEOPLE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO COMPREHEND HOW A GOVERNMENT THAT PROMOTES THE ANNIHILATION OF ITS OWN PEOPLE COULD BE FAVORED WITH PRIVILEGED TRADING STATUS BY THE UNITED STATES.

DURING OUR DISCUSSION WITH AFGHAN RESISTANCE LEADERS, ONE MAIN QUESTION CONTINUALLY ARISES - THE QUESTION OF WHY THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WAS FOUNDED BY ITS OWN REVOLT AGAINST AN OPPRESSIVE FOREIGN POWER, SEEMS NOT TO RECOGNIZE THE SIMILAR CRIES OF A COUNTRY THAT IS ALSO UNDER SIEGE BY AN OPPRESSIVE FOREIGN POWER. THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE VEHEMENTLY REFUSES MERCENARIES AND INSISTS ON FIGHTING ITS OWN BATTLES. STILL THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY THE UNITED STATES ECONOMICALLY FAVORS ITS OWN ENEMY WHILE SENDING THE AFGHANS ONLY SCRAPS FROM ITS TABLE OF AMMUNITION, WEAPONS, AND HUMANITARIAN AID.

I HAVE INCLUDED AN ARTICLE FROM THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR FOR INCLUSION IN THE RECORD. IT DETAILS WHAT DIFFICULTY THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD IN SWALLOWING UP THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. THESE PROUD PEOPLE HAVE A FIRM BELIEF IN GOD AND AN

ISLAMIC CULTURE AND SOCIETY, WHICH IS QUITE RESISTANT TO THE MEANINGLESS COMMUNIST GULAG. IT FURTHER EXEMPLIFIES WHY THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN NULLIFIES ANY PREVIOUS U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE NOW DEPOSED GOVERNMENT REGARDING ITS MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS. THIS IS A LOGICAL STEP THAT WILL INCREASE PRESSURE WHERE IT NEEDS TO BE FELT, AND SEND THE RIGHT SIGNALS TO THOSE PEOPLE FIGHTING FOR THEIR FREEDOM.

THANK YOU

In Afghanistan, Soviets find replacing Islam with communism isn't easy

By Christine Danewey

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Peshawar, Pakistan
The devout Afghan belief in Islam is proving a major obstacle to the Sovietization of Afghanistan.

Ninety-nine percent of Afghanistan's population is Muslim, and the Afghans practice their religion diligently. The element of atheism in communist doctrine has thus provoked instinctive hostility and resisting Afghans rallied around the banner of Islam — the only belief system that unites Afghanistan's diverse ethnic and linguistic groups.

Even before the Soviet invasion in 1979, the Afghan government had tried to promote an acceptance of communist ideology among the Afghans, according to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The regime of Nur Muhammad Taraki tried direct methods to spread its Marxist message through the mosques. However, the mullahs (religious leaders) usually refused to read the communist propaganda at prayers, and when they did, the congregation would walk out.

When the Soviets invaded, they switched to less direct tactics. Prof. Rasul Amin, former dean of social sciences at Kabul University, says that although

they officially support Islam, the Soviets are in reality pursuing a policy of "de-Islamization."
Government-run Kabul Radio broadcasts proclaim that Islam and socialism are in reality the same thing, and that Afghans are free to practice their religion.

But government actions suggest otherwise. For instance, religious consistent in schoolbooks — traditionally a major element of education in any Islamic country — has been greatly reduced, and anything Islamic is regarded as anti-government.

Afghans have become fearful of praying in mosques because of surveillance by undercover government agents, Afghan refugees say. Increasing numbers now pray only in their homes.

Under the guise of supporting Islam, the Soviets are also infiltrating the ulema (college of Islamic religious scholars and clergy) to win control of it. Afghan refugees say. The Soviets seem to be aware of how much influence the mullahs and religious scholars have on the average Afghani. They have reportedly imprisoned or

forced out anticommunist religious leaders and replaced them with a supreme council of ulema, considered to have close ties to the Afghan secret police.

To ease suspicions that communism will destroy the Islamic system, groups are invited to visit the Muslim Soviet Central Asian republics and, occasionally, Moscow. About four times a year delegations of 50 to 100 religious figures, accompanied by members of the Afghan secret police, take these tours. They are conducted by undercover agents of the Soviet secret police, Professor Amin says.

The visitors are taken to both functioning mosques and ones under renovation. Abdul Majid Mangal, the former deputy to the Afghan ambassador to the Soviet Union, saw what he called "frameup prayer meetings" at a Moscow mosque. Some 150 Uzbeks and Tajiks had been imported from Central Asia, he said, to pray alongside the Afghans in the otherwise seldom-used mosque.

"The Soviets select the oldest and poorest mullahs from rural areas to go, to

impress them with the Soviet standard of living," says a Peshawar University professor who studies the Afghan situation. "They don't understand that all of it is being arranged for them."

In addition to ulema groups, many other Afghan delegations are invited to the Soviet Union every year to witness firsthand the virtues of the Soviet system. Peasants visit Soviet collective farms, laborers view model factories, judges and lawyers meet their Soviet counterparts, Afghan Communist Party and youth league members meet their parent organizations, and sports teams play matches. One hundred tribal elders are sent each year, according to Abdul Tawab Hikmat, a recent defector from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also, a few hundred of the most industrious workers are rewarded each year with vacations to Soviet bloc countries.

But apparently not all the Afghan visitors are taken in by these actions. A former Afghan government official who met many of the returnees said, "The ones interviewed in the Kabul airport after a trip proclaim for TV that yes, Soviet Muslims are allowed to pray. However, others secretly admitted to me that they had concluded that the Soviet government is against Islam."

Bucur & Kaplow

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Of Counsel

August 1, 1985

Wm. H. Diefenderfer, Esq.
c/o Senate Committee on Finance
50-219 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Attention: Ms. Bett Scott-Boom

Re: MFN FOR ROMANIA

Dear sirs:

The undersigned believe that MFN should be extended for Romania for many reasons. But the principal reasons are the following:

- 1). It is for the best interests not only for Romania, but for the U.S. to have normal relations with Romania, but that is all MFN really is.
- 2). If it is not extended now, at a critical time for Romania, the people will suffer and our concern is for the people not for any particular government.
- 3). Romania has proved in the past that it desires better relations and has taken steps when required, to better such relations.
- 4). Depriving Romania of MFN now would result in pushing that small but gallant nation further into the welcoming arms of the Soviet Union. This will result in a chill between the U.S. and Romania, unnecessarily and lamentably.
- 5). Romania welcomes better relations with the U.S. Why should not the reverse be true? Is it better to return to the old days of the chill?
- 6). The U.S. is not giving anything away. On the other hand, the Romanians are suffering privation in many consumer areas in order to make interest payments on the comparatively huge loans with the West. They should not be compelled to undergo even worse sacrifices.

Respectfully,


 Nicholas A. Bucur, Pres. of the
 American-Romanian Anti-Defam'n League

For himself, and for:

 Mike Cristescu, Pres. of the
 Friends of Transylvania, Ohio Region, and
 Elena Vassiliou, Vice Pres. of above.

Statement of : NICOLAE , GHEORGHE , Sr.

NICOLAE , VICTORIA

1985
NICOLAE , GHEORGHE , Jr.

NICOLAE , MARIANA

All residing at:
4725 N St. Louis
Chicago , IL 60625
Phone:(312)539-7895

To be included in the printed records of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance United States Senate .

July 8th, 1985

Dear Sirs :

As we promised last year in our statements (one copy please find enclosed), we would like to inform you that , nothing has been change since . Recently, we learned from newspapers (one copy please find enclosed) that thousands of BIBLES has been transformed in toilet paper in the Communist Romania ; Rev. Fr. GH. Calciu-Dumitreasa is fearing for his life in Romania ; The Romanian Communist Government is demolishing and closing down Orthodox Churches there. We want to mention that the Communists never built a church in Romania,not a single one . Romania is the country where are not respected the Human Rights, the Religion practice is not free,but has the strictest internal contrbls in the Soviet bloc. We urge you to do not approve the extension of MFN status for Romania because will not be in the behalf of the ordinary Romanian people . GOD BLESS AMERICA .

Respectfully,

Gheorghe Nicolae, Sr.

Gheorghe Nicolae , Jr.

Victoria Nicolae

Victoria Nicolae
Mariana Nicolae

Mariana Nicolae

Mariana Nicolae

Statement of : NICOLAE GHEORGHE , Sr.
NICOLAE VICTORIA
NICOLAE GHEORGHE , Jr.
NICOLAE MARIANA

To be included in the printed records .

Dear Sirs :

We would like to inform you about the refusal of the Romanian Authorities to grant exit visas for our relatives to visit us here :

Nicolae Viorel , a mathematician by profession with his two children,
Nicolae Rodica , born on December 12, 1966 and
Nicolae Gabriela, born on October 4 , 1969 .

Nicolae Viorel , has in the U.S., both parents, his brother, his sister in law, nephews and other relatives . We are wondering to whom are granted exit visas from Romania if my brother who has in the U.S. both parents, and other relatives here is not granted visa from Romanian Government , to visit us here in the U.S. . Where is the humanitarian aspect of Romanian Government which sign the Helsinki human rights Agreement.

They are trying unsuccessfully to obtain approval to visit their over 70 years old parents and his brother, sister in law and other relatives since 1981.

After years of harassment , they received a denial of his application from the Company which he is working for , only because one person from the personnel department decided he is not allowed to get visit passport, it was enough to deny his application .

We'd like to point out that exit visas forms in Romania are not available to the people when they want to travel abroad as Romanian Government is suppering in official documents of United Nations .

Exit visas forms are released only by local police and cannot be released without written permission from the applicant's employer, party organization, syndicate organization, worker people's committee or C.O.M. as it is abbreviated in the Romanian language, and many other commissions which are to judge if the applicant can visit their relatives abroad even if both parents are involved.

It is there any humanitarian laws which can decide if a son can see his own parents, 72 years old his mother and 76 years old his father.

We are convinced that the human rights are not respected in Romania and we protest against renewing the M.F.N. status to the Communist Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania .

We are sure that more than twenty millions people who are living now captive in Romania, are against helping a Communist Government who exports for hard currency to the U.S. and other western countries, goods of which the Romanian people are more and more deprived .

We sent each year an invitation to NICOLAE VIOREL to visit us here, we tried to contact our son over the phone but we received a poor connection most of the times, we sent for them money, but they did not received the letter with our check and we had to recover the money one year later, only when we found out that our son did not received the letter .

He is forced to work 12-16 hours a day in order to finish his obligations, he is being send periodically out of town at 100 Km. away of his ordinary place of work, to the city of Pitesti, only to harass him . They are scared by the Authorities with loosing of their jobs and later criminally prosecuted for "parasitism " .

He is humiliated by the Authorities because he has both parents and his brother residing in the U.S., and he petitioned to come to visit us here. We do not want to support the most terror-filled system in the world, the Communist system, and we are against of renewing the M.F.N. status to

the Communist Government of Romania .

We promise to inform you as soon as Nicolae Viorel will receive approval
to visit us here in the U.S. .

GOD BLESS AMERICA .

Respectfully .

Father ; Gheorghe Nicolae , Sr.

Mother ; Victoria Nicolae

Brother ; Gheorghe Nicolae , Jr.

Sister in law ; Mariana Nicolae

July , 20th , 1984 .

40 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Thursday, June 6, 1985

BIBLES BECOME TOILET PAPER

**Sun-Times Bureau
WASHINGTON —**
Some 20,000 Bibles that vanished in Communist Romania turned up years later as rolls of government-issue toilet paper, it was reported here yesterday.

The incident, legislators and clergymen at a press conference said, was just one in a concerted and consistent pattern of religious persecution in Romania. The Rev. Alexander Havadtoy of Yale Divin-

ity School said that under Western pressure in the 1970s, Romania agreed to allow importation of 20,000 Protestant Bibles.

Half the Bibles were imported in 1972 or 1973 and the other half in

1979, but none reached worshippers.

Years later rolls of toilet paper bearing a state mill's label and linked by experts to the vanished Bibles turned up in Romanian shops.

"The rolls carry from

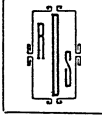
one end to the other only Hungarian letters and characters which, according to paper manufacturing experts, indicate that large volumes of Hungarian Bibles had to be used for this purpose," Havadtoy said.

ROMANIAN CHRISTIAN SOCIETY "DORUL"

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

ON THE DAY OF MAY 11, 1904

BENEVOLENT — AID



MORAL — CULTURAL

P. O. BOX 4246

L.I.C., N.Y. 11104

ORGANIZED NOVEMBER 1, 1903

STATEMENT OF THE ROMANIAN CHRISTIAN SOCIETY "DORUL"

Based upon our Society's continuous activity within The Romanian Community and extensive discussions with our families, relatives and friends from Romania, as well as conferences and correspondence with both The State Department and Romanian Embassy in Washington DC;

Also, for more than eight decades, we all share a common interest in America's international relations with all nations and especially those expanding relations with Romania;

Therefore, we consider ourselves well informed and qualified to express our recommendation on this most important subject of M.F.N. Trade Status for Romania.

Since the beginning of this century, our Society maintains close relations with Romanian people, our families, brothers, sisters and relatives, no matter what kind of government was there or what kind of political regime. Together with other Romanians living outside the historical borders, we helped our native country during World War I and World War II as well as for every natural calamity or great disaster.

... 000...

Even today, Romania copes with economic difficulties caused by Soviet Union for its independent policy and non-conformity to the Warsaw Pact. However, the contribution of Romania in promoting a peaceful and pluralistic international system witnessed an upward course.

Regarding the political aspect, today's Romanians make efforts to maintain their national integrity and on the international level, they support all actions that carry on the defense and promotion of democratic rights and freedom of all nations in the world. Romania contributed to the American-Chinese dialogue and is the only Eastern Europe country that has diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with Israel.

With its own culture, Romania represents a Latin island surrounded by Slavic and Hungarian speaking peoples. Consequently, the Romanians have an unique history. The most recent events dealing with Eastern Europe, rose the related ethnic groups of the United States to strife, taking the character of a movement. Articles in the daily press regarding Transylvania, the cradle of Romanian people, demonstrations and other media are being used to instigate the individual American against Romania. Calumnies regarding the situation of national minorities in Romania, such as the Hungarians, or other religious denominations, are reiterated speculating unscrupulously the good faith and sentiments of the American people. We consider an act of justice to demonstrate that the Hungarian minority in Romania enjoys the freedom and all the rights of citizenship. What are doing some groups of Americans of Hungarian ancestry is a recall of old fascists slogans from the 30's on to the eve of World War II, rightly condemned by history.

In the area of emigration, that is the most sensitive and most discussed requirement, we must recognize and accept our government's conclusions with supporting documentation that clearly identifies Romania's overall performance in improving emigration as being very successful. So, M.F.N. has worked and produced the desired results of those who so carefully designed this new international policy. The number of people who left Romania to all countries "has more than tripled since 1975, the first year Romania enjoyed M.F.N. Status", as it is pointed out in the Report to the Congress of our President. So, Romanian's successful performance in the area of emigration clearly and obviously and justifies continued M.F.N. Trade Status for Romania.

Bases for our recommendation and support is proven and spirit of the Trade Act as amended by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. We also recognize Romanian performance under various other commercial agreements with America as adding further justification and support to our recommendation on this most imported subject.

It is imported to note that for the years elapsed, the bilateral relation between the United States and Romania, there have been many positive changes in achieving mutual goals. The members of our society and many of our friends follow with great interest the stimulation of trade with its intended increase of production and investment opportunities that have developed, and has also been an increase in academic, cultural and scientific exchanges between the United States and Romania.

We feel that the greatest and most beneficial and everlasting benefit derived by America, Romania and all of mankind is the fact that this performance by America and Romania proved to the world that the now-a-days American international policy incorporating concern for human rights as an integral part can and does work. It proved that such American policy accepted by another country can successfully and effectively work, even when the two countries have very different forms of government, histories, cultures, geographic locations, etc. It clearly proves that cooperation and not confrontation is possible in all situations. It will work when the parties are sincerely committed to, and respect their obligations to each other will maintain the frank and open dialogue already established, permitting further discussion and mutually working toward resolutions of even the most sensitive problems.

In closing this statement, there can be no doubt that Romania's performance under M.F.N. has been very successful and justifies further extension. Romania's consistent performance in the pursuit of peace, independence and rights worldwide also should be accepted as further justification for extension of M.F.N.

We feel that the documented evidence and conclusions by our government and non-government sources is overwhelmingly in favor of extension of M.F.N. Trade Status to Romania. Also, we feel that further extension of M.F.N. is a testimony to all other nations that America's new policy will continue to remain in force and will work in the future.

Extension is also America`s testimony to the world that the United States will always respect and meet its commitments to any nation that will work with America in the execution of her international policy directed toward peace, cooperation, human rights and the overall well-being of all mankind. In the case of the bilateral relations between the United States and Romania, the trust, confidence and cooperation is the base in providing opportunities which returns significant monetary and non-monetary benefit to each nation.

PRESIDENT.

Basil Barbulescu
Basil Barbulescu

SECRETARY

Marin Datcu
Marin Datcu

I am gratified that the President of the United States has determined that continuation of the MFN status for Romania will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 of the Act. President Reagan has cited, among the reasons for such continuation, the fact that emigration from Romania to all countries has more than tripled since 1975 and that in 1984 emigration to Israel and to Germany was at an all-time high.

I am an immigration lawyer and I can verify from my own experience, the statistics mentioned by President Reagan, insofar as emigration to the United States is concerned. I know of very few persons who are in possession of a U.S. immigration visa and who were not allowed to leave Romania. Moreover, I have been involved in many cases of political asylum from Romania. After grants of political asylum by the United States to Romanians, the Romanian government has in all cases given permission to their family members to emigrate from Romania and to join their spouse or parent in the United States. This has been done without undue delay and without the requirement for reimbursement of education costs as a precondition to emigration. I dare say that many residents of Romania are prevented from emigrating to the United States not because they are denied permission to leave Romania but because of unavailability of a U.S. immigration visa and the discontinuance by the United States of the Third Country Processing program for refugees.

Therefore, I am of the opinion that Romania amply deserves the extension of its Most Favored Nation status and that such extension will have a beneficial effect for the United States, for Romania and will insure the continuation of Romania's commitment to freedom of emigration.

GEORGE W. NASH - Attornev
211 W. 56th St. Suite 11J
New York, N. Y. 10019
Tel. (212) 245-6440

Attn: Betty Scott-Boom
Committee on Finance
219 Girksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: Statement to be included in the records of the Subcommittee
on International Trade of the United States Senate, July 23, 1985.

Date: August 6, 1985

Dear Mr. Chairman: I am an 18 year old American Hungarian. Before I turned two years old, my parents left Transylvania in order to pursue an atmosphere in which they would be free to preserve their Hungarian heritage; they came to the United States of America. I take pride in being an American citizen, because I am part of a country that holds human rights and ethnicity in very high esteem, an advantage that many people take for granted. Because I visit Transylvania often (95% of my relatives still reside there), I am constantly informed about the human rights and the Hungarian minority situation. Please allow me to share with you some of my experiences and the experiences of others who have visited Roumania this past year, for I believe that Roumania should not be re-granted the Most Favored Nation status for the upcoming year.

Hungarian churches are being transformed into Roumanian Orthodox churches. Hungarian church archives are being taken by the regime. A man who had been to Transylvania recently informed me that in the Kolozsvar (Cluj, Klausenburg) cemetery, gravesites for which the rent has not been paid for over twenty years are being exhumed, Roumanians are buried in those graves, and the Hungarian names on the tombstones are being replaced with Roumanian names (the dates remain the same). In this way, the Ceasescu regime is attempting to completely legitimize the Daco-Roman Myth by creating evidence that a majority of Roumanians inhabited Hungarian Transylvania.

At present, there are no Hungarian schools in Transylvania. Whereas before 1958 a minority and a majority school was established in each town, gradually the two were merged, the principal being Roumanian, and the official language was made Roumanaian everywhere. The exams given to determine who will be accepted into a university are only in Roumanian. When a Hungarian university student receives a degree, he/she is given a job in Moldavia or Wallachia, and Roumanians are placed in Transylvania so as to dilute the Hungarian population. There is only one specialized high school of arts (music and visual arts) that has a Hungarian section, and out of the 2.5 million Hungarians that live in Roumania today, only 14 are accepted each year.

The Hungarian radio station in Kolozsvar (Cluj, Klausenburg) has been terminated. Stores and restaurants will seldom serve individuals who order in Hungarian. The "Csango" people, who have preserved the archaic Hungarian language, have been provided with a Roumanian priest, who preaches that "magyar" is the tongue of the devil and should not be uttered. No books published in Hungary are allowed into Roumania, and the number of Hungarian books printed each year in Roumania is significantly decreasing.

In addition to causing serious economic difficulties which have resulted in food and energy rationing and shortages, the Ceasescu regime is practicing a policy of ethnocide. The Hungarian culture is slowly and silently being massacred. It is our duty as American citizens to maintain our integrity and cry out against Roumania's policy. Should Roumania be granted the Most Favored Nation status, we would deserve to be looked upon as hypocrites who succumb to false appearances.

Respectfully yours,

BOTOND KOLOZSVARY

COORDINATING COMMITTEE
OF
HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

STYAN B. CEREPEN,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1101 W. 42ND STREET
ROSELAND, N.J. 07068
TELEPHONE 201-581-1111

STATEMENT

of

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS
IN NORTH AMERICA

Concerning the extension of MFN status
for
The Hungarian People's Republic

Submitted
to
The Senate Subcommittee on International Trade

July 23, 1985.

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America is the consultative body of major Hungarian organizations in the United States and Canada. We are grateful for the privilege to share our views on MFN status for the Hungarian People's Republic with the members of the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade.

The general attitude of our Committee concerning Most Favored Nation status of Hungary and Rumania was expressed consistently and repeatedly to this Subcommittee during the many hearings held on the subject in the past years. In respect to Rumania we support the statements and conclusions of the several organizations testifying on the plight of the Hungarian minority in Rumania.

The laws, regulations and actions of the government in Hungary continue to violate the principles of Section 402 of the Trade Act and of other documents defining the norms for Human rights.

On the field of the economy the much heralded reforms did not bring the results predicted by the "experts" in academia, the media, in the financial world and in the foreign policy establishment, especially by our Ambassador to Hungary. Hungary's economy is deteriorating despite the infusion of many billions of dollars provided for the government in Hungary by Western banks, institutions and governments. Hungary's export to the West fell in the first five months of this year: agricultural products by 5%, materials by 2%, machines by 8%, consumer goods by 3%, food stuff by 5%. The situation is worst in the export of the products of the heavy industry. Export of complete factories and industrial machines lag by 50% behind last year's comparable period. In the first five months of 1985 Hungary was able to export 40% less agricultural machinery items than in the same months in 1984. The beef export fell by 50%, live stock export was 30% less.

All of these are taking place at a time when Hungary's import is increasing: raw materials, replacement parts by 13%, machines by 15%, consumer goods by 9%.

Hungarian authorities blame the huge negative results on low productivity. (We wonder what is causing this low productivity, mismanagement or the disillusionment of the Hungarian worker with socialism?)

The drain on convertible currency is further aggravated by the disastrous coal situation. Hungarian mines produced 430,000 metric tons less coal in the first half of 1985 than planned. The reason is that the mines were inundated by water and sand due to lack of proper maintenance. The authorities are forced to import 500,000 metric tons of coal in this year from the capitalist countries instead of the planned 240,000 metric tons. In Hungary's eastern provinces people are already queuing up for their winter heating fuel.

The much heralded economic reforms, the expertly waged public relations campaigns, the almost one decade of the profitable prestige of having MFN status seemingly do not solve the basic faults of the fundamentally centralized economy.

U.S. interests are not very well served by imports from Hungary. Our trade ballance with Hungary, according to the 42nd Quarterly Report of the U.S. International Trade Commission is \$134,917,000 in the negative. Leading imported items are food, lightbulbs, agricultural machinery parts, shoes, products not in great demand and competing with handicapped domestic industries. Hungary is under investigation for dumping carbon steel plates and hot-rolled carbon steel sheets. The U.S. International Trade Commission determined that

a U.S. industry was materially injured or was threatened with material injury by these actions of the government in Hungary.

Last year we presented evidence for violation of the conditions attached to U.S. high technology transfer to the government in Hungary. The fact that Hungary is used for the acquisition of high technology from the United States by the Warsaw Pact governments is underlined by a Pentagon study: "Assessing the Effect of Technology Transfer on U.S./Western Security", dated February 1985, which states; "The cases reviewed from 1983 and 1984 also show a number of important Soviet/Warsaw Pact patterns in acquisition attempts and specific country emphases. For example, the country with the largest number of key cases was Hungary.. Hungarian requests showed a clear emphasis on computer and telecommunication technology."

Hungary's past record of providing high technology items imported from the U.S. for Soviet and Bulgarian built military equipments should be considered in these deliberations of the Subcommittee.

Hungary's human rights record was evaluated by our Committee in past testimonies before this Subcommittee. Senator Heinz in his testimony on behalf of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe properly characterized the situation in Hungary as worsening in the past three years. Our most recent evaluation of human rights violations committed by the government in Hungary was prepared for and submitted to the delegates of the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting. We respectfully request that this report: "Violations of Human Rights in Hungary Spring, 1985" be made part of this statement and included in the record.

Mr. Chairman, our Committee is aware of the complex, contradictive terms playing role in the decision granting extension of MFN status to Hungary. In the past we felt that the yearly reviews (and we insist on yearly reviews) served a purpose; they encouraged the authorities ruling Hungary to solve the outstanding family unification cases. They, however, did not accomplish the change of Hungarian emigration laws, which are in blatant violation of Section 402 of the Trade Act, and did not alter the sophisticated oppression of basic human rights. In spite of these negative observations our Committee in this year does not oppose the extension of MFN status for the government in Hungary. We do this reluctantly and in the hope that the rulers of Hungary will implement the meaningful economic and political reforms necessary to overcome the deteriorating conditions of Hungarian industry, agriculture, commerce and the retreating standard of living of the average Hungarian citizen. We expect that the Hungarian authorities will create a human rights situation in Hungary which will close the wide gap between the Helsinki commitments and every day actions of the government in Hungary. These should be the conditions for continued extension of MFN status for the Hungarian People's Republic in the future.

**VIOLATIONS OF
HUMAN RIGHTS IN HUNGARY
SPRING 1985**

**An Evaluation Of
The Government in Hungary's
Compliance With The Helsinki Accords**

**by
The Coordinating Committee
of Hungarian Organizations
in North America
and
The Canadian Hungarian Federation**

I. Introduction

The Hungarian People's Republic by signing the Helsinki Final Act assumed responsibility to "promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development." The government in Hungary made a further commitment "to recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief, acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience." Hungarian authorities acknowledged and confirmed "the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in this field."

The Hungarian government's commitments to respect the above cited fundamental human rights have not been fulfilled.

Hungary is an occupied country, dominated by foreign ideology, foreign interests and foreign troops. It is ruled by the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party, which maintains a complete monopoly on political power. The totalitarian one-party rule reimposed upon Hungarians by Soviet tanks in 1956 denies the most basic elements of democracy. Human rights are violated by the laws, edicts, regulations, general policies and everyday practices of the system. Hungarians, when they act in accordance with their rights as defined by the Helsinki Final Act, are effectively silenced by persecution, incarceration and intimidation.

Under these circumstances it is our responsibility, as citizens of free, representative democracies, to raise our voices against the continuous violations by the Hungarian Government against the principles expressed in the Helsinki Final Act.

We share the views of former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, as expressed in the November 1983 issue of **ENCOUNTER**;

"It is very important that we always recognize and affirm the legitimacy of resistance to tyrannical governments of whatever type. We should always recognize the legitimacy of a people's desire to be free of tyrannical controls. We should always refuse to acquiesce in the notion that the demand for free elections or

democratic participation in the decisions of government is "extreme" . . . We must, as free societies, always make clear that we stand on the side of the aspirations of the people to have governments that 'govern by the consent of the governed.'"

We, on behalf of all Hungarians who fled totalitarian oppression and on behalf of their children seek unequivocal support for the full implementation of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. We call the attention of the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act to the fact that the Government in Hungary has continuously violated the accords written into the Third Basket of the Helsinki document. We are not willing to ignore or cover up these violations by our silence. Silence in the face of cruelty is complicity. Therefore we absolutely refuse to acquiesce in the falsification of what Mr. Janos Kadar, as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has solemnly undertaken in Helsinki on behalf of the Government in Hungary when he signed the Helsinki Final Act.

We, the undersigned and those whom we represent, are committed to the encouragement of the full implementation of the principles and accords of the Helsinki Final Act. We urge the delegates to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting to fully review the implementation of the principles and articles of the Final Act.

The Government in Hungary in recent years has not provided any convincing evidence that it intends to make substantive, meaningful changes in the denial of the fundamental freedoms of speech, religion, and assembly to its citizens. Hungarian authorities failed to produce any credible signs that they intend to cease or diminish the internal repression which has characterized their behavior both before and after the meetings in Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid. The absence of these signs indicates that the government in Hungary does not have the slightest inclination of honoring the human rights commitments it agreed to at the series of CSCE meetings. We trust the conscience of the delegations of the signatory states attending the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting. We remind them that the diplomatic recognition of the leaders of the totalitarian regime of Hungary as *de facto* rulers of the Hungarian people means only the acknowledgement of their position which is based on police and military power alone rather than the

“legitimacy of consent.” It is the duty of free men and women everywhere to challenge the moral legitimacy of totalitarian regimes.

We hope that our MEMORANDUM will contribute to the execution of this duty by the delegates of the Ottawa Human Rights Experts’ Meeting through the objective, constructive and effective review of the current status of the implementation of the principles and articles of the Helsinki Final Act regarding respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

On the eve of the Ottawa Human Rights Experts’ Meeting we call the attention of the signatory countries to Ambassador Max Kampelman’s words spoken in the White House on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1984: “We must, all of us, never lose our sense of identification with the heroes of the human spirit who keep reappearing in the pages of history and who are with us today.

All of us and our societies fall short of our aspirations. We grow by stretching to reach them. As we do so, however, let us be reassured by the conviction that the future lies with freedom because there can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new rights. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream, and to do. We seek these values for all the children of God. Our task is to stretch ourselves to come closer to that realization.”

The Ottawa Human Rights Experts’ Meeting provides an opportunity for all of us to stretch ourselves, to come closer to the realization of the aspirations of our fellow human beings in the bondage of totalitarian dictatorships.

II. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The human rights record of the Government in Hungary is poor. Many of the laws governing the life of the Hungarian citizens violate the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki Final Act. The exercise of the most basic human rights is arbitrarily restricted by the authorities. The regime tightly controls the **expression of political opinion** and participation in the political process is not possible outside the limits which it sets. Hungarian citizens may not critically comment on the Communist form of government or Hungary’s alliance with the Warsaw Pact. If they do they are subjected to harassment, even persecution. **The right to**

privacy is violated daily. Telephone lines are tapped and correspondence opened when the authorities have an interest to do so. Institutionalized **censorship** is not practiced but editors of newspapers, magazines, publishing houses who do not conform sufficiently to party lines are removed. Consequently self-censorship in media and cultural circles are pervasive. When authors do not practice “sensible” self-censorship and violate the boundaries of tolerance their writings are banned by the authorities.

Political dissidence is kept in check by official harassment. **The right of free press and free speech.** — guaranteed by the Constitution — is severely limited by the requirement that the exercise of this right needs to conform to the “interest of socialism and the people.” The “interest” is not defined by law. The prosecuting authorities have discretionary power to establish what kind of acts are suitable for violating this “interest.”

Another tool to check free speech is the article on **incitement** in Hungary’s penal code. According to this article whoever commits an act “suitable for inciting others to hatred against the Hungarian nation or any national minority, against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People’s Republic; against another nation, race, religious denomination or any other group of people because of their socialist conviction is punishable for incitement by deprivation of liberty ranging from 1 to 5 years.”

“Aggravated cases are punishable by sentences ranging from 2 to 8 years.” Preparatory acts are also punishable. The authorities — not the laws — establish the acts suitable for inciting hatred against protected groups or interests. The law is used to prosecute ordinary citizens who in their frustrated state of mind critically comment on party policies, rock groups whose lyrics do not meet the “political standards” of the authorities, and many others. In the past 10 years well over 570 cases of “incitement” resulted in sentences. Nearly 80 percent of those involved were of working expressions of dissatisfaction with the regime are not limited solely to a small group of intellectuals as claimed by the authorities.

The authorities interfere in and constrain **intellectual freedom.** Recently stormy meetings of the Writer’s Union protested government and party demand for changes in the leadership of the Union. Despite

the protest the party prevailed, its will was imposed on the Union.

The edicts regulating the production of printed material allow for administrative procedures to be applied by police against certain types of offenders. These include various restrictions on movement, surveillance and forms or house arrest. The goal of these edicts and their implementation is to destroy the expression of free thought without political trials which would inevitably domestic and western publicity.

Non-political trials are more likely to be handled in an impartial manner than are trials involving offenses considered to be political or crimes against the state.

Freedom of assembly is non-existent in Hungary. Political activity is not possible outside the party-sanctioned organizations. Attempts to establish independent groups promoting peace and charity were met first with tolerance which proved to be useful propaganda for the promotion of the regime in the West but later followed by the less ostentatious methods so familiar to those who try to take an independent stand in East-Central Europe. Intimidation, loss of employment, confiscation of passport resulted in the dissolution of the short lived "Dialogue for Peace" group which tried to exist outside of government and party influence.

The Hungarian **emigration laws** are a blatant violation of the free flow of people and information provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. No one under 55 years of age can apply to emigrate. Those over 55 can apply only to join a parent, spouse, or child abroad. The implementing decree of this law provides that a waiver may be granted from these two conditions in justified cases; however the statute does not make any mention of what a justified case is, and who is authorized to grant the waiver.

Travel abroad is not a right of the Hungarian citizen. It is a privilege granted by the authorities. Passports can be withdrawn as punishment of outspoken, critical behavior.

Freedom of religion is severely curtailed in Hungary. Holding religious belief limits the citizen's advancement in government, industry and professions. The churches are controlled by laws administered by the State Office of Church Affairs. Religious instruction is limited, censored and monitored by government authorities. Priests, ministers and rabbis who violate the prescribed procedures are "administra-

tively” punished (demoted, transferred, etc.). The faithful are intimidated and coerced in order to abandon their religious beliefs, traditions and practices. The Churches are exploited for the advancement of the political goals of the regime. As the result of government decrees and edicts the Churches are subjected to subversion from inside. The government’s prerogative to approve appointments to the leaderships of the various religious denominations results in undermining the confidence of the faithful in their leaders.

Nearly ten years after signing of the Helsinki Accords the regulations limiting religious activity, and thereby violating the spirit and letter of the Final Act, remain in force. There is no relaxation of the administrative harassment, of those who openly practice their faith (baptism, confirmation, church marriage) and in the persecution of those who practice their faith according to their conscience, often outside the state-recognized denominations.

A recent pronouncement by the Minister of Internal Affairs cautioned the dissidents that the “patience” displayed by the authorities in the past “does not mean that we tolerate without limit the activity of people who are teetering on the verge of legality.” He further warns that: “The state exercises its rights and acts against those who go beyond the limit and damage the vital interests of the people.”

These statements signal that the authorities are willing to resort to more severe methods to oppress and to eliminate internal opposition and to further limit the exercise of the rights contained in the Final Act.

A recently enacted new law extending the power of the police indicates that the authorities’ intent is to exercise control over the opposition within the realm of police activity instead of risking the publicity of a court trial. The new law in effect authorizes the violations of basic human rights.

The current attack by the authorities on the opposition and the call for “vigilance and firmness” against them imply that the Government in Hungary does not seriously intend to comply with the Helsinki Accords.

The only hope for compliance rests in the vigilance and firmness of the delegates to the Ottawa, Human Rights Experts Meeting with which they recognize and deplore violations committed by the

Government in Hungary.

Detailed description of specific acts of violations is presented in the following sections of this document.

III. VIOLATIONS AGAINST PRINCIPLE VII OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT

The generally poor record of compliance by the Government of Hungary with the Final Act was presented in our Memorandum: "The Hungarian People's Republic and the Helsinki Final Act" submitted to the delegates of the signatory states at the Madrid Review Conference. No positive changes were observed since the fall of 1980. The widely reported crackdown on dissidents, the selected use of psychiatric treatment as punishment for political behavior, the number of indictments and sentences for "incitement," the use of administrative rules and regulations against the editors of samizdat publications and members of the Writers' Union, and the harassment of the members of religious communities indicate that the rulers of Hungary are maintaining their tight control of the whole of society.

The main areas of infringement of human rights by the Government in Hungary fall in the following three categories: freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of movement. There are at the same time numerous, hard-to-document infringements on such human rights as the right to privacy, the right of assembly, the right to a fair trial, and the right to freely choose one's political affiliation. These are sometimes **a priori** denied and even though in the course of our contacts, we fail to take notice of them, they are nevertheless painfully present for millions of Hungary's citizens who must live according to political and human rights standards so far inferior to ours that it is hard for us to comprehend them. This inability to comprehend the scope of totalitarian control over the individual and over society may very well be the source of our tendency to either deny, or at least act as if we deny, the absence of these most basic human rights.

The fact that in Hungary violations against basic human rights are often carried out with more sophisticated, more refined methods than those committed in other parts of the world by other totalitarian governments is irrelevant to a consideration of the compliance by Hungary's regime with the Helsinki Accords.

The following details of the specific infringements by the Hungarian government on the human rights of its citizens are only the most obvious, the most easily demonstrable injustices committed by it. They are the manifestations of an all pervading denial of individual freedom and justice.

(A) VIOLATIONS AGAINST FREEDOM OF SPEECH

“The Constitution provides for free speech and free press but in practice these rights are subject to substantial limitations. A Hungarian citizen may not speak publicly against the Communist form of government or Hungary’s alliance with the Soviet Union. If a citizen publicly opposes these basic tenets, he or she may be subjected to varying measures of admonition, harassment and punishment. Self-censorship in media and cultural circles is pervasive and prepublication censorship occurs from time to time.” (Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1984; Department of State).

The most blatant violations against the right of freedom of speech have to do with the publication of an ever-growing number of samizdat writings and periodicals, the misuse of psychiatry for the punishment of political dissidents and with the conviction of an indefinite number of individuals for “incitement” and “harming the public interest.”

The ongoing intimidation of intellectuals active in the dissident movement and the persecution of an indeterminate number of ordinary citizens shows that a positive evaluation of the Hungarian authorities by certain Western observers is seriously mistaken, and what is worse, is misleading.

Those responsible for writing, duplicating and distributing samizdat periodicals such as **BESZELO** (the title is hard to translate because of its multiple meanings, but it can be rendered as “The place where prisoners are allowed to talk to their loved ones”) and **HIRMONDÓ** (The Messenger) are under particular pressure. After the so-called Samizdat Boutique, the place where illegal publications could be obtained by anyone brave enough to visit it, was evicted from the central Budapest apartment of László Rajk, the most notorious form of police brutality was used against Gábor Demszky, another prominent member of the underground network of regime opponents. He

had been one of those who started an illegal publishing house called AB.

Demszky was approached on September 24, 1983 by police outside the Budapest apartment building of Laszlo Rajk. Demszky refused to allow the confiscation of a private letter without a warrant. The ensuing argument developed into a scuffle, resulting in Demszky being so badly beaten that he was hospitalized for three days with a concussion. Concern about the fairness of the anticipated trial was expressed by the State Department and by Congressman Fascell, the Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Demszky was charged with attacking the policemen and tried on December 21, 1983. Western observers, including a member of the U.S. Embassy were not allowed in the trial room. The court found Demszky guilty and handed down a 6 months jail term. The sentence was suspended for 3 years. Demszky's appeal was rejected on May 22, 1984. (See Annex 1 of this Memorandum).

At 6 a.m. on June 8, 1984, György Krassó, was taken in by the police for questioning about an interview he had given to the samizdat periodical HIRMONDÓ in December 1983. Released nine hours later, Krasso was warned that charges of incitement were prepared against him and told he should enlist the services of a lawyer to defend him at his forthcoming trial. A few days later however — presumably after the Western reactions were assessed — he was told that the investigations had been closed and that no further action was contemplated against him, though he was given a police warning.

On October 18, 1984, policemen again searched the apartment of György Krassó. The same day, they searched the car of a small businessman, in Budapest. On October 19, they searched Tibor Philip's apartment, and on November 1, the home and place of work of György Gadó. In each case the police came in response to a "citizen's complaint" and conducted an "inspection of the premises" without the required warrant. The above named individuals were questioned along with an office manager, and two printers, who were accused of cooperating in the copying and distribution of "printed matter produced without a permit." Gadó was charged with being the author of articles which appeared in "Hirmondó" under the name Győző Ravasz, and taking part in the writing of documents for the independent peace

group Salom. Gadó denied these charges.

The large amount of material confiscated during the searches include not only photocopied articles but also photographs, prints, manuscripts and personal notes.

On 1 November, György Krassó was fined 10,000 forints. Earlier, the others had been fined from 5,000 to 7,000 forints for their alleged violations. We can add that a 9,000 forint fine was imposed on Gábor Bouquet on 12 October for distributing "Beszélő" on a city street. (\$1 ≈ 50 forints). In one month, penalties totalling 54,000 forints were levied on these publications, also known as the "second public opinion," penalties equivalent to the average monthly earnings of ten Hungarians.

In each case, officials cite regulation number 21/1982/VI.15./MT, which places "violation of press regulations" under police jurisdiction.

On November 22, 1984, Krasso's home was again searched by police, his personal papers were confiscated and he was placed under "indefinite police surveillance." These actions were "justified" by his involvement with various "illegal" (samizdat) publications. His appeal to police authorities to reinstate his civil rights was rejected in early January 1985. A few days after this rejection he suffered a heart-attack. Hospitalized for a long time he is now convalescing at home, and continues to be under police surveillance. (Relevant documents of his case are attached as Annex II of this Memorandum).

On December 30, 1983, the police of the provincial town Szolnok raided the home of the mother of artist Tamás Molnár, who prepared illustrations for BESZÉLŐ's issue commemorating Imre Nagy, the martyred Prime Minister of Hungary's government during the 1956 Revolution. A subsequent search of Molnar's apartment resulted in the confiscation of all artistic material and of his typewriter. The investigation was widened to involve Ferenc Kőszeg, the editor of BESZÉLŐ, who ordered the illustrations.

The "administrative proceedings" ended with charges brought against Kőszeg and Molnár with violation of the press law. They were fined 6,000 and 8,000 forints respectively. Nevertheless, the commemorative issue of BESZÉLŐ was published after a long delay and without illustrations. (See Annex III of this Memorandum).

The goal of these intimidating actions and sentences is clearly the destruction of the independent 'samizdat' press and of expressions of free thought without political trials which would inevitably invite unwanted publicity. These arbitrary restrictions of civil liberties violate the fundamental right of free speech even when they are carried out discretely.

Sándor Csoóri, one of Hungary's internationally respected writers was banned from publication of his prose writings for a year. He was punished by party officials for writing an introduction to a book written by a member of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia and published in the United States. Csoóri was critical of the Hungarian regime's apathy towards the fate of Hungarians living in neighboring states. His writing caused heated debates in the Writers' Union and gained the respect of all Hungarians but the authorities remained unmoved. (See Annex IV).

The most recent incident involves a poem written by Gáspár Nagy, a member of the secretariate of the Writers Union. The poem touched on the "delicate" subject of Imre Nagy, the Prime Minister of Hungary during the days of the 1956 Revolution. Nagy was executed for his role in that effort to free Hungary from Soviet domination, and according to a widely accepted story, János Kádár, the man whom the Soviets chose as Hungary's leader after 1956, personally witnessed his comrade's execution. Whether this story is accurate or not, the fact remains that Kadar is extremely sensitive about his personal role in the Revolution and his eventual collaboration in its suppression.

Thus, the poem (see Annex IV), caused problems for the regime well beyond its literary significance, or even its potential to have a political effect. The HSWP cultural authorities attracted attention to its publication by insisting that its author, Gáspár Nagy (no relation to the subject of the poem) be removed from the secretariate of the Writers Union.

For the first time since 1956, the leadership of the Union, consisting of a majority of non-Communist Writers, including the President, Miklós Hubay, refused to acquiesce to the demands of the party authorities. At a number of stormy Union meetings, members loudly protested against the regime's interference and against the constraints on intellectual freedom! An impasse of a number of months followed in

which the Union was effectively stripped of its authority. The President and Vice-President offered their resignations. Fearing an even greater scandal, the party authorities under the leadership of György Aczél refused to accept the resignations. For a certain period of time, it looked as if the writers would eventually have their way. According to the latest information Gáspár Nagy has resigned his official position in the union but the list of the leadership has remained the same. Even though this action seems to resolve the affair to the satisfaction of the party, the fact that the writers have again been aroused to criticize the party for its interference in their union's activities indicates that the conflict between the union and the regime is far from resolved.

Although these instances of official intimidation and administrative punishment are by no means negligible, their subjects have one advantage over other victims of arbitrary police actions which disregard the law. They have access to publicity through their writings and their contacts with various Western supporters. This is not the case for the more than 50 ordinary citizens who are convicted every year of "incitement, and harming the public interest."

The above estimate is based on a February 1984 **Magyar Jog** article, which presents the results of a study determining "the causal factors involved in incitement and harming the public interest." The author was Dr. Lajos Kovács, Professor at the Hungarian Police Officers Academy.

According to this study of 402 cases involving 570 accused, a significant portion of those investigated were workers and students who had not had any form of higher education. 79.2% of the 570 individuals examined had not completed the equivalent of our high schools, and only less than 5% of them had a college degree. (For further details of the study see Annex V).

The significance of the study is that it gives evidence of widely based dissent — as expressed by "incitement" and reveals that this dissent is not limited to "intellectuals". The statistics reveal that "political/crime" exists in Hungary and the majority of the convicted are blue collar workers whom the regime fears more than the intellectuals and whom do not enjoy the international publicity afforded to the well known intellectuals.

The information conveyed by this article, combined with the articles

in HIRMONDÓ, clearly indicates that the situation in Hungary is not so rosy as some western observers, diplomats perceive it.

The case of the members of the Cpg Rock Group also belongs in the category of freedom of speech.

The Capital Court sentenced the following on May 23, 1984: Zoltán Benkő, a 22 year old unskilled worker, Béla Kaska and Zoltán Nagy, both 20 year old unskilled workers, to 2 year prison sentences and the underaged Z.V., trade school student, to a suspended sentence of 2 years in prison.

The legal justification for the sentence accused these young men of "incitement against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic and against its international alliance, friendship and cooperation agreements. Their motives were rooted in nihilism and anarchism, or in other words in the **desire to create hatred**. This was born out concretely in part by the rock numbers they performed. They however also had numbers which achieved these ends by using allegories and metaphors intended to create these emotions." See Annex VI for the lyrics of their songs earning them these sentences and for the legal justification given by the court for the verdict.

Besides the Cpg group, three members of a rock group called "Mosoly" (Smile) were also convicted early this year for three of their numbers with similar messages, Jozsef Erdos, a 20 year old worker, received 1½ years in jail plus 1 year suspended sentence, two underaged members of the group received 1 year in jail plus a 3 year suspended sentence each.

Another violation of human rights by the Hungarian authorities is its misuse of psychiatry for the punishment of those who speak up about the regime's totalitarian nature.

Two such cases became known for western observers in the past few years:

Mr. Károly Jakab an agronomist wrote several letters to the authorities of his home town complaining about the undemocratic procedures that they followed in conducting the business of the township. He was arrested and charged with "insulting the authorities, i.e., official persons." Jakab was convicted of this "crime." The prosecution asked for compulsory use of psychiatric treatment as part of the sentence. Subse-

quently Jakab was declared mentally incompetent and went through the whole panoply of coercive treatments including closed wards and electroshock therapy. (Excerpts from Jakab's letters are presented in Annex VII). The other case is the well publicised case of Dr. Tibor Pákh. In the fall of 1982 he was travelling to Poland when at the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border his passport was confiscated and he was forced to return to Budapest by officials of the Government in Hungary. Pákh filed a complaint with the highest judicial authority and began a hungerstrike. During the hungerstrike he was forcefully carried to the National Institute for the Mentally Ill where he was "treated" with the drug haloperidol in such doses that he became delirious. He was given other drugs after the haloperidol "treatment." When Pákh's will was not broken by the drugs, he was force fed. Pákh gave a vivid description of the brutal procedures used on him by hospital personnel. (See Annex VII) Pákh gave up the hungerstrike: "I had to swallow when the food was stuffed in my throat. I would have been cheating myself if I had insisted that I was still fasting."

Pákh was eventually released after he gave up his hungerstrike. It is important to note that this was not Pákh's first encounter with psychiatric "treatment" by the regime. In 1960 he was secretly tried for his political writings — some of which found their way to the West and informed the United Nations about the brutal executions of teenaged participants of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution on their 18th birthday — and sentenced for 15 years in prison for treason. In the prison he demanded that his case be retried in open court. He conducted several hungerstrikes in support of his demand. The authorities responded by "treating" him with insulin and electro-shock "therapy." Later, to justify these "treatments" Pákh, —still in prison — was officially declared insane.

It is hard to judge how many other Hungarians are similarly abused. The authorities responsible for these violations of human rights are careful to disguise their atrocities, so that little or no information about them becomes available in the West.

Government censorship is not prohibited by the Constitution, however the citizen who exceeds the generally understood, often ambiguous, political limits on the expression of ideas is not constitutionally protected either.

Pervasive self-censorship in media and cultural circles serves to remind the Hungarian citizen where these boundaries are. Despite the absence of institutional censorship, authorities banned the circulation of a number of particular books or articles.

The most significant intellectual product of the post-1956 era, a book of essays was banned in 1979. The book was written by some seventy Hungarian intellectuals in memory of István Bibó, minister of state in the government of Imre Nagy during the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and a prominent contemporary political thinker. The Hungarian authorities refused to publish the book, because a number of the book's essays criticized the legitimacy of communist party rule.

Another recent act of government censorship occurred last year when the August issue of the literary monthly review *MOZGÓ VILÁG* was ordered destroyed because it contained some reprints of material written by Leon Trotsky. An August issue, without Trotsky's works, appeared in the middle of September.

Other incidents of explicit censorship involved the writings of a wide spectrum of authors. "The Theory of Needs in Marx" by Ágnes Heller was banned in 1977, the *Intellect and Despotism* by Gyula Illyés was ordered to be destroyed just before distribution would begin in 1978.

Sándor Csoóri's article addressing current problems of the Hungarian intellectuals — already printed in the 1980 No. 2 issue of *FORRÁS*, a literary magazine published in Kecskemét, — was banned. The issue was destroyed and reprinted without Csoóri's article.

These actions of the government in Hungary not only prevent publications of writings considered damaging by the authorities but serve as reminders of the tolerable limits of expression of opinion.

Mr. Sándor Gáspár, member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in an article: "The Freedom of Socialism" written in 1977 gives the authentic definition of freedom as perceived by the present rulers of Hungary:

"The freedom of socialism is not unlimited. The frameworks are determined by the public interest, the order and discipline of the socialist present and future, what we could also call the class content of freedom. . . We take into consideration also that freedom is not merely a matter of decision, is not a matter of slogans. The economic, political

and cultural conditions prevailing at a given time determine the extent to which we can turn our potential into reality . . . we have never denied that socialism's principles of freedom were established on behalf of and in the interest of the historical objectives of the working class."

There is no room for pluralism in the press. As the regime does not and cannot tolerate multiple parties, it does not allow other views or opinions than its own print. In Hungary, "there is no class force, no social base for parties which disavow the system, for opposition parties . . ." writes Gáspár. Accordingly, there is no "social base" for a legitimate press which would provide for the publication of opinions, views and observations not in agreement with the approved, official line either.

(B) FREEDOM OF RELIGION

The largest religious group and thus the one most prone to political manipulations by the state is the Catholic Church. It has experienced some of the most extreme forms of persecution since the Second World War, documented in great detail by many writers. Possibly the best known of these was Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty. Since of all the religious groups, the Catholic Church has been the best organized and the most powerful, the destruction of its hierarchy and the successful subjugation of its leadership to the will and interests of the Hungarian state was of primary importance to the Communist regime established in Hungary after World War II. The Kádár regime, no less than its infamous predecessor under Matyas Rákosi, placed the subjugation of the Catholic leadership and by extension the flock for which they were responsible at the top of its political agenda. Though the methods used differed in kind and in the magnitude of their cruelty, the effects were and are often more devastating. The leadership of the Church was cowed by the repetition of some of the terror tactics of the Rákosi regime in the period immediately following the revolution of 1956. Once these measures had had their effect, the policy of compromise took over. This worked so well that by March 1985, the Archbishop of Hungary, Cardinal Lászlo Lékai could express his thanks on the commemoration of his 75th birthday in the Hungarian Parliament to the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, Pál Losonczi, and the other government and HSWP party dignitaries

gathered for the occasion, by saying that it was his personal goal and part of the efforts of his church to serve the pursuit of happiness of his homeland and its people and to cultivate and strengthen the national unity that had been achieved in the country." (*Népszabadság*, arch 12, 1985)

That this "unity" did not even involve a group of his own flock did not seem to disturb the cardinal. In the interests of compromise and understanding, he simply disregarded the conflict that had continued unabated since the mid-seventies between the compromising hierarchy and those so called basis groups which refuse to do military service, believing that the Gospels have taught them to take this non-violent, anti-military stand.

The leader of these groups, the Parist priest György Bulányi, has been subjected to harassment unparalleled in the recent history of the church in Hungary. His treatment can only be compared to that suffered by him and by many of his religious brethren in the 50's under the Stalinist regime of Matyas Rakosi. To underline the fact that the State Office of Religious Affairs (AEH) and those it allows the Vatican to appoint to leadership positions in the Church hardly differ in their methods from another infamous state agency which existed in Hungary before the revolution of 1956, it is enough to quote Father Bulányi's words about the treatment he received at the hands of the representatives of the Church hierarchy. He writes that the major in the Hungarian State Protective Agency (the infamous AVH secret police whose acronym differs from the above mentioned Office of Religious Affairs only by one letter, a fact not lost on those who suffer under its authority) who interrogated him in 1952 was more respectful toward his person and his activities than those Church leaders who subjected him to something that "could in no way be called a dialogue."

Statements made by Cardinal Lékai, especially at the 125 anniversary celebration of the consecration of the basilica at Esztergom in 1981, are the clear indications that the prelate chooses to subordinate the interests of the Church in all questions that have to do with military service to those of the

state. He does so even though the dangers to the people of Hungary inherent in any strict adherence to Soviet military interests are well known among Hungarians both within and without the country.

The list of those persecuted by the state with the active consent and help of the hierarchy grows longer and longer as the number of those unwilling to cooperate in short-changing Catholic religious principles and denying Hungarian national interests grows. Two priests, László Kovács and Audrás Gromon, who support Father Bulanyi and who openly expressed their views were suspended by the hierarchy in 1981 from the performance of their priestly duties. Six priests who protested in an open letter against the treatment of the above two were subjected to a series of "administrative restrictions." One of the latter, has disclosed through private channels how these innocuous sounding retributions work in practice. He was at first threatened with the possibility of not being ordained, since when he first signed the protest letter, he was still a novice at the Theological Seminary of Budapest. When this threat could not be carried out, he was told by a priest representing the hierarchy and the Office of Religious Affairs that if he were willing to cooperate, he could be one of the rising stars in the hierarchy. Nothing, not even the position of bishop could be denied him, especially considering that he was one of the brightest students at the seminary. When he refused to cooperate, he was subjected to every form of harassment available to the authorities. Even though invited to study in the Federal Republic of Germany by a leading theologian, he was not given permission to leave the country. Periodic visa applications were denied on the basis that providing the visa harmed the interests of the People's Republic and the public welfare. He has been assigned to small, out-of-the-way parishes in the hope that his will would eventually be broken. In spite of the fact that he is qualified to do scholarly theological research, (he knows a number of the major European languages as well as Latin and Hebrew) he works with the youth in his parish and does everything in his power

to keep alive religion among those entrusted to him. He also is working on his doctoral dissertation which he is not sure will be accepted in Hungary. In case he meets with rejection, he intends to submit his work to a Western theological university or department.

There are many other examples of even more brutal persecution of those who, because of their opposition to military service, and their desire to be declared conscientious objectors, have been imprisoned and harassed. One of the most tragic cases is that of Jozsef Merza, a mathematician, and his son, both of whom are conscientious objectors. The father, despite his 47 years was called up for military service in 1979. After he refused to report for duty, he was imprisoned by the military (by its nature a much harsher form of incarceration than a civilian prison) for six months and subsequently transferred to a mental hospital for treatment. When he was released, he lost his job at the Mathematical Research Institute and was allowed to return there only as a librarian. József Merza Jr. /served a two year prison term for the same "offense" as his father.

The case of two of the young men from among the twelve known cases of Catholics imprisoned for their refusal to do military service is representative. They were both in their early twenties at the time of their imprisonment and they both were sentenced by military tribunals and served their sentences in military penitentiaries.

The question may also be raised, why are these young men tried by military tribunals if they were not in the military at the time of their alleged crimes. Their right to a fair trial includes the right to be tried as civilians as long as they are not serving in the military. The two examples are the following:

1. Gábor Csizmadia was sentenced to 2 years and 8 months in a military penitentiary for asking to have his compulsory military service changed to an alternative, civilian one. His conviction was upheld by a court of appeals on 2 April 1982 and he began to serve his sentence thereafter.

2. When Béla Simonyi refused 6 months of military service, he was sentenced to 16 months in prison in April 1982 and according to the information available to us, he served his sentence.

These cases, along with the ten other, are the only ones of which court records exist, so that they can be documented. Those others, the cases of intimidation in which practicing Catholics are discouraged from openly attesting to their faith or from sending their children to Catholic instruction are more numerous but harder to document. There are no records kept of party officials, job supervisors, school principals and others in positions of authority advising subordinates or the parents of their charges against practicing their faith. Even though these cases are the hardest to document, it is they which form the bulk of the Communist effort to eradicate religion in general and Catholicism in particular.

Those young men and women who are willing to risk their lives and choose imprisonment rather than relinquish their beliefs will probably never be weaned away from their faith, whereas the many thousands of others who are not as firm in their convictions, who need the exposure to religious instruction and guidance the most are systematically denied it and discouraged from even being interested in it. This then is the most insidious form of the denial of religious rights. Though the other ones documented above are cruel and reprehensible, their long-term effect is not as damaging, they cannot destroy the foundations of religion and the propensity of young people to look at the world and at their lives from a religious point of view.

The two main Protestant Churches in Hungary are the Evangelical (Lutheran) and the Presbyterian (Calvinist). The President and Presiding Bishop of the smaller Evangelical Church is Zoltán Káldy who according to a number of his critics, both in Hungary and in the West, has led his congregation in ways satisfying the needs and wishes of the state, rather than primarily those of his Church. The complex political manoeuvres that preceded his elevation to his present position of leadership and his succession in that position of Lajos Ordass are worthy of a separate historical study. Suffice it to say, the details point to Káldy's collaboration with the Kádár regime in its efforts to bring the Evangelical Church under its control. None of his activities in later years contradict this conclusion. In fact, his development of the theology of "diaconia," that is service, was a way of theoretically justifying the Evangelical Church's practice of deferring in all political and social matters to the state authorities and limiting its field of activity to the care and support of the sick, the aged and the otherwise afflicted of

society. Following the World Conference of Lutherans in Budapest this summer the views of those challenging Kaldy's "theology" were contained in a letter addressed to Kaldy from the West by a minister who had left the country only a few weeks before. The Church leadership found the letter important enough to publish an open response to it in its weekly *EVANGELIKUS ÉLET*. This was certainly not the first time that they tried to counter such criticism. Despite the apparent calm, assiduously nurtured by the state and the Church leadership, there are some serious problems addressed occasionally by members of the Church, but certainly not aired or seriously tackled. The scope and importance of these conflicts between the leadership and the faithful are again hard to measure, but it is safe to assume that the above are merely indicators.

If anything, the situation of the Presbyterians is even worse than those of the Evangelicals. Bishop Tibor Bartha's conflict of interest with the Hungarian government extends to his membership on the Council of Ministers. That he espouses the "theology of diaconia" goes without saying. Though many copious examples could be presented of the total control of this larger Protestant denomination by the state, let that largely symbolic one suffice.

The Hungarian regime's exploitation of religious leaders is well illustrated by the recently issued declaration condemning "U.S. imperialism that threatens world peace." This statement was signed jointly by the leaders of Hungary's major religions. A group of young Jewish leaders stating that they "had no right to sign on behalf of Hungarian Jewry a unilateral declaration that ignores the role of Soviet weapons held by Arabs who are plotting to annihilate Israel."

Hungarian authorities not only exploit the Jewish leaders to further the cause of the international aims of the Soviets, but outright persecute the Jewish faithful. Two students of the Rabbinical Institute of Hungary, Ferenc Benyi (born in 1960) and Tamas Szabados (born in 1963) were drafted in the Army in 1982. (Students of the seminaries of all religions routinely are drafted after the acceptance by the seminaries for military duty, during which they are exposed to special hardships, harassments to discourage them to return to the seminaries). Both Benyi and Szabados requested permission to adhere to the regulations of

their religion: opportunity to pray twice daily, access to ritual food, and observance of Jewish religious holidays. After their request was made they were arrested and transported to a military penitentiary. There they were forced to take off their religious clothing worn under their shirts. At their trial, they were informed that if they persisted in their requests, they face a possible 4 year internment for denial of military service. Benyi, with the other draftees from theological seminaries, cannot attend church, cannot visit any religious activities, and is forbidden to meet with others for any reason for the duration of his military service.

The example of these two Jewish students illustrates the sophisticated method of using military service to disrupt theological studies and to discourage seminarians from pursuing their chosen vocation.

A few short comments must also be made about the situation of small Christian denominations who because of their limited numbers are often more prone to persecution by "administrative means." One example of such a group is that of the Nazarenes who were persecuted for many years for their refusal to do military service and came to an agreement with the state in 1977. This provides that they can perform military service and came to an agreement with the state in 1977. This provides that they can perform military duties that satisfy both the country's compulsory service laws and their religious beliefs. We do not know exactly what they had to agree to as far as the government was concerned, but the fact that an agreement was reached was due probably to their small number and the government's desire to conform to the Helsinki accords, at least in this respect. A similar agreement with the much larger Catholic Church is out of the question since that would involve a large enough portion of the country's population to possibly cause problems with Hungary's "Warsaw Pact allies."

Finally, the situation of the Seventh Day Adventists must be mentioned. Their leadership, hand-picked by the state authorities, carried out the measures designed to destroy the autonomy of the Church. In their case as in the case of the Nazarenes the methods of intimidation were often more blatant than those

applied against larger groups such as the Catholics. Nonetheless, these are all familiar to those who have studied totalitarian systems. They are always selected in such a way as to make documentation difficult if not impossible. These actions are always directed at the isolated individual who fears to appeal his case to international forums or to free public opinion, just as the victim of organized crime in U.S. is afraid to go to the courts or the police.

In the case of the Seventh Day Adventists, some of the state "appointed" leaders were so dissolute and morally reprehensible that they eventually had to give up their positions.

The inevitable result of the state's manipulations was a split between the leadership and a group of preachers and faithful who chose an independent path. Their goal, as in the case of the Catholic basis groups was to return the Church to its earlier, autonomous state. They seek a return to the original principles of their religion, free of political manipulation and the direction of the State Office of Religious Affairs. Especially since the latter is so avowedly hostile to their views of the world and has expressed on numerous occasions its purpose of destroying all religious movements.

One additional comment must be made, especially for the sake of those who belittle opposition in Hungary, whether it is within the world of religious people or in society in general. A country such as Hungary, in which power is concentrated in the hands of the state and where it is always ultimately up to the state how it uses that power, any form of opposition must be taken much more seriously than in a democracy. Whereas in the latter a small group of people with strong opinions, or even extreme ones, can have an echo way out of proportion to their numbers, in Hungary even one lonely voice, without any publicity or forum, without the least traces of an echo speaks for a possible multitude of silent, terrified people who have no way of expressing their dissatisfaction and who are too afraid to stand up for their freedoms. So that, rather than belittling the "isolated manifestations" of protest, we should see them as the reflections of a deep-seated dissatisfaction not only with the way the state treats a religious group, but with the whole unbearable uniformity of life under a totalitarian system. Each religious person, whether he is a Nazarene, a

Seventh Day Adventist, a Baptist, a Jew, or a Catholic, when he protests about his lack of freedom to practice his faith in the way he believes it to be his inalienable right is speaking for millions of Hungarians who given the chance to speak without fear or the danger of retribution would speak up about the abuses of freedom and of human rights that they have suffered under the "liberal" Kádár regime.

Beyond the right to practice one's religion, there is also the right of parents and religious communities to pass on their beliefs to their children. There is the right of children to be given the choice to either follow their parents' and their communities' teachings or to seek other ways of looking at themselves and their world. This right, which is not often mentioned as part of an individual's or a group's basic freedom of religion is the one most systematically abused in Hungary. The direct and indirect methods used by the Hungarian state to discourage the young from seeking alternatives to Marxist-Leninist principles, indeed, the conscious, often-voiced effort of the state and party authorities to "eradicate religious superstition" from the world are the most systematic forms of abuse of the basic freedom of religion. They constitute an effort to limit the choices of young minds even before they ever become aware that these may exist. (For selected documents on the State of the Churches in Hungary see Annex VIII)

(C). VIOLATIONS AGAINST FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY

Political activity is not possible outside the party or party sanctioned organizations.

Attempts to establish independent associations failed. In 1979 young professionals and intellectuals formed a group which they called The Foundation for the Assistance of the Poor (known by its Hungarian acronym SzETA). The stated purpose of the Foundation is charity, to provide financial, legal and other aid for the poor within Hungarian society. The members of this organization were subjected to illegal arrests, they were detained by police for hours, their cars, homes were searched. Intimidation resulted in the virtual inactivity of this organization by the end of 1984.

Other groups that tried to establish independent organizations of

like minded individuals did not fare better despite the fact that they based their association on a universally appealing emotion, the love of peace.

There are two main groups in the independent peace movement in Hungary. The older one is that of the Catholic basis groups led by the Piarist priest, György Bulányi. A newer and less firmly established one is the Dialogue (Dialogus) for Peace founded in the late summer and early fall in 1982.

The Catholic basis groups are firmly rooted in theological ideas, and trace their pacifism to the teachings of Christ. They have challenged not only the Marxist authorities, whose ideology they completely reject, but have also questioned the official stand of the hierarchy in Hungary.

The concrete acts of the Bulányists have consisted of refusing to do military service. Since 1979, a number of their young members have chosen military courts-martial and imprisonment rather than bear arms. The drastic measures have not discouraged Bulányi or his followers, since they see these as merely opportunities for bearing witness to their faith.

Since they are so deeply religious, with many of their beliefs in the strengths of small communities and the need for a total rejection of the materialist assumptions of modern life harking back to the lifestyle of the early Christians in the Roman empire, analogies with Western peace movements are inappropriate.

The "Dialogue for Peace" movement, or simply, "Dialogue," presents an interesting contrast to the above. The young people, mainly students, who were its initial members did not have the strong non-Marxist ideas that motivate the basis groups. They were and are more sympathetic to the idealism of peace in the West. Their tendency is to take the slogans for disarmament seriously, as a basis for an activist peace platform, with the proviso that these apply both in the East and in the West.

What Dialogue has tried to do from the beginning of its activities in 1982 was to stayh within the limits of Hungarian law. It has made an effort to keep up contacts with both the National Peace Council and representatives of the state and party authorities. It tried, especially at the time of its inception to keep its distance from dissident intellectuals,

but the facts of public life in Hungary have led to its disenchantment.

Soon the tolerance which proved to be such a useful piece of propaganda for the regime in the West, and the "openness" of the authorities were followed by the less ostentatious methods so familiar to those who try to take an independent stand in Eastern Europe. On 19 April 1984, according to a report in the Italian Communist daily *Unita*, plainclothesmen confiscated the valid passport of Ferenc Ruzsa, one of the leaders of the Dialogue peace group, at his apartment. It seems that he had been chosen as the group's delegate to a West Berlin peace rally. He had intended to visit London before the rally and meet with members of the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) movement, who had had earlier close contacts with Dialogue.

There were other searches and "unofficial" forms of intimidation, such as "friendly talks" with superiors at places of employment or with university advisors, who encourage the young peace activists to avoid any contacts which would have jeopardized their future.

The peace group, which has had to learn a lot about Hungarian political reality since early 1983, when according to the *UNITA* reporter quoted above, it had approximately 300 members nationwide, has gone through some transformations. As the Oslo daily, *Ny Tid*, reported in January 1984, the movement was dissolved in 1983.

The dissolution came on the heels of a series of harsh, intimidating moves by the Hungarian authorities, aimed principally at dissident intellectuals but extended to included the leaders and the organizers of Dialogue.

The fact that the moderate peace group which insisted on respecting the laws of the land collapsed so quickly points up the dilemma of this type of initiative in Eastern Europe, and specifically in Hungary. It also points to the essence of a totalitarian system. A totalitarian state can only tolerate independence by any of its inhabitants as long as such acts do not threaten its power either from the inside, or raise doubts in the minds of the sponsors of the state (in this case, the Soviets) about its ability to continue to exercise total control.

Thus, any group who either out of naivete or a sense of firm conviction, believes that it can challenge the state's supreme authority, must be ready either to make the most extreme sacrifices or must be ready to dissolve itself. The two types of peace groups briefly described

here are representative of these two possibilities.

The Catholic basis groups, because of the strength of their commitment to their faith and their willingness to sacrifice their lives for their beliefs, continue to defy the state. They are a tiny minority of the population, but their defiance is of a far greater significance than their numbers. The state knows this, otherwise it would not be so ruthless in their persecution.

The members of the one-time Dialogue for Peace group have not been able to withstand the overwhelming power of the state. A few tenacious individuals have become dissidents, some have kept to their beliefs in the privacy of their homes, but their "movement" is in disarray. Too many of their followers were intimidated by the "friendly talks" of their university not being to enjoy the minimal material security that Hungary would provide them today was enough to dissuade them from continuing their independent initiative.

Many young people concluded that the authorities were not prepared to tolerate a genuinely autonomous organization.

The lesson is obvious and yet it bears repeating: In a totalitarian system there is no room to counter the ruling ideologies, authorities, political processes. The very basis of opposition, free speech, free press, freedom of assembly, unimpeded access to the public is denied even for those who remain within the limits of the letter of the law. Intimidation silences even the brave. Only those few continue to try to speak out, to change the system, to act according to their conscience, who have those rare inner resources which are inaccessible to the authorities. They speak for the millions who do not possess the capability, the opportunity, the courage to express their thoughts.

In the commitment based on the inner strength of the devoted believers in human dignity, in the freedom of the human spirit and in the liberty of people lays our hope for victory over tyranny in Hungary.

(IV). VIOLATIONS OF BASKET III. ISSUES; COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS

The intention of the accords of the Helsinki Final Act regarding Cooperation in Humanitarian and other Fields is to provide the free flow of information, ideas and people among the participating states.

A. VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT

The emigration laws of the Hungarian People's Republic of Hungary are the most severe in East-Central Europe and severely violate the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Accords.

At the end of 1978, the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic—in an apparent attempt to defuse criticism regarding the inaction concerning revision of the strict emigration laws of Hungary—issued a new edict regulating the foreign travel and stay abroad of Hungarian citizens and the issuance of passports. This edict became effective on January 1, 1979.

The European Law Library of the Library of Congress at the request of Senator Robert Dole, who is a member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, conducted an exhaustive analysis of this new Edict in order to determine a trend in the policy of the Hungarian People's Republic. Is it leaning toward relaxation of the restrictions imposed on its citizens, thereby taking steps toward compliance with its obligations set in international public law, which is also part of the national law? Or are the changes meaningless amendments of the substantive and procedural laws that do not offer any relief for Hungarian citizens from the severity of the restrictions?

The conclusion of the Library of Congress report titled: "Travel Abroad and Emigration Under New Rules Adopted by the Government of Hungary" states: This analysis of the statutory provisions on foreign travel and stay abroad issued in 1978, and a comparison of these statutes with the statutes in force until 1978 reveal that very few changes have been made in the new regulations. Moreover the changes of benefit to citizens are insignificant. In fact, some of the changes are detrimental to Hungarian citizens, especially to those citizens who live permanently outside Hungary, regardless of whether or not they have acquired the citizenship of their present homeland.

"The conditions for emigration from Hungary have not changed at all. But it may be assumed that under new regulations only those persons who declare that they want to retain their Hungarian citizenship and therefore request the issuance of the Hungarian passport instead of an emigration permit will receive permission to leave the

country permanently. . .”

It is a well known fact the authorities in the People's Republic of Hungary, through the use of their discretionary power in practice do not observe their own laws consistently. In some cases the practices of the authorities are stricter than the written law; in other cases they are more liberal.

Travel abroad is not a right in Hungary, it is a privilege granted by a representative of the regime.

Passport regulations — in our opinion, part of emigration, freedom of movement issues — are arbitrary and provide the state with a tool of punishment for dissidents. Contrary to the popular perception not all Hungarian citizens enjoy the privilege of having a passport. György Krassó, one of the Hungarian dissidents, applied in vain for a passport for the past 15 years to visit his brother in England. The passport of Gyorgy Kocsi, a young Catholic priest, was withdrawn last year as punishment for the participation in the Charismatic basis communities disapproved by the state. Sándor Csoóri the internationally respected writer was denied permission to go to Italy as a punishment for writing an introduction to a book authored by a member of the Hungarian minority in Czecholovakia and published here in the United States.

Most recently Miklós Tamás Gáspár, one of the most critical analysts of current events in Hungary applied for a passport in order to accept an invitation from Columbia University. He was told that he can obtain permission to leave only if he promises not to return. When he refused, his passport allowing him to visit the socialist countries only was reportedly withdrawn.

There are many similar cases of interference by the state with the right of free movement in Hungary. Besides the above mentioned cases, there are still many other, involving ordinary citizens who are denied passports and exit visas for “administrative” reasons. In these cases, the considerations are never clearly identified and the individual is forced to rely on his imagination to figure out why he was not permitted to travel.

The harassment of certain intellectuals who have joined the illegal opposition often includes the threat of not being allowed to travel abroad. It is always made clear to those applying for travel documents that the responsible state offices reserve the prerogative to deny these to

anyone they wish to prevent from travelling. Since the system of appeals is controlled by those who make the decisions to begin with, these do not provide any suitable safeguards to the individuals of the right to know the grounds for ruling against them.

**(B). THE UNIQUE FAMILY UNIFICATION CASES
OF IMRE NAGY AND OTHERS EXECUTED
IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION**

The attitude of the Government in Hungary on humanitarian issues is reflected best by its continuous and stubborn refusal to reveal the location of the burial place of most of those who were executed by the present regime in the years after the 1956 Revolution. The remains of the executed Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter, Miklos Gimes, József Szilágyi, the murdered Géza Losonczy, and the many scores of teenagers who were hanged on their 18th birthday during the years of 1957 and 1962 are buried in graves whose locations are kept as a state secret. The bodies were not released to the relatives. Repeated attempts to recover the remains or gain permission to visit the gravesites by family members failed. On the 25th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, Senator Moynihan, Representatives Fenwick and Horton, wrote to the Ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary to the United States expressing interest in this matter and requesting that he convey their "sincere concern to the Government and to First Party Secretary Kádár, and our request that the many unmarked graves be identified". Ambassador Petran refused to relay the request and with unusual diplomatic discourtesy returned the original letter to Congressman Horton. A follow up request to Mr. Kádár mailed on January 26, 1982 still remains unanswered.

In 1983, on the 25th anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy, many distinguished Americans, Jimmy Carter, Arthur Goldberg, William Buckley, Walter Mondale, Charlton Heston, Claire Boothe Luce, Bayard Rustin, Eugene Wigner among them signed an appeal to the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic requesting him and his government to identify the gravesities, to permit the recovery of the remains for proper interment by the surviving family members. President Reagan in a public letter strongly endorsed this appeal stating: "I commend the efforts to identify the

graves of the gallant men and women of the Revolution and to secure access to their remains for proper burial after so many years of anguish on the part of family and friends.”

In 1984 Senators Percy, Lugar, and Quayle wrote in this subject to different officials of the Government in Hungary. As to the inquiries of others, no response was received by them. (For selected documentation see Annex IX.)

It is frequently stated nowadays that the regime in Hungary is doing its utmost to comply with the accords of the Helsinki Final Act, that it is relatively “liberal.”

Even Ayatollah Khomeini, whose regime is never referred to as “liberal”, released the remains of the murdered or executed victims of his uncontrolled vengeance, to their families. The “liberal” Mr. Kádár consistently refuses to do the same with the remains of the betrayed victims of his bloody ascendancy to power.

(C). VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

Only selected, approved Western publications are allowed to be legally disseminated in Hungary. Books, newspapers, other printed material not meeting the “standards” of the unofficial censors are not allowed in the country.

Many Western books, magazines, newspapers are banned, among them those published in Hungarian. The Hungarian regime expends large amounts of energy and resources to promote its image among Hungarians living in the West. Additional resources are spent to block the flow of writings questioning the regime’s carefully manufactured “liberal,” “tolerant”, “pragmatic”, “innovative” image.

Even religious circulars, published in Hungarian by the churches of former Hungarian citizens in the West, are banned. The authorities violate not only the Helsinki Accords but the principle of reciprocity as well, since all publication produced in Hungary is obtainable in the West.

Cultural exchange, outside of the control of the regime is difficult. Those who conduct cultural activities outside the institutionalized structures either from Hungary in the West or from the West in

Hungary are suspected, surveilled, even threatened.

In a recent article the Minister of Internal Affairs attacked those Hungarian intellectuals who accepted individual scholarships, grants given by independent institutions or philanthropists in the West. He asserted that they become part of a "policy of subversion." "The host countries by assuring publicity to certain invited persons are striving to prove that there is opposition to our social order" — stated the Minister. He further charges that routine contacts, private and public between travelling Hungarian tourists and Western individuals, members of academic, cultural, social, and political institutions, government officials "are used to gain information or to convince Hungarian citizens to remain abroad or to spy."

These intimidating words from the mouth of the chief of the Hungarian security organizations cannot but chill the free flow of information, and goes against everything that the Government in Hungary promised to comply with in Helsinki.

V. CONCLUSION

The authorities of the Hungarian People's Republic are in violation of the Principles expressed in the Helsinki Final Act.

Many Hungarian laws contradict the letter and spirit of the accords agreed to by the government in Hungary in Helsinki. There are no signs visible which would indicate that the authorities have any serious inclination to revise their laws, edicts, practices to observe the basic human rights requirements of the Helsinki Accords.

Freedom of speech does not exist in Hungary. Those who practice their faith outside of state control are persecuted.

Citizens who take the law of the land seriously and act upon their rights, find that the interpretation of the law is flexible and interpretation is up to the very authorities whose power it pretends to regulate.

The ruling regime intimidates, infiltrates and controls Hungarian society by violation of the individual's right to privacy, by denial of freedom of assembly and by the monopoly over all sources of income, all important awards and benefits. This sophisticated system of tyranny must be recognized for what it is: a totalitarian dictatorship.

We respectfully urge the delegates to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting to:

- Fully review the compliance of the signatory states with the principles and accords of the Helsinki Final Act;
- Seek to ensure that specific instances of persecution of persons for activities condoned by the Final Act publicly cited;
- Recommend that the relevant current laws of the signatory states be examined for compliance with the Helsinki Final Act;
- Seek — again — the legal recognition of Helsinki monitoring groups by all signatory states.

We, free Hungarians living outside the boundaries of our homeland, respectfully request the delegates to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting to consider these conclusions and recommendations. We consider it our duty to call the attention of the delegates to the undeniable fact that the most essential principles embodied in the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act are grossly flouted by the government in Hungary. By the submission of this Memorandum we execute that duty.

Coordinating Committee of
Hungarian Organizations in
North America,

Robert Harkay, Chairman
Istvan B. Gereben, Executive Secretary

Canadian Hungarian Federation,
Domokos Gyallay-Pap, President
István Walter, Vice-President

**VIOLATIONS OF
HUMAN RIGHTS IN HUNGARY
SPRING 1985**

(ANNEXES)

ANNEX I

The Case of Dr. Gábor Demszky selected documentation

**Announcement — U.S. State Department's Noon Briefing
December 19, 1983**

Demszky Trial

We understand that Gábor Demszky, a Hungarian editor of samizdat publications, will be tried in Budapest on December 21. The charges against Mr. Demszky will reportedly be assault on a police officer, growing out of an incident that occurred in September when he was stopped for a police inspection of his car. Allegedly, Mr. Demszky refused, claiming that the police did not have a warrant, and suffered a concussion as a result of the ensuing struggle.

We note with regret that this will be the first trial with political overtones in a decade involving the independent Hungarian intellectuals. We trust that Mr. Demszky will be afforded the opportunity to defend himself in a fair and open trial, and that this will remain an isolated incident.

CSCE NEWS RELEASE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

U S Congress • Washington, D C 20515

202 225 9C

Dante B Fascel Chairman

Robert Dole Co-chairman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE December 20, 1983

FASCELL EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR HUNGARIAN DISSIDENT

Washington, D.C. Congressman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.), Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, otherwise known as the Helsinki Commission, has expressed his concern for Gábor Demszky, a publisher of samizdat in Hungary, who will be tried on December 21 for assaulting a police officer. Chairman Fascell said, "the circumstances surrounding the trial, coming so soon after the ending of the Madrid Conference of the Helsinki signatory states, raises questions about Hungary's renewed pledge to permit citizens to know and act upon their rights. The trial has political implications unprecedented during recent years in Hungary, where dissent has generally been tolerated to a greater extent than in other Warsaw Pact states. It is hoped that Gábor Demszky will be permitted to defend himself adequately in a fair trial where the objective facts of the case will be brought out. For the trial to be otherwise would be to go against the spirit of the Helsinki process and would blemish the relatively favorable view of Hungary in the West."

The charge against Demszky stems from an incident on September 24, when police approached him outside of an apartment building where another leading dissident resides. Demszky refused to allow a search of his car without a warrant. According to reports, an ensuing argument developed into a scuffle, resulting in Demszky being so badly beaten that he was hospitalized for three days with a concussion.

A 31-year-old sociologist, Gábor Demszky is co-founder of AB: INDEPENDENT PUBLISHERS, a publishing house for samizdat, and of SZETA, an organization created to assist the poor. He and

several other dissidents, who refer to themselves as the democratic opposition, have been repeated targets of harassment in a general crackdown on dissent which began in late 1982. Last December, Demszky and several others were detained for questioning as a samizdat 'Booutique,' or bookshop, was raided and official material confiscated. In March he was detained again and charged along with four others for the publication and distribution of unauthorized material (the charges were later dropped). Demszky and another dissident were detained for questioning in April after their car was stopped and they were held at gunpoint for refusing to allow their bags to be searched.

PETITION TO JUSTICE MINISTER IN DEMSZKY CASE

BESZÉLŐ/No. 9, May 84

Letter written by Ottilia Solt and signed by 178 citizens sent to Dr. Imre Markoja, minister of justice, and Dr. Jenő Szilberek, president of the Supreme Court, on 31 January 1984

Esteemed Minister! Esteemed President!

Complying with the right of citizens to make public interest announcements, we would like to communicate the following:

On 24 September 1983 police sprayed tear gas on and struck Gabor Demszky, editor of the *AB* Independent Publishers, with rubber truncheons. The police harassed him because he protested the confiscation and reading of his private, personal letters. Demszky suffered a brain concussion and external injuries in the process and was treated in a hospital for 4 days.

The police involved were cleared of any responsibility. On the other hand, Demszky was charged with "violence against the authorities." The Budapest Central District Court handed down a suspended sentence of 6 months imprisonment.

More than 100 people gathered in the audience at the trial, but the president of the council of judges excluded everyone who did not have an official invitation. The group was thereby limited to people like the two men Lang and Ganz, who said they were machine tool workers, representatives of the Office of Information, MTI and other members of Hungarian authorities. Of those banned from the courtroom, 59

signed and submitted a letter protesting the violation of the principle of open access to a public hearing. They did not get an answer. After a long debate, the authorities let in several members of the foreign press, but they banned Amnesty International, the United Nations Human Rights Commission, and the International League of Lawyers. All of the groups applied for and received visas specifically to attend Demszky's trial.

The court's verdict contradicts the unproductive, meaningless investigation. The charges did not even attempt to justify the police version of the story, that Demszky was arrested for speeding, and that he and his belongings were searched on suspicion of a crime. Besides the policemen involved only one witness corroborated the prosecutor's description of Demszky's actions, but the reasons provided for the verdict themselves raise doubts about the reliability of this witness. Neither the other witnesses nor the material evidence supported the charge that the policemen suffered any kind of injury.

In Hungary, only the ESTI HIRLAP (a mass circulation daily evening tabloid appearing in Budapest) reported on the trial. The article, by means of veiled references attempts to turn the reader against the defendant, avoids any mention of the circumstances of the trial, or the position of the defense, and distorts substantiated facts.

Esteemed Minister! Esteemed President!

Unpunished police brutality, a lack of proper evidence, an unsubstantiated verdict and the bias of the press coverage fills us with great concern.

We ask you to secure enough room for the audience, provide enough time for investigation, guarantee impartial judges and make sure press coverage is unbiased at Gabor Demszky's appeal hearing.

We are looking forward to your kind reply.

Ottília Solt
Budapest 1023
Komjadi u. 3

ANNEX II

The case of Dr. György Krassó.

Selected documentation

CSCE NEWS RELEASE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

U.S. Congress • Washington, D.C. 20515

Dante B. Fascell, Chairman

Robert Dole, Co-chairman

202/225-1901

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

December 3, 1984

FASCELL EXPRESSES CONCERN FOR HUNGARIAN DISSIDENT

Washington, D.C — Congressman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.), Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, commonly known as the Helsinki Commission, expressed concern today over recent events surrounding György Krasso, a prominent Hungarian intellectual who has recently been placed under restrictions and police surveillance for his involvement in dissident activities.

Chairman Fascell said that “the actions taken against György Krassó last month and earlier this year are disturbing. Hungary, as a signatory of the Helsinki Final Act, has pledged to permit citizens to know and act upon their rights. The commitment to full implementation of these pledges, which were renewed at the Madrid Conference of Helsinki signatory states, is brought into question by the restrictions placed on Mr. Krassó, particularly when they are imposed on him while the meeting of the preparatory conference for the CSCE Cultural Forum is being held in Budapest. It is hoped that the restrictions and surveillance will end, for they go against the spirit of the Final Act and can only serve to damage Hungary’s image in the West.”

Statement of the United States Government concerning the case of
György Krassó.

Read by Mr. John Hughes, spokesman of the Department of State at
the daily News Briefing on December 5, 1984.

We have learned, with great disappointment, of recent acts of Hungarian government harassment of dissident intellectual György Krassó (KRASH-o). We understand that on November 22, Mr. Krasso's home was searched by police, his personal papers confiscated, and he was placed under indefinite police surveillance. He is forbidden to leave his home at night and may not appear in public places. These actions against Mr. Krasso reportedly derive from his involvement with various samizdat publications in Hungary. We deplore all such actions aimed at suppressing the freedom of expression of any individual. At a time when Hungary is preparing to host the Budapest Cultural Forum, a follow-up to the Madrid Review Conference of the Helsinki Final Act aimed at promoting better communication and understanding among peoples, this is particularly disturbing.

Letter of Hungarian intellectuals to the Delegates attending the preparatory conference of the Budapest Cultural Forum.

The privilege to organize the international Cultural Forum went to Hungary as a sign of recognition of its seemingly liberal policies, a respectable degree of tolerance, a bearable amount of censorship viz. state interference in the exercise of spiritual faculties. This implicit praise of the Hungarian regime now turns out to be a trifle undeserved.

Mr. György Krassó/aged 52/, an economist, was recently — November 22, 1984 — put under police surveillance owing to abuse to press regulations, i.e. for having written, edited and spread **samizdat** literature. Police surveillance means in his case a weekly appointment with officers; the interdiction to leave his flat between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m., to use his telephone, to attend public gatherings, to visit public establishments such as cafes, sport stadiums, libraries and railroad

stations. The violation of these requirements is punishable by 10,000 Forints fine or reclusion for 1-60 days.

Mr. Krassó is an outstanding representative of the 1956 revolutionary generation: after the uprising he spent seven years in jail. In the subsequent years he was many times harassed by the police for his outspoken ways and dissenting opinions and activities. He edited and published important historical, political and literary works not asking for the censor's seal; he reported the Helainki Federation of Human Rights about the situation of these very rights in Hungary. Doing this, he was only enjoying his rights ensured in the IIIrd basket of the Final Act of the Helainki Conference, the respect of which you are called to monitor. Please consider this case before reaching any conclusion concerning the state of civil liberties in Hungary.

November 23, 1984

Budapest, Hungary

G. M. Tomás, philosopher
 János Kis, philosopher
 Miklós Haraszti, writer
 László Rajk, architect
 Gábor Demszky, sociologist
 György Konrád, writer

András Nagy, sociologist
 Ottilia Solt, sociologist
 Ágnes Hay, film director
 Sándor Szilágyi, literary critic
 Ferenc Kószeg, teacher
 János Kenedi, author

Authorized copy

ANNEX III

The Case of Ferenc Kőszeg and Tamás Molnár selected documentation

POLICE ACT TO CURTAIL UNDERGROUND PRESS

BESZÉLŐ No. 9, May 84

Letter from the editors of **BESZÉLŐ**

Respected readers and friends!

Szolnok Police Headquarters has fined Ferenc Kőszeg, an editor of the unofficial journal **BESZÉLŐ** 6,000 forints and Tamás Molnár, graphic artist and member of the Inconnu artists' group, 8,000 forints for a violation of the press laws. The decision was preceded by many house searches and police interrogations. During the house searches, the police confiscated the copied cover of **BESZÉLŐ** No 8, and its pictorial supplement showing (1956 Prime Minister) Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs. They also seized the Inconnu members' avant garde publications and political graphics. The police action and the sentence, which also calls for the destruction of the seized materials, is part of a series of measures taken against the "second public opinion."

A press law trial would make obvious the world over what is already well-known here. The press law, as it exists in practice, is governed by outdated regulations, contradicts the Constitution and its Agreement on Civil and Political Rights, which is a part of Hungarian law, and the Helsinki Accords. This contradiction was previously brought to the attention of the public and the lawmakers in the seventh issue of **BESZÉLŐ**, when the editors requested official permission to publish legally. In the meanwhile, the request was unjustifiably rejected. They also sent a citizens' proposal, attached to this letter, to the National Assembly's Legal, Administrative and Judicial Committee.

We ask our readers, each to the best of his ability, to declare that they do not agree with the punishments of our coworkers. We ask you to urge the thorough examination and democratic reform of the decrees which apply to civil rights.

Budapest, 1 May 1984

Respectfully,
Editors of BESZÉLŐ

ANNEX IV

The case of the restive writers

WRITER QUILTS WRITERS ASSOCIATION

NEMZETŐR 15 Apr 84

Excerpts from a letter by István Csurka: "Silence Is a Serious Moral Transgression"

We have described the sharp debates that have taken place in the Hungarian Writers Association. These have now come to a head because of the sanctions against Sandor Csoóri. One result has been Istvan Csurka's resignation from the association. He informed Miklós Hubay, the association president, of his decision in a dramatic letter which was duplicated and circulated in Budapest and elsewhere for several months in the form of "samizdat" literature. Though by the time it reached us it was known throughout the country, we refrained from publishing it for fear that we may have endangered someone. Now that we are certain that publication does not infringe on a "correspondent's privacy," and especially since it concerns the future of all Hungarians, we hereby print it in full.

Miklós Hubay
President, Hungarian Writers Association

Dear Miklós:

Our friendship of many decades requires that I tell you my thoughts openly. I have decided to resign from the presidium and at the same time to give up my membership in the Hungarian Writers Association. The two decisions are related and one is the result of the other. Giving up my membership is a private matter which requires no further explanation.

I do not think that I was the only person who was enthusiastic at the time of that general assembly. I believed that the association, primed for renewal, would become a democratic forum. With its inertia, its new working style and democratic spirit, it could set an example by its commitment to work on matters involving the nation's fate. I also saw clearly that with the increasingly weighty foreign and the dismal internal social, political and economic conditions, there was burning need for the above changes. Besides this, I began to entertain a foolish hope. I thought that those in power, that is, the political leadership, would come to some of Istvan Bibó's conclusions in these hard times, that is, they would apply the principle of power-sharing. For example, by giving the Hungarian Writers Association the independence indispensable for its healthy operation.

I was resoundingly disappointed in my hopes. Policy (as it has become popular to call political power in the association nowadays) not only did not come to accept this idea of Bibó, but, if at all possible, it accepted its opposite. The whole of Hungarian life is at a standstill. Not the way a frozen lake is, but more like a swamp or a bog. You can drown in it, since it is a swamp and it will pull you down, but you cannot make any waves. The Writers Association was not merely denied autonomy, but nowhere in the country can you see any independent initiatives or natural movement from below (that is, if we do not count private taxis).

Hungarians today are unconscious, vegetating without heads, without brains or souls. They live from day to day, they believe, without further thought, that everything in their lives is in order just because they have enough to eat. Hungarians have simply erased the future from their thoughts. Not a man, not a single arm points in any direction. The principal slaps those hands which are raised by people like Csóori.

The tragic decline in the country's population is a subject of idle conversation, but there is no forum for the expression of responsible and possibly constructive thought on the subject. There have been no official measures taken to alleviate the problem.

Are these then the main reasons for my resignation and quitting? No, finally, these are just motifs. My resignation and quitting were provoked by a recent event. On 16 June 1983, at Balatonederics, I received the following telegram:

“Dear Steve: I am passing on the request that you appear at the Ministry of Cultural Education on Friday, 17 June at 9 am, at the unscheduled meeting of the presidium called by the minister in the second floor ministerial conference room. Gyula Csák.” Soon, I found out that this extraordinary meeting of the presidium was not a real one, since according to the bylaws the minister does not have the right to call one. Besides, the more senior officers of the association and the presidium were not in Hungary and thus that group was considerably underrepresented. But this was not unusual. We are used to the loose interpretation of laws and regulations in this country.

As he informed us, the minister rounded up the presidium to impart information to them quickly. In his own words, he told us about the government decision that Sándor Csoóri, a member of the presidium, was to submit to certain sanctions. He would not be allowed to publish anything harmful to the political and the foreign policy interests of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The reliable explanation is that all this happened because Csoóri wrote a preface to Miklós Duray's book, which was published by Püski (the owner of a bookstore, specialising in Hungarian books periodical, papers and cassetts) in New York. In this preface, there were sentences and terms which harm the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic and which could not be disregarded by policymakers. At the time of the meeting with the minister no one beside Csoóri and maybe Gyula Fekete was acquainted with the writing in question, and no one could form, even with the best of intentions, a substantive and honest opinion on the case.

Now, however, I am familiar with Csoóri's piece. Having read the preface, I realized to my astonishment that I agreed with every line and every word of it. It is likely that I would not have been able to write it

as well, but what it said could have come from my pen and they were words from my heart.

Thus, if the lack of an immediate protest may be considered a mistake for these reasons, after having read the piece in question, to keep silent would have been a serious moral transgression, indeed it would have been a sin on my part. I see clearly now that the censure of Sándor Csoóri was unjust and undeserved. I cannot imagine myself after this sitting at endless meetings of the presidium beside Csoóri with this knowledge. Why am I not censured? Or am I? But let me come back to this later.

Let us look more closely at who is affected by this "governmental" sanction. Sándor Csoóri is one of those Hungarian intellectuals who in the past few years and decades have done the most possible in the tragic matter of "Hungarian fate," a matter mentioned all too briefly above. Sándor Csoóri is respected and honored the world over wherever there are Hungarians not only for his poetic and writing gifts but also for the above-mentioned devoted, self-sacrificing willingness to accept his special role. I have had the opportunity to hear for myself the unqualified love that even those people who are far removed from the literary scene, those who work with their hands on both sides of the border, have expressed for him. Who then was affected by this affront, this humiliation? That I personally was is unarguable, but I will not say that every Hungarian was also because I am afraid of big words and pathetic exaggerations. "Many Hungarians, irrespective of sex, rank or religious affiliation were affected." Let us leave it at that. This then is the basic reason for my resignation.

There are several more prosaic motives for my withdrawal. The first one is that I thought about resigning only my position in the presidium and letting myself simply sink back down to the level of everyday membership. Then I could lead the passive, lethargic life to which we are so accustomed today, a life which is the basis of the functioning of every social organization and institution in this country. I could at least be certain then that no one would use me as a whipping boy. The days when that could have happened are over now. They would only continue to play these silly games with me as time passed. Well, I got tired of always sinking into this institutionally guaranteed passivity and indifference. I do not want to support being relegated to a state of helplessness by providing my signature and by my membership.

My second reason may sound a bit cynical. In the course of my membership in the presidium I have had the opportunity to get to know the life of the Writers Association a little better. What was merely a suspicion before has now ripened into a recognition that this life has no meaning. The Writers Association, the way it is forced to function, cut off from the traditions of Hungarian literature, incorporating the operational principles of an alien organization, as the appendage of power or those in power, without its own journal or forum, stewing in its own juices, is a useless waste of time and money.

I know that especially these last cynical words cause you a great deal of pain, you as the president of the association, who have never ceased to struggle against these stifling conditions. Yet, I still say these things, hoping that you do not take my words as the irresponsible sarcasm toward celibacy of a priest who has given up his calling, but that you sense in them my friendly compassion and desire to help.

In closing, let me clarify that this is a private letter to you containing communication for the association. I say this with the firm conviction that this fact excludes any kind of incorrect interpretation, citation or other use. I leave it to your judgment to decide what part of this you wish to disclose for the internal use of the association. I would naturally be happy if you presented the whole letter.

Budapest, 20 June 1983

Respectfully yours,
István Csurka

A18 SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1985
THE WASHINGTON POST

Hungary's Restive Writers

Government Keeps an Eye on Dissent Among Intellectuals

By Bradley Graham

Washington Post Foreign Service

(Excerpts)

BUDAPEST — Ever since 1848, when the poet Sándor Petöfi read a poem on the steps of the national museum inciting Hungarians to revolt against Austrian rule, political regimes here have kept an attentive ear cocked toward the writers' community.

Lately, Hungary's communist leadership has had to contend with increasing signs of restiveness among the country's literati. No writer of rank is espousing another revolution, but a series of confrontations between writers and the state has highlighted some daring attempts by artists to expand the boundaries of expression and to place taboo political topics on an agenda for public discussion.

The most recent conflict ended last week when the board of the Union of Writers confirmed the forced resignation of one of its officers, Gáspár Nagy, for a poem that authorities said exceeded the limits of tolerance.

The work, a brief and relatively abstract piece of literature, touched on the delicate subject of Imre Nagy, the former premier executed for his role in Hungary's short-lived revolution of 1956. A line at the poem's end - "one day he will have to be buried, and we must not forget to name the murderers by name" — was interpreted by state officials as an accusation against the Soviets and János Kádár, the Hungarian leader, who is widely rumored to have witnessed the execution.

Had the government not called attention to the poem, it might have gone largely unnoticed in the low-circulation provincial journal in which it appeared. But communist officials, worried about a precedent and fretting about how the Soviets might respond, insisted that Nagy give up his office as one of seven union secretaries.

“The problem was that the poem was written by an elected official of the writers’ union, and we were worried about the international repercussions,” said Dezsó Tóth, Hungary’s deputy minister of culture, in an unusually frank admission of sensitivity to Soviet supervision. “The estimation and standing of the union among our neighbors would have suffered if Nagy had remained.”

At first, Nagy refused to quit, contending that authorities had misread his poem. So the president and the secretary general of the union both regarded as relatively open-minded men, threatened to resign, raising fears that a more orthodox union leadership would then be installed. Eventually, the errant poet agreed to step down, but not before a number of stormy union meetings in which members loudly protested the state’s interference and constraints on intellectual freedom.

The episode marked the culmination of several years of unrest in the writers’ union. “It led to the crystallization of a number of conflicts and controversies that exist here,” said Miklós Jovanovics, the union’s secretary general and a member of the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

ANNEX V

The Case of Subversion and Harming of the Public Interest

by
Dr. Lajos Kovács
Professor, Police Officers College Hungary
Translation of excerpts
and critical evaluation

* **Published in Magyar Jog (Hungarian Law) February 1984**

In connection with exploring the causes behind the crimes of subversion and harming public interests it does not take any special research to be able to determine that the influence of alcohol, a capitalist environment, family and environmental influences, the disorderliness of one's living conditions, etc., all have something to do with them.

During the past period I examined almost 420 cases, involving a total of 570 accused offenders facing criminal action on the charge of subversion and harming public interests. These constitute a significant part of the criminal proceedings that have been conducted during the past 10 years, thus they also enable us to draw appropriate conclusions. The reason why I am discussing these two criminal activities together is because many of the behaviors which before the Criminal Code came into effect had been considered subversive today are qualified as harmful to the public.

The direct motives found to be behind the cases examined because of subversion or activities harmful to the public interests were as follows:

- hostile disposition	110
- anti-public attitude	126
- hostile propaganda	98
- peer pressure and family environment	18

- existential reasons	4
- alleged or actual injuries	97
- influence of alcohol	236
- pathological mental condition	56
- lack of intelligence	155
- other	39
	Total: 1,050

The discrepancy between the 570 offenders and the 1,050 motives is to be attributed to the fact that a given activity may have had several motives, or that the offenders committed the same crime on several occasions, each time for different reasons.

In trying to determine the goals of perpetration — by looking at individual offenders —, in the case of 205 persons held responsible we have been unable to come up with an answer. In those cases where we have succeeded they have been found to include the following: A desire to be conspicuous, a need to disseminate views, wishing to protest certain measures, revenge, “criticism,” a desire to cross the border illegally and to gain “distinction” for that purpose, making threats in response to alleged injuries, wishing to be transferred to a different penal institution or returned to the person’s original penal institution, organizing a conspiracy, trying to obtain a discharge from military service, “just” wanting to insult someone, spreading the broadcasts of RFE, advocating Hungary’s supremacy, and we could continue with a long list. Another goal which we have encountered in some cases since 1980 is to call attention to the events in Poland.

These criminal activities have also been affected, among other things, by such crime-related factors as urbanization, restratification and political disposition. By bringing about changes in the distribution of social work and in the social restratification of society and socio-economic development can temporarily reinforce certain crime-related effects. Most conspicuously, one of the things that has been causing problems for our society for a long time is the fact that more than a million people — thousands of the young — are commuting between their places of residence and work.

Closely connected with urbanization has been the restratification of society. Although restratification is an objective process, under our circumstances we also cannot neglect the subjective factors. If we look

at the last period we find that the most important such movement has been the flux of our agricultural population into other branches of our national economy. Since it is well known that the structure, ratio and frequency of criminal activities among our agricultural population differ from those experienced among our non-agricultural population, from the point of view of criminal trends this phenomenon deserves special attention.

In the case of 462 of the 570 offenders we could find no evidence that they had maintained ties with persons in the West, while in the case of 108 persons this could be unequivocally determined. Regarding the propaganda broadcasts of Western radio we have been able to determine the following from available documents: While the investigation of 349 persons turned up no evidence that they had been listening to the broadcasts of these radio stations, in the case of 152 offenders this could be clearly determined from the documents and in 69 other cases this was suspected, although there was no unequivocal proof to support this in the documents.

The Effect of the Family Environment

The role of the family is of special importance in the development of one's personality, and its effect is extremely significant especially during early childhood, however, since it is not limited to the development of the child's personality, examining its connection with crime can only be done properly in conjunction with other circumstances. Of the 570 offenders some 227 had lived or still live under disorderly conditions. Their parents had either been divorced and hence they were raised by foster parents, relatives or institutions, or there were other irregular circumstances.

Among the persons affected in the cases examined the following irregular circumstances could be determined:

- parents divorced	87
- raised by foster parents	30
- raised by relatives	19
- raised in an institution	35
	Total: 227

Occasionally, the perpetrators of these crimes have been young people who have lived under proper financial and otherwise regular conditions. This can happen especially if they are affected by foreign — Western — ideological propaganda, and they do not receive a good enough answer to the problems confronting them, and if in addition their political knowledge and scope of information is insufficient.

Cultural and Educational Level

The connection between one's cultural level and the various categories and types of criminal activities varies in character and intensity.

The persons suspected in the cases examined had the following educational levels:

- illiterates	5
- completed grades 1 through 4 of elementary school	29
- completed grades 5 through 8 of elementary school	389
- started but have completed secondary school	29
- completed secondary school	70
- started but have not completed their higher education	21
- have completed their higher education	27
	Total: 570

In connection with our educational activities József Vigh points out that in our society students are exposed to various and often conflicting influences. If the opinions expressed in the family or among peers about human relations and society differ from the "official" view taught by our schools it may happen, as it often does, that instead of accepting the opinions professed by our schools and adapting to his social circumstances the student adopts the views held by his family and peers. Given the right situation these distorted consciousness-related factors may easily lead to the perpetration of crimes."

Attitudes Toward One's Occupation and Work

In the life of a person the school is eventually replaced by the workplace as an organized microenvironmental form. Influenced by their working conditions, their relationships at work and their colleagues people become aware of their social role in society. Work if properly performed is uplifting, and it helps to promote the social development of the individual. On the other hand, loafing about without work, spending one's time idly, or having to perform poorly organized, burdensome work provide fertile ground for the development of antisocial views, and can easily lead to crime." In the present period of our social development we still often find that the assertion of the educational and awareness-forming role of work is hampered or hindered by the specific conditions under which certain persons must perform their work."

If we look at the offenders of the studied cases by occupation we find that they can be broken down as follows:

- skilled workers	141
- semi-skilled worker	61
- unskilled worker	140
- white-collared worker	38
- employed	38
- self-employed	14
- retired	20
- student	64
- without occupation or dependent	48
- other or cannot be determined	16
	Total: 570

The above presented data clearly show how overwhelming the number of skilled and unskilled workers is among them, amounting to nearly one-half of the offenders of the studied cases, and if we add to this the number of semi-skilled workers they well exceed one-half. This, of course, is to a great extent due to the fact that they also represent the great majority of society. Coming up with an explanation as to why it is that in our social system so many of the perpetrators of such crimes come from among the working classes, however, would require more thorough expert — mainly psychological — studies.

In addition to looking at their occupation, let us also examine their attitudes toward work:

- likes to work	122
- does his job but does not like to work	17
- his attitude toward work can be said to be average	199
- slack at his job	82
- leads a roving life style	80
- is not employed or there is no available data	70
	Total: 570

The Effect of the Environment

In addition to the above, environmental factors may also be involved in the shaping of one's personality, hence they may also play a role in the commission of crimes. Friendship ties are micro-environmental collective, social relationships which play an extremely important role in the person's life and in the development of his personality. Family ties, the schools and very often also the work place are relationships that have been created independently of the individual. Friendship ties, however, are much looser, although such relationships can also only occur within certain limits. Although the selection of friends is also affected by intellectual consideration, the most important factor in making such a selection are the emotions of the individual. Also affecting the development of these relationships are circumstances such as sharing similar ideas, having the same outlook on life and struggling with identical difficulties.

Of the socially recognized forms of entertainment we can also include harmful traditions as factors which contribute to the development of antisocial personalities. The close interrelationship between entertainment and hospitality and the consumption of alcohol often puts the nervous system of young people in a state which causes their learned cultured behaviour to give way to instinctive behaviors aimed at finding immediate satisfaction to their needs. In the cases examined we have also found that a significant number of the offenders had committed their crimes under the influence of alcohol. This implies that by restricting the consumption of alcohol we could also reduce the number of crimes. But as József Vigh has pointed out: It is

unlikely that in the near future we will be able to prevent alcohol consumption from rising while our state continues to increase production, and as long as our store windows filled with a wide variety of alcoholic beverages continue to lure people to consume.”²¹ Other harmful traditions mentioned by the author include the cult of physical force and the tendency by people to take the law into their own hands. These, however, do not play any role worth mentioning as far as the above discussed crimes are concerned.

In connection with the way people spend their free time he also mentions the role of radio, TV and the press as factors which affect the personality. In several cases we were able to show that members of younger generations had received occasional “tips” from these different means of mass communication.

If we examine the persons involved in the cases studied in terms of their vices we find the following: 154 of them have lived the life of an alcoholic. They are not to be confused with the people who have committed their crimes under the influence of alcohol; their number is considerably higher.

ANNEX VI

The Case of the CPg, Rock Group Selected documentation

MEMBERS OF ROCK GROUP CONVICTED FOR INCITEMENT

Budapest BESZÉLŐ in Hungarian No 10, 1984 pp 43-45

(Report by kg: "Incitement")

(Text) **INCITEMENT** before large audiences, as members of a group, continuously . . .

On 29 Sep 1983 the Central District Court of Pest sentenced the three members of the Budapest Mosoly rock group, József Erdős (b. 1984), György Szappanos (b. 1966) and Zoltán Pokorny (b. 1966), to 1½ - and 1-year prison terms, with 4- and 3- year suspensions, respectively. Charges were brought against them because of the lyrics of four of their songs: **Gypsy-free Area; Immigrants's Wages** — which speaks out against the Arabs and blacks living in Hungary, saying that they receive more money and better apartments from our government than Hungarians; **Rumania** — which contains the following lines: " They are a hairy-soled lazy people whom death awaits, they received Transylvania as a gift. . . "; and **My Uniform is Clean**, which contains the following lines: "My uniform is clean, my integrity is stained . . . At the concert I nearly beat a kid to death, for which I received a decoration I proudly wear. . . "

On 7 Feb 1984 the court sentenced four members of the rock group CPg of Szeged; Zoltán Benkó' (b. 1963), Béla Haska (b. 1964) and Zoltán Nagy (b. 1964) received two years in prison; Zoltán Varga (b. 1966) received a 1½-year suspension of prison sentence. This issue of the **BESZÉLŐ** reports on the sentences handed down in the CPg proceedings — which have since been upheld by the appeals court.

As this time, let us not dwell on the details and legal merits of the verdicts.

Rather, the purpose of this short commentary is an attempt to provide an understanding of the noteworthy phenomenon that police regulation of the youth rock culture — including the objectionable “punk” and “new wave” — has also reached the stage which was initiated by the prison sentences handed down to the Plastic People and DG307 in Czechoslovakia between 1976-77; the time of political lawsuits.

In Hungary, the starting premises were surprisingly similar to those in the West. The promoted, but aging and fading stars of popular music had become boring, the old symbols (jeans and long hair) had become passe, the new youth subculture was greeted with intolerance, and last but not least, at the end of the 1970's feelings of pessimism, hopelessness and a mood without ideals reigned over a larger segment of the youth, but most especially in the marginal groups whose numbers had significantly increased (and who had already gained attention due to the “pipestem problem”). This situation was coupled with an interesting fact: various university and cultural organizations provided rather varied and broad performing opportunities for the 10-20 amateur groups who utilized new wave and punk symbols. This is how a youth music subculture which was more disrespectful and insolent than anything prior to it was able to develop — before the popular music censors or the youth supervisory agency of the police and its political organ could even realize what was happening.

Issue No. 5-6 of the *BESZÉLŐ* already documented that the Szeged police who are in the forefront of political heavyhandedness have begun the task of eliminating the undesirable youth subculture; presumably, the goal already at that time was to lock up the CPg. Incidentally, during this same year the police also “chatted” with quite a few leaders of Budapest groups: they were advised that since they were amateurs, professional sanctions could not be used against them; therefore their immediate supervisory agency was the Ministry of the Interior. They were also warned never again to perform their objectionable numbers because they will not fare well.

Why, precisely, were these two groups singled out as scapegoats? There are two fundamental reasons which may be discerned. The first is that it was expedient to select a group that was “outside” the artist rock music intelligentsia milieu, since this afforded a certain degree of informal protection. In both instances, the groups' members were

from a blue collar background and originated from the outskirts of the city. Additionally, the CPg group was from the provinces. The other reason was that partly due to their extraurban and lower class origins, the lyrics they wrote were the least sophisticated in their opposition and the most thinly veiled in their coarseness. Thus they could be portrayed most effectively even to the public as the most persecutable representatives of the new "trash movement", i.e., the entire rock music movement, as, for example, Péter Erdős had done in several issues of KRITIKA in 1983.

And what could be said on their behalf? That in their own undifferentiated, aggressive, shouting way, they gave vent to the unbridled expression of their malaise, unhappiness, rantings or prejudices with the aid of a medium and uncultural form which was accessible and understandable to them? That not only they are cultured, but also those who label as fascist a subculture of youths who are alien to them and who live in merciless conditions unknown to them? That tolerance begins when we are able to accept something which our good taste and convictions disapprove of? We all know that these are non-existent arguments, not only in the eyes of the police, but also in the eyes of the public. However, perhaps there are a few people who attempt to understand these phenomena, and who do not necessarily consider the political trial as the best method of quelling occasionally surfacing discontent.

TEXT OF COURT DECISION

(Excerpts)

Budapest BESZÉLŐ in Hungarian No 10, 1984 pp 101-110

("Document")

(Text)

DOCUMENT

Central District Court of Pest

1.B. 21.158/1983/13.

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC!

The Central District Court of Pest based on publicly held proceedings in Budapest on 17 and 18 Nov 1983 as well as 13 Jan and 7 Feb 1984 has handed down the following verdict:

The first-order accused, Zoltán Benkő (Guzu), who has been in custody since 27 Jul 1983 and in prison awaiting trial since 30 Jul; born 1 Jan 1963, Szeged; mother: Erzsébet Balázs; permanent residence: 2/a Becsei St., Szeged; and temporary residence: 14 Zichy St., Budapest VI; identification no. 1 630101 0914; and the second-order accused, Béla Haska (Vau, Kutyas), who has been in prison awaiting trial since 3 Oct 1983; born 30 Dec 1964, Szeged; mother: Katalin Sonkoly; permanent residence: 13/b Alsókikötő Sor, Szeged; identification no. 1 631230 3032; and the third-order accused, Zoltán Nagy, who has been in prison awaiting trial since 3 Oct 1983; born 22 Aug 1963, Bácsalmás; mother: Erzsébet Turcsányi; permanent residence: 22/b Murányi St., Szeged; identification no. 1 640822 1074 are found guilty of the criminal act of continuous incitement carried out in public before large audiences, as members of a group, and as accomplices.

Therefore, the court sentences the first-order accused, Zoltán Benkő, to 2 (Two) years imprisonment and 1 (One) year ban on participation in public affairs; and the second-order accused, Béla Haska, to 2 (Two) years imprisonment and 1 (One) year ban on participation in public affairs; and the third-order accused, Zoltán Nagy, to 2 (Two) years imprisonment and 1 (One) year ban on participation in public affairs.

The fourth-order juvenile accused, Zoltán Varga (Takony), who has been in custody since 3 Aug 1983 and in prison awaiting trial from 5 Aug to 2 Sep and free since then; born 7 Oct 1966, Szeged; mother: Erzsébet Csanád; residence: 4/b Retek St., Szeged; identification no. 1 661007 4300 is found guilty of the criminal act of continuous incitement carried out in public before large audiences, as a member of a group and as an accomplice; and of the misuse of firearms.

Therefore the court terminates the 4th juvenile decision no. 1/1983/8 establishing probation handed down on 4 Feb 1983 by the District Court of Szeged and finds the fourth-order juvenile accused, Zoltán Varga, guilty as another accomplice in the committed hooliganism and as an accomplice in attempting to cause serious bodily injury and as cumulative punishment sentences Zoltan Varga to 1 (One) year and 6 (Six) months imprisonment.

The court suspends the prison term meted out to the fourth-order juvenile accused for 4 (Four) years probation with the stipulation that

during the probation he be under the supervision of a juvenile patron.

Reasons of Judgement

The court has determined the following facts:

During their performances, among other songs, the following seven were presented either in whole or in part:

A YOUTH STANDS . . .

A youth stands in the meadow, a first rate worker,
coming from volunteer work on a communist Saturday . . .

Artists, painters, you bastards — a likeness,
A worker hero in stone, on canvas . . .

WE'RE ALL CREEPS

We're all creeps in the HPR (Hungarian People's Republic)
Where everything new is bad,
Where money gives birth to silence,
Where people are always silent.
We're all creeps in the HPR.

Refrain: We want trouble (four times)

YOU'RE PUPPETS

We have a puppet for a king.
His legs and arms jerk on a string.
We are the people,
We bow, scrape, we're humble . . .

We are not the ones who clap
A shadow stands b'hind our back.
He holds every thread in his hands.
He guards every gate. There he stands.

Refrain: You're puppets, you're puppets, you animals.

CONNIVER

Someone's memory . . .

The conniver is dead,
the animal is dead,
the dictator can
be an idol-head.

The conniver is dead,
the animal is dead,
the dictator can
be an idol-head,

animal, conniver, animal, conniver, animal, conniver . . .

ANARCHY

The anti-christ, that's me,
I see what you don't see,
let there be anarchy.

I want to be free, to be free,
Not a dumb animal, not me . . .

PRIMITIVE BUMS

We're primitive bums, we're animals,
But we don't want to shake with fear.
Remember, we'll hit first!

Could our world really be more beautiful?

We have nothing to do with anything here.
We don't know where we'll go tomorrow.
We are terribly bored with ourselves.
And we won't keep on dreaming anymore.

CC20

A Soviet atom is also an atom
 I can't stand totalitarianism
 the police are hassling me
 SS 20's in the Est
 Neutron bombs in the West

A US atom is also an atom
 In the East and in the West
 they fight for power everywhere
 SS 20's in the East,
 Neutron bombs in the West.

Power is power
 In the East and in the West
 The race is the same everywhere
 SS 20's in the East,
 Neutron bombs in the West.

Between 15 and 25 Mar 1983, the Cultural Committee of the Geodesic and Map Enterprise of Budapest held an exhibit of Marietta Borza's paintings. On 16 Mar 1983, the first- and second-order accuseds attended the exhibit and the first-order accused wrote the following comment in the guest book:

"Down with rules; every custom, order and tradition must be ground underfoot . . .

We are a country of suicides, of alcoholics,
 We are a country of hidden unemployment . . .

We want bloody, murderous actions, PRUK-Pruks (?) —
 and not pictures!

I want the rotten one to topple.
 A sweeping war of vigorous men . . .

Insults, fighting, the destruction of morality
 and then its rebuilding . . .

. . . WE ARE NOT FASCISTS.

We're intelligent people — we'll sweep you away
 because we're better. . .

We don't strike out blindly.
 We kill with intelligence.
 You will fail because of your obsolescence, not
 bureaucratic obstacles. But you should be shot
 with your own weapons . . .

. . . GUESTS, and to you, MADAME ARTISTE!
 I pray that you have a serene life
 and that our revolution, which will be more advanced
 than ever before, will not find you alive . . .

“P.S. Had it been cut out with a razor or scissors?

16 March is the second day of a revolution.”

Under these circumstances according to the unambiguously and reassuringly verifiable facts, the accused by their conduct in the context of the CPg group endeavored to incite sentiments against the constitutional order and the federative, friendly and cooperative international relations of the Hungarian People's Republic; moreover, this was based on nihilism and anarchism, thus with the intention of inciting hatred. In part, this was clearly expressed in the songs they performed, e.g., “Gas Blues”, “A Youth Stands”, “We're All Creeps”, “You're Puppets”, “Anarchy” and “CC20”. However, they also have songs which, by the use of emotional images, allegories and metaphors, also lead the listener, by way of thought, to a similar conclusion, e.g., the opening two lines of “Gas Blues”, “Rotten Angels”, “Fairy Tale Land”, “Conniver”, and “Primitive Bums”.

Since it may be clearly determined that the songs performed by the accused and appearing in the statement of facts were not merely directed against the public order but also against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic and this was the aim of the accused by their performance, the court has found them guilty as accomplices according to Article 20, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code — of the crime of continuous incitement, according to Article 12, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code, before large audiences as members of a group, in violation of points (b) and (c) of Article 148, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code and as classified according to point (a) of Paragraph 2. During the course of this classification, the court differed in part from the prosecutions's charges which moved to establish in its indictment No. B.10 558/1983 that the actions of the accused are in violation of

points (a), (b) and (c) of Article 148, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code — which was also upheld in the final motion. According to the facts established by the court, the songs that were performed were fundamentally directed against the police, communists, the leaders of the Hungarian People's Republic, and in general, against the constitutional order and that the songs "Conniver" and "CC20" were directed against the Soviet Union, that is, against the international relations of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The fourth-order juvenile accused Zoltán Varga also committed the crime of possession of firearms which is in violation of Article 263, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code.

Because the fourth-order juvenile accused Zoltán Varga was found guilty on the basis of Article 73, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code, the court suspended the probation he was placed on by the Szeged District Court and pronounced him guilty of the crime of hooliganism in violation of Article 271, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code and as classified in point (a) of Paragraph 2, as well as an accomplice according to Article 20, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code in the crime of attempted aggravated assault, according to Article 170, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code.

Therefore, considering Article 120, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code, the court had to sentence him on a cumulative basis.

In setting the punishment of all the accused, the court had to take into consideration the mitigating circumstances of their confession of the facts as well as the circumstance that the organizers of various concerts, by neglecting preparations, authorization or subsequent warnings, significantly participated in allowing the crime to be perpetrated for so long and in this manner.

The court appreciated the youthful ages of the first-, second- and third-order accused, and appreciated the contrition of the second-, third- and fourth-order accused. In the case of the first-order accused, the court appreciated the pathological mentality which, to a slight extent, limits criminal responsibility and the ability to tolerate punishment.

In addition to the mitigating factors, it was determined that there were a large number of circumstances, among which some were aggravating. The court weighted continuity of actions against all four

of the accused, that is, that there were continuity of actions against all four of the accused, that is, that there were two different phases, and it is counted twice as seriously against the first- and third-order accused that from 1979, separately from their co-defendants, they also committed the crime of performing the three numbers, which they continued by involving new associates regardless of the warnings they received in connection with this. An aggravating circumstance counting against the first- and second-order accused are the comments written in the guest book at the Mariette Borza exhibit which itself is a crime, while weighing against the first-order accused is the organizing and leading role, and weighing against the second-order accused is that, despite the warnings of the others, he performed the third verse of the song "A Youth Stands" at the Youth Club on Cossack Square, and weighing against the third-order accused is that after being put on probation, he continued the criminal behavior. Weighing against all the accused is the rowdy behavior which was manifested especially in the self-inflicted bleeding wounds of the second-order accused at the assembly hall of the University of Veszprém and in the dismemberment of a live chicken at the Youth House on Cossack Square.

In addition to the various criminal circumstances, the degree of guilt, or rather the danger they and their actions represent to society, seemed to be less only in the case of the fourth-order juvenile accused, while that of the others seemed identical. The attainment of the goal of punishment only seems possible by meting out the sentence of imprisonment without a mitigating phase. Therefore the court sentences the first-, second- and third-order accused according to the minimum term of imprisonment stipulated in the operative clause of the law, which legal minimum also seems adequate for the attainment of general and individual protection. Since the accused are unworthy of participation in public affairs, the court also set an additional punishment prohibiting their participation in public affairs based on Article 53 and Article 55, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code.

In the cases of the adult accused, the order regarding the enforced degree of punishment is based on point (a) of Article 43 of the Penal Code and the inclusion of prior detention is based on Article 99, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code.

In the case of the fourth-order juvenile accused, Zoltán Varga, the court, with reference to Article 110, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code,

also suspended the enforcement of the fixed term of imprisonment without mitigating phases according to Article III, Paragraph 3, while the inclusion of time spent in detention was determined according to Article 99, Paragraph 1.

The court's order regarding supervision by the guardian was based on Article 119.

With respect to the evidence confiscated during the proceedings, the court based its decision on Article 102, Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 and regarding the 33 HILTI cartridges, on the basis of Article 77, Paragraph 1, point (a) of the Penal Code.

The obligation to repay court costs is based on Article 217, Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4.

Budapest, on the 7th day of February, 1984.

János Lenke — People's Judge

Dr. Péter Kaufmann — Presiding Judge

László Magula — People's Judge

The sentence regarding the fourth-order juvenile accused Zoltán Varga is effective on the day of pronouncement.

Dr. Péter Kaufmann

Presiding Judge

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ANNEX VII

THE MISUSE OF PSYCHIATRY

SELECTED EXCERPTS

FROM BESZÉLŐ

The regime's misuse of psychiatry for the punishment of political dissidents was reported in two successive issues of *BESZÉLŐ*. The *szamizdat* magazine cites two incidents:

Károly Jakab's plight is reported in the October 1981 issue under the telling title: "Things Like That Don't Happen Here". Jakab, an agronomist, was indicted for writing a number of letters to his local council which, in the words of the District Attorney, "insulted the authorities, i.e. official persons". *BESZÉLŐ* provides some of the evidence on the basis of which Jakab was eventually convicted. The strongest statements were:

"The local council does not enjoy the trust of the population. . . The council, which is purportedly democratic, has done nothing. It should be ashamed of itself, and should never say that it basis its authority on the trust of the township's population because if it were so then its activities would be tantamount to an abuse of that trust."

The prosecution asked for compulsory use of psychiatric treatment as part of the sentence. Since then Jakab was declared mentally incompetent and went through the whole panoply of coercive treatments including closed wards and electroshock therapy. According to *BESZÉLŐ* it is hard to judge how many other people are similarly abused, since the ones affected are often hidden by their anonymity. The report ends with a plea for the help of doctors and lawyers, indicating that Jakab, now with the valuable assistance of the "second public opinion" intends to carry on his fight for justice and against arbitrary use of authority.

The other case, reported in the March 1982 issue of BESZÉLŐ is the well known case of Dr. Tibor Pákh. In an interview Pákh himself gives account of his ordeal.

“I was stuffed when several of them held me down, and they forced the food in my mouth with a spoon. Some of the food got in my mouth, most did not. They thrust the spoon in with force, one of my teeth chipped. . . It was impossible to continue/the hungerstrike/. They restrained me, grabbed my nose, twisted it so that I was unable to breath. I had to open my mouth and then they forced the spoon in. My nostril was ripped. I had to swallow when the food was stuffed on my throat. I would cheat myself by insisting that I am fasting, I was swallowing food. And it was repulsive that the food that did not get in my mouth was spilled on my pajamas and my bedsheet. After every “meal” I was laying in a pool of food.”

ANNEX VIII

SELECTED DOCUMENTATION ON THE STATUS OF THE CHURCHES IN HUNGARY

DOCUMENT II

Fr Bulányi writes to Cardinal Lékai

We have already published extensive documentation in RCL on the controversy between the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy, headed by Cardinal László Lékai, and the "Basis" groups led by Fr György Bulányi, a member of the Piarist order now in his seventies (Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 95-108). The document which follows is a letter from Fr Bulányi addressed to Cardinal Lékai. It throws further light on the philosophy of the "Basis" groups and the reasons for the controversy which has arisen. The introduction to the documents previously published in RCL outlines developments during 1982 up to June, when Fr Bulányi was suspended a divinis (p. 95). The letter below was written on 7 March 1982, after Fr Bulányi had had two meetings with Cardinal Lékai and others, but before his suspension.

Your Eminence,

I have received from you two invitations to a meeting. Your telegram arrived on the afternoon of 2 March, asking me to see you on 3 March. Your vicar's letter arrived on 5 March in the afternoon, inviting me for the same day or on 6 March. Unfortunately, the dates fixed by you at such short notice were inconvenient for me, not only because as my engagement diary is full for at least a month I would have been obliged to cancel some of my engagements, but also for other reasons. At our last meeting I received the rudest possible comments on my "Answers" (to questions about his views posed by the hierarchy — Ed.), which I had prepared with great care. Even now I have not after two weeks received the minutes of that meeting, and cannot verify whether or not they contain the insults. It would be

unwise on my part to expose myself and my flock for a third time to being insulted for hours. I am not prepared to make statements contrary to the teachings of the Church. I have taken part in two meetings and have on both occasions fulfilled the words of Archbishop Poggi: "they trust the authority of the Church; the Church will have the strength to conduct the enquiry in truth and justice." This is why I have chosen to write. I apologise for the delay of five days, but the importance of the subject matter requires it to be thoroughly thought out.

I respectfully request Your Eminence to consider our aims as summarised below. These aims are our motivation, in spite of our weakness and our modest achievements.

1. Mindful of God and the Church, we consider it our constant duty, given to us by Jesus, that our little communities should become more and more acquainted with God, who wants to communicate with us, and bear witness in words and deeds to what we know of Him. We cannot be deterred from fulfilling our obligations, even if we are threatened with the harshest punishments, even if our lives are in peril, and with God's help we want to stand fast in the future, too.
2. We stick unflinchingly in our duties as human beings and as God's children. We try to see clearly, as the Second Vatican Council requires of us, by observing the signs of the times (Matt. 16, 4), what the Kingdom of God means here and now. In order to serve the Kingdom of God, we will continue committing our thoughts on the subject to paper, so that by reading, criticising and adding to each others' manuscripts, and by mutual encouragement, we shall do what we are able in this respect. If our Church has — thanks be to God — unequivocally supported freedom of thought in the Second Vatican Council, then it is our sacred duty to make this freedom an unquestionable reality within the Church. We are prepared for a "dialogue" with any readers of our manuscripts, a summary of the conceptual contents of which I handed over at our last meeting for the minutes.
3. On the strength of what we have seen so far, we try to serve life, so that it should become more abundant (John 10, 10)

- a) In service of life, we face the death of our nation. Last year the population declined by two thousand, and according to forecasts it will decline further in the near future by hundreds of thousands. In our communities we consider it quite normal for families to have four, five, six or even more children; we think a mother should stay at home to rear the children; and we think a family should be able to manage on one person's income. Since the Second World War the nation has condemned five million lives to death by abortion. The losses in the tragic battles of Mohacs (1526) and of the Don (1943) were negligible compared with those due to abortion. Atheists have already raised their voices courageously. The families of our small communities protest with their lives against this gross immorality of our society, which eats up its own children in the interest of raising material living standards.
- b) In the service of life, we reject all other forms of killing people. We do not learn war any more, as Isaiah dreamt of the times following the birth of Jesus. We do not promise the destruction of our enemies, because everybody is our neighbour. We are not prepared to become patriotic mass murderers, war criminals. Other people's consciences may speak differently, but we see it as an intrinsic element of our faithfulness to Jesus that we cannot ignore the Fifth Commandment, any more than we can the other nine. For us the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" is a hundredfold sacred — it is a divine commandment that knows no exception. We believe and openly declare that without the Fifth Commandment the Kingdom of Heaven and the classless society are unattainable, violence will not cease, and the State will not wither away. Fighting will stop only when there are no more fighters. Whatever punishments or suffering we have to face, we are not going to give up our faith. We pray that Your Eminence's Catholic heart, formed like that of Jesus, should be filled with pride and joy at the knowledge that since September 1979 eight Hungarian Catholics have made a heroic confession of faith, and that at present there are still four imprisoned for their witness. (This is a reference to refusing military conscription — Ed.)

- c) In the service of life, we endeavour to direct our consciences in such a way as not to increase our standard of living. We want not to increase it from two to three but to reduce it from three to two, so far as purchasable goods are concerned. We do this so that the superfluity can be given to the hungry rather than turned into superfluous goods for us to save, because this is “pure religion and undefiled” (James 1, 27), and because without feeding Jesus who hungers in billions of people, we cannot expect to be gathered among the blessed (Matt. 25, 31-46).
- d) In the service of life we exclude from our little communities all governing, commanding and subordination of others to ourselves, all forms of compelling obedience, remembering the words of Jesus: “All ye are brethren” (Matt. 23, 8). We place our hopes in revelation and in human conscience. We hope we all listen to Jesus and to the Spirit. We obey Jesus’ commandments and we obey the Spirit, which reminds us of His words, for this is what the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit — the Holy Family — requires from the Church, and from each member of the Church. It is required in imitation of Jesus, who was willing to hearken to His Father, and was consequently condemned to death for disobedience by his nation’s high priest; in imitation of the apostles and the martyr Stephen, who were incarcerated, beaten or stoned to death by order of the same high priest, and who knew that they had to disobey man in order to obey God, even if it meant laying down their own lives. In the Church we all have to obey God (Acts 5, 29).
4. This is how we want to serve Jesus, who has taught us the Word of Life in His Church:

in humble, not lordly, positions, serving and not ruling, watching and drawing attention to the Spirit, without commanding others or compelling obedience;

as poor, not rich people, as ordinary men producing and delivering rather than exercising power as privileged people, feeding the hungry rather than pushing our standard of living up and up: P4;

as meek lambs, not ravening wolves, not throwing our children in

the canal, not trusting murderous weapons, not defending our rights by violence, state authority or lawsuits, but forgiving all; not repaying evil with evil but striving for peace.

(...) We are trying to emulate the poor persecuted Jesus in our lives, in the service of love that is ready to give, to sacrifice and to make peace.

We are not trying to change the dogmas of the Church, which are mysteries described more than once by the apostle Paul in the words: "for now we see through a glass darkly" (1 Cor. 13, 12). What we are basically interested in is to understand and imitate a Jesus-like way of life. We are trying to serve the historical development of the dogmas (orthodoxy) through emulating Jesus (orthopraxis). Within the Church and in society as a whole we are striving for unity brought about by loving service. By this means we hope also for the revival of unity in faith, because Jesus-like faithfulness and our clinging belief have no more sublime, more basic or more universal object than the love we have learned from Jesus. We are sure that no dogma can originate from Jesus which would make us hate or kill an enemy or be indifferent towards the hungry.

We all stand before Christ's judgement seat. The whole Church stands there, too, because Christ's message is love. Our aim is to fulfill this commandment and to let everybody recognise that we are His disciples. Our small communities are motivated by this alone.

5. The number of our priests is diminishing alarmingly. Our churches, deprived of priests, are empty, yet we trust in the authority of Jesus (Mark 1, 22). We trust implicitly in the power of the Word and its teaching to bring society, irrespective of religion or non-religion, to the realisation that the unadulterated (Matt. 10, 16) words of Jesus speak for the life of society as a whole. It will understand that He is the only way, and everything else is a cul-de-sac. For this very reason we would think it natural if the chief Hungarian shepherd of Jesus' poor, meek, unprotected Catholic Church, which defies the powerful of this world, were to embrace us with all the love of his heart, moved by our Jesus-like ideals, our optimistic efforts to reverse the population decline and our pastoral conceptions based on small communities — since, as Pope Paul VI said, the small communities are "the hope of the Church".

6. We consider it natural and claim, as always, that our chief Shepherd should extend his love, his attention and his care to us. With this in mind, I have the honour to inform Your Eminence of the following:

- a) It must be evident to you from my consistent statements at the two meetings and my “Answers” that we adhere to the unerring teachings of our Church. This we declare again.
- b) If in any words of ours, spoken or written, you should find anything that you judge contrary to the teachings of our Church, we shall respectfully and conscientiously think over your corrections, stemming as they do from your high office, your understanding, your responsibility and your love. The reason why I submitted my “Answers” to the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is because for us it is extremely important to teach what the Church has learned from Jesus, as the Spirit reminds the Church. We are always prepared to learn from those who have received a special charisma from the Spirit.
- c) I am ready and willing to take part in further dialogues, if I receive a guarantee that at the meetings not a single participant will revile us or our aims. Such behaviour is not necessary for achieving justice, and is totally inadequate for expressing the truth of the love of Jesus. Vilification nullifies argument. Since I want to preserve the Church’s teachings concerning human dignity, I do not wish my presence at a meeting to give anybody the opportunity of offending human dignity. I say this in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council: “It is the disciple’s obligation to his Master, Christ, to come to know as fully as possible the truth received from Him, and to propagate and effectively protect this truth, excluding all means contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. At the same time Christ’s love urges you to

treat your erring and ignorant fellow men with understanding, tolerance and love" (*Dignitatis Humanae*, 14). It is very sad for me to think that in 1952 under the Rákosi regime, the atheist major who interrogated me at the secret police headquarters under the direction of Gábor Péter (secret police chief — Ed) for sixty days showed more respect for my person and my activities than was my lot at the two above-mentioned meetings, which can in no way be called dialogues. Again and again I protested against the proceedings and the tone of voice. I wanted my protest to be entered in the minutes, but unfortunately this was not done.

As early as the dialogue of 5 December, I asked that the unacceptably rude criticisms of our writings by Professors Gál and Vanyó be attached to the minute book. Your Eminence rejected my request. The minutes contain neither my request nor the refusal. Now I ask again that they should be attached, together with my brethren's replies to criticisms, in order to dispel any doubts as to our own conscientious respect and love in the face of whatever style of behaviour. I have to ask for this most particularly because the minutes of the meeting of 5 December do not reflect the behaviour to which we were subjected.

It may seem superfluous, but to avoid any misunderstanding I must mention that my frequent use in this letter of the first person plural means unequivocally that I do not state these things alone, but together with all my brethren of the same persuasion.

In an effort to promote reconciliation within the Hungarian Church, I am sending copies of this letter, as I did with my "Answers", to all Hungarian bishops. Of course, I have informed my superiors in Rome, too. I am always ready to serve the Church of Jesus, and my continuing aim is that you should treat me as your brother in Jesus Christ and not as an enemy to be put aside. I greet you with respect and love.

BULÁNYI, GYÖRGY Sch. P.

Budapest, 7 March 1982

DOCUMENT III
HARASSED RELIGIOUS GROUP ASKS FOR SUPPORT
PUBLISHED IN BESZÉLŐ II

The writers of this statement are seeking the good will of Hungarian public opinion since they have been harassed by certain officials and have only experienced indifference on the part of those authorities responsible for handling such matters.

Our Christian sect, God's Assembly, which is being reorganized, is comprised of a charismatic, fully evangelical congregation. Because of the growth in our numbers and official reaction to this increase, on September 1983, we submitted our organization's by-laws to the President of the State Office of Church Affairs for approval.

When our request remained unanswered, on 7 June 1984, we asked Pastor Tibor Iványi, President of the Evangelical Brotherhood, to provide legal sponsorship for our congregation. We notified the President of the State Office of Church Affairs of the step in writing.

We received no official response to this letter either but the official harassment we had experienced over the past several years continued. Some members lost their jobs, some had their apartments searched, while others were subjected to minor police harassment on several occasions at our places of worship. In the No. 10, 1984 issue of **Magyar Ifjuság** (Hungarian Youth, the weekly of the Communist Youth League (KISZ)), Ágnes Seszták attacked us in an extensive, slanderous article.

It was the shocking incident involving the widow Mrs. József Galambos who has a serious heart condition that prompted us to write this statement. She is a member of the Reformed Church and has close ties with members of our congregation. On 30 October 1984, at 11 o'clock in the morning, two men, both in their 30's, came to her apartment in Balatonfüred, at number 3 Népköztársaság Street, and asked to be let in, saying that they came from Budapest.

The unsuspecting, elderly lady let them in, assuming that they were also Christians. After a quick survey of the apartment, the guests started to question Mrs. Galambos about her connections. When they did not receive answers which satisfied them, they screamed at her and demanded to know why Levente Petrócz, the son of the Reformed

Minister and a member of our congregation, comes to visit her from Budapest with his "buddies." When they received another evasive answer, the two who affected the manner of officials, began to abuse and slander Levente Petr6cz, whom Mrs. Galambos has known for almost 10 years, along with the leaders of our congregation. They called our fellowship a "Western supported maffia" which could expect extra funds for ensnaring Mrs. Galambos. They declared that "We'll make sure they don't make a catch here."

When Mrs. Galambos said that neither she, nor the congregation, is afraid of the police, since they are not doing anything wrong, they asked her if she had heard that "some people have inexplicably disappeared, and a few dead bodies have been found in various places?"

The old woman was terribly frightened by this threat. She thought that they may try to kill her right there. They made her promise to break off all contacts with Levente Petr6cz and his "buddies."

After the visit, her health was severely shattered.

We are firmly convinced that this and similar cases of crass atrocities can happen as a result of the conduct of the State Office of Religious Affairs which failed to respond to our submission of our by-laws, prepared and provided to them according to regulations. Because of our unsettled legal status, we are vulnerable to further harassment and other official abuse. Even if these are perpetrated by individuals (without apparent official connections), such actions do not serve to enhance either the international reputation of our country or the peaceful coexistence of peoples with varying world views. Moreover they certainly do not contribute to improvement of the atmosphere of violence and tension which is so noticeable nowadays.

We ask the support of all well-intentioned public opinion in the effort to normalize our legal situation so that we may live our lives undisturbed within our religious communities.

Budapest, 6 November 1984

In the name of God's Assembly:

Tamás Havas, Gábor Nagy, Pál Nemes,
Sándor Németh, Levente Petr6cz, Ervin Piszter,
István Taller, Uzoni Péter, Tamás Vác.

DOCUMENT IV**HIS-PRESS-SERVICE****Special Topic: Religion and Church in Hungary****No. 28 — Vienna, February 1985****20 Years after the partial agreement between the Vatican and the Hungarian Government**

The 15th of September 1984 marked the twentieth anniversary of the so-called Partial Agreement made between representatives of the Holy See and representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic. This event caused considerable international interest as this was the first time a Socialist country in the Warsaw Pact had made an official agreement with the Vatican. Usually, settlements concerning the relations between Church and State are only negotiated within the national frontiers, i.e. with the episcopacy of the country in question. The right to negotiate with the Vatican was considered as the privilege of the Soviet Union. The agreement shows, on the part of the Hungarian government, an open acknowledgement of the authority of the Holy See in matters of leadership in the Hungarian Church. The Vatican, in its turn, noted its recognition and acceptance of the State's claim on the loyalty of the Hungarian Church leaders to its interests.

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH
AND THE STATE
BEFORE THE PARTIAL AGREEMENT**

In the Fifties the Church in Hungary was subjected to brutal persecutions and to a series of oppressive administrative measures imposed by the authorities. Church activity was considerably limited and was totally pushed back to behind the church walls. The relationship between Church and State could only be called totally one-sided: The Church was virtually completely at the mercy of the State. After the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty (December 1948), the establishment and active engagement of the Priests' Movement for Peace (1949-50) — this was seen at the time as a kind of Fifth Column of the State in the Church —, the internment of members of religious orders (June 1950) and a series of other oppressive measure, the first impor-

tant step on the way to the policy of agreement was made on the 30th of August 1950: An agreement — which was, admittedly, extremely disadvantageous for the Church — was made between the Hungarian Bishops Conference and the State. This agreement sealed the almost total dissolution of the religious orders, and demanded that, in future, every priest should swear an oath to the Constitution; disciplinary measures were also to be carried out on the part of the Church against members of the clergy guilty of violating the regulations laid down by the State.

In 1951 the State started its most violent wave of oppression against the Church: A so-called State Office for Church Affairs was created (15th of May) which, working closely with the Ministry of the Interior, was to determine in future the national policy towards the Church; police arrests were made on a series of bishops, József Grosz, Archbishop of Kalocsa, who, as head of the Hungarian Bishops Conference, had signed the above-mentioned agreement in 1950, was arrested and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment (18th of May).

With Stalin's death (March 1953) the oppressive administrative measures abated a little. The State began to seek a *modus vivendi* with the Church. The events of 1956 showed all too clearly how urgently a true real-politik was needed; and the unjust methods which had been applied up till then, were not reconcilable with a state leadership striving for consolidation whose policy was aimed at creating a national unity.

In a decision which was recently confirmed in 1983 and which is still valid today, the Central Committee of the Party laid down the guidelines of the new policy towards the Church in 1958, thereby fixing the relationship between Church and State.

Looking back at the Fifties it has to be said with justification that the oppressive measures and persecutions brought other results apart from just disadvantages to the Church: During this period the Church got rid of a number of superfluous burdens, such as the totally outdated — from an economic point of view — Church estates. But also in fact that the various possibilities of pastoral care were taken away from the faithful and that they were made to undergo a kind of ideological "withdrawal cure", had, at the same time, a boomerang effect; for a real spiritual hunger for the values of the gospel was thus

aroused among the people. The fact that religious base groups were established so early in Hungary, can be traced to the prohibition of every kind of religious society. The people for whom religion in the community was a necessity looked for a replacement which they found in the form of groups of friends interested in religion. Moreover the critical activities directed by the State against religion aroused interest in religious issues among the non-believers.

In its attempted to re-educate the people according to the "socialist view of man" the State had failed; the socialist values did not seem to have any attraction. In view of this fiasco the Church with the alternatives she was offering, had the best chances: The persecuted — because as well as adults who were searching in vain for ideals and values.

THE POSITIVE EFFECTS OF THE AGREEMENT

As was shown in the course of time, the Partial Agreement opened up more possibilities than had been foreseen when it was signed in 1964. Keeping the problems continually in awareness is, as State Secretary Imre Miklós, of the State Office for Church Affairs, expressed, virtually the seal of quality the head of the gradual improvement in the relations between Church and State, with regard to the Church's possibilities of pastoral care — which amounts to the same thing. According to Imre Miklós, no aim — at least verbal — should be out of the question in this process of improvement for the Church. As far as the practical results are concerned, however, it must be said that he has, admittedly, brought about a more elegant solution concerning the State's "supervision" of the Church, but, in actual fact, there has been hardly any real relief as far as pastoral care is concerned. Nevertheless, every possibility of extending her activity in a legal way has become very important for the Catholic Church in Hungary. The development of her relations with other countries led to her involvement in the conciliatory renewal in the pulsating Church at large. — The relaxing of import regulations on books and periodicals of religious content, written in Hungarian and which were printed outside Hungary. — The need for priests, who had continued their studies at foreign universities, was particularly great, both in the initial and in the continuing activity of the theological *aggiornamentos* today. — The formation of a committee for the edition of new religious books was the beginning of a catechetical movement, which,

for its part, — in the interest and for the promotion of religious instruction — led to the establishment of a diocesan committee, as well as a supra-regional institute. As it became evident that there was a growing interest in theology amount the faithful, the Catholic Church — like the Protestant Churches — roughly on the same scale — was allowed some years ago to start up a correspondence course on theology for lay persons. It was designed to cater for the increasing thirst for religious knowledge as well as for engaged Christians will to involve themselves in the pastoral activities of the Church. There are no obstacles to the theory, but as for the practice, the State has still not given its permission for the actual engagement, i.e. effective employment of course participants who have completed the course, in the diocesan pastoral care service. — For spiritual intensification, as well as for practical training as helpers for the Church, there is the recently opened retreat-house (which holds up to 30 beds) which has met with great success among the faithful and, as originally foreseen, is well-frequented by mostly elderly people. Apart from the already mentioned major significance of the agreement as the beginning of a future dialogue, the most important immediate result must be seen in the smoothly effected filling of several episcopal sees: with the appointment of Laszlo Leki as Archbishop of Esztergom in 1976 the Hungarian hierarchy was complete once more.

UNRESOLVED MATTERS

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Partial Agreement a series of assessment was made; and there was general reference to the fact that there was still, as before, a series of unresolved problems and further steps must be taken to find a solution to them. Let us now express these general demands in a more concrete way, showing, in our opinion, what steps are necessary within the Church in Hungary.

THE PROBLEM OF THE “ORDERED CONDITIONS”

The so-called “ordering” of the relations between Church and State is guaranteed by an open-ended ruling which offers the State countless possibilities of interfering in internal Church affairs. The most drastic of these is the interference of the State — regardless of the unequal-

ent written regulation — in all of the bishops, actions. As the practice shows, the State is not just content that the bishops, according to the decrees No. 22/1957 and No. 18/1959, and the slightly moderated decree of June 1971, should keep the State Office for Church Affairs informed about significant measures only, but, moreover they cannot even transfer a chaplain at their own discretion; furthermore, it is often the authorities themselves who instruct the bishops about transfer, especially if a particular pastor is, in their opinion, too successful in carrying out his work.

Another grave interference on part of the State is that it insists, as before, on filling the key positions within the Church with persons of its own choice, who are amenable to the State, (mostly with priests from the Peace Movement) regardless whether these persons further the needs of the Church or meet with the approval of the bishops.

Both practices are in flagrant contradiction to the rulings of the Council regarding the independence of the Church. These regulations expressly underline the appointment and installation of bishops as the exclusive right of the Church and her leader responsible for this. The exact wording of this ruling is — “Thus the holy ecumenical Synod declares that it is the fundamental, independent and exclusive right of the Church leader responsible for this matter to appoint and install bishops. In order to legitimately protect the freedom of the Church and in order to promote the welfare of the faithful in an improved and freer manner, the Holy Council expresses the wish that, in future, state authorities should no longer be given the rights and privileges of selecting, recommending, appointing or designating bishops. The state authorities, whose goodwill towards the Church is gratefully appreciated and esteemed, are kindly requested, after consultation with the Apostolic See, to renounce voluntarily the rights or privileges mentioned which they enjoy at present through contract or practice.” (Vatican II, Decisions taken by the Council, Decree on the pastoral task of the Bishops in the Church, Point 20).

In Hungary the practice which was applied to the partial agreement was kept until now: appointments of bishops are always made only after previous agreement with the State.

A further problem of the “regulated conditions” is seen in the evangelization. The Marxist ideologists are of the opinion that regula-

tions of religious instruction in Hungary represents an ideal solution for the realization of the constitutionally assured religious freedom, guaranteeing on the one hand, the same chances and possibilities for believers and non-believers alike to practise their faith or not, and, on the other hand, assuring the right of every citizen to religious freedom, at the same time, respecting the civil duties. This somewhat falsified way of considering the "principle of equality" needs some explanation:

The ruling termed as "ideal" lays down the following regulation for the religious instruction which, as it is, is minimal in any case:

- Pupils attending a primary or unspecialised secondary school (only in these types of schools is religious instruction allowed to be given) must, if they wish to attend religious instruction, on a morning or afternoon specially set aside for this, be enrolled by their parents personally or in writing. Only those pupils who are formally enrolled for religious instruction may attend the class.

- The religion teacher is not allowed to grade the pupils' achievement. Pupils who miss the religious class are not obliged to excuse their absence.

- The religion teacher working in the service of the Church (in practice only priests) are paid by the hour by the State. In order to teach they require a special work permit from the local council. Should the council, for any reason, believe the religion teacher to be in any way hostile to the State, this permission can be withdrawn again.

As for teaching material the teacher may only use those books on religion which are permitted by the State. He has to keep a daily account of his lessons. He has to conform to school regulations. He is not a member of the school teaching staff and may not be involved in any way in school activities (e.g. as supervisor on excursions etc.), is not allowed to enter the staff room and may only remain in school during the actual hours of religious instruction.

The Church has to struggle against similar obstacles as far as church buildings are concerned. All the "new churches" which state and clerical personalities are apt to refer to, are, almost without exception, new buildings erected in the place of churches which had formerly existed but which had been destroyed or demolished for security reasons or had been abandoned. In most cases the new buildings, —

which are actually more chapels than churches — are the same size as the churches which they replace. The building permission for the erection of new churches is very seldom given. A priest belonging to the Peace Movement received as a birthday present such a building permission for his special merits, so too did Cardinal Lékai on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee as a priest and Bishop Pataky from Győr also was granted permission to build a church on a new housing-estate. The faithful have to present actual proof for the need of a new church — a demand which is very difficult to meet in practice.

INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

The problems facing the Church throughout the world after the War such as secularization, uprooting, temptations of affluence, etc., were not spared the Church in Hungary either. Only in the case of Hungary, problems which were specifically Hungarian were added to these other ones. Due to the changed conditions the Church needed a number of essential measures. And since such measures could only be realised with the help of the State, the inevitable question — what would be allowed by the State — became the fundamental principle of every point to be considered. The most urgent task of the Church is pastoral care. — The lack of priests is more catastrophic than ever. The already insufficient number of 300 seminarians has sunk to even less than 200 in the academic year 1984, — and on top of that, the standard of the training leaves much to be desired. — The taking stock of the situation planned in 1976 and the requirements of the Church, has still not been carried out. An institute for the examination of the Church's situation had, admittedly, had planned, but this very promising intention did not materialize as it was discovered that the ideas on the methods of procedure of the institute did not correspond to scholarly research work, but rather to the functions of Public Relations activity. The institute would only have served any real purpose if an objective disclosure of the facts and data as the basis for the decisions and preparatory measures would have been possible; instead of this, the authorities expected the institute to corroborate or justify decisions already taken.

At present the Church in Hungary is not only unprepared for the solution of her own problems but she is also helpless in the face of

those tasks for whose solution the State would like to enlist her assistance: In the September 1984 issue of the periodical, "Vigilia", Bishop Cserháti wrote that, within the framework of the "Patriotic People's Front", concrete agreements have been made, according to which the Church should take an active part in caring for the family, the young people and the elderly. In areas of such concrete tasks, which demand sound specialist knowledge, goodwill alone is not enough if effective help is to be offered. There are hardly any experts within the Church itself. A state research team, as reported in their brochure, "Integration of Difficulties in Society", conducted examinations on problems such as suicide, criminality, alcoholism, feebleness, dangers facing the young, and came to the conclusion that these "defects within society" are spreading at an alarming rate. To solve these problems the State would gladly enlist the help of the Church and the latter would indeed be ready, with the aid of her system of values and motivated by her mission, to counteract such difficulties. But the acquisition of the necessary specialist knowledge, the concrete preparation of successful work in this field of activity, could only be achieved through a course of intensive study and this cannot be demanded of the already over-burdened parish pastors. If the Church has the intention of efficiently serving the welfare of the general public in this particular field, i.e. approaching the problems not with well-meaning encouragement, but rather with competent knowledge, she must see to it that people are trained not just for evangelization but also that they acquire the necessary sound and specialised knowledge.

OBSTACLES TO MISSIONARY WORK

The fundamental principle of "being ordered" is that everything that is not explicitly "regulated" is forbidden. The regulations may be relatively generous in certain respects, but they have to be very strictly and exactly adhered to. Thus, for example, it is possible for a college club to organize a discussion on religion and invite theologians, priests etc. to give talks on the subject, but the Church itself is not allowed to organize anything of the kind. Via the mass media virtually only materialistically oriented information is offered on religious topics, (history of religion, practices of the religious life). A striking example of this was the 32-part broadcast series, "World of the Bible" which, in accordance with the general wish, was not only repeated but was even brought out in

book-form too, (100,000 copies) and in a very short time was out of print. The non-religious public opinion celebrated this as a great "religious event".

Likewise managed by the State and thereby materialistically orientated is the telephone advisory service on psychological matters. While the Protestant churches, within a limited scope, have the possibility of offering a pastoral service by telephone, the Catholic Church is not allowed to have anything similar. The Catholic Church virtually has to do without the use of modern means of communication for the purposes of evangelization. The Church can therefore only exert her influence through her own communities, and has more or less adapted herself to this and tries to do justice to her task within the scope of the possibilities open to her. It was already hinted at a number of times in the national press that it would actually be quite good to set up religious competition to the ineffective materialist propaganda which, in its exclusive control, had stagnated into self-complacency; thus more life and dynamics would be infused into the spreading of materialist propaganda, and those people who had not yet bound themselves to any particular ideology, would have the possibility of making up their minds for one direction or the other. The governing bodies have not yet been able to decide on such a "democratic" step.

The two decades which have passed since the Partial Agreement was made, have been a time of upheaval and transition in the Hungarian Church: She is still affected by traits of the former position she once had and subsequently forfeited, and which she must now turn her back on once and for all. At the same time, as far as the future is concerned, she is still at the stage of preparing herself for a firm position in today's society. But in both respects she has made significant progress in these last two decades. Above all, in spite of the trial of strength which the change of roles in society meant for her, she has managed to stay faithful to her mission, and — using the modest means at her disposal, — is well on the way to renewal in the sense of the Second Vatican Council. The results achieved in this period are not least of all due to Rome, particularly to the solicitude expressed by Pope John Paul II in his speeches and in his letters. The Vatican's "Ostpolitik" could not bring about independence for the Hungarian Church, but at least it can create more possibilities of a more intensive engagement in pastoral care.

DOCUMENT V**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HUNGARIAN STATE
AND THE HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH****BY DR JOSEPH PUNGUR****(An excerpt)**

Rev. Dr. Joseph Pungur is the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Previously he was the minister of the Hungarian Reformed Church and for years he worked at the Foreign-Relations Department of the Synodal Office dealing with protocol matters. Having spent six years in teaching ministry in Kenya, East Africa, he is now the minister of the Calvin Hungarian Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, and lecturer of the University of Alberta. This lecture was delivered at the annual meeting of the American Hungarian Reformed Ministerial Association, Ligonier, PA., September 1984.

We must understand that even the restricted freedoms enjoyed by the Church today are being constantly altered by the State depending on their domestic and foreign policy's difficulties. Although Hungary has recently been depicted by the Western media as the country of "Gulyas Communism", few people know the real difficulties the regime is wrestling with.

In this situation the state obviously needs the Church to help alleviate the dissatisfaction of the masses.

What they are now returning to the Church in concessions is only a fraction of what they had illegally taken from her that what was left after the nationalization of Church schools in 1948.

Let us examine now how the Church is being kept under government control by the totalitarian state.

Most typical and the first of this system is the formation of the State Office of Church Affairs. The task of this office is multifaceted. Within the existing political framework this office is responsible for State-Church relationship. Any request from the Church leaders to the State must be made through this office. This agency also represents the will of state in ecclesiastical matters. Furthermore, the task of the State Office of Church Affairs includes the monitoring of church-activities and the

measurement of Church influence on society. Beyond this, this office makes recommendations to the state authority regarding policies connected with the Church and Church personnel.

The State Office of Church Affairs is in constant touch with similar institutions in other socialist countries exchanging views, ideas and sharing experiences. This agency is also connected to other State and Party organizations and its president, in the rank of Undersecretary of State, participates in meeting of the Council of State Ministers. The office has a very close relationship with the Communist Party headquarters and the Security Police.

The State Office of Church Affairs pays particular attention to the selection of Church leaders. At the present time, when one becomes a Church leader, he must be a person with proven loyalty to the State. The decisive criterion is neither suitability nor talents but loyalty to the State.

The second level of the supervisory system over the Church, as unbelievable as it may sound, is constituted by the leaders of the Church, the deans or seniors, bishops and the responsible leaders of the Synod and that of the Synod's Office (which is the equivalent of the General Assembly Office in the Presbyterian Churches). These persons provide regular reports to their superiors which, in the final analysis, end up in the State Office of Church Affairs. Fro' political activities abroad.

The third level of supervision is the State Security Police. A special division of it deals with the affairs of the Church and the clergy, monitoring their activities by informations from their independent network of id that of the Synod's Office (which is the equivalent of the General Assembly Office in the Presbyterian Churches). These persons provide regular reports to their superiors which, in the final analysis, end up in the State Office of Church Affairs. Fronformers. The State Security Police is in communication with the State Office of Church Affairs as well as with the leaders of the Church. If a case is unmanageable by both the Church leaders and the State Office of Church Affairs, then the Security Police will commence action.

After all this let us examine on what theological basis has the Hungarian Reformed Church formed her policies towards the State.

In the first period from 1948 to 1956 Bishop Albert Beretzky formulated the so-called "narrow way" theology what the Church leadership

found most appropriate for those times. To briefly summarize, this theology professed that God pronounced judgement on the past conduct of the country during the war years including that of the Church. Only a “narrow way” was given to the Church which meant a limited activity for the Church under the new Communist system. This theology was suitable for the excuse of the State to nationalize Church properties and schools, also to take away two of the four theological academies including the Lonyai — and Sárospatak High Schools a couple of years later. This theology was also suitable for the Church to extinguish post-war religious revival and to silently endure the molestations of her clergy and congregations and the deportation of many believers. In the fall of 1956 amidst shaking political events the judgement of God was manifested on this theology and its most prominent representatives faded out of the limelight of the Church.

Since 1957, the Church has been living in the so-called “Theology of Service” era. This had been worked out by Bishop Tibor Bartha and his co-workers. The basis of it can be found in Luke 22:27, “I am among you as he that serveth.” This “Theology of Service”, in reality became a “Theology of Servitude”, thus, a sell-out theology. This theology acknowledges the goals of the atheistic state and in thorough realization of these coerces the Church to co-operate. So in building socialism, the Church became a collaborator as well as the arm of the State.

Regarding this theology, there are at least three critical remarks that should be made. Firstly, the premise of this theology is false because Christ had said his words to his own disciples and followers and not to Pontius Pilate, the representative of the Roman Empire.

The second remark is that basically the “Theology of Service” is a liberal political theology and its representatives want to cover it with an orthodox theological sugar coat. It is liberal because it equalizes the Kingdom of God with Socialism and perceives the arrival of the former through the realization of the latter.

Thirdly, let us point out the precarious situation into which the Church has been led by her leaders. The theoreticians and leaders of the society, in which the Church lives presently, openly admit of not having any future plan for the Church in the Communistic society to come. At the same time, the Church contributes to the building up of this society by fervently joining the builders of socialism. This means that the Church

prepares the way for her own demise to the point when she is needed no longer.

As to the shortcomings in Church leadership let us only mention three.

First of all, there is a noticeable lack of prophetic voice. It is understandable that the Church tries to find her own pathway within the socialist system and agrees with certain political goals on humanitarian basis. The Church leaders, however, should raise a prophetic voice toward those goals and practices of the regime which from both Christian and national points of view are questionable. Let us name some of these areas which should be of concern to the Church leaders. The problem of a decreasing population and the question of abortion, the escalating rate of suicide, alcoholism, oppressed Hungarian minorities living in the neighbouring States, the Eastern block's arms race and deployment of new rockets.

Recently, we may have witnessed the latest sins of the Church leaders and we may commonly call it "misinformation"; the willful misleading of Church followers in regard to certain important matters.

It may be mentioned, at this point, that the Church leadership developed a Neo-baroque absolutistic type of leadership in a Church that professes to practice Synod-Presbytery system. Behind the mask of the Synod-Presbytery system the Church fell actually into the hands of a leadership clique. Since State leadership is highly centralized the Church leadership was obliged to follow this pattern. This is how the present style of Church leadership, which can be labelled as Bishopric system of Church government, came about. It is easier for the State Office of Church Affairs to work with a few bishops, who are known and are obliged to it and having a long term in office, than with moderators taking turns yearly. Thus, assuredly, the Neo-baroque Church leadership is perfectly suitable to the leaders of the Proletarian Dictature.

After all this, how do we perceive the Hungarian Reformed Church? It is necessary to differentiate between Church leadership and the Church herself for the two are not synonymous. The Church leadership has developed the wrong theology relating to the State and consequently has been practicing misguided Church policies for which the Church is dearly paying. A theology which leads to a close union with a regime, that holds to an atheistic ideology and involved in a systematic and

fervent combat against Church, must be qualified as defective. This regime gradually and systematically elevates itself to the same plateau as God claiming to be omniscient, omnipresent, almighty and fountain and giver of all things. It neither request nor tolerates criticism because within its domain it ascribes to the view of all wisdom, power and glory. The Church leaders living in an illusionary world with momentary advantages and with the euphoric enjoyment of their delegated power. Either they are unable or unwilling to observe the fact that they are helping to build up a ruthless socialistic society which will eventually terminate the existence of the Church. At the same time it must be observed that the majority of congregations and of the parish pastors living plainly and in the faith. It is their devotion to God and dedication to their faith which still keeps the Church alive. The preaching of the Word of God, even if it is done in uncertainty and sometimes vaguely, it still is being heard. Even if the Word of God is preached in this manner it is still an alternative to the propagation of the atheistic ideology. The Church in her condition is still preaching the gospel of mercy and forgiveness and new life through Christ. By doing so the Church helps to preserve Hungary's own national characteristics and awareness.

For the Hungarian Reformed Church living in the West there is a special mission to the Reformed Church in Hungary. This was drafted by the late Bishop Laszlo Ravasz. The task of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the West is the same as it was of the -Princes- of Transylvania who as the rulers of the Principality of Transylvania helped by all means the people of Hungary under Turkish and Austrian occupation during the 16th-17th century. To speak for those who cannot, to say the things they cannot utter, to criticize those whom they cannot criticize; most importantly to cry out for the Church and her members. Last but not least it is our sacred duty to bring in our prayer to the throne of God, His suffering Church in Hungary.

DOCUMENT VI FROM: RELIGION IN COMMUNIST LANDS SUMMER, 1984

Analysis or Slander? Robert J. Patkai

(Excerpts)

A strongly worded protest from the leadership of the Hungarian Lutheran Church has been issued in the form of a Declaration signed by Bishop Gyula Nagy and four senior ecclesiastical officials—not including the presiding Bishop Zoltán Káldy. The leadership express their shock condemning churchmen in the West who “attack and slander the theology of the Church, her relationship to the State, her leaders, and — above all our presiding bishop Dr. Zoltán Káldy”. The wrath of the Hungarian Church is directed in particular against an eminent and respected theologian, the former Director of the Lutheran World Federation’s Theology Department in Geneva and of the Ecumenical Institute in Strasbourg, Dr. Vilmos Vajta, who has written a critical analysis of the “theology of diaconia”, the official theological system of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. This theology was formulated to fill the void created by the theological stagnation experienced by the Church during the “Stalinist ” era and the political upheavals connected with the 1956 Revolution. The main architect and proponent of this system is Bishop Káldy.

In my short evaluation I shall limit myself to Professor Vajta’s article and its “rejection” in the above-mentioned Declaration. I shall do this in the light of the recent history of the Hungarian Lutheran Church and in the context of the development of the “theology of diaconia”.

Historical Background

The Second World War created a new situation for the East European Churches. The continuation of church life was conditional on the goodwill of the new governments. The main task before the leaders of the Church was to be partners with whom new arrangements were supposed to be made.

Within a few years of World War II the situation in Hungary turned dramatically into a problem of church-state relations. Most people in the West have failed to notice that the primary test case here was not the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty. Instead the authorities turned their attention to the smallest Protestant community, the Lutheran Church, and its leading bishop, Lajos Ordass. In the Autumn of 1948 he was sentenced by a special court for violating the country's currency laws. He spent two years in prison and was afterwards placed under a sort of "house arrest".

When the World Council of Churches Central Committee met in Hungary during the Summer of 1956 — that is, before the October revolution of the same year — officials of the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation (including Dr. George Bell, Bishop of Chichester; Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, American Church President; Bishop Hanns Lilje, Presiding Bishop of Hanover; and Dr. Carl E. Lund-Ouisa, General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation) began negotiations with the government about the rehabilitation of Bishop Ordass. They succeeded, and the court judgement was declared invalid. It comes as no surprise to learn that the Church did the same, although Bishop Ordass was not able to return to office before the October revolution. He remained in office until Spring 1958 when the state officials declared his return illegal.

His office was once again declared vacant and the only candidate, Zoltán Káldy, was formally elected as his successor.

A NEW THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

It was in this situation that a new theological orientation was elaborated by Bishop Kaldy. According to the "theology of diaconia", the aim of the Lutheran Church is to offer service to humanity in a socialist society without formally adopting the tenets of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and at the same time remaining true to confessional creeds. The idea is that the Church will on the one hand avoid a ghetto-like isolation in society and on the other conform to the norms set by the State. This type of diaconia was conceived of as broader and more universal than the traditional diaconia of the Church, including political engagement in "the great questions of humanity", especially that of peace among nations.

Since the early 1960s this theology has become not only the official theology of the leaders of the Church, but also obligatory for the pastors of the Church as well.

THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In Professor Vajta's article we have for the first time an analysis of the "theology of diaconia". He has pointed out its deficiency as far as christological foundations derived from the Bible are concerned. Obviously he is questioning Bishop Káldy's own writings (although he is not criticizing the Bishop personally). He suggests that by dint of the strong authority which characterizes this theology it has in fact become an ideology and therefore does not tolerate any criticism or analysis. The indisputable consequence of this "theological ideology" is that it will manifest itself in one simple way: instead of producing christological arguments to justify its willingness to serve the world and society, as might be expected from a church "theology of diaconia", this particular theology produces a content corresponding to the political programme of the Hungarian government.

Professor Vajta also refers to a recent Marxist analysis of this "theology of diaconia". A leading Marxist philosopher and professor at the University of Debrecen, József Poór, has pointed out that though this theology has christological presuppositions, its practical consequences are in complete harmony with the "Scientific Marxist-Leninist" analysis. Although the theologians might not be acceptable from the scientific perspective, their position can be tolerated temporarily because of their usefulness. This Marxist philosopher adds in all honesty that this is the first time in history that a theological system and consequently a Church (or Churches) can agree with the Marxist programme, a fact which might force Marxists to rethink some of their inherited presuppositions about religion (József Poór, *Századunk és a Protestantizmus* (Our Century and Protestantism), Budapest 1981, pp. 166-84).

Professor Vajta's short analytical article has caused, as we have seen, a vehement reaction from Lutheran church leaders in Hungary. In the press release entitled "Slanders rejected" it is however surprising that they give no theological answer whatsoever to the serious theological arguments advanced in the discredited article of Dr. Vajta.

ANNEX IX

Selected documentation in the case of the secret graves.

APPEAL TO PAL LOSONCZI, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

On June 16, 1958 Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter and Miklos Gimes were executed for their role in the Hungarian Revolution. Their remains, along with those of the many others who were similarly put to death, were buried by the authorities in unmarked graves.

On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy and his associates we appeal to you and to your government to adhere to the principles of human rights embodied in the Helsinki Final Act by fulfilling the repeated requests of the surviving family members for the identification of the gravesites, for permission to visit the identified burial places and for the recovery of the bodies for proper interment of their executed relatives.

Jimmy Carter

(Rev) Imre Bertalan

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C. Anne Armstrong

William F. Buckley, Jr.

Leo Cherne

Arthur J. Goldberg

Lane Kirkland

Czeslaw Milosz

John Richardson

Ted Solotaroff

Eugene

(Most Rev.) Philip M. Hannan

(Rev.) Julian Fuzer, O.F.M.

Vladimir Bukovsky

Donald S. Dawson

Charlton Heston

Clare Boothe Luce

Walter F. Mondale

Bayard Rustin

Edward Teller

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1983

I am proud to join Senator Dole, Congressmen Fascell and Horton, and the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America in noting this historically significant moment.

June 16, 1983, marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the tragic execution of Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy, General Pal Maleter, Miklos Gimes, and many others in the aftermath of the struggle for their country's liberty during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The valor, dignity, and dedication they displayed in the pursuit of freedom reaffirms our belief in the eventual triumph of the human spirit over totalitarianism. While every freedom-loving American shares the sorrow of this occasion, we all are inspired by the realization that people around the world still yearn for the liberty Hungarians so courageously fought for in 1956.

I commend the efforts to identify the graves of the gallant men and women of the Revolution and to secure access to their remains for proper burial after so many years of anguish on the part of family and friends.

As we remember the events of twenty-five years ago, let us extend our sympathy to the distressed families and friends who pay tribute to the memory of their countrymen who died to further the cause of a free, independent, and democratic Hungary.

Ronald Reagan

Romanian National Council
 Branch of the United State of America
 The Executive Bureau
 1805 Menahan St., Ridgewood, NY 11385
 New York, U S A

S T A T E M E N T
 O F
 THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

addressed to the Committee on Ways and Means,
 on the occasion of hearings in view of the
 prolongation of the Status of the Most Favored
 Nation's Clause to Romania - July 23, '85..

The Romanian National Council, the USA Branch opposes the prolongation of the Most Favored Nation Status to Romania for the following reasons:

1. Romania is ruled by a tyrannical, totalitarian, inhumane regime, a Godless tyranny.-

2. The communist rule, imposed by the Soviet Union which is leading Romania as back as the end of the second Worldwar, is a tool of the Soviets that aim at world wide dictatorship of the communists.-

3. During their administration of Romania, the Romanian people has been plundered of the basic means of subsistence, subjected continually to a terrible terror that reduced it to sheer misery. People's basic liberty has been taken away, the religion is practically forbidden, the history is falsified, is hindered in the expression of their traditions, customs and culture, and so a once flourishing people is being pushed back to the past centuries of servitude in order to prepare it for an annexation to Soviet Union.

4. The communist regime in Romania has been and still is the most horrible cancer, unprecedented in the tumultuous history of this Latin nation on low Danube, a nation that centuries on end was a shieldwatch of Europe. Now this valliant people "is dying within its frontiers" and none is able to help it.

5. During the 1948-1962 period, when the communist took away from the peasants their land, about 80,000 peasants were imprisoned, and very many of them couldn't resist and lost their lives.

Starting in 1946-47 till 1964 were sent to prison over 500.000 people from all the social classes and the communists destroyed by torture and assassinations nearly the whole elite of the Romanian nation. Only in this period have died - because of lack of medical assistance, starvation and tortures - over 200.000 people. And this situation continues today in Romania, I testify for it myself Grigore Garaza by wording this memorial, I who in the 1949-1977 period suffered 21 years of imprisonment, as political detainee, plus 2 years of compulsory domicile.-

6. In the capital Bucharest at this very hour 1/6 of the town has been demolished. The buildings are pulled down and the people left in the streets, the churches are being demolished as well as the historical monuments so that our people be broken away from the historical past and traditions.

7. The aids of every kind that are given to Romania don't reach to the poor people, but they go directly to Soviet Union or are being deposited in an account of a bank in Switzerland with the aim of achieving the world communism. During my political detention I personally met a detainee, named M, who was empowered by the Romanian communist leadership in this matter.

8. While Romania has a foreign debt of over \$10 billions, and the people is subjected to the greatest privations, as for instance: the food penury, the shortage of light, warmth, means of conveyance, unpaid salaries, the increased unemployment and so on, the communist government is granting an unreimbursable loan of \$ 3 billions to some third world countries with an obvious purpose of setting up the communism in the respective countries.

9. During last winter because of the cold, lack of warmth, in maternity-hospitals had died 90% of the newly born babies. Our nation is extinguishing!

10. The human rights are trampled under foot in the communist Romania. Here are some examples:

- I. Popescu Stefan, born on Febr. 13, 1943,
- Popescu Elena " " Jan. 1, 1944.
- Popescu Liliana Claudia, b. May 22, 72
- residing in Bucharest, Str. Tg. Neamt 24. Bl. TD 28, ap. 35,
- sect. 6, who had lodged their emigrations papers since
- Oct. 1981 didn't get any answer.

II. Also in USA are expecting their brother and family Mrs. Iulia and Ionel Miclău (6053 Drexel, Chicago, Ill. 60637.

III. Androne Ana, Androne Paul Adrian and Androne Alexandru Andrei (son) residing in Bucharest, str. Ecce Mese 7, Sect. 2, had handed in their applications since 5 years (19807). They are waited for by their parents in New York (their parents are Hristescu Elena and Hristescu Jean, 32-39, 47th Street Astoria, N.Y. 11103).-

Conclusions:

The Free World Peoples - i.e. those that are not under the communist tyranny - have to know that any kind of help granted to a communist country doesn't reach the real needy people, but is swallowed by the ogre Soviet Union, that is using the aid for promoting the international communism, for the conquest of the rest of the Free World by their forces of evil, and consequently this aid represents a new step forward for the communists and a dynamite more laid at the foundation of the Free World.-

Please, in God's holy name, stop granting the most favored nation's status clause to the communist Romania !



THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

Secretary,

President,

Grigore Caraza

Ion Teodorescu-Paget

New York,

July 20, 1985

Members of the Executive Bureau

1. Eugen Popescu
2. Valeriu Minzicu
3. Liviu Butura

"Honour to those Freedom Fighters who gave their lives fighting Communism"



ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION, Inc.
 (A NOT FOR PROFIT PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATION)
 104-55 107th St., Ozone Park, New York, N.Y. 11417

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Honorary President
CORNEL H. PETRASSEVICH, M.D.

July 23, 1985

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Dr. ALEXANDRU BRATU
 Vice-President
Dr. DUFITRU MOLDOVAN
 Secretary-Treasurer
NICULAE D. MARIN, Eng.

UNITED STATES SENATE, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
 Subcommittee on International Trade,
 SD-219, Dirksen Senate Office Building,
 Washington D.C. 20510

Censor
Mrs. MANDY RADIAN

Attn. Hon. Bob Backwood, Chairman.

Censor
Mrs. EMMA EMILIA BRATU

S T A T E M E N T

AGAINST THE EXTENSION OF M.F.N. tariff status to the
 Communist Government of ROMANIA.

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN, AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE
 COMMITTEE ON FINANCE:

The "Romanian National Committee of Liberation, Inc.", as a Not For Profit patriotic organization, try to show all over the world the real and actual truth about Romania, promoting the spiritual and historic heritage of Romanian people, and to defend it against the outrageous interferences of pernicious actions.

Romanian National Committee of Liberation, Inc. is struggling for the Human Rights of the Romanian people, disclosing the abuses of the communist totalitarian rule in Romania after March 6, 1945, and to affirm the right of the Romanians to elect a free democratic government to rule their native country.

Our patriotic organization is continuously claiming the right to self determination of the Romanians from Bessarabia, Northern Bucovina and Hertzsa county, forcibly annexed by U.S.S.R. in June 26, 1940.

In the same time Romanian National Committee of Liberation considers that all Romanian population is suffering because of the consequences of the Communist Rule, and it is no difference between the Hungarian minority and other Romanians about these sufferings. We do not agree with the agitation of those Hungarians in exile who try to desinform the Western Powers affirming that the Hungarian minority living in Romanian province Transylvania are more persecuted than other minorities and Romanian majority.

Generally speaking the Romanian people wants freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from fear, and freedom from want.

For years the Western Powers hoped to detach Romania from the Soviet Block by encouraging its so called independent foreign policy, but the Romanian Communist Party's chiefs remained constantly obedient subservients to the Soviet Union chiefs and Warsaw Pact. We agree with

the opinion of Prof. David Funderbunk, the former ambassador of the United States in Bucharest, Romania, that Soviet Union is the most profitable of the so called "independence" of Romania, and U.S.S.R. surely has not abandoned the idea of using Nicolae Ceausescu and Bucharest diplomacy for their international purposes on terrorism, "movement of peace", and economic espionage.

The very large loans made by the United States and Western banks to Romania and other communist countries did not stabilize the conditions of life in the satellite countries. Only the communist oligarchs of those countries and the Soviet Union Empire are the real profiteers, in order to conquer the entire world by: external encirclement, internal demoralization and the mononuclear blackmail.

If communist President of Romania - Nicolae Ceausescu - is really independent from Soviet Union, why he does not want to leave the expensive military Pact of Warsaw?

The Romanian National Committee of Liberation "considers that Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, as the General Secretary of the Communist Party and tyrant of Romania, is personally responsible for the demolition of the following monuments, churches, and historical sites in Romania:

- the Monastery "Mihai Voda" founded by Michael the Brave, Prince of Muntenia, who was the first Romanian Prince who realized the Union of all Romanian provinces - Muntenia, Moldova and Transylvania - in 1600 year;
 - "Enei Church" from Bucharest, founded by Iana Negoescu at the beginning of the 17th century;
 - Church of Saint Spiridon-Vechi, founded in 1680, by Prince of Muntenia-Serban Cantacuzino;
 - Saint Nicolae Church of Alba-Postavarul, founded in Bucharest - in 1564-
 - the Monastery Antim, founded by Prince Constantin Brancoveanu at the beginning of 18th century;
 - Church "Izvorul Tamaduirii", founded on the bank of Dambovitza river by the handcraftsmen of Bucharest in 18th century;
 - Church of Saints Apostles, founded in 1550 by Matei Basarab, Prince of Muntenia;
 - Church "Cotroceni" founded by Serban Cantacuzino in 1679, Prince of Muntenia, that who printed The Bible into Romanian language in 1683;
 - The Monastery "Văcărești", founded by Constantin Mavrocordat in 1716-;
 - Church "Spirea Noua", founded by Ionitza Selaru at the end of 18th century, in Bucharest;
 - Church "Spirea Veche" founded in 1777 by Dr. Spirea Criștofi, originally from Corfu Isle;
 - Church "Domnitza Balasa", founded by Princess Balasa, born Brancoveanu, and her husband - Manolache Lambrino - in 1745;
 - the Monastery "Schitul Maicilor" founded in 1726 by nun Tatiana Hagi Dima and boyarress Smaranda;
 - Church "Saint Ilie-Rahava", founded by the monk Isaia Novaceanu, his sister Sanda, and his brother in law Atanasie, in Bucuresti - 1738;
 - Church "Strejarul" founded in 1743 by captain Tanase in Bucuresti, during the rule of Prince Mihai Racovitza;
- All these old churches and monasteries from Bucharest were demolished under the Neronian rule of Nicolae Ceausescu, in the same time being destroyed the historical monuments as follows:
- Statue of Uranus - erected in the honour of heroes who struggled in 1948 for freedom;
 - Spitalul Brancovenesc - founded by Safta Brancoveanu in 1838;
 - Statue of Brancoveanu, father of Prince C. Brancoveanu, killed by Turcs Seimeni in 1655;
 - The building of "Arhivele Statului", an old Romanian historical monument;

- other historical Sites of Romania, among them being also the old towers of defence, named "CULA" -citing only some of them like-Radoir, Calaparu, Brosteni, Crainici, Rovinari, Frasinet, Popesti-Leordeni, Pojogeni and others .

For these reasons ,the Romanian National Committee of Liberation asks to the United States and United Nations Organization to oblige the Romanian Government of today :

- to stop immediately the demolition of monuments and historical sites in Bucharest and other places of Romania;
- to reinstate the Commission of Historical Monuments of Romania, abolished in 1977;
- to respect the Chart of the International Council on Conservation and Restauration of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), signed by Romania;
- to permit Free Unions of Romanian workers and intellectuals;
- to permit the worship of the Romanian Catholic Church of Byzantine Rite, which was interdicted since December 1, 1948;
- to accept the free association and activity to other political democratic parties, not only for those of the Communist Party ;
- to release the political prisoners, and those prisoners of conscience, who are retained in jails, forced labor camps, psychiatric hospitals, and forced residence, among them being also engineer ION FIU, a former political prisoner during Decmber 1947-August 1954, who wrote on February 28, 1985, an open letter to President N. Ceausescu (communist dictator of Romania) in order to be admitted as a candidate to the great National Assembly in the electoral district of Jilava. He made his request on the base of Romanian Constitution & the name of "His Majesty the Romanian People", but after this letter the brave Romanian freedom fighter Ion Fiu disappeared from his last residence in Bucharest, Calea Victoriei 101, Sector 1, and his whereabouts are not known. He was a member of the Executive Central Committee of the Youth of the National Peasant Party -Iuliu Maniu- since 1945.

For all these reasons, the Romanian National Committee of Liberation, Inc. ask for that the Committee on Finance of U.S. Senate must adopt a resolution of disapproval the President's recommendation to waive Section 402-subsection (a) and (b) of the Trade Act -K.F.N. with regard to the communist government of Romania.

GOD BLESS AMERICA !

PRESIDENT

Dr. Alexandru Bratu

SECRETARY

Eng. Nicolae D. Marin

DR. EMANUEL MERDINGER
DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

July 12, 1985

4908 N.W. Sixteenth Place, Gainesville, Florida 32605. Phone (904)372-3715

Chairman Senate Committee on Finance
Subcommittee on International Trade
Washington, D. C. 20510

Esteemed members of the Subcommittee on International Trade:

I am Dr. Emanuel Merdinger, Distinguished Professor at the University Of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. To enumerate the merits of President Ceausescu vis-a-vis the US and the West is not necessary because you know them quite well. I emphasize however that he has been working hard for many years openly, diplomatically and tirelessly, especially during the last five years, for peace. He admonishes, begs and pleads that the USA and the Soviet Union come to an agreement to eliminate the danger of a nuclear war.

This show of independence by Mr. Ceausescu brought severe economic retaliation from Russia on Romania. It led to the economic stagnation which is still choking Romania. One example: While all other Warsaw Pact nations buy fuel from Russia paying with their own internationally worthless currency, Romania has to pay with dollars.

President Ceausescu is our own single friend in the Eastern blok nations and the US can rely on him as a friend. In view of all his endeavors since 1971, I urge that MFN status be extended to Romania for another year.

Among those who oppose the MFN status for Romania is a certain group of Hungarian-Americans. What has disturbed us who follow the politics of South-East Europe is the ever more violent and inciting attacks against Romania by this group of Hungarian-Americans. They aim at a territorial revision of the borders established at the peace treaty in 1945. They want the Romanian Territory of Transylvania.

The propaganda these revisionists carry on by word of mouth, newspapers, publications and pamphlets is scary, especially the latter. Unidentified, unknown persons have sent me by mail many such pamphlets. I wish to quote some parts of one. (I am enclosing the Hungarian original and its translation in English): "Let us utter like a prayer, like an oath of faith,

Dusko Csaba's words: "I shall kill each Romanian crossing my way! I shall exterminate one and all! I shall rip the whole population with my sword. I shall poison the wells. Without mercy! At night I shall set Romanian villages on fire. I shall strangle the babies. I shall be merciless! Toward all! I shall have no pity for children or pregnant mothers either Revenge! Without pity dire revenge, etc, etc.

There will not be another "Verdict of Vienna" like that in 1940, when the the two brutal dictators Hitler and Mussolini ripped off a part of Transylvania and gave it to Hungary. But at the peace treaty in 1945 the Allies righted the wrong and returned that territory to Romania.

For many years this group of Hungarian-Americans have tried to block Romanian - USA trade. Let this Committee not be taken in this year by their venomous propaganda.



COMMITTEE OF TRANSYLVANIA, INC.

Founded 1956

LOUIS L. LÖTE,
P.O. BOX 10069
Rochester, N.Y. 14610
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Central Office:
2808 East 124th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44120

The most favored nation status for Rumania has been benefiting Rumania more than the United States. According to the Trade Act of 1974 a communist governed country is eligible for MFN if it does not hinder emigration of its citizens and generally if its record on human rights practices is good.

On the ground of human rights abuses in general, and those of Hungarians in particular, we do not favor extension of MFN for Rumania.

We are aware of the fact that Rumania enjoys a special relationship with the United States but are not well informed by what deeds that country has merited this relationship. We do not know whether the conditions which led up to that recognition are still valid. We believe that reexamination of those conditions would be useful for our country.

We are also aware of other pertinent facts on ground of which extension of MFN for Rumania looks favorable for our country, such as trade, business interest of those enterprises dealing with Rumania.

Our question is how the national survival of over three million non-Rumanian inhabitants stands up in view of political and economic interest of our country? In other words, how human rights abuses by the Rumanian government effect our dealing with that country?

Since the last few years human rights - including national minority rights - have attained to a larger role in relation to our foreign policy vis-a-vis countries with bad human rights record.

In the Eastern block Rumania is successfully competing with the Soviet Union in human rights violations.

Hundreds of pages of testimonies on Rumania's suppression of national minorities, mainly Hungarians, to the distinguished members of the Subcommittee on International Trade at past hearings.

were submitted

Thus this testimony is limited to a few selected data to support our points:

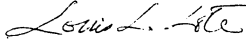
We enclose here the following informative material:

1/ An open letter to the delegates to the conference on human rights in Ottawa,

2/ "Toilet paper from bibles ", a report by Dr.Alexander Havad-toy in the Calvin Synod Herald on the recycling into toiletpaper of 20,000 Hungarian Bibles sent to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania by the World Reformed Alliance (U.S.A.) with the permission of the Rumanian government,

2/ Response to the "Texte documentaire" (Documentary text), a memorandum in French prepared to counteract a resolution in the European Parliament on the suppression of Hungarians in Rumania. As it appears from our response the Rumanian Memorandum tries to whitewash well known curtailment of Hungarian education and cultural activities by distorting facts of discrimination as favorable acts for Hungarians, and keeping silent about other measures detrimental for Hungarians.

July 30,1985



Louis L. Lote
president,
Committee of Transylvania, Inc.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DELEGATES TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
IN OTTAWA, MAY 1985

Distinguished Delegate:

On the opening of the conference on human rights we turn toward you who will bring important decisions concerning the most important rights of human beings: to live in freedom and with human dignity.

During the conference many cases may be presented where these precious rights have been violated; i.e., instances involving arrest without warrant, imprisonment without trial, conviction on trumped-up charges, or the use of torture to extract false convictions, to name but a few.

But our main purpose of writing to you is to call your attention to another type of human rights violation, the willful and systematic oppression of national minorities, in some countries with mixed population. The only "sin" of these people is that they are of different nationality than the majority, i.e. they have different motherlanguage, different culture, different aspirations and even different religion. These millions want to keep their national identity as strongly as you want to keep your own to which you and they are fully entitled by natural, codified or uncoded, law.

We have mainly in mind the treatment of Hungarians just outside the present border of Hungary, inside Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Together, they number approximately four million people, being the largest national minority in Europe outside the Soviet Union. The territories referred to belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary for a thousand years until it was split up and distributed among these countries in the peace treaty of Trianon concluding World War I for Hungary — with 3,250,000 Hungarian population. (Slovakia ceded its eastern part to the Soviet Union in 1945.)

Not much is known about the 200,000 Hungarian population of this new part of the Soviet Union. Due to the multinational structure of Yugoslavia, the half a million Hungarians living in that country are not so much discriminated against as the 2.5 million Hungarian population of Transylvania (Rumania) and the 700,000 in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak leadership seems to suffer in a nationalistic fervor since long. To satisfy itself it had led a systematic offensive against Hungarians in Slovakia which resulted in the post-war years in depriving Hungarians from the Czechoslovakian citizenship, closing their schools for a few years (so that the Hungarian youth has not had any education during those years) and wanting to expell all Hungarians from Slovakia in order to have a pure Slavic country including Czechs, Slovaks and Ukrainians only. In recent years Slovak nationalism flared up again threatening anew with the closing of all Hungarian schools. With this and the imprisonment of Miklós Duray, a young Hungarian geologist living in Slovakia, that country got in the forefront of human rights violations in East-Central Europe. Duray who organized a campaign against the closing of the Hungarian schools in Slovakia, was incarcerated last summer, kept in prison since without trial. Charges against him as far as it can be known are the usual in socialist countries: "activities contrary to the interest of the state".

Mr. Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, repeatedly and publicly asserted that Rumania is a unitary, one-nation state. These statements seem to govern Rumania's minority policies which more and more curtail educational and cultural opportunities for the nationalities with the obvious tendency of assimilating them as fast as possible. Of course, Rumania is not a one-nation state. On the contrary, next to Yugoslavia, Rumania is the second most multinational country in the area. It is populated by an estimated 2.5 million Hungarians, 450,000 Germans and several hundred-thousand Jews, Gypsies, Serbs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and others, besides Rumanians. That is why Rumania applies all means available for a totalitarian government to forcibly absorb the non-Rumanian nationalities into the Rumanian ethnic body. Some of the ways used so far are:

□ Closing of all Hungarian highschools and drastically reducing the number of elementary schools. The last Hungarian highschool under the process of Rumanianization is the Roman Catholic founded, 400 years old highschool in Kolozsvár (in Rumanian: Napoca-Cluj). The Babes-Bolyai University in the same city (previously the Hungarian cultural capital of Transylvania) has now an ever decreasing small department mainly for the Hungarian literature classes inspite of the Rumanian pledge, at the forcible merging of the Hungarian Bolyai and the Rumanian Babes universities in 1958, to maintain two equal strong Rumanian and Hungarian departments.

□ Squeezing out the Hungarian language from all public use although constitutional assurance to the contrary. Hungarian language cannot be used at railway and bus depots, at law courts, at community authorities' offices, in hotels and restaurants. The suppression of language went so far as to compel Hungarian doctors to speak Rumanian to their Hungarian patients.

□ Complete control upon religious denominations. If a priest or minister is very popular in the congregation, and keeps the church members together and active in an exemplary manner, he can count with transfer, or discharge and even with arrest. The number of theology students and seminarians has been radically decreased in the last few years covering not more than 10% of vacant congregations by retirement and death. Studying abroad, a 400 years old Hungarian Protestant tradition, has become practically forbidden.

□ The Hungarian character of certain regions of Transylvania, including the Szekely Land, is being destroyed by forced mass resettlements of Rumanians from the original Rumanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia into Transylvania. Cities with overwhelmingly Hungarian population in the past, are now overwhelmingly Rumanian by resettlements of Rumanians and not permitting Hungarian to move in cities.

□ Hungarian consciousness has been continuously attacked by disseminating government propoganda about the history of Transylvania which radically augments the minor Rumanian contributions to culture and science and belittle Hungarian and German ones which had been the major cultural accomplishment of the area. Distorting history by practically eliminating the one thousand year Hungarian past of Transylvania and replacing it with a few years of Rumanian occupation not only insult all Hungarians in Rumania, but also degrades Rumanian historiography.

Anti-Hungarian teachings in schools, and publications of anti-Hungarian books supported or even encouraged by the Rumanian government occurs in a crass repudiation and violation of the Rumanian constitution which forbids any expression of chauvinism. Hungarians who complain against these insults of their nation are punished, Rumanian perpetrators of nationalistic agitation go free.

□ House searches, confiscation of Hungarian books, arrests, police brutality, beatings, tortures causing even death, imprisonment without court order or judgement is the fate of many Hungarians in Transylvania whose only "crime" is to be Hungarian. A partial list of these unfortunate people which is included in one of the Hungarian-American memoranda to the conference, serves just as a reminder that violating of the most elemental human rights to be free, is the essence of governing in Rumania.

Distinguished Delegate! Hungarians in Rumania and Czechoslovakia have lived in the last two decades under a steadily increasing governmental pressure to be eliminated as a nation by forcible assimilation into the Rumanian and Czechoslovakian majorities. If the civilized world does not stop the denationalizations process of over three million Hungarians in both countries, it does not compel their governments to reopen Hungarian schools on all three levels of education, a new generation of Hungarian youth will be growing up which will not be able to master his or her own mothertongue and a large part of the nation will cease to exist as Hungarian in the not too distant future.

As the undernourished, hungry people of the world must have ardently wished that the World Conference on Hunger a few years ago stops their own hunger, so wish the suppressed people, the non-Rumanian and non-Slavic inhabitants of Rumania and Czechoslovakia that the World Conference on Human Rights in Ottawa, be the turning point for the better in their hopeless life as a national minority. They ask for your concerted efforts to demand respecting their human rights, the freedom of promoting their own culture, teaching their children in their Hungarian schools in their own mothertongue, freely using their motherlanguage in public, freedom of organizing themselves and protecting their national interests and being free to preserve their national identity and as well as their national regions as autonomous territories.

May God give you the insight, understanding and strength to recognize the problem of national minorities and act upon it with full resolution for significant improvement of their precarious fate now and in the future.

God bless you for your efforts in that direction

Respectfully yours

Louis L. Lote

president, Committee of Transylvania, Inc.

P. S.: All radio and television broadcasts in Hungarian language are now discontinued in Rumania.

CALVIN SYNOD HERALD

Founded in 1900



REFORMÁTUSOK LAPJA

Alapítva 1900-ban

Official Organ of the Calvin Synod-United Church of Christ

A Kálvin Egyházkerület hivatalos lapja

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TOILET PAPER FROM BIBLES

One of the greatest grievances of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania is that it cannot obtain Bibles and Hymnals. These two most important tools of religious life have been simply out of print for decades. The church officials could not obtain permission for their reprint from the Office of Church Affairs, the political arm of the Communist Regime, which supervises the life of the churches. Foreign visitors are thoroughly searched at the borders. The customary question of the border guards and custom officers is: "Do you have guns, drugs or Bibles?" The Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of the West through diplomatic channels have made it known to the Ceausescu Regime that according to the peace treaties after the Second World War, and according to the Helsinki Accords, it is under obligation to permit the reprint of Bibles and Hymnals. They made it clear also that if such reprints would be impossible due to lack of modern printing technology or lack of paper, they would be prepared to supply their Protestant brethren with Bibles and Hymnals.

Under Western pressure, the Ceausescu Regime gave permission to the World Reformed Alliance to send 20,000 Bibles to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania. The leadership of the Alliance considered this a triumph of patient and persistent church diplomacy. The Rumanian Ambassador in his talks with United States Senators and Congressmen, especially before and during the debates concerning the renewal of the "most favored nation" status of his country, often pointed to the acceptance of 20,000 Hungarian Bibles as a sign of his regimes magnanimity toward the large Hungarian minority in Rumania.

However, the fate of the 20,000 Bibles was shrouded in mystery. The leader-

ship of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania, which was appointed by the Communist Administration and is completely subservient to it, could never give a proper account of their distribution. The congregations themselves never heard anything about their existence. Even if the Bibles had been completely distributed among the approximately 1,000,000 Hungarian Reformed Church members, only one out of 50 would have received a Bible. The great need for Bibles would not have been ameliorated.

After a long silence, the Bibles reappeared in Rumania in the form of toilet papers. The mystery of the Hungarian Bibles was finally revealed. It was observed in the regions with large Hungarian populations that the toilet papers, which were extremely scarce on the market, and for which people were standing in line for long hours, contained certain letters and even words. After careful examination, they noticed that the words and characters were strictly of Hungarian origin, and there were practically no Rumanian words or letters among them. It was also observed that such words, as "Esau," "Jeremiah," "God," "vers," reappeared with frequency, from which it was not difficult to see, that the toilet papers were produced out of Bibles.

The 20,000 Hungarian Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance were obviously sent to the paper-mill in Braila to be recycled for the manufacture of toilet papers. But, as it often happens in Communist Rumania, the pulp-mill did a rather shoddy job. The excellent quality of western bibliophile paper and print could not be recycled by the crude pulp-mill. Shreds of paper, with original words and letters, remained almost intact on the final toilet paper products.

From the rolls of toilet paper brought out of the West, it can be

established that they were manufactured in the "Bistrita Prundul Bir-gaului" factory, located in "C.I.C.H. Braila 1.H" industrial zone, under the series "ICA TIP II. Stas 9202/72", carrying the name "HIRTIE IGIENICA Tip. II." that means No. II type toilet paper, which was put on the market for 2.02 Lei. The rolls carry from one end to the other only Hungarian letters and characters, which, according to paper manufacturing experts, indicate that large volumes of Hungarian Bibles had to be used for this purpose. This was they way in which the fate of the 20,000 Hungarian Reformed Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance came to light.

The action of the Ceausescu Regime clearly reflects its contempt of religious life in general, and of the Hungarian Reformed minority in particular. There were many book burnings in history. However, such deliberately barbarian and cynical a deed which would use the Holy Scripture for the making of toilet papers is unique in human history.

Ceausescu's appetite for Hungarian Bibles must be on the increase. We received information from reliable sources that he ordered the confiscation of all Hungarian Bibles and religious literature from the homes of the Hungarian population in the district Moldavia, in which, even according to Rumanian statistics, there are still 120,000 Hungarian speaking individuals. One can assume that these Bibles and Prayer Books will also end up in the pulping-mill of Braila in order that they may reappear on the market place in the form of toilet papers.

Dr. Alexander Havadtóy

(On page 8 there are 16 sample words that were collected from the Hungarian Bible fragments on Rumanian toilet paper.)

COMMENTS
on the Rumanian "TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE"

In our view Rumania is a multinational country, with particular regard to Transylvania and other parts of Rumania which were detached from Hungary by the peace treaty of Trianon in 1919.

In Transylvania and attached areas, the non-Rumanian population amounts to an estimated 40% of the total population. Most of the non-Rumanian nationalities of the country have lived in Transylvania for many centuries in closed national territories, and some also scattered all over Transylvania. Hungarians started to settle the area over a thousand years ago, or even much earlier according to more recent findings. Saxons, invited by the Hungarian kings, have settled in Transylvania 800 years ago, Swabians were resettled in the Banat region after the Turkish retreat from Hungary 300 years ago to repopulate the land, replacing Hungarian mass casualties of the 150 years of resistance wars against the Turks.

The Rumanian statement inserted in the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE, notably that "the nationalities in Rumania do not form homogeneous groups in one region or the other" is as untrue as stating that no large number of Scottish people of the United Kingdom live in Scotland and most of them are scattered in all parts of the country.

The opposite is true, namely that Transylvania, like Switzerland, is the homeland of several nations which in the most part have lived as homogeneous nationality groups in closed national regions, or they have been the majority nationality in some other areas:

(1) The Székely Land (Szekler Land) is the south-eastern part of Transylvania comprising the present counties of Harghita, Covasna and Mures, where an estimated nine hundred thousand Hungarians have been living in homogeneously Hungarian cities and villages for at least 800 years or more. Part of that land, particularly the formerly pure Hungarian cities of Marosvásárhely (in Rumanian: Tirgu-Mures), Csikszereda (in Rumanian: Miercurea Ciuc), Sepsiszentgyörgy (in Rumanian: Sfintu Gheorghe) and others, are being forcibly Rumanianized by mass resettlement of ethnic Rumanians from the original Rumanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia.

There is little doubt in our mind that the forced Rumanianization of the Szekely Land will go on continuously and consistently with the final goal to break up that still overwhelmingly Hungarian historical and cultural stronghold and to destroy that homogeneously Hungarian district of Rumania.

Even the Rumanian government recognized the Hungarianness of the Szekely Land when some two decades ago it established an autonomous Hungarian territory of it.

Thus denying by Rumanian officials, who prepared the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE, the existence of at least one strictly Hungarian homogeneous district which was recognized by their own government, seems utterly strange. One cannot help thinking of ignorance or intentional misrepresentation of facts, as the cause of this untrue statement.

(2) The partly flat, partly hilly region along the western border of Transylvania, an approximate 300 km long and an average of 20 km wide strip, had been overwhelmingly Hungarian populated. The area includes the cities of Szatmarnemeti (Satu Mare), Nagyvarad (Oradea) and Arad (Arad). The total Hungarian population of this area is about one million. It has been intensively Rumanianized so that the Hungarian homogeneity of the area may have been affected by the resettlement of Rumanians. The last census, however, is silent about the ethnic distribution of Rumania's population.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE stresses further that "there has never been national conflict in Rumania ... despite attempts in the reactionary political environment of the past which tried to sow discord and breed national isolation" because the non-Rumanian nationalities have not lived in homogeneous compacts and because the Rumanian population forms the majority.

This statement hardly has any connection with the nationalities. Rather it is an opportunity to recite the usual socialist slogans about the blessings of socialism which attribute all the national and nationality problems to the non-Communist prewar "reactionary" societies. This statement completely ignores the fact that Rumania's minority policies constantly create conflicts between the Rumanian and non-Rumanian segments of the population, and even between the governments of Rumania and Hungary. "Hungary's foreign minister, Mr. Peter Varkonyi, paid a hurried visit to Bucharest this

week in an effort to cool his country's long-standing quarrel with Rumania over Transylvania. Tempers have been hotting up lately. The row centers on the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Rumania ..." (The Economist, January 26, 1985). "Of all the displaced minorities caused by the readjustment of Central Europe's frontiers after the First World War, non arouses more passions today than the fate of Transylvania's two million Hungarians Behind the Iron Curtain, the issue remains a thorn deeply embedded in Rumanian-Hungarian relations." (The London Times, November 19, 1984).

More communist slogans are enlisted to point out "equality in rights of all nationalities". Students of Rumanian political realities know well that the lofty ideas incorporated in the constitution are for display only to refer to when complaints against the actual minority policy require response on the part of the government. In practice the constitution is mostly disregarded by the Rumanian authorities and the violation of human rights has been going on in respect to the Rumanian people and more gravely to the non-Rumanian nationalities as a daily routine.

It is a well-known tactic of the Bucharest regime not only to deny any wrong doing vis-a-vis the nationalities and other human rights violations but using the opportunity of denying charges for propaganda purposes by making lofty statements on Rumania's treatment of minorities which are mostly untrue and often outright opposite of the truth.

Industrialization of Hungarian regions of Rumania has not been object of complaint by Hungarians. In that regard the complaints are directed to the fact that establishing new industries in Hungarian areas is followed by resettlement of ethnic Rumanians, opening Rumanian schools for a few Rumanian children, closing Hungarian schools for many Hungarian children, appointing Rumanians in leadership positions of the new plants, and squeezing out the Hungarian language from most part of the community.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE points out the increase in investments, new plants and apartment houses in the counties of Harghita, Covasna and Salaj and in the city of Satu Mare to prove that the Hungarian populated areas have been intensely developed in the last few years. We do not quarrel with their statistical figures but we do notice that the statement according to which "the nationalities in Rumania do not form homogeneous groups" now becomes invalid, because the authors of the TEXTE want to emphasize that the Hungarian counties are well modernized. The counties of Harghita and Covasna are the heartland of the

Szekely Land. By this statement the authors get in contradiction with themselves. In order to prove that there are no "homogeneous" Hungarian regions, they simply deny their existence but when it comes to praising the government's policy of industrializing Hungarian populated districts, they list a large part of Szekely Land as a typical Hungarian homogeneous territory.

As to the "equal rights" of nationalities in the political life and administration, the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE states that nationalities, including Hungarians, are represented in the Grand National Assembly according to the proportion of their ethnic population. Again we do not quarrel with the statistical figures of the TEXTE but for full understanding an analysis of the figures is needed:

- * The number of Hungarians in Rumania is estimated by foreign observers 2.5 million, i.e., 11.6% of the entire population, although the last Rumanian census (1977) claims only about 7.9%. It seems that the official figure is heavily understated. It is not known how this understatement comes about but certainly there are ways to bring it about. We know, for instance, that the "csango"-s, a Hungarian group of two to three hundred thousand, located on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains in the province of Moldavia are collectively counted at the census as Rumanians even if they declare themselves to be Hungarians. But not many dare to do so fearing retributions.

- * Hungarian communist representatives, a small minority in the Grand National Assembly, dare not to speak up in the interest of the Hungarian community and thereby deviating from the official line. That would risk one's job and personal freedom. In the Rumanian political system decisions come from above, from the polit bureau and in many instances directly from President Ceausescu. The Assembly's task is to dutifully approve these decisions.

- * In our opinion, Hungarians should have more to say about their interest right where they live and make up about one-third of the total population: in Transylvania.

As for the labor unions, participation of non-Rumanian workers does not help them in their problems as wages, working conditions and related issues, as it does not further the interest of the Rumanian workers either who unsuccessfully tried to establish their, independent union a few years ago.

Representation of Hungarians in the Supreme Council of Education and in the Council of Socialist Culture and Education does not necessarily mean that they have any influence to improve and promote Hungarian education and the school system. As we said, policies are decided by the polit bureau and President Ceausescu, who made himself famous in Hungarian educational matters having been in charge of forcibly dissolving the Hungarian University in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1958. (He was extremely effective, at the meeting called to proclaim the merger of the Hungarian Bolyai and the Rumanian Babes universities, he silenced Hungarian opposition, pushed through the merger, and drove two Hungarian professors into suicide.)

When Transylvania became a Rumanian province at the peace treaty of Trianon in 1919, Hungarian education was well developed on all three levels. But instead of extending the scope of education to an increasing Hungarian student age population, the Hungarian school system had suffered a serious blow during the non-Communist years from 1920 to 1945. The post-war era - with the distinct exception of the era of minister/president Peter Groza - brought a gradual and consistent reduction of the Hungarian school system which is not mentioned in the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE.

If, at the TEXTE states, the number of Hungarian children in Hungarian kindergartens was 55,377 in 1983, it was 56,610 in 1982 according to Rumanian official sources. ("The Truth about the National Question in Romania", published in 1982 in Bucharest by Agerpress, the Rumanian news agency.) The same source reveals that 183,154 children attended Hungarian primary and secondary schools in 1982, but only 176,178 in 1983, i.e., 4% less than a year before. The TEXTE states that there were 1,193 schools all together for Hungarians in 1983, the above official Rumanian source knows about 2,754 Hungarian "units and departments" in 1982. It seems obvious that the two figures are not comparable data. For a true picture of Hungarian education in Transylvania it would be desirable to have a detailed status report of Hungarian schools to be prepared by Rumanian competent authorities which could also be used for on-the-spot verification.

Besides the declining trend of Hungarian schools in general, we know, for instance, that the Rumanianization of the last Hungarian high school in Transylvania started in the 1984/85 school year when five Rumanian classes were added to this 400 year-old Hungarian high school in Kolozsvár (Cluj). That was the first step and surely the last step will be the closing down of the last Hungarian classes of the school. That was the way how the many hundred years old Calvinist high school was closed in the same city.

The Babes-Bolyai University in Kolozsvár (Cluj) was established by the forcible merger of the Hungarian and Rumanian universities in 1958. Since the last few years the Hungarian section of the university was reduced to teaching Hungarian literature only in Hungarian language in spite of the Rumanian pledge at the time of the merger that two equally strong, Rumanian and Hungarian, sections will be maintained.

As to the usage of the mother tongue of the minorities, the facts contradict the statement of the TEXTE. The use of mother tongue is assured by the constitution but not in practice. It is not permitted, for instance, at any public places such as law courts, administrative offices, railway and bus depots, hotels and restaurants, and even on the streets. Hungarian-speaking people may be attacked by Rumanians for speaking Hungarian. The suppression of the Hungarian language went so far as to compel Hungarian doctors to speak Rumanian to their Hungarian patients.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE states the number of book titles and copies published in the Hungarian language in Rumania by the nationality publishing house "Kriterion" in 1983. But comparing these figures with the number of books published in Hungarian in 1981 shows a sharp decline. The "Kriterion" and some other publishers all together published 300 books in 3,400,000 copies in Hungarian in 1981 according to the above mentioned official Rumanian source, but only 212 titles in 2,796,000 copies in 1983. The drop is very significant: 29% in book titles and 18% in number of copies. The Hungarian book titles and copies represented only 4% of the total book publication in Rumania, in 1981 about half of what could be expected considering the official 7.9% ratio of the Hungarian population, and little more than one-third of the estimated 11.6%.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE states that 32 newspapers and periodicals were published in Rumania in Hungarian language in 82,298,954 copies in 1983. The official Rumanian report, "The Truth about the National Question in Romania" states that in 1981 one additional newspaper was published in 109,867,020 copies. The 25% drop in newspapers is an alarming decrease.

From these official statistical figures a radical blow emerges suffered by the Hungarian book publishing and press. If the trend does not change for the better, a catastrophic situation can be expected for the future of Hungarian literature, poetry and press, and for the Hungarian language in general.

The TEXTE states that "the cultural and artistic values of the nationalities are promoted by a complex system of art and cultural establishments such as theaters, culture houses, libraries and professional and amateur art assemblies". Out of the 148 theaters and "musical institutions" in entire Rumania, 10 are operating in the Hungarian language, 6.7% of the total. These are mostly theaters that existed already in the Hungarian era of Transylvania. But the control of the program policy of Hungarian theaters by Rumanian authorities greatly diminishes the cultural merits of these institutions. Performing of some Hungarian operas, for instance, are prohibited in the only Hungarian opera house in Kolozsvár (Cluj). Showing stage plays of Rumanian authors becomes a priority obligation of Hungarian theater directors.

Although restoration of some Hungarian castles and manor houses are reported in the TEXTE, uninhabited, the majority of these are left to the ravaging effect of the weather and lack of maintenance. The Hungarian cultural and ecclesiastical institutions, mentioned in the TEXTE, are all creations of the Hungarian era including the cathedrals of Kolozsvár (Cluj) and Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia).

"Manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism, reminiscent of the backward conceptions of the past, is disapproved by the Rumanian national policy of the state and is punishable by state law" - the TEXTE goes on. But the reality is exactly the opposite: anti-Hungarian teaching in schools, publications of anti-Hungarian books supported or even encouraged by the Rumanian government occur in crass repudiation of the Rumanian state law and constitution. The law against nationalism is cynically applied against Hungarians who speak up against curtailment of their cultural activity and against the Rumanian nationalistic insults of the Hungarian nation. Arrest, beatings at police headquarters, and imprisonments without court order are the usual fate of Hungarians, while the Rumanian perpetrators of nationalistic agitation go free.

A good example is the book, entitled "Cuvint despre Transilvania" (A word about Transylvania) which devotes a separate chapter to humiliate Hungarians and incite hate against them. The book was written by Ion Lancranjan, a friend of president Ceausescu and published in 1982 by the Rumanian Sport and Turism Department in the unusually high number of 50,000. What is this book, published by an official government agency in Bucharest, if not a low-minded and savage expression of state sponsored chauvinism at its worst?

In summing up our comments on the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE our views are as follow:

(1) Denying the existence of the Szekely Land, as a homogeneously Hungarian territory is a new attempt of disseminating misinformation by Rumanian authorities, designed to mislead world opinion.

(2) While the TEXTE tries to make the reader believe that the condition under which Hungarians live is normal and that "persecution discrimination the goal of which is to destroy the Hungarian national identity are without any foundation", the true facts indicate that the Rumanian government entered a new phase of its Hungarian policies that could be best called "final solution". This policy is described by experts, and recently by western diplomats as "cultural genocide". ("At issue are Romania's attempts to assimilate the Hungarians within its borders, using measures that one Western diplomat here termed "cultural genocide". Romania limits contacts between its ethnic Hungarians and Hungarian citizens and has banned teaching and publishing in the Hungarian language." (The Citizen, Ottawa, April 25, 1985)

Statistical figures of the Rumanian government used in the TEXTE and compared with previous years' official data clearly show that Hungarian schooling, book and newspaper publishing are radically curtailed. The Hungarian school system is being dismantled, use of mother language in public is practically forbidden, Hungarian populated districts are being destroyed by systematic resettlements of ethnic Rumanians.

Adding to the gravity of these anti-Hungarian measures, the Rumanian government has embarked on a policy of isolating Transylvanian-Hungarians from the outside world, particularly from Hungary. This goal is served by the following practices:

- a) limiting travel abroad for one in every other year,
- b) confiscation of Hungarian-language publications at border crossings from visitors from Hungary and the West, as well as from Transylvanian-Hungarians returning from visits abroad,
- c) restrictions on the opportunity for Hungarians to subscribe, at their own expense, to publications from Hungary, and obstacles set against the free flow of books, magazines and newspapers from Hungary,
- d) limitation on the number of telephone calls allowed to points outside Rumania, (Presently, only one such telephone call is allowed every three months, and a drastic fine is imposed for any violation of this restriction.),

- e) prohibition of the accommodation of foreign visitors at the homes of friends and all but the most immediate family members (spouse, child or parent). (It is primarily Hungarians who are affected by this restriction, because of the large number of relatives and friends living in neighboring Hungary.)
- f) systematic house searches, harassments, beatings and the general intimidation of individuals who occupy any leadership positions in the cultural, educational, literary, religious and community life of the Hungarian minority,
- g) detentions and beatings of those who meet with foreigners,
- h) elimination of the Hungarian and German language radio and television programs, and the practice of forcing Hungarians in Western Transylvania to dismantle rooftop antennas capable of receiving broadcasts from Hungary,
- i) a steady decline in admission of applicants to the Hungarian Theological Seminary in Kolozsvár (Cluj). Presently only a small percentage of the vacancies are filled at church congregations, and
- j) studying abroad, a 400-year old Protestant tradition for theology students and clergymen, has become practically forbidden.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE is silent about these Rumanian measures which are important instruments applied in the denationalization process of Transylvania-Hungarians. These measures and the ones brought at the congress of the Rumanian Communist Party last year point to further and eventually more radical attacks against the national survival of the Hungarian population in Rumania. President Ceausescu, in his speech of last December 27, demands freedom from intervention by "parties or governments in other countries" in implementing his oppressive minority policies.

Committee of Transylvania, Inc.

The Coca-Cola Company
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANMARIE C. PRUTTING
MANAGER
INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

ADDRESS REPLY TO
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SUITE 800
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
202-466-5310

July 30, 1985

Committee on Finance
219 Senate Dirksen Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

To Whom It May Concern:

Enclosed are letters in support of the extension of MFN status for Hungary, Romania and the People's Republic of China.

These are being submitted for the formal record, and attached are six copies of each original letter.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



JCP/pl
Enclosures

The Coca-Cola Company

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DONALD R. KEOUGH
PRESIDENT
AND
CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GA. 30301

404 898-2121

July 30, 1985

The Honorable John Danforth
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
337 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

As you are considering the extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, I would like to express my strong support for continuing the Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment for Romania and Hungary.

The Coca-Cola Company sells Coca-Cola in both Hungary and Romania and recognizes the importance of this business to its overall operations. We value highly our business relationships and believe it is necessary to preserve the framework for this mutually beneficial trade which benefits not only my Company but the economic and political interests of the United States as well.

In 1984, the United States had a trade deficit of approximately \$123 billion. This figure has almost doubled from only the previous year.

These figures show how important it is for the U.S. to emphasize international trade as a national economic priority. We need to try even harder to achieve a positive trade balance whereby we would also be creating more jobs for Americans. Denial of fair tariff practices at this time would have an adverse impact on the climate in which international trade can grow.

It is my strong belief that continuing fair trade practices with our bilateral trading partners will further benefit our trade with these countries.

I appreciate your continuing efforts to monitor these trade agreements to ensure that our country's best interests are served.

Sincerely,



Donald R. Keough

DRK:pl



DOES NOT CIRCULATE