

One digit determines your life Social exclusion through education

A contemporary comparative study on minority language use in Romania and Macedonia, with special emphasis on education.

**University of Utrecht
(c) Kocsis Laszlo ,2008**

Introduction

The world is divided into majorities and minorities. Some western states embracing the state-nation concept recognize only nations which are identical to states in their views, while any other subdivisions are tagged as “ethnic”. This can be certainly valid for states where the state –forming community(es) were on a much higher degree of material civilization and therefore could regard for instance the native Americans, the aborigines or other pacific islanders or African tribes as ethnic communities, without political weight and capability of organizing a modern state. The forming of a cultural nation and the subsequent rise of nationalism as we define it today, was a more delicate longer lasting process, by the end of which the common language, the common ancestral beliefs and common history became the predominant characteristics for the nations of Europe, which in most of the case was linked to a certain variable territory called homeland, fatherland (Fatherland) or motherland. As in the propagation of the common historical identity, beliefs and the common culture language was the key factor, it became the main identifier of the nation, especially on mother tongue level. All who spoke that language were considered part of the Nation as descendants of common ethical origin. Since in the past, few people spoke other languages except those in the stage of ethical assimilation, it become prevalent that the” nation exists in its language”.

The nation being defined as the community of those who speak that certain language as their mother tongue, an intense “language competition” begun. Nations who were more successful in imposing their languages upon others were getting out from this struggle with a positive or net gain in this otherwise zero –sum game. The language evolved from its primary and most important role of means of communication into the object and the tool of inter-national rivalry among nations. The aggressive affirmation of some nations led to ongoing wars and two WWs in Europe and when the arms were silent "Battlefield: language has emerged". The alienation of minority individuals and the mainstream forced assimilation policies targeting nations or parts of nations living in dangerous zones was and is carried out with sophisticated weaponry and the end-result can be called "silent genocide". Since the advent of mass-literacy and moreover that of compulsory schooling gave the state of the majority nation a very effective tool in achieving its homogenizing in fact assimilation goals.

As diversity was and is still considered a threat to unity in many European countries especially in the Balkans, every effort was worth reducing and annihilating this diversity, in the name of progress, civilisation and democracy. Although the main target was the use of the language itself, in fact aimed at much more: at the

destruction of the spirituality, culture and historical identity linked with that language and openly still longs for the annihilation of the minorities. According to the American wisdom of the XIX century colonists, “the good Indian is the dead one”, XXI. European and European Union country leaders share the same view “the only sizeable and loyal minority is the non existing one”. Therefore if annihilation and assimilation proves unsuccessful expulsion and forcible evacuation remains the only possible alternatives for realizing the desired ethnic cleansing. And this is aimed officially for the "inclusion" of the national minorities in the societies of the "generous majorities" which allow them to get assimilated into a nation with "superior moral qualities, culture and undisputable older origin and therefore greater historic rights”. Beneath the surface of vague and boring diplomatic declarations and manifestations of seemingly neutral stance and goodwill”, in the domestic politics mainly spirits run high quite often and encompass the whole nationalistic rhetoric palette from repetition of nationalistic stereotypes to public accusations of collective guilt, cultural and finally physical extermination. If someone thinks that such things are for the past only and history came to its end in 1989, are dead wrong. Even more when they think that the EU membership is a panacea for such and this new brotherhood in the new democracy will solve all nationalistic issues and the life of the minorities would not be threatened at all.

The majority public is constantly fed by irresponsible politicians with slogans, views and declarations which wake up the dark instincts of the people and for any lack of successes the culprit at hand is always a minority. The more numerous, the more developed the minority is, the bigger is also the perceived danger it poses. If it has no mother tongue or is very heterogeneous and underdeveloped in general like the Roma communities, they are not posing such a threat as their nation forming ambitions may well be in an incipient phase. Similar perceptions are formed towards the Jews which are either too small in number or halfway assimilated and therefore not so visible as a staunch community, which stands up for its rights.

A short historical review of the situation

Eastern Europe had witnessed massive population expulsions after the WWII, among which the Germans and the Hungarians were the biggest, not including the Soviet Union where everything happened on an even larger scale – whole nations were deported. The Balkans saw their ethnic cleansing programs as early as the traditional long lasting empires--the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian have been dissolved by the winners of WWI. The Balkans experienced the Turkish-Greek population exchange forcing 2, 5 million Greeks to leave and a similar number of Turks and other Muslims including Albanians, from nowadays Greece to head for Anatolia. The anti –Turkish, anti Muslim purge engulfed Yugoslavia as well in the 1960s when more than half million Turks and Albanians were forced to emigrate to Turkey, their properties being confiscated by the "liberal" communist state of Tito.

As the presence of Muslim and non-Slavic population as Turks and Albanians were considered a major threat to Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria, so was perceived the presence of the western Christian and definitely non Romanian (in the sense of Wallachian), non Slavic, Hungarian population-- for Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, mainly for Serbia. In case of Slovakia not even the religion was different, neither the anthropological features of the people, but the historic role and the legitimacy of the Kingdom of Hungary presented the biggest

threat, leading to the expulsion of 200,000 Hungarians from Slovakia paralleled with the loss of citizenship for the remaining 600,000 for a 4 years period, between 1945-1949, which meant also the banning of Hungarian language, confiscating of all property, denial of even basic healthcare. The laws proclaiming the collective guilt of Hungarians and (Germans), the Benes decrees are still in force in the two successor states of Czechoslovakia, in spite of being members of a democratically united Europe, thus making any rehabilitation, property restoration or political amnesty impossible for the victims. Serbia on its own acted in his usual manner, killing up to 80,000 Hungarians after 1944 as a revenge for Hungary occupying former Hungarian territories, which now are called Vojvodina. Although the estimates for may go lower for 50,000 civilians in the 1944 -45 period, the political cleansing of the Tito epoch and the great number of casualties of the 1991-1993 break-up war leads to this figure.

Romania at the beginning, being in fact a defeated and non-Slavic country wanted to strengthen its position in front of the Soviet leadership and in the newly acquired Northern Transylvania. In the beginning, after 1947, Romania adopted a softer and gradual approach towards its Hungarian minority, on Soviet suggestion. This made possible the creation of the Hungarian Autonomous Region in 1952, of the Bolyai Hungarian State University in 1947, the Csango Teacher training High school of Bacau in Moldova. All these were soon abolished after the Romanian communist regime getting stronger thus revealing its basically ultra nationalistic nature. The Csango teacher training high school was meant to preserve this ancient Hungarian community left outside the Carpathian borders, but these were closed down only years after their establishment. The official historical ideology could not tackle the problem of Hungarian presence in Moldova as it shackled in its foundations the official daco-Romanian continuity theory which also asserts the gradual Hungarian conquest of Transylvania but not of Moldova.

The Hungarian communities being presented as the descendants of the invaders,, not as a community which has its own documented, centralised, still loose authority Christian state on the territory, for most than one millennia, the Csangoes as a “historical horror” of “Magyarised Romanians” in the middle of purely Romanian Moldova, which interestingly are also Roman Catholic while the Romanian population is and was always orthodox. So the Hungarian Bolyai state university was “united “with its Romanian counterpart “Babes” in 1959, in order to closely control and finally annihilate the reproduction of Hungarian intelligentsia and accomplish the vision of “ethnic homogenisation” an openly declared PCR policy which encouraged mixed marriages like Alexander the Great in Persia, colonised millions of Romanians mainly from Moldova and Oltenia into Transylvania. Following the crackdown on Hungarian intelligentsia deemed to have been sympathising with the anti-Soviet Hungarian revolution of 1956, this “unification” led to the suicide of 6 leading professors and the gradual but finally total annihilation of Hungarian education in the “united institution.

Shortly after its creation in 1952, the Hungarian Autonomous was reduced in size, exchanging Hungarian majority regions with Romanian majority ones only to lower the percentage of the Hungarians from 77 to 60%, leading to its final abolition by Ceausescu in 1968, under the pretext of the new administrative division of the country. The existence of this Hungarian autonomous region whose reestablishment is the main goal of the Transylvanian Hungarian community, is still viewed by the “democratic and liberal” but beforehand nationalist Romanian political forces of today’s democratic Romania, member of the EU, as the “biggest mistake of the Romanian communists”. This is not surprising since in another “democratic “EU

country—Slovakia the ruling coalition member Slovenska Narodna Odbrana and not only already wiped down symbolically Hungary from the map in 2008! They promised openly to “level Budapest” with a tank army, the docile local Hungarian being minority is perceived as the greatest threat to Slovakian statehood simply through its existence, while gipsies are considered unpleasant and savage but less dangerous to the state.

Interestingly the new counties set up in Romania in 1968 were also following the old Hungarian county lines in regions with less significant Hungarian population, while in the compact zone of Szeklerland it was assigned a 4000 km² territory to neighbouring Moldavian counties, making it such that finally few countries with Hungarian majority emerged. The successful colonisation, assimilation and annihilation policies resulted that this number to be reduced today to a mere two, which are still a very big concern for the nationalist public and its leaders, causing special Har-Cov reports¹ to be debated in the Romanian Parliament in their efforts to crush this last compact zone. The best policy to attain this was public schooling, abolition of Hungarian schools, associations, a discriminatory land reform oriented to divide the land of Hungarian landowners and forced collectivisation –to gather and control the livelihood of smallholders, the methodical extermination of the intelligentsia starting with teachers, lawyers and priests ending in annihilating any opposing voice or possible threat. This was more or less valid for other minorities as well but none was so significant, perceivably disloyal and therefore “dangerous” as the Hungarian one. In fact the others were not supported for long by any existing state before, excepting the Germans, and the Turks from Dobruja until 1878.

As the world evolved more towards a detente, the Romanian dictatorship became even bolder towards its national minorities. In Slovakia (Czechoslovakia until 1993), in the Soviet Union after 1968 and 1985, a gradual democratisation took place, while Yugoslavia was leading the communist half of Europe, granting widespread autonomy to the Albanian majority Kosovo and to the significantly Hungarian Vojvodina. The population of Vojvodina has also suffered major ethnic changes as the Germans were expelled, and the Trianon time 23 % Serbian population became a majority over time, mainly through colonisation and immigration.

The modern era. After 1974

This is where my parallel starts. In 1974 the creation of Kosovo having de facto federal republic status was a concession to Albanian national forces, aimed also at weakening Serbian dominance in Yugoslavia, and recognizing the historical reality of 500 years Ottoman dominance and the loss of that territory in 1386. By the creation of the Kosovo Federal Autonomous Region, in fact a compact Albanian territory was recognised limited self determination, although the tiny 2, 5 million neighbouring Peoples Republic of Albania, in fact a Yugoslav protectorate for long, was no match neither for the 20 million Yugoslavia, neither for the 3rd most powerful army in the East--- the Yugoslav Peoples Army, built on victorious partisan traditions and claims of unabated independence. The autonomy of Vojvodina was the recognition of the different historical path of that Hungarian region which hosted Serbian refugees for

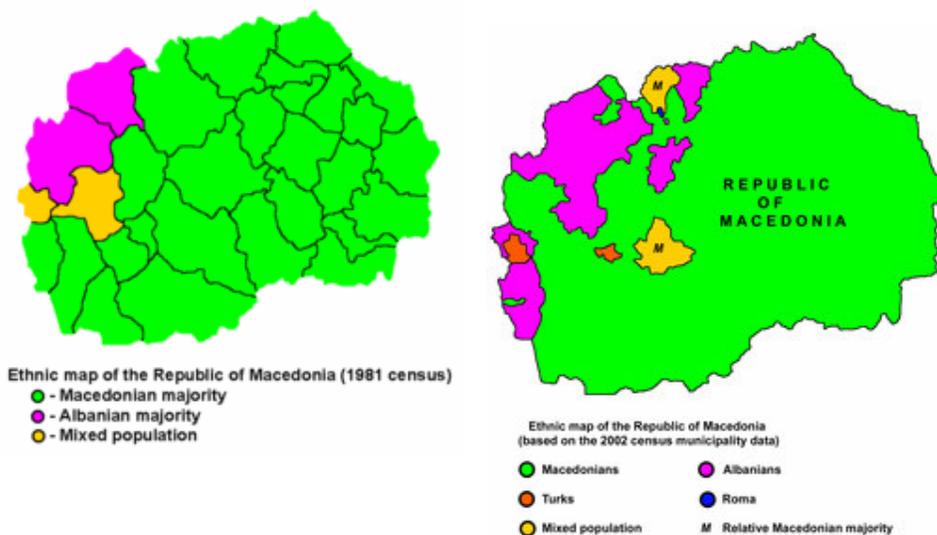
¹ Stands for the counties of Harghita and Covasna, now situated right in the middle of the country, having a total population of around 600.000, out of which some 500.000 (80%) are Hungarians. This absolutely disciplined and restraint, docile population is the “biggest threat” to the 20 million Romanian state....even now and until it exists !

centuries but was never part of Serbia or Serbian Kingdom before, unlike Kosovo which was considered to be the cradle of the Serb nation, albeit destroyed since 1386.

Year 1974 was the culminating point of the concentration of power in the Socialist Republic of Romania, N. Ceausescu, the hero of the Romanian common people was intensifying its Stalinist dictatorship, while imitating a non-aligned facade as learnt from Tito's neighbouring Yugoslavia.

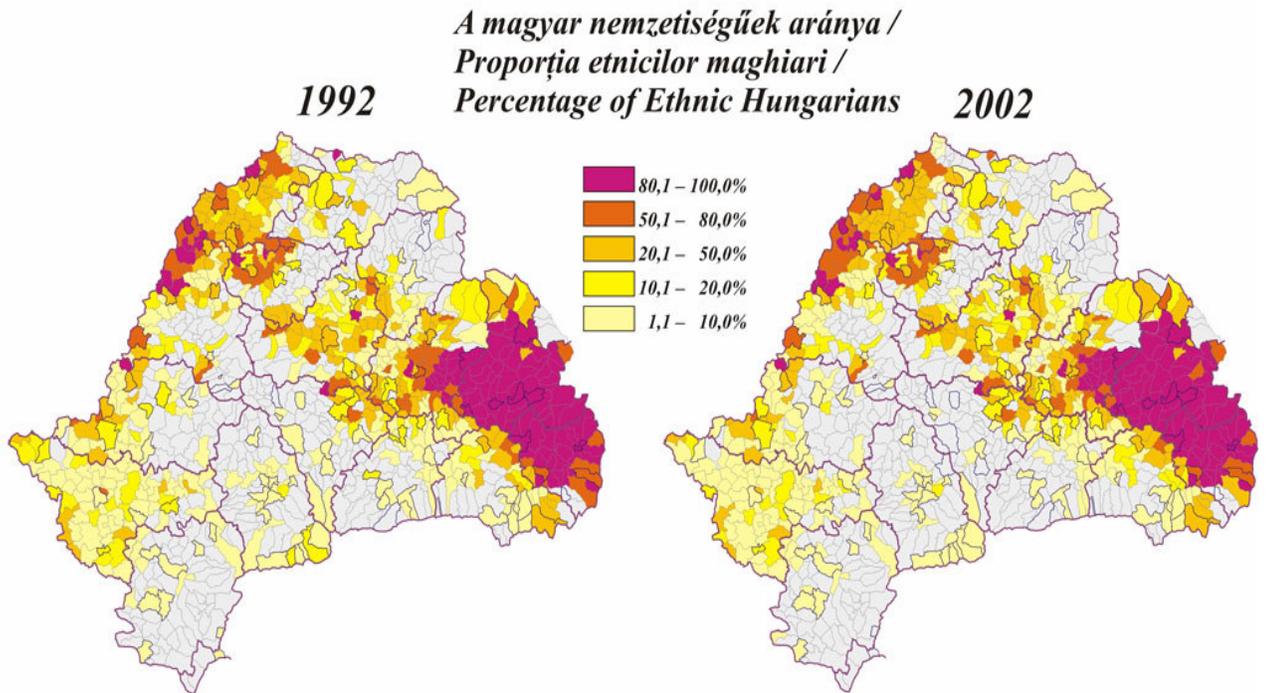
On the other hand the size of the Hungarian population in Romania (roughly 10 %) was similar to that of the Albanian in Yugoslavia. Nowadays the percentage of Hungarians in Transylvania closely matches that of the Albanians in Macedonia (officially 22-25%², unofficially 30-35%). The geographical national distribution is shown below :

Picture 1(to the left) : Ethic map of Macedonia, according to the 1981 Yugoslav census (www.wikipedia.org)

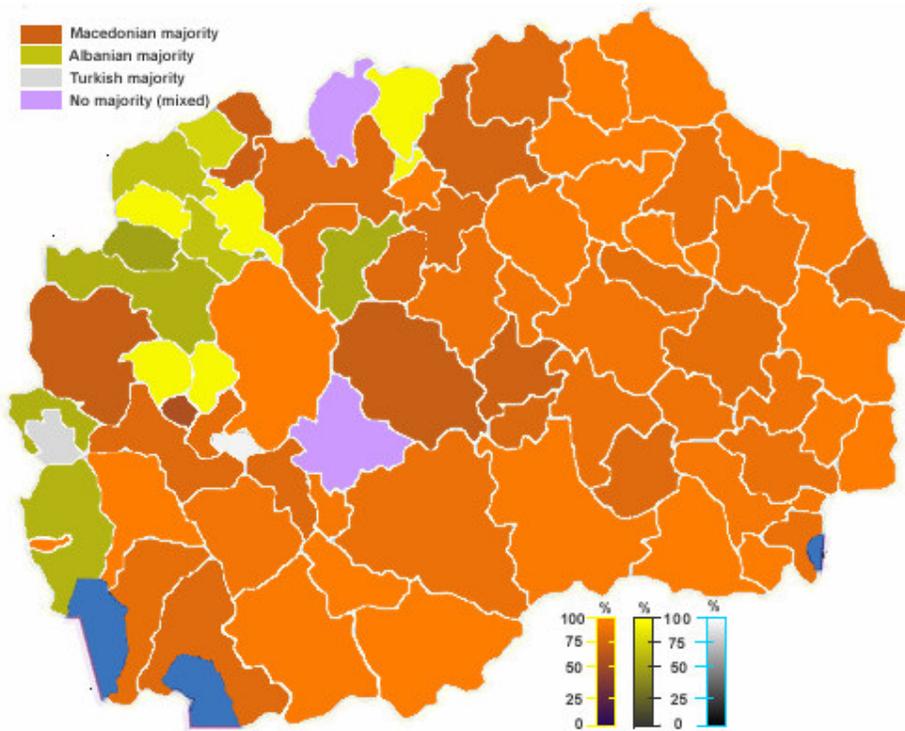


Picture 2 (at the right) shows The ethnic majority areas according to the 2002 Macedonian Census (wikipedia)

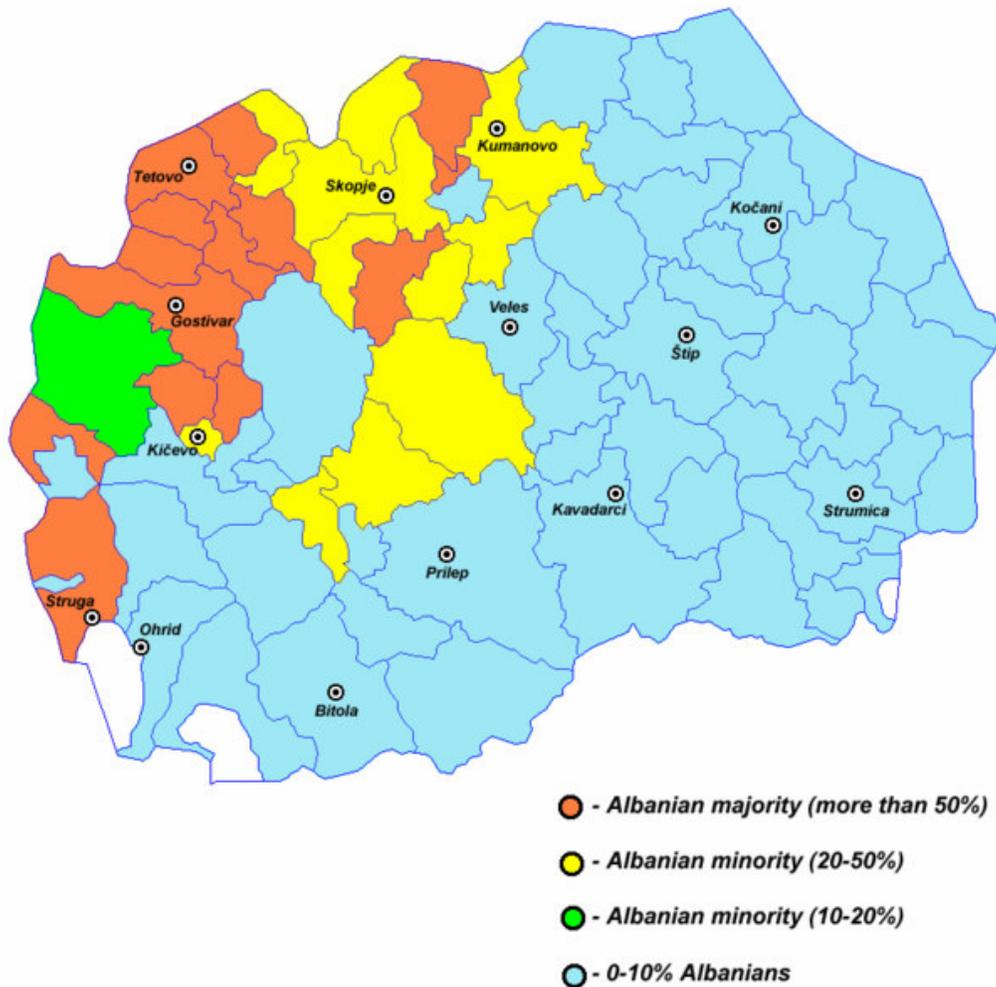
² Albanians 509,083 25.17 % 2002 Census



Picture 3—Territorial distribution of the Hungarian population in larger Transylvania, comprising historical Transylvania—the eastern side, the western (left) side being smaller Eastern Hungary or the eastern part of the unitary Kingdom- ---according to recent Romanian censuses (source : www.rmdsz.ro)



Picture 4- Relative majorities and minorities in Macedonia, brown –red Macedonian majority, green Albanian majority, grey: Turkish, violet: mixed, blue: lakes (wikipedia)



Picture 5-Albanian majority and minority areas in Macedonia –the Republika Makedonija or FYROM as the Greeks like to call it (wikipedia)

Similarities and dissimilarities between the two national minority communities

The Albanians form a geographically more compact community along the borders with neighbouring Albanian inhabited territories, namely Albania and Kosovo. The Hungarians form two compact zones: one smaller, along the eastern borders of Hungary and another bigger one in the Central and Eastern part of Transylvania (at the former eastern borders of Hungary). The Csango population from Moldova is the continuation of this contiguous zone in the Moldavian side of the Carpathians ,down to the central plains in the valley of the river Siret (Szeret). So it can be said the Albanians mainly inhabit Western and northern Macedonia (republic of Macedonia) while Hungarians North-western and Eastern Transylvania. Although their in country percentages are similar, the size of the Hungarian community is much larger,

officially around 1,500,000³ unofficially at 2,000,000 with a sizable 1,000,000 mixed population in addition which is on the brink of assimilation. The Albanian community is officially 500,000, some local Albanians claiming to be up to 800,000 or up to 40-50%, so in general the Hungarian minority is 3 times bigger. But in politics not size but the strength relations matter and the official 25 % Albanian community, not to call it minority has far more rights and say in the country's politics, than the Hungarian community which counts only for 7% in the 21,6 million big Romania, whose size is also 10 times bigger than that of Macedonia.

The initial state of the two populations was also very different. The Albanians very forming a predominantly rural population who has lived predominantly in the inaccessible mountains, which helped preserve their identity while the valley and the plains with its towns and strategic roads were dominated by the Turks. The Albanians however gradually became integrated into the ottoman culture largely by adopting Islam and many entering into mixed marriages with the Turkish population and subsequently became town -dwellers. Today due to the massive deportation and emigration of the Turkish population, the reversal happens: the remaining Turks are becoming rapidly integrated into a predominantly Albanian culture which bears serious imprints of the Turkish influence. The Albanian population maintains good relations with the Turks and Turkey in general, due also to the large number of Albanian immigrants and deportees into Turkey which form a separate district in Istanbul (Arnauti). The same happens on the Kosovar side and the Albanian population appears as the continuation of the Ottoman and Islamic culture , and the Turkish language is widely spoken by many from the young generation also, although it is not taught in Albanian schools, which is the result of a large number of mixed marriages whose descendants became Albanians, increasingly rapidly. In this way the local Slavic population which identifies itself regionally as Macedonian which has evolved undisputedly into a national identity in the past decades, sees the Albanians as the representatives of an empire which dominated them: the Christians. In this empire the Muslim Albanians had more rights than the Christians, including that of bearing arms, although the Ottoman Empire became more tolerant towards the other religions in the modern era.

The Hungarians have adopted Christianity from the very beginning and maintained their religious affiliation which led to massive destruction, suffered from the hands of the Ottoman Empire and had mixed marriages predominantly with Germans, namely rather with Schwabians from Eastern Hungary than with Saxons from inner Transylvania. In the modern era, significant number of Hungarian -Jewish mixed marriages occurred as the XIX century newcomer Polish and Ukrainian Jews were voluntarily assimilating into the Hungarian population all over Hungary, in our case especially in the Transylvanian towns, given that they enjoyed total religious freedom and a full range of civil rights. Even before and from the beginning the bigger towns maintained through centuries a predominantly Hungarian but also significant German population, by the time of the Trianon dictate there were actually no Romanian majority towns. The Romanians were mainly rural population which gradually descended from the mountains and get into mixed settlements with Hungarians. This process was greatly sped up by the settlement policies of the Hungarian nobles who were favouring the more humble immigrant Romanian peasant, driven by famine and ottoman incursions and unbearable economic and

³ 1.443. 970 , but according to that in spite of their mother tongue, some 12,000 declare themselves Romanian or other

political situation through centuries persisting in Wallachia and Moldova. Their settlement was favoured by the religious and national tolerance existing in Transylvania which was the first country in the world which edicted the freedom of religions at the Diet (Parliamentary assembly) of Torda in 1693. The Hungarians were a very urbanized society, almost half of them populating the Transylvanian towns before Trianon 1920. More urbanized were only the newly arriving Jews and to some extent the Germans, while some 10 % of Romanians lived in towns. Before the dismemberment of Hungary the Hungarian community in Transylvania had nearly 2400, mainly congregations run schools. Today has a few dozen.

The two communities show opposite demographic trends .The process of industrialization and urbanization after the WWII caused a massive population growth among the Romanians, Gipsies and the Muslims, while the Macedonians kept a stable fertility rate of 2, 07 similar to that of the Hungarians. The growth rates were very high among rural Romanians especially in Moldova and Muslims in Macedonia Turks and Torbesh are 2.5 times those of the Macedonian majority, while Albanians. and Roma have 3 times as high growth rate. This has resulted in a significant demographic change as the Albanian population has increased its proportion from 8% after WWII to 25% in the 1990s. In 1994, the Macedonian Slavs had a fertility rate per woman of 2.07, while the Albanians had 4.10, the Turks 3.55, while the average declined to an estimated 1.74 children born/woman in 2004

The Roma population was faring very well in both countries, in Macedonia having a fertility rate of 4.01 in 1994, actually being the only population group in Romanian which shows constant and significant positive growth rates while the Romanian population's size seems to stabilize after a 7 million increase in the post WWII years. The Roma population of Romania has allegedly surpassed 2 million but since many concealed their ethnicity or had no identity papers at all, the result of the 2002 census yielded a size of roughly half million. The Hungarian population is in decline, its fertility rates dropping below the subsistence level in the 1990s, which was aggravated by increased assimilation and emigration. The German population is practically in its end phase, the once half million strong community, after deportations to the Soviet Union, finally emigrated massively in the 1980s to West Germany, putting a de facto end to a 800 years presence on the territory of Transylvania where they flourished under the Hungarian kingdom and the independent principality of Transylvania as well as during the Hapsburg rule. Interestingly population growth is determined predominantly by the self confidence of the nation ,the stricter rules imposed by closed societies as the Muslim and gipsy one, where women aren't emancipated as much as in the Christian or rather atheist post-communist communities. This is shown also by the below average birth rate of the Vlach minority (1.88),while where they form a majority this rate is much higher (Romania).

Macedonia has a small Hungarian minority of 2004 persons or 0.1%, mainly living in mixed marriages although the number of people speaking Hungarian on mother tongue level is much higher. The bulk of this community is formed by the Aegean Macedonian emigrants who fled Greece after the collapse of the communist forces in the 1947 civil war and which were settled by friendly communist host countries, like Hungary and Romania partly in Transylvania or by Yugoslavia in Vojvodina to increase Slavic presence. Another part is formed by Albanians, formerly living in Hungary or working in the Hungarian region of Vojvodina during Yugoslav times. The Macedonian minority in Romania is in fact Macedon-Vlach, having a

Vlach identity which alternatively call themselves Arumuns or Macedorumuns. The overall size of this community in this region unofficially exceeds 100,000 but the Romanian governments for political reasons didn't want to recognize them fully or as a separate entity, especially because their origin would have questioned the existing historical dogmas. There was also an Albanian community which became assimilated into Romanians as they don't show up in the statistics. The assimilation gain of the Romanian nation is estimated to be at least 6 million. In conclusion, while the Albanian population experienced a very substantial growth trend ever since, increasing its number manifold, the opposite was true for the Hungarians in Romania: their number increased slightly at the beginning of the communism, than stagnated and finally turned into an uninterrupted decline since 1989, losing officially 15 % in the last decade (1992-2002), while Albanians increased their proportion even more in this period. As it goes like this the number of Albanians in Macedonia could equal that of the Hungarians in Transylvania in an estimated 30-40 years of time.

Ethno- centrism in Romanian education

The most relevant is that what the Romanian majority claims as right for their fellow ethnic citizens in minority majority (Hungarian dominated) areas are in much more than what they offer to their minorities. These double standards have many reasons the most obvious one is that Romanian language and education of that language or in that language is seen as the most precious and effective homogenisation policy tool. Ethno centrism in education is markedly signalled also by teaching the history and geography of Romania history only in Romanian language thus denying any sense of identity for minority communities which must see themselves as "tolerated immigrants" in someone else's (the Romanian nation's) country.

Interestingly the Romanian definition of the nation is exclusive when comes about rights, counting only those with ethnic Romanian ancestry and mother tongue, however when it comes about duties it is inclusive, using the concept of political nation where every citizen, the minority one as well is obliged to "show admiration and respect" for the Romanian language, for the "generosity "of the Romanian people allowing minorities to "eat Romanian bread".

The quantitative part of my study targeted three minority regions in Transylvania, the counties of Harghita, Covasna and Salaj. In the former two Hungarians form an absolute, majority while in the latter they form a significant minority. Although related to these, the general conclusions and qualitative remarks are valid for all the other regions depending on their majority or minority status. The research targeted elementary middle school final examination results, which are centralised and due after the completion of 8 years of schooling in Romania. The last year (2007) results were the following:

Nr. of candidates	County	Nr. of Successful Candidates	Nr. Of candidates Failed	Failed because of Romanian language only	% of failures due to Romanian language	% of Hungarian population (2002 census)	% of Hungarian population (1941 census)
1971	Covasna	1478	493	205	41,58	73,79	84,97
2433	Salaj	1893	540	65	12,03*	23,04	29,32 (1)
3493	Harghita	2794	699	389	55,65	84,6%	92,42
7897	All 3	6165	1732	659	38,04*		

Remarks:

1. evidently enhanced results due to the large number of Romanian candidates
2. concerning remark (1) the proportion of Romanian population in Salaj was 66,36 % , in other counties like Mures, the Hungarian population had 47,70 % that of Romanian 40,48% the rest was mainly German. In Bihar 44,28 % was Hungarian respectively 51,51% Romanian, in Satu-Mare 63,25 % Hungarian that of Romanians: 32,31 %. All these percentages have been significantly lowered or reversed during communism, due to massive colonisations, and later by subsequent emigration, so for instance Satu-Mare/ Szatmar's Hungarian population dropping to a mere 35,02% in 1992. this is a clear indication that the hardships and oppression suffered by the Hungarian minority after the end of WWII , during the communist period was much higher than for the average Romanian citizen⁴.

The problems and discrimination is persisting also in education, although is much better disguised. One aspect of this educational policy is the bigger workload it requires from a minority student than from the average. In spite of this Hungarian students generally learn at least as well as their average Romanian counterparts but obviously cannot take up the challenge in respect to Romanian language and literature. This leads to larger than normal failures in Romanian exams ,as shown in the following table and also in the annexes by the end of this paper.

County	Nr. of failures, according to extrapolation conducted with regard to ethnicity	Failed because of the Romanian language only	Percentage of failures in the Hungarian ethnic groups, due to Romanian language exam only.
Covasna	364	205	56,31
Salaj	124	65	52,41
Harghita	591	389	65,78
Total	1079	659	61,07

⁴ <http://varga.adatbank.transindex.ro>

Remarks on the methodology used :

1. Extrapolation assumes identical age distribution, meaning that the percentage of this school age population doesn't depend on ethnicity, in other words the percentage of Romanian pupils aged 14-15 by the time of exam is the same in the Romanian population as is among the Hungarian population. This counts only those successful in finishing their elementary and secondary 8 years of education.
2. In case of Salaj and Harghita a 2-3% counting error may occur
3. The ethnic distribution doesn't answer what percentage of the minority community studies in his mother tongue. Anyway this is less than 90 %, but varies according to locality, ethnicity of the parents and reaches even 3 % in case of the Moldavian Csangoes. So it takes into account only those Hungarians which have been studying in Hungarian language. Social exclusion works very effectively on the grounds of not knowing Romanian sufficiently well Anyway not only those can be excluded who study in Hungarian, but they are more vulnerable to exclusion. Eventually cancelling Hungarian as a language of instruction, suggested by many Romanian nationalist politicians is not a response for abolishing exclusion.

The modern era developments in the Szeklerland region of absolute Hungarian majority can be summarised as it follows:

County	Period	% of Hungarian ethnicity pupils forced to study in Romanian only	Remarks	Some Reasons
Szeklerland Comprising roughly the counties of Covasna , Harghita and Mures, as well as parts of Alba Cluj Bacau, Brasov Neamt and Vrancea	1950-1960	5%-10%	Language democracy	Most of the territories were component parts of the Hungarian Autonomous Region
	1960-1970	10-15%		
	1970-1980	20%	Ethnic "homogenisation" politics of the PCR—forced assimilation reached its peak in the 1980-1989 period	Hungarian autonomous region abolished by Ceausescu in 1968
	1980-1989	50%-60%		
	1990-1998	30%	Effects of the homogenisation	Some autonomy in schooling
	1998-2007	10 %	Standstill	

The remarks are valid respectively for the whole of Transylvania, especially in Salaj, Satu-Mare, Bihor, Cluj counties and parts of Maramures and Banat, but language democracy wasn't obvious, only in the Hungarian autonomous region. Assimilation forces are much greater outside the Szeklerland region, but even in

Szeklerland, 75-95 % of the mixed marriages produce Romanian nationality offsprings.

.In Moldova, Hungarian education was abolished totally after 1959, the Bacau county teacher training faculty closed down and the use of Hungarian forbidden even in churches. This was also the practice before and after this brief early communist period and is especially valid for Bacau, Neamt, and to a lesser extent to Suceava and Iasi counties, where these minorities live.

As a result from the 300.000 Hungarian Csangoes some 100.000 is left unassimilated and they define themselves rather as Roman Catholics, to avoid tagging and further exclusion. Their number is shrinking rapidly in spite of all the efforts in those 12 villages where Hungarian language teaching resumed after 2000 as a facultative and not official subject. This education should be started immediately in at least 30 other villages but frankly in some 100, otherwise their ancient Hungarian language will die out within decades. Where such Hungarian language education had started or resumed after ages, in the wake of and Romanian's EU accession and on the pressure of the Council of Europe and various international human rights organizations, even today as the time of writing Csango pupils and their parents are threatened by the local teachers, police and priests and forced to withdraw from the course, in spite of Council of Europe and Human Rights Watch and other recommendations and concerns⁵. The population has no access to Hungarian language church service for hundreds of years; large number of repeated requests for 300 years was and is ignored by the Vatican, yielding to the ultra nationalism and assimilation promoted through the Bishopry of Iasi.

It is known, that 95% of the Romanians belong to the state Orthodox church; the rest are Greek Catholics only in Transylvania. Since all Romanian were Orthodox ,even the Greek Catholics before their conversion by the Habsburgs, while Moldova was under Hungarian rule between the IX-XIV. centuries when the Milcov/Milko bishopry was also set up for the Cumans and Hungarians, Moldova being Cumania until the great Mongol invasion of Batu Khan in 1241 which crushed the Cuman state ,most of the survivors being granted asylum in Hungary and settled down in the middle of the country between the Danube and the Tisza, which still bears their name So all Roman Catholics even if declaring otherwise are or were of Hungarian ancestry, eventually Cuman and German as German settlers were invited in to the Moldavian towns as well as it happened in Transylvania and other parts of Hungary. The Hungarian community was periodically strengthened by refugees coming from Transylvania escaping Habsburg conscriptions, law enforcement and poverty following the Ottoman devastation of Transylvania in 1659 and scores of Ottoman ordered Tatar invasions until the XIX. century. The bulk of this Csango community lives in the close proximity of the ethnic enclave of the Székelyföld or Szeklerland in close connection with the predominantly Catholic border regions of Szeklerland. It is evident also that the Csangoes are pilgriming yearly back to the Catholic heartland of Székelyföld to Csiksomlyó, where usually 250.000 Hungarians gather in an ecumenical meeting every year, since 1990.

Resuming Hungarian education among the Moldavian Csangoes in the 1990 s was vehemently opposed by the Romanian authorities and it started sporadically and dispersed as a "facultative language". Most Csangoes don't dare to send their children to Hungarian classes in fear of *social exclusion*. Hungarian language

⁵ <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100580.htm>

teachers' volunteers were persecuted for teaching Hungarian in private, after the school classes, even after year 2000 or 2007. A Hungarian orphanage trust in Deva /southern Transylvania/ was accused of "magyarising" the children by taking care of abandoned orphan children in a region where the percentage of the Hungarian population is around 10-20%, or less than 10%, according to Romanian statistics.

As a result of this language and educational policy **Hungarians are threatened by social exclusion if they don't get assimilated. As a consequence many choose assimilation to avoid exclusion, while other equally large groups choose emigration to avoid assimilation.** The emigration in the communist era was primarily internal, into the Szeklerland and outside of it, mainly to Hungarian towns, due to the harsh crackdown on emigration attempts. By the mid 1980s the Romanian authorities realized that leaving the Hungarians to flee abroad is an equally effective way of getting rid of them and less problematic than forced assimilation. By then, external emigration occurred on large scale and is going on ever since, first to Hungary than to the west and now everywhere in the EU but mainly to the culturally more closely affiliated Germanic and Nordic countries. Romanian emigration is also on a large scale but targeting mainly the southern neo-Latin states of Italy and Spain and mainly of economic origin rather than political one.

In Covasna/ Háromszék the Hungarian minority is a majority of around 75 %. Remark (1) refers to that in 3 consecutive years, between 1979-1981; more than 15 thousand Romanians from Moldova were settled only in Sf.Gheorghe, on the pretext of industrialisation, thus changing the ethnic composition from a 95% Hungarian into a 75 %. There was more to come but luckily the dictatorship collapsed. In the meantime all the bigger towns in Transylvania fared even much worse (see for instance Cluj /Kolozsvár. However Romanian immigration didn't stop and is continuing to threaten by the existence of the nearby 300.000 strong also immigrant Romanian community of Brasov. Taking into account the whole XX. century for Covasna we find that:

Period	Percentage of Hungarian ethnicity pupils forced to study in Romanian only-estimate	Percentage of Hungarian population in Covasna	Remarks
1910-1920	Insignificant	90	Church run education in mother tongue was predominant, the drop is also due to Hungarian emigration after 1920
1920-1930	Significant	83	
1930-1940	15%	85	
1940-1945	0	87	Part of Hungary
1945-1960	5-10%	84	Part of the Hungarian Autonomous region + transitional periods
1960-1970	10-15%	84	
1970-1980	15-25%	84	Moderate Romanian colonisation
1980-1989	50%-60%	82	Massive Romanian colonisation(1)
1990-1998	30%	79	Figure for 1992, Hungarian

			emigration
1998-2007	10%	73,79	Figure for 2002, increasing Romanian immigration and Hungarian emigration

In Salaj/Szilágy Hungarians are a minority in minority. Minority is a bad definition for Salaj also, who gave also kings, poets, scientists and writers for Hungary. For instance Kölcsey Ferenc the author of the Hungarian national anthem was born in a village belonging to Szilágy, Szödémeter actually *Săuca*, in bordering Szatmár county where he lived all his life, being the chief notary of Szatmár County. The village and the region went under Romanian control following the dictate of Trianon in 1920, and again that of Paris 1947. In Salaj county, from 2433 candidates there have been successful 1893, from the number of 540 failed or those who eventually didn't show up, according to the ethnic composition of the 2002 official census and presuming uniform distribution, 125 Hungarian students would have failed. The counting shows that out of these more than half (65) failed only because of the Romanian language exam. The rest failed from more subjects and in a few cases failed from Geography, while passing Romanian or Maths. In the general ranking a skewed distribution is evident, the mean result of the Hungarians being much below that of the Romanians in the upper parts of the ladder:

Ranking of students	Nr of Hungarian students in this percentile	Intervals	Nr of Hungarian students from Szilágy/Salaj In this interval	Percentage of Hungarians in ranking	Difference between the official % of the Hungarian population (23,04%)
1-20	no			In the First 100 = only 5%	--18,04%
1-40	1	20-40	1		
1-100	5	40-100	4		
1-180	13	100-180	7	Second centile =11%	--12,04%
1-200	17	180-200	4		
1-260	26	200-260	9	Third centile =13%	--10,04%
1-300	30	260-300	4		
1-380	40	300-380	10	Fourth centile =15 %	--8,04 %
1-400	45	380-400	5		

The results show a clear bias, the presence of Hungarian students in the upper quart is significantly less than the percentage of the Hungarian population and this cannot be explained only by the presumably lower strata of school aged cohorts in the Hungarian population, compared to the Romanian population, due to lower fertility ratios.

In **Harghita/Hargita**, the most Hungarian county of Transylvania from 3493 candidates 2794 had passed, 699 failed. The results are shown in the table below

Ranking of students(pupils) in Harghita	Nr of Hungarian students in this percentile	Intervals	Nr of Hungarian students in these intervals	% Hungarian students form the total student population of Harghita	Difference between the official % of the Hung population 84,6% and the % due to exam results
1-2	none	1-20	14	70 %	--14,6
1-20	14	20-40	13	65%	--19,6
1-40	27	40-60	15	75 %	--9,6
1-60	42				

From the above data some conclusions can be drawn which can be extended for all regions also where Hungarians are in a local minority or majority position:

Statistical conclusions : In Szilágy/Salaj, the opportunity of getting education in Hungarian is considerably lower, than in Harghita where one can say there are enough schools now for students who want to learn in their mother tongue. The difference between the ethic composition rate and the ranking rate is highly negative in the higher strata in both counties, bearing very similar patters. The composition of the students approaches the ethic composition in the intermediate category of the results and overpasses it at the lower end. This means that the distribution curve is skewed which is not possible given the population statistics, it can be deduced only that the mean is lower, so the whole population's results are biased towards the lower value end of the variation axis interval.

Continuation of an ethnocentric education policy

The same has happened as in the exams held years before. One of the core problems is the bad strategy of teaching Romanian, the fact that the exam subjects were also difficult it is only the top of the iceberg.

The issue of the Exam subjects:

The 3.point of the subject was based on a text from the manual edited by literary critic, Nicolae Manolescu. He recognized himself that "the 3.point was impossible to solve for those who weren't learning from my book. If the pupils were learning from the manuals edited /compiled by they had the necessary informations if not then they had not"⁶. He made reference also to the paradox situation caused by the existence

⁶ „Ha a tanulók az általam is szerkesztett tankönyvből tanultak, akkor megvoltak az információik, ha nem, akkor nincsenek”-- <http://www.nagybanya.ro/rezletes-cikkid-3486.htm>

and abundance of “**alternative**” manuals– if you aren’t informed well which to choose your chances of failing will increase. The choice is made by the teacher not by the student. So the effective preparation has *elements of private information which makes a public, mandatory, nationwide and uniform final exam biased from start*. The *private information* lies within the circles which recommend manuals and make exam subjects. The method is susceptible of *insider trading* ...

The exam methodology

The subjects were the same all over the country. Maths and other subjects’ exam questions were translated on the spot by a committee formed of qualified teachers in the counties’ capitals who teach in both languages. These translations were sent to schools, obviously hours later after the opening of the Romanian versions. This caused a delay of 1, 5-2 hours for the Hungarian candidates and additional stress, while sitting in their exam halls in silence waiting for the translations to arrive. Translations were sent by fax to county schools, everything in a centralised manner. Two supervisors were assigned to each exam hall hosting on average 20-30 pupils.

Grading was done by commissions consisted of “foreign” teachers, teachers coming from other schools specially for this. None could grade pupils from his own school. Each commission is consisted of two teachers. After grading they gave it to a second commission which also made the grading. In case of a difference of 1 mark or more between the two grades, the exam paper was graded again from the beginning until the difference gets below 1 mark. Then the final grade is the average of the two commission grades, finally in total the arithmetic average of 4 teachers who are actively teaching the material in that year but in general for many years also before. The names were sealed, no sign could have been left on the exam sheets. Pocket calculators, mobile phones could not be used. The scrap sheets had to be handed in , together with the exam sheet which were also stamped and recorded. Grading was done according to the “Barem” --a centralised grading system which breaks down answers to 0,25 points. Grades are given in the range of 1 to 10, 5 is the minimum passing grade. Somebody present but who didn’t wrote a letter gets 1. Absents get 0.

Conclusion: in Covasna and Harghita and in general all the Hungarian or mixed schools the grading was done strictly according to the rules set forth by the Romanian ministry of Education. Some copying may have occurred from each other , but that could have been valid for each subject, and finally didn’t count much as the grading teacher immediately observes the copying as it can never be done perfectly. An informal rule in these countries says that if two papers are similar than both will fail. Anyway this is not really used in such exams as there is no room for other than "objective"—grading. So what counts, is only what appears on the sheets only irrespective of being written badly, poorly or mixed up etc. Teachers usually seek to filter out what is good or at least, acceptable, not what is bad. This is typical for maths and natural sciences, less typical for languages.

The results were weaker nationwide, which only emphasizes the problem. Romanian was the biggest source of failure not only in the Hungarian populated areas but nationwide as well. Many students getting 7-8 in the oral exam got 2-3 in the written and failed subsequently—wasn’t the methods, and the choice of subjects the main culprit?

Complaints samples

County	Region	Complaints Nrs. and percentages	For the Romanian language exam	Failed Due to Romanian	Marks Between 5-6	Candidates
Sibiu county	Transylvania	524	222			
Bistrita – Nasaud	Transylvania	630		352	878	1761
Galati	Moldova	36% of candidates	More than 14 % of the candidates			
Bucharest	Muntenia	5000 ⁷				

One can only imagine if the Romanian language exam was the most difficult for the native Romanian students how could it have been for the Hungarians (?). This unique final exam system was replaced now (by 2008) with a four exam system taken in the semesters of year 7 and 8 on a unitary basis, in a centralized manner. This system however didn't bring any improvements; the failure rate was even higher: 37 % in Covasna country at the first one, for instance.

Conclusions on ethnocentrism in education

The first conclusion comes out as such: even where there are normally plenty of Hungarian schools and teachers, like in Harghita, Hungarians students perform worse. If we admit that the Hungarian students are not less intelligent and industrious than the Romanian ones, that we have to admit that this signals that the actual educational policies are negatively discriminative. Minority students and especially the Hungarians are under excess burden, mainly due to the foreign language they must learn, which is totally different from their own and due to the higher workload given by learning additional subjects in the Romanian language, like Geography and History. Teaching other subjects than the language itself in Romanian shows the ethnic-centrism of the education in Romania. A Hungarian pupil studying the History of Romania quickly realizes that he or his ancestors is not included in that –he appears as the representative of an “invader nomadic population” who should be “grateful for being tolerated “and being offered the chance to learn at all.

Other conclusions may include:

1. The educational system is inadequate for the Hungarians—stricter rules apply for them, the teachers are stricter with them. This may be intended to promote quality but can also cause large scale failures, and the latter is what usually happens.

⁷ filed until 8 PM Saturday 25th July 2007

2. Hungarian teachers give smaller marks due to their culture for higher exigency and quality, but also because of fear not being accused of favouring their fellow students. So in this way they are rather acting against them.
3. The large scale failures are because of the language of the exam. Except Maths and mother tongue Hungarian, Geography, History and Romanian language (of course) was in Romanian. The requirements are the same as for native Romanians who learn their history and the geography where they live. Hungarians populate only specific parts of the country, so they are not familiar with the geography of the other /extra Carpathian parts.
4. Learning other languages for Hungarians is more difficult. This is somehow true since all the languages to be learnt including English and other romance languages are situated very far apart from Hungarian. Learning agglutinative languages like Turkish, Kazakh, Finnish, Uzbek, and Uyghur would have been easier.
5. Given the relative complexity and flexibility of the language it enables its speakers on the contrary to achieve other languages fairly easily. This doesn't hold for the whole population, only for the majority.
6. Geography meant the geography of Romania, History meant the history of Romania. These subjects were compulsorily taught only in Romanian only, until very recently 2007 and the future is unclear.
7. Romanian language teachers have the worst reputation. In general they are ethnic Romanians, who don't speak or understand Hungarian. They usually despise Hungarian as the language of the "Asian barbarians who put the flesh under the saddle to be able to eat it". Language teachers have in general the worst reputation in general in secondary schools, giving bad grades subjectively as they didn't like the literary analysis presented by the pupil or for spelling mistakes, the latter especially valid for the Hungarian ones. This also is an explanation why are the marks in Hungarian are generally lower than in Maths or Geography.
8. The Hungarian students are less intelligent and/or possess fewer skills. This quick conclusion is contradicted by the normal distribution of skills across the entire human population according to the Gauss curve. The Hungarian population is not more handicapped than the average. On the contrary, due to lower birth rates and biggest per capita investments in child rising and widespread abortion, only wanted children are born. The Hungarian population is on higher cultural and civilisation level than the country average, its civilisation didn't start with the Romanian takeover...

The misconceptions regarding minority languages

A common misconception exists among Romanians and Hungarians alike as well as among Macedonians and Albanians alike, is that the minority language is very difficult.

These misconceptions are suggested by the dominant nation, especially by Romanian teachers and in reverse is agreed to by many Hungarians involuntarily, who were always being manipulated as their language being unique, non--Indo European and therefore very difficult. According to linguists there is no really difficult language, everything depends on the mother tongue and languages known by

the learner. The further this language is from its mother tongue, the more difficult would it seem. In an Ethnologue based classification: Hungarian was ranked with difficulty 4, while Chinese as the most difficult ranked 5. In this ranking which contradictorily affirmed that Hungarian is the seventh most difficult language on earth, Serbian and Polish also ranked 4, Japanese 5 while Italian 1. The mother tongue of the compilers was English of course and Albanian was not included. Ending with the French joke that who knows three languages is trilingual, two –bilingual and who knows only one is English, let's take a look on the Romanian arguments why is Hungarian difficult and therefore undesirable:

1. Hungarian is not a romance language –true, but what if ?
2. Hungarian is not even Indo-European – true, but with “not even”, is offending. Many “European” languages have Asiatic Indian origin, including the Germanic ones, while the European origin of Hungarian is accepted. The Volga and Kama rivers are flowing in Europe anyway. On the other hand the denomination of Indo-European is also a clear example of the main and inherent flaw of this conception. So consequently the Romas are “indo-Europeans” and “Aryans”, even if many wouldn't agree.
3. Hungarian is very specific---true, it is a relative of ancient Sumerian, ancient Greek, Etruscan, Old or proto-Bulgarian, extinct Scythian, Hunnish, extinct European Avar, Cuman, Petcheneg, Alan, modern Turkish, Finnish, Estonian, of Ugric languages, Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Turkmen, Azeri Oghuz, with notable similarities with modern Avar, Osetian, also with Korean, Mongol, Tatar, and even Japanese, and American Indian --notably Kechua—some 40 languages were compared to it, including old Hebrew. On the other hand Romanian (also Vlach, Arumun) is a relatively new descendant of Neo-Latin and Balkan Slavic languages, doesn't need to bother with ancient roots.
4. The Hungarian language is not worth learning---is not true, is rather offending. Every language is worth knowing especially if a large community speaks it in your country or neighbourhood or town, moreover being a language of your mother, father and of a millennial culture and civilization.
5. The Hungarian culture is inferior—is simply not true, and very offending. Hungarian culture is vast and actually much older than the Romanian, and finally
6. “Hungarian is the language of the horses and of dogs”—a statement often delivered by Romanian nationalists. Well, Hungarian with its active vocabulary of more than 1 million words, spoken from time immemorial, with its first written modern record from the X. century, but earlier documents were destroyed by the catholic monks when adopting Latin as well as the countless wars this nation suffered from. The Hungarians had their own writing runic /cuneiform system during the first millennia which is still in use today in Szeklerland and is almost the same as the Uyghur alphabet found in the Orkhon valley. With its capacity of renewing itself from its own, it can stand up to changes for at least for the coming 10 thousand years, according to British linguists. Voyager sent by the USA in search for extraterrestrial intelligence had also a phrase and a song in Hungarian. Sumerian clay tables were solved by Belgian French linguists, by using Hungarian. Recently for instance prof. Altieri of Italy who doesn't speak at all Hungarian published his seminal book on the extinct Etruscan language, the predecessor of Latin in the northern half of Italy, entitled . “Etrusco, uno dialetto d'Ungherese arhaico”.

He based his findings as well as many others on earlier historical records and on the Hungarian Csango dialects.

Similar considerations are also circulated in Macedonia regarding Albanian :

1. Albanian is not Slavic –true ,but what if?
2. Albanian is Indo-European, but totally different from the others---true but being different is not a "charge".
3. Albanian is very specific –yes because it has ancient traits of Illyrian
4. Albanian is not worth learning ---not true, every language has its own values, everyone should decide and if it is not for him, that's not the case with your mother tongue.
5. Albanian is difficult-- yes, but only due to its non unitary development, unfinished standardization and the existence of major dialects.

In summary for both languages

1. Minority languages are perceived by the majorities as being too difficult: this holds as well as for Romanians in Transylvania as for Italians in South –Tyrol of Italy, Macedonians and Serbians in Macedonia and Kosovo, Spanish in Basque country
2. Minority languages bear an inferior culture according to most of Romanians , Macedonians and Serbs
3. The representatives of the minorities don't want to learn the majority language.
4. Minorities refuse to talk the majority's language even if they know or should know it.

Complaints are often heard that in minority majority areas the representatives of the majorities were not understood or were not served on purpose, being refused talking in their majority language. The accusations come mainly from hearsay and from people who visited such regions barely once, and such stories are then amplified by the majority medias- from Northern Slovakia down to southern Macedonia. Based on 40 years of personal experience living in these regions, the minority speaker generally doesn't understand clearly the swift and dialectal speech, which doesn't resemble the textbook language learned at school, but the native speaker is unaware of this. The level of practise also has a say, since if not practised permanently like in the family, linguistic skills fade away like with any other skills. And linguistic skills are not the only and most important human skill. Empathy, willingness to help, understanding body language and sign language helped humanity to evolve to where it is now. Romanians claiming that all Hungarians should speak Romanian fluently forget that during the Hungarian kingdom only 10% of them spoke it at all, mostly merchants and educated people. Claims that 5 million Romanians speak English and 3 French are at least exaggerated, since knowing a few words doesn't qualify s speaking it. On the other hand is rather easy for a native Romanian speaker to learn French or Italian which is somehow similar.

The relation of the majority and minority language

Due to the overwhelming view and attitude towards Hungarian and Hungarians or Hungarian Csangoes in general the national minority language is taught nowhere in Romania for ethnic Romanian students, not even in settlement where these minorities form a majority and the knowledge of it would benefit the person⁸.

The Macedonian school system introduced at least the possibility of optional learning of one minority language (Albanian, Turkish, Roma, Vlach, Serbian). In Romania none has ever thought of, excepting a few Hungarians. Instead of this, the state forces the learning of a second foreign language for the minorities from the first-second year of elementary schooling and the third one from the 5th year or I. year of secondary school. In Macedonia the Albanian concerns of pupils learning two foreign languages (Macedonian and English) at the same time was accepted and the introduction of Macedonian was gradually shifted to the IV. grade. Romania, pursuing as always a harsh denationalisation policy introduces Romanian already in the kindergarten. By the starting of the secondary school Romanian becomes the more difficult subject due to the uniform program which is intended for Romanian native speakers as well, and which reverts to archaic literature before even the grammar bases are well put in place. On the other hand the authorities don't realize in none of the countries that the local majority language is not the most important foreign language in the context of globalization and ever growing overflow of English. So if you want to start with a handicap you should learn English from early on.

Experiences in both Macedonia and Romania show that minority pupils are not acquiring the dominant or national majority language, especially if they are coming from families and communities where that language is not widely spoken or at all. The Romanian anticipation and response to this was ever increasing colonisation, with state policies still favouring and subsidizing heavily the settlement of Romanians in Hungarian majority areas in order to shift the ethnic balance. The state responds in this way by "creating the proper environment" for learning Romanian, but which of course serves the intent of forced assimilation. The Macedonian policy was inactive and neutral, due to the interethnic stabilisation agreement of Ohrid 2001, which stated that the Albanian is also an official language. In the presumed lack of this agreement and political will, perhaps similar Macedonian assimilation intents would have been lacking the sufficient funds and the excess number of native Macedonians, to be relocated outside ethnic "boundaries" and the Christian –Muslim divide is also acting against such, so any attempt would be futile.

Macedonian researchers⁹ observe correctly that although integration in Europe is desirable, also through the learning of foreign languages, this integration should be achieved first in the home country societies, for which also the majority has to put its efforts, not only the minorities. Romania acts to the contrary, even recently are being cases of fines and other punishments for job announcements in Transylvania where the employer demanded the knowledge of the Hungarian language too. These calls were ruled anti-constitutional, since" in Romania Romanian citizens cannot be

⁸ personal remark of Violeta Petrovska Beshka-author of Ethic dimensions of social inclusion

⁹ Violeta Petrovska Beshka : Ethnic dimensions of social inclusion- People Centered Analyses--United Nations Development programme report, 2008 Skopje

forced to learn other language than Romanian” and also discriminative against the majority (!). Interestingly, forcing all minority citizens to speak Romanian fluently is not discriminative against them (?). In a recent case, the head of public finance administration of Harghita county was condemned by the Romanian National Antidiscrimination Council from Bucharest and fined for 1.000 lei for announcing 12 tax supervisory posts in the county, with such a criteria. The Great Romania Party commented the case as if somebody doesn't know Hungarian, cannot have a living in the country. He forgot the Harghita is only one of the 41 counties of Romania and being a tax inspector is not the only occupation¹⁰. In south Tyrol of Italy this is a natural prerequisite for all public servants!! who wants to be an active public servant in that German minority region of Italy, which was formerly part of Austria! Even customs and financial supervision authorities (Guardia Financiară) has to be proficient in German, which is not an easy language but they have all the opportunities to go elsewhere in the 59,448,163 million Italy, not necessarily stay in the 487,673 Bozen-Bolzano province where the 300,000 strong South-Tyrolean German “linguistic minority” is living.

Schooling policy is denounced permanently by the Hungarian press, some MPs and Hungarian intellectuals: “We according to our numbers (1,5 million) and percentage (7 % in Romania, 25 % in Transylvania-according to official statistics) and the features of our language (Hungarian) we would deserve much more attention. The teaching programs place an equal sign between Romanian and other mother tongue children. The Hungarian child cannot bear the same load since it is not his mother tongue. Romanian should be taught accordingly and performance demanded on basis of that. Without bad intentions I affirm that the teaching of Romanian is formal and *doesn't serve the purpose of social inclusion*”.

The Hungarian child is getting into a handicapped position at the exam as well as after during job search. This causes a state of psychic fear and the child waits the exam with fear. Which is not good? For none. The fact that the question is over-hysterical is not a natural phenomenon¹¹ “.

Overhysterical refers to the permanent upheavals / roars in the Romanian parliament and the Romanian language media any time the question occurs that Romanian is not a mother tongue for the Hungarians. “Since you eat “Romanian bread”, how you dare to call it a foreign language”. The general culture should be the goal, not the knowledge of a certain subject. The failure is due to the committee preparing the subjects¹².

The results of the complaints were displayed later than promised which caused panic, disturbances and dissatisfaction among the maturing pupils. The most failed due to the Romanian language and the Hungarian pupils got in the most handicapped situation this year as well as are usual. „The study programme places an equal sign between Romanian and Hungarian mother tongue children which

¹⁰Forró-Erős Gyöngyi -- Diszkrimináció hagymaszaggal Harghita Nepe, 2008 február 12

¹¹Hátrányos helyzetbe kerül a magyar gyerek úgy a vizsgán, mint később, az elhelyezkedésnél. Ez a helyzet pszichés félelmi állapotot teremt, a gyerek félelemmel várja a vizsgát. Ami nem jó. Senkinek. Az pedig, hogy túlhisztérizálttá vált ez a kérdés, nem egy természetes jelenség.--- Balázs Lajos, head of Romanian language and literature of the Sapientia private Hungarian university. “Diákgyilkos” volt a román érettségi vizsga--- ÚMSZ 2007-07-11 9. oldal)

¹²maszol.ro

is incorrect¹³. As a unanimous conclusion of the mass media “This year's Romanian baccalaureatus was a "student-killer”¹⁴.

Below are the verbal evaluation criteria for a Vth form pupil, after completing the elementary 4 classes. The criteria follows general principles but sets too high standards for the minority pupils. Since those generally cannot be met it remains to award them higher than deserved marks in order to avoid mass-failure. For instance it is great if someone has a vocabulary at all in a foreign language after 4years of study, adequate selection means already mastering that language, the same holds for correct verbal production and clear logic. According to Europe-wide surveys one quarter of the general student population suffers from different forms of dyslexia (surveys from Britain, Hungary etc.). According to my teaching experience many adults have no adequate vocabulary or clear logic either, but all have had passed somehow the 5th grade.

Verbal evaluation criteria

Verbal evaluation criteria ---- Vetch form –after the elementary 4 years For Romanian language and literature –excerpts from www.edu.ro		
Criterion	Max nr of points awardable for the given criterion	
Adequacy of the answer	Max 10 points	
Evaluation of the verbal elements	60	
Quality of verbal production/expression	30=	
Adequate selection of the vocabulary	10	
Correct verbal production, clear logic and assumptions	10	
Fluency in speech	10	
Evaluation of nonverbal elements: mimic, gestures, body language	20	
Participation in the process of answering	10	

Final Conclusions

1. 1. The Albanian community has fought for the same rights as the Hungarian one. Their fight was successful. The Macedonian state established a State university in 2001 exclusively for Albanians, besides this there is a multilingual Albanian private university financed mainly by western European states and the USA. The Hungarians didn't achieved the restoration of the previously existing Bolyai state university which was abolished by forced merger

¹³ “A tanterv egyenlőséget von a román és más anyanyelvű gyerekek között, ez pedig helytelen” Balázs Lajos, head of Romanian language and literature of the Sapientia private Hungarian university form Transylvania

¹⁴ Diákgyilkos” volt a román érettségi vizsga ----ÚMSZ

in 1959 and than gradual dissolution ever since, although this was on the political agenda for 17 years and the Hungarian democratic alliance of Romania (RMDSZ/UDMR) has participated in several governments, unsuccessfully in all of them. This might be seen as the Albanians in Macedonia were in worse position before, but given the same country -SFRY-they been living in, and the proximity of Kosovo, Albanian intelligentsia was educated at the universities of Kosovo, which had full autonomy almost as a constituent republic since 1974, until its abolition in 1989. However the Kosovo problem is solved with the de facto independence since 1999, and the proclaimed one since 2008.

2. The Albanian language is in official use but still not an overall official language in Macedonia, but what matters is used on wide scale and intensively. The Hungarian is a tolerated administrative language, theoretically in official use wherever the local population is more than 20% Hungarian. In fact the use is only factual if over 50% , but rather in 75-90 % majority localities, and its written use is almost insignificant in the Romanian administration, not even in Transylvania where it should be. It has a semi- official status in counties and localities where Hungarians are representing 20 % and above but this is not practised and not enforced.

3. The Albanians successfully demanded autonomy and obtained even more--- full independence in Kosovo. In Macedonia they have de facto autonomy in the Polog and other majority regions. The Hungarians achieved nothing, although some forces permanently pressed for a three level autonomy-- cultural personal and territorial, out of which the territorial was and is designed for Szeklerland and is the only which has sense. This is so in spite of the existence of such autonomous region before 1968. That existence is considered by all Romanian “democratic” parties as the biggest shame and fault of the Romanian communists....

4. The Hungarian community could have been profited by a more substantial support of the Republic of Hungary but due to the latter’s post-communist ideology and its cosmopolitan governments, it received much less support, especially morally, psychologically than the Macedonian Albanians from Albania or Kosovo. Albania, a small and ‘outcast’ state until recently, not a NATO and EU member, has a more successful foreign policy and it isn’t intimidated by its much larger neighbours like Serbia or Greece. Hungary didn’t oppose in any manner the accessions of Romania and Slovakia, when it could use its veto rights to attain any of its national goals. On the contrary, it was the first to endorse these countries membership perhaps also in the hope of receiving better treatment for the Hungarian minorities held in fact in hostage by its neighbours. One recent example was the concern of the Vojvodina Hungarian Democratic Alliance’s (VMDK) concerns who in spite of sympathising with Kosovo’s Albanians were fearing even harder Serbian retaliation on Vojvodina Hungarians due to Hungary’s diplomatic recognition of Kosovo.

5. So it can be concluded that in comparison with Albania, the Budapest governments have no national goals at all or if any, that is very minimal and vague. The Budapest governments are so inhibited, especially by the Romanian politics and the territorial and perceived military superiority of Romania, that they gave up even the territorial autonomy criterion in their base treaty signed in 1996. Excepting small skirmishes, the official Hungarian-Romanian and Hungarian –Slovak relations are characterised as oscillating between local freeze and total Hungarian give up/acquiescence, due also to the fears related of the ever

existing historic triple alliance of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (*namely Serbia) against Hungary and the Hungarian minorities in these countries, which is seemingly joined by Ukraine recently, after its takeover of Hungarian Karpatalja/ Zakarpatska oblast from the Soviet heritage.

6. These ‘little entente’ countries even now coordinate their linguistic and other policies towards the Hungarians, so if one would be more conciliatory, the other would ring the bells immediately. On grand political level, seemingly Serbia was the most liberal by not opposing the status law or the mass granting of Hungarian citizenship to Hungarians living under its rule, in Vojvodina. This lack of support and coordination came to characterise the Hungarian minorities as the most docile ones in Europe, some interpreting this also as a sign of loyalty to their ruling states. This is clearly shown in the case of Yugoslavia, where only the Hungarian minority didn’t achieve anything, but a substantial loss of lives in a war totally unrelated to them, mass emigration escaping also conscription in the Serbian army, a massive colonisation of Krajinan and Bosnian Serbs into their territories and a rapidly shrinking population. All the Hungarian communities around the borders have similar autonomy goals and their desires should be discussed on European level, given that the same problem affects 4 EU member states and probably even more in the future. Budapest tries to avoid any possible confrontation, allowing even for the diversion of the Danube from its borders and instructed these minorities to resort strictly to peaceful political struggle in the framework of the laws of the respective national states, which are adopted in such a way to make this struggle ineffective and futile from the very beginning.

7. The political “elites” of the Hungarian minorities mainly gave into the situation, becoming very timid, restraint and struggling with the impossible dilemma existing between the preservation of national self-identity and complete loyalty to their citizenship states. As all parties especially the minority ones are the target of secret police infiltrations and their memberships consist significantly of covered former state police members, their collaboration with the new-old order and power is obvious and self-sustainable, questioning their representative legitimacy. As a last drop in refusing the affirmation of Hungarian self identity in a more unified context, the Budapest left –liberal socialist government made all the efforts that the referendum initiated for granting dual citizenship to all ethnic Hungarians who would have demanded it, to fail in 2004, due to insufficient participation, although the majority of the very negatively manipulated population voted in favour.

8. As a result the minority communities came to a halt—the political elite became rather a simple collaborator of the different Romanian governments without reaching any notable success—even the restoration of the communist confiscated larger properties, forests and church property, including public buildings is in a very unsatisfactory stage, the EU criticising the slowness of the process and Romania loosing more than 200 restoration civil lawsuits in Strasbourg. Granting of any rights depends not as much on the effectiveness of the ineffective legal struggle of the minority but on the personal sympathy of a prime minister, president or due to external pressures coming eventually from more powerful states, not from Hungary.

9. The minority communities responded in three ways to the ongoing marginalisation and social exclusion. In one part the assimilation tendencies have been increased seeing this as the only way out. Another part remains inactive in opposition but growing older and without having any voice or any success. The

third and more active and less compromising part chooses emigration. Thus in 10 years only, its number dropped by 200,000 and the trend is irreversible as the majority areas are becoming less underdeveloped, since central governments policies favours the creation of condition for emigration. Great Romania Party leader who always says the true intent, came up with a similar proposal as Germans were sold out to Germany –this time Hungarians should be paid, only to leave. Emigration also affects the Romanian population but its consequences are not tragic, as for the Hungarians.

10. In contrast, the satisfactory level of minority rights made the Macedonian Albanian minority more satisfied and the regions they inhabit are relatively booming. The financing of this is mainly provided by relatives working in the EU since long. Such a supply chain could not have been developed in Romania since the free movement came into being only from the 1990s but rather from 2001, when visa requirements were abolished, conditionally. In the 1990s the relatively booming Hungarian economy offered some relief, but the propagation of the heavily individualistic western concepts and the artificial loosening of community ties led to no real community benefits, they have served only to the survival of the family members left home.

11. In conclusion, since the collapse of communism none of the Hungarian community's two main goals: educations in the native language from kindergarten to university in a Bolyai Hungarian state university and the restoration of the territorial autonomy have been materialized. After 17 years, out of which 11 years participation in the government, the community achieved really nothing. The restoration of property was a European process and all citizens benefited of it. The use of minority languages in administration was also a European recommendation in the context of regionalisation. Language rights existed even before, during the communism or in other states as in Yugoslavia, and they didn't come even close to those early communism levels. Autonomy remains a far cry. Romania's accession solved none of these questions --the Romanian nationalism didn't change its long range goals despite the efforts of some politicians to enhance the image of the Romanian policies in general. The presence of the Hungarian party in the government without any effective governing role or impact was only the necessary cosmetics to improve the chances of euro-Atlantic accession. The collaborator, narrow-minded political elite pursued only their individual well-being, living the problems mandated to by their electorate for solution, mainly unaddressed. Romania's accession in spite of the bad starting period was to become a success story, in a significant degree due to the efforts of the Hungarian community and the Republic of Hungary, while the survival of the minority itself is becoming a more and more clear unsuccess-story.

12. In Macedonia things are evolving in a much more positive way for the minorities. The percentage of the Albanian community (also that of the Turkish) is growing constantly, from 9% of post WWII to 25 % and even more unofficially, while the Hungarian one is shrinking constantly, achieving 22 %, recently. This also shows that while some minorities used to having their independent statehood most of the time, like the Hungarians, suffer most and don't come to terms never after, while others like the Albanians in Macedonia not used to their statehood are managing themselves more efficiently in the conditions of foreign dominance. The social cohesion factor is also much more higher in the Albanian society which is rather traditional and thus favours conservation of the community, while in the more liberal Hungarian one, individuals are following their own walks of life

independently, caring much less for the other members of the community, despite organized efforts of churches and NGOs.

13. During this settlement process, definitely guided by the EU towards less confrontation and peaceful cohabitation, neither Macedonia nor Albania were or are not NATO or EU members. Macedonia's accession talks officially didn't begin, Albania is not even on the accession candidates' list. Despite this, their minority dispute is solved in a much better manner than in the EU members Romania and Slovakia. This highlights the fact the EU and NATO accession is not a panacea against nationalist reflexes inherited from the past, the EU has no effective mechanism of enforcing similar standards regarding collective rights, which are not even recognised as such.

14. The educational policies regarding language use in general became more democratic, recognising the changing needs posed by the European and global integration. Macedonia gave up while Romania is maintaining its ethno-centric educational system. Minority opposition to it is considered nationalism and obsolete, while majority nationalism is considered normal and desirable. While many things still need to be done- -like solution of the language use in the judiciary and in administrative records, one thing is certain : the Albanian community in Macedonia is thriving, while the Hungarian one in Romania, although being much larger, is declining, and is on its very way to gradual annihilation and irreversible assimilation. The existing demographic trends underlie and foster these processes while on the other hand they are also the consequences of the minority policies in practise. These are the bare facts and any presumed political goodwill, in the case of a rapidly declining national minority population, remains not more than a simple speculation.

Annexes

Final standings—upper end (first 20), End of secondary school National Exams Romania, 2007, June—July, Covasna county sample,										
Ran king	Name	Final	For years GPA	Roma nian Lang.	Mathe matics	Chosen subject	Ex. Result chosen subject	Native language	Grade for native langua ge	Final standing
1	UDREA I. VICTOR- CONSTANTI N	9.95	9.70	10.00	10.00	History	9.85	-	-	Reusit
2	GRECU A. ANDREEA	9.91	9.98	9.75	10.00	Geograp hy	10.00	-	-	Reusit
3	MORAR A. ROBERT	9.87	9.94	9.80	10.00	Geograp hy	9.70	Hungarian	10.00	Reusit
4	DOMBI N. KRISZTINA- ENIKO	9.86	9.97	9.80	9.85	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	9.80	Reusit
5	PANAITU	9.86	9.77	9.85	9.75	History	10.00	-	-	Reusit

	V. IOANA - GABRIELA									
6	PAPARA S. CLAUDIA- NICOLETA	9.83	9.99	9.50	10.00	Geograp hy	10.00	-	-	Reusit
7	GAITAN M. CECILIA	9.81	9.91	9.90	9.55	Geograp hy	10.00	-	-	Reusit
8	SZABO B. LILLA	9.81	9.91	9.30	10.00	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	9.95	Reusit
9	COLCERIU G. MARIUS- COSMIN	9.78	9.95	9.60	9.75	Geograp hy	10.00	-	-	Reusit
10	MIKLOS Z. AGNES	9.78	9.93	9.80	9.50	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	9.85	Reusit
11	HARMATI Z. PETRA - ANIKO	9.78	9.92	9.30	9.85	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	10.00	Reusit
12	HODEA G. LARISA VIVIANA	9.78	9.88	9.60	9.75	Geograp hy	10.00	-	-	Reusit
13	RAB S. ENIKO SAROLTA	9.75	9.98	9.20	9.80	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	10.00	Reusit
14	SOSU I. MIHAELA- OTILIA	9.75	9.94	10.00	9.45	Geograp hy	9.80	-	-	Reusit
15	TODERICA F. FLORIN- MIHAI	9.73	10.0 0	9.60	9.60	Geograp hy	10.00	-	-	Reusit
16	FORRO B. TIMEA	9.73	9.97	9.70	9.75	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	9.50	Reusit
17	MIHALY D. JUDIT	9.72	9.86	9.40	9.50	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	10.00	Reusit
18	KOPACZ DOSA I. BEATA	9.70	9.92	9.25	9.70	Geograp hy	9.85	Hungarian	10.00	Reusit
19	KIS E. KINGA	9.70	9.51	9.10	10.00	Geograp hy	9.80	Hungarian	9.90	Reusit
20	CSINTA S. BORBALA	9.67	9.92	9.20	9.50	Geograp hy	10.00	Hungarian	10.00	Reusit

(“Reusit” stands for a successful candidate)

Sample from the lower end ---failed Secondary School National Exams Romania, 2007, June—July, Covasna county sample,										
Surname, Name	Four year	Roma- nian	Mathe- matics	Chosen subject		Native language		Remarks		

	GPA V-VIII.	language							
GOGA I. OLIVER	8.83	-	-	History	-	Hungarian	0	Not present	I didn't count such in those 205 failed
PESCARU I. ISAC	8.81	-	-	Geography	-	-	-	Not present	
DEMETER J. CSABA	8.77	4.05	7.35	Geography	7.70	Hungarian	6.20		Good pupil
KISS T. TAMAS	8.75	3.80	7.00	Geography	7.80	Hungarian	6.60		Good pupil
KOSZTANDI Z. ANDREA	8.71	4.05	7.35	Geography	7.70	Hungarian	7.30		Good pupil
BOTH L. KINCZO-ZITA	8.69	3.75	5.95	Geography	8.55	Hungarian	6.05		
BEKE A. ZSOLT	8.67	3.80	7.05	Geography	7.40	Hungarian	6.05		Good pupil
PALL L. ELOD	8.66	3.85	7.95	Geography	8.25	Hungarian	7.05		Good pupil
BARTOS L. ROZALIA	8.66	3.40	6.05	Geography	7.30	Hungarian	9.20		
BARTOK E. ERNO-CSABA	8.66	1.60	6.65	Geography	7.70	Hungarian	7.95		Good pupil
RADU M. RITA-LAURA	8.62	3.95	6.20	Geography	7.70	Hungarian	7.60		Good pupil
TODORAN F. ANA-MARIA	8.61	6.10	3.65	Geography	5.85	-	-	Failed from Maths	Romanian mother tongue,
LAZAR A. ANDRAS	8.61	4.40	7.30	Geography	7.20	Hungarian	7.47		Good pupil
FULOP V. ERIKA	8.60	4.30	8.35	Geography	8.70	Hungarian	6.15		Good pupil
NAGY I. IZSAK-BARNA	8.59	3.50	5.80	Geography	6.80	Hungarian	5.05		
BANCIU G. CATALIN-GHEORGHE	8.58	5.00	3.65	Geography	7.30	-	-	Failed from Maths	Romanian mother tongue,
GAL A. BOTOND	8.58	2.80	7.05	Geography	6.30	Hungarian	5.12		
BREBEANU V. ANDREEA-	8.57	6.30	3.90	History	6.40	-	-	Failed from Maths	Romanian mother tongue,

IOANA									
SIKO G. GYORGY	8.54	4.00	6.40	Geography	7.00	Hungarian	7.10		
BALOGH J. JANOS- SZILAMER	8.54	2.30	8.90	Geography	9.30	Hungarian	6.50		

References

1. Criterii de evaluare la lb. si lit. Romana ---clasa V-a (Evaluation criteria for the Romanian language and literature , Vth form- in Romanian)–www.edu.ro
2. Rezultatele testelor nationale , anul 2007 - clasa VIII-a (The results of the national tests for the VIII-th form, in year 2007 --in Romanian) ---- --- www.edu.ro
3. <http://www.nagybanya.ro/reszletes-cikkid-3486.htm> (in Hungarian)
4. Diákgyilkos” volt a román érettségi vizsga (The Romanian national exam was a “student-killer”) (in Hungarian) –Új Magyar SZo, 2007-07-11
5. Violeta Petrovska Beskha : Ethnic dimensions of social inclusion- People Centered Analyses--United Nations Development programme report, 2008 Skopje
6. Forró-Erős Gyöngyi -- Diszkrimináció hagymaszaggal (Discrimination with garlic favour -in Hungarian), Hargita Nepe, 2008 februar 12
7. Varga E. Árpád. Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája (1850-1992) (The ethnic and religious statistics of Transylvania- in Hungarian).
8. The year 2002 Romanian census
9. <http://www.wikipedia.org>
10. The year 2001 Macedonian Census
11. Romania 2007 Country Report on Human Rights Practices - US.Department of state. Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor March 11, 2008 ; <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100580.htm>