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The Hungarians in Transcarpathia

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ILDIKÓ OROSZ AND ISTVÁN CSERNICKSKÓ

**THE HUNGARIANS
IN TRANSCARPATHIA**

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On the cover:
Kelemen Mikes's well in Salánk
Memorial park in Tiszacsoma – a cemetery from the time of
the Hungarian Conquest

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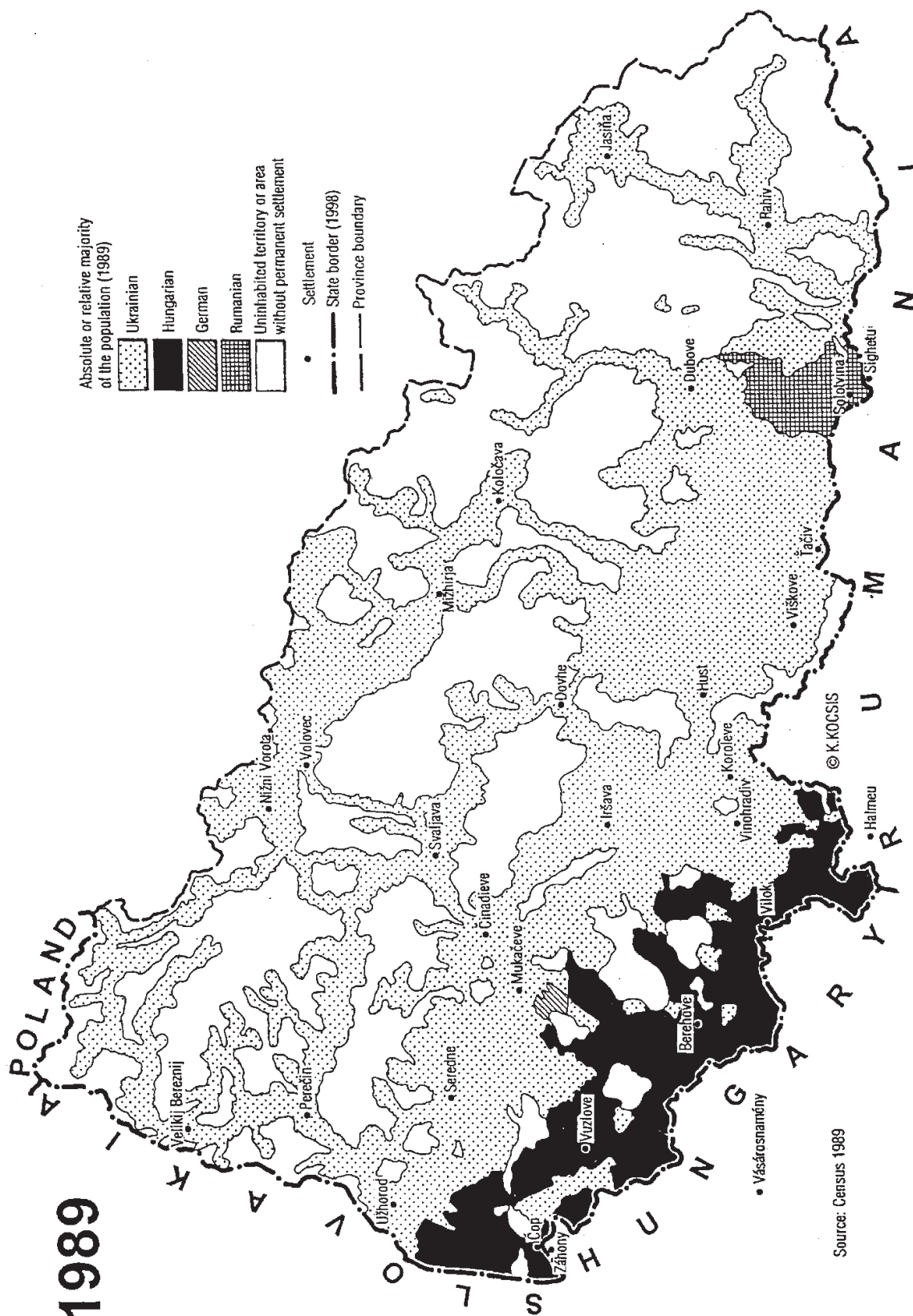
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INTRODUCTION

The general public knows but little about the Hungarian community living in Transcarpathia, Ukraine. For instance, the overall minority survey of the Minority Rights Group has a section about Ukraine in which there is only a short reference to the fact that Hungarians live in Ukraine at all (cf. Matveeva, Melvin & Pattle, 1997). Therefore we believe that it is worth reviewing the situation of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community. There were some English language surveys published about it before (e.g. Vardy, 1989; Magocsi, 1996), but these, because of their character, could not deal with all those factors in detail which, in our opinion, are important in relation to Transcarpathian Hungarians. Such a question is, for instance, the relation between the Ukrainian state language and Transcarpathian Hungarians about which the international general public has been able to read almost nothing as yet.¹

The present volume therefore introduces the status of the Hungarian community living in Transcarpathia. By the term '*Transcarpathian Hungarians*' we describe that indigeneous community of Transcarpathia which is made up by people of Hungarian nationality and/or people whose mother tongue is Hungarian. Transcarpathia is the Transcarpathian region of present-day Ukraine (in Ukrainian – Закарпатська область). Its territory is 12800 km², and it borders on Poland and the Lviv region in the north, the Ivano-Frankivsk region in the east, Romania in the south, Hungary in the south-west and Slovakia in the west. It is embraced by the Carpathian Mountains as a natural boundary in the east and the River Tisza winding along the frontier in the south (Magocsi, 1996:25).

MAP 1. Ethnic map of Transcarpathia (1989)
 Source: *Census 1989, e. g. Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi, 1998:95.*



1. GEOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS

1.1. TRANSCARPATHIA AS AN INDEPENDENT GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL ENTITY

We can speak about Transcarpathia as an independent geographical and political entity since the 21 December, 1918, when the Ruska Kraina autonomous region was formed in the territories of Bereg, Máramaros, Ung and Ugocsa Counties of Hungary, inhabited by Rusyns (cf. *Magyar törvénytár. 1918. évi törvénycikkek*, 396–398).

After World War I, on 10 September, 1919 the Saint-Germain Convention declares Transcarpathia's annexation to the Czecho-Slovakian Republic under the name Podkarpatska Rus'. On 2 November, 1938, in accordance with the first Vienna Award, the area of Transcarpathia inhabited by Hungarians became part of Hungary again.

The Allies invalidated the territorial changes made between 1938 and 1940 under the auspices of Germany and Italy, and in 1944 the Soviet army liberated Transcarpathia as part of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic. On 19 November, 1944 the Transcarpathian Ukrainian Communist Party was founded in Mukachevo and its members passed a resolution about Transcarpathian Ukraine's reunion with the Soviet Ukraine.

On 29 June, 1945 the Soviet Union and Czecho-Slovakia signed the treaty concerning the Soviet annexation of Transcarpathia. On 22 January, 1946 the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union rearranged Transcarpathian Ukraine to be the Transcarpathian Region of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Закарпатская область). According to its administrative structure, it now consists of thirteen districts (район): Berehovo, Khust, Irshava, Mukachevo, Velyka Berezna, Vinohradiy, Mizhhirya, Perechen', Rakhiv, Svalyava, Tyachiv, Volovets and Uzhhorod Districts and the regional centre – the city of Uzhhorod.

When Ukraine became independent in 1991, Transcarpathia remained one of the administrative regions of Ukraine (Закарпатська область).

1.2. THE SIZE OF THE LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC GROUPS LIVING IN TRANSCARPATHIA, AND THEIR PROPORTION WITHIN THE ENTIRE POPULATION FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY²

There are no exact and reliable retrospective data about the nationalities living in the territory of today's Transcarpathia. Some of the reasons for this are as follows:

- ♦ Transcarpathia as an independent geographical and political entity was formed only in 1918, therefore statistical and demographic surveys concerning this region could not be made before.

- ♦ Transcarpathia's population experienced several changes of government of various states between 1918 and 1991, and the census data of certain states – because of their attitudes and methods – can only be compared with reservations.

- ♦ Due to the change of various states within the region, the territory of Transcarpathia was also altered, though in a small degree.

- ♦ Certain states manipulated the demographic data in their own interests, therefore such data do not always show the real situation.

- ♦ In the former Soviet Union the statistical data concerning nationalities were kept secret.

Though it is very difficult to compare the different census data (because of the different methods, questions etc.), Tables 1.1 and 1.2 show that the

TABLE 1.1 POPULATION OF TRANSCARPATHIA ACCORDING TO MOTHER TONGUE AND NATIONALITY RESPECTIVELY (1880–1989) (IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS)

	1880	1910	1921	1930	1941	1959	1970	1979	1989
Hungarians	102219	184789	<i>111052</i>	116975	233111	<i>146247</i>	151949	158446	<i>155711</i>
Ruthenians *	239975	334755	372278	446478	500264	–	–	–	–
Russians	–	–	–	–	–	29599	35189	41713	49458
Ukrainians	–	–	–	–	–	686464	808131	898606	976749
Germans	30474	63561	<i>9591</i>	12778	13222	<i>3504</i>	4230	<i>3746</i>	<i>3478</i>
Rumanians	–	–	–	–	–	18346	23454	27155	29485
Slovaks **	7849	<i>6344</i>	19632	34700	<i>6847</i>	12289	<i>10294</i>	<i>8914</i>	<i>7329</i>
Jews	–	–	80117	91845	–	<i>12169</i>	<i>10857</i>	<i>3848</i>	<i>2639</i>
Gypsies	–	–	–	–	–	4970	5902	<i>5586</i>	12131
Others	20763	13325	19772	31531	97145	6585	7515	7745	8638
Total	401280	602774	612442	734315	850589	920173	1056799	1155759	1245618

* Between 1880 and 1941 together with the Russians and Ukrainians, in Table 1.2, too.

** Between 1921–1930 and 1959–1979 together with the Czech, in Table 1.2, too.

TABLE 1.2 POPULATION OF TRANS CARPATHIA ACCORDING TO MOTHER TONGUE AND NATIONALITY RESPECTIVELY (1880–1989) (IN PERCENTAGE)

	1880	1910	1921	1930	1941	1959	1970	1979	1989
Hungarians	25.47	30.66	18.13	15.93	27.41	15.9	14.4	13.70	12.50
Ruthenians *	59.80	55.54	60.79	60.80	58.81	–	–	–	–
Russians	–	–	–	–	–	3.2	3.3	3.60	3.97
Ukrainians	–	–	–	–	–	74.7	76.5	77.75	78.41
Germans	7.59	10.54	1.57	1.74	1.550	0.4	0.4	0.32	0.27
Rumanians	1.86	1.90	–	–	1.83	2.0	2.2	2.34	2.36
Slovaks **	1.96	1.05	3.21	4.73	0.80	1.4	1.0	0.76	0.58
Jews	–	–	13.08	12.51	9.25	1.3	1.0	0.33	0.21
Gipsyes	–	–	–	–	0.14	0.5	0.5	0.48	0.98
Others	3.32	0.31	3.23	4.29	0.19	0.6	0.7	0.66	0.69
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

1880 and 1910: according to mother tongue. From 1921: according to nationality. Census data before 1959 concern the territory of today's Transcarpathia, too.

The 1880, 1910, 1941 data based on the Hungarian census, the 1921, 1930 data on the Czecho-Slovakian census, and the 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989 data on the Soviet census.

Calculations based on the following sources: *Kárpátalja településeinek nemzetiségi (anyanyelvi) adatai (1880–1941)*; Botlik & Dupka, 1993:286; Kocsis & Kocsisné, 1992:34–35; Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi, 1998; *Статистичний збірник. Населення Закарпатської області за даними всесоюзного перепису населення 1989 року*. Ужгород, 1990, 1–16.

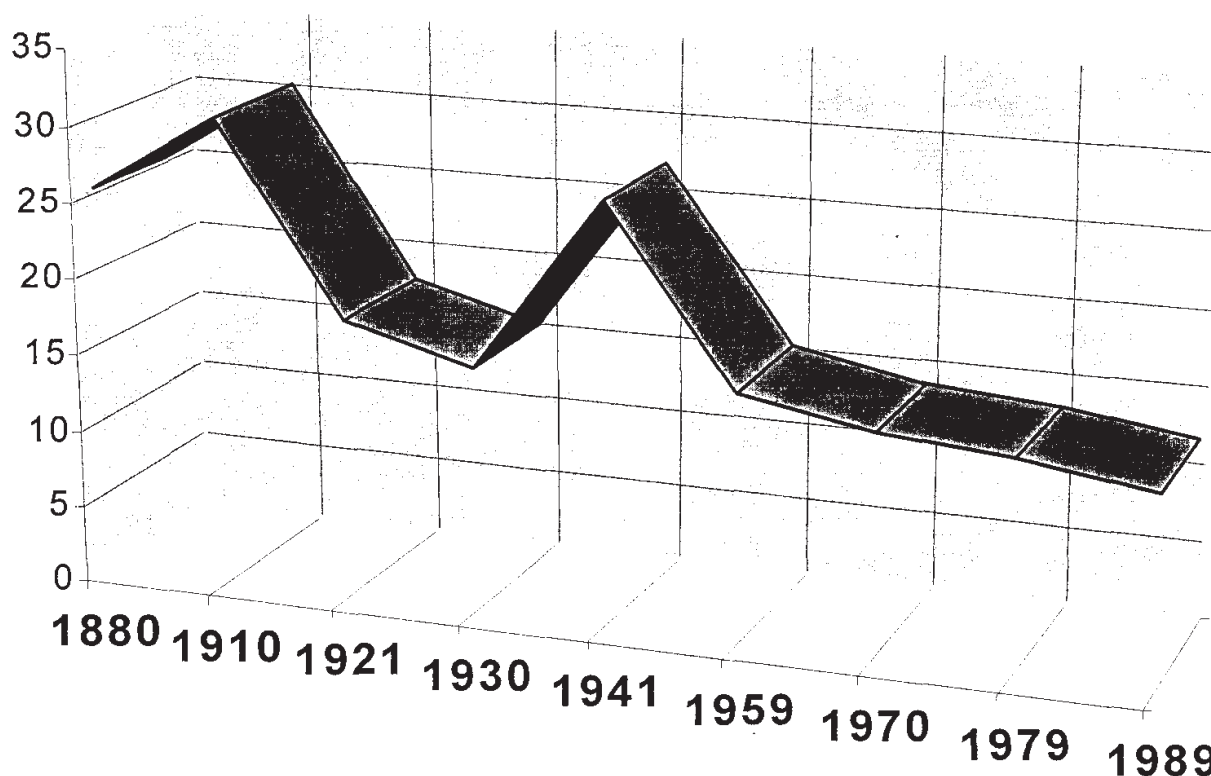
The numbers in bold type show growth compared to the previous census, the numbers in italics show decrease.

censuses carried out after changes in national affiliation display great differences compared to the previous ones, thus the political changes greatly influenced the region's nationality composition.

In both 1880 and 1910 Hungarian statistics, mother tongue data are given. Then the Jewish inhabitants were mainly considered to be people whose mother tongue was either German or Hungarian.

According to the 1921 and 1930 census data, the ratio of Hungarians in Transcarpathia decreased which can be explained by the migration of people due to the change in the policy (on the one hand Hungarian civil servants and brain-workers emigrated to Hungary, while on the other hand Czech and Slovakian officials settled down in Transcarpathia). The Czecho-Slovakian census examining nationalities states that the Jews and Gypsies whose

FIGURE 1. CHANGES OF THE RATIO OF THE HUNGARIAN POPULATION (1880–1989)



mother tongue is mainly Hungarian make up separate nationalities. Besides, in this period several Slavic settlements were formed within the homogeneous Hungarian settlement area near the Trianon frontier as a result of the agrarian reform.

The 1941, again Hungarian, census produced another change in the nationality ratios.

The first Soviet census in Transcarpathia was carried out in 1959, in which the nationality composition of the population was examined. The census data greatly disguised the real situation. The Soviet army occupying Transcarpathia had carried off the Hungarian and German male population between the ages of 18 and 50 for what was called 'malenkij robot' ('little forced labour') to the inner territories of the Soviet Union pursuant to Decree No 0036 of 13 November, 1944 (cf. Dupka, 1994:167). In accordance with the above decree about 40,000–60,000 men were carried off.

It is not surprising that we do not have exact data about the number of those carried off and those who perished because these events were kept strictly secret (cf. Dupka, 1993:202, 1994:167). However, it is true that these deportations influenced the results of later censuses because retorsions were made on a nationality basis and a lot of Hungarians declared themselves to

be Slovaks, Ukrainians, etc. in order to escape from deportation (cf. Dupka, 1993:202, 1994:167).

The 1970 and 1979 censuses indicate growth in the number of Hungarian population, but the 1989 census registers a decrease. The decline can be explained by the emigration of Hungarians on the one hand, while on the other hand it is due to the fact that the Gypsies, who declared themselves to be Hungarians before, in 1989 admitted their own nationality (cf. Yemets & Dyachenko, 1993:9; Myhovych, 1997:47). That is why the number of Gypsies was doubled by 1989 compared to 1979 while the number of Hungarians showed a relative decrease.

Besides the nationality indices we have at our disposal the data about mother tongue (cf. Table 1.3).

From the indices containing mother tongue data one can see that mother tongue and nationality are not always identical in Transcarpathia. The majority of those whose mother tongue is not identical to their nationality consider the Hungarian language to be their mother tongue, hence the num-

TABLE 1.3 MOTHER TONGUE COMPOSITION OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S POPULATION (BASED ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1979 AND 1989 CENSUSES)
(cf. Matso & Luts, 1997:225)

	Number		Mother tongue identical with nationality		Mother tongue not identical with nationality.				
					Mother tongue:				
	1979	1989	1979	1989	Ukrainian		Russian		Hungarian
	1979	1989	1979	1989	1979	1989	1979	1989	1989
Ukrainians	898606	976749	887635	961489	–	–	6674	9333	4605
Hungarians	158446	155711	155161	151384	2411	3200	805	991	–
Russians	41713	49458	40611	47378	985	1871	–	–	172
Rumanians	27155	29485	25990	28964	127	198	76	153	73
Slovaks	8914	7329	3466	2555	2309	2433	316	388	1890
Germans	3746	3478	3072	2576	438	641	176	212	36
Jews	3848	2639	1415	663	336	365	1545	1307	298
Gypsies	5586	12131	777	2491	843	1487	42	119	7973
Total	1155759	1245618	1123127	1202031	8362	11338	11833	15132	15316

ber and ratio of people whose mother tongue is Hungarian is higher than the number of people of Hungarian nationality. According to the 1989 census data based on the people's own admission, the number of people in Transcarpathia whose mother tongue is Hungarian is 166,700, that is 13.3 % of the entire population of the region, opposed to the 12.5 % of Hungarian nationality. The mother tongue and nationality are identical for 97.2 % of Transcarpathian Hungarians. We can state the same fact about 98.4 % of Ukrainians, 98.2 % of Rumanians and 95.7 % of Russians (cf. Table 1.5 A-B).

We have summarized the modification of nationality composition in the territory of today's Ukraine in Table 1.4.

It is worth observing the 1989 census data separately with respect to Transcarpathia (Table 1.5 A-B) and Ukraine (Table 1.6 A-B).

Examining the Transcarpathian data one can see that the Hungarian minority is the largest one in the region.

27.3 % of Ukraine's population was not of Ukrainian nationality in 1989. If we take into account the mother tongue data, we can see that it was only 64.6 % of Ukraine's population (33,271,865 people) whose mother tongue was Ukrainian.

TABLE 1.4 NATIONALITY COMPOSITION OF UKRAINE'S POPULATION
(IN 1000 PEOPLE AND % RESPECTIVELY)

	1930		1959		1979		1989	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Ukrainians	31317	75.0	32158	76.8	36489	73.6	37419	72.7
Russians	3331	8.0	7091	16.9	10472	21.1	11355	22.1
Jews	2710	6.5	839	2.0	634	1.3	486	0.9
Belorussians	143	0.3	291	0.7	406	0.8	440	0.9
Moldovans	327	0.8	242	0.6	294	0.6	324	0.6
Hungarians	112	0.2	149	0.4	164	0.3	163	0.3
Others	3846	9.2	1099	2.6	1150	2.3	1263	2.5
Total	41776	100	41869	100	49609	100	51452	100

The 1930 data are converted to the present-day territory of Ukraine

Sources: Botlik & Dupka, 1993:283; Brunner, 1995:85; Dupka, 1994:173; *Бюллетень Статистики* 1990/10:76-79.

TABLE 1.5A POPULATION OF TRANS-CARPATHIA IN 1989
(IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ukrainians	976749	961489	—	9333	4.605	575627	—	392031
Hungarians	155711	151384	3200	991	—	65718	17723	72178
Russians	49458	47378	1871	—	172	—	21813	26125
Gypsies	12131	2491	1487	119	7973	3440	1265	7412
Rumanians	29485	28964	198	153	73	15056	994	11809
Slovaks	7329	2555	2433	388	1890	3781	2081	1457
Germans	3478	2576	641	212	36	1333	1580	560
Jews	2639	663	365	1307	298	853	1079	669
Others	8638	4531	1143	2629	269	4239	1571	1275
Total	1245618	1202031	11338	15132	15316	670046	48106	514516

1. nationality; 2. number of inhabitants; 3. mother tongue identical to nationality; (4–6: not identical) 4. Ukrainian; 5. Russian; 6. Hungarian; 7. speaks Russian besides mother tongue; 8. speaks Ukrainian besides mother tongue; 9. does not speak any other language.

TABLE 1.5B POPULATION OF TRANS-CARPATHIA IN 1989 (%)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ukrainians	78.41	98.4	58.9	—	40.1
Hungarians	12.50	97.2	42.2	11.3	46.3
Russians	3.97	95.7	—	44.1	52.8
Gypsies	0.98	20.5	28.3	10.2	61.0
Rumanians	2.36	98.2	51.0	3.3	40.0
Slovaks	0.58	34.8	51.5	28.3	19.8
Germans	0.27	74.0	38.3	45.4	16.1
Jews	0.21	25.1	32.3	40.8	25.3
Others	0.69	52.4	49.0	18.1	14.7
Total	100	96.5	53.7	3.0	41.3

1. nationality; 2. ratio in percent; 3. mother tongue identical to nationality; 4. speaks Russian besides mother tongue; 5. speaks Ukrainian besides mother tongue; 6. does not speak any other language.

Sources: *Статистичний збірник. Населення Закарпатської області за даними всесоюзного перепису населення 1989 року*. Ужгород, 1990, 1–16. (cf. Botlik & Dupka, 1993:284).

TABLE 1.6A UKRAINE'S POPULATION IN 1989 ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY AND MOTHER TONGUE (IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ukrainians	37419053	2.5	32825373	—	4578390	15290
Russians	11355582	8.4	11172508	177534	—	5540
Jews	486326	-23.1	34635	10081	440747	863
Belorussians	440045	8.4	156200	40761	242713	371
Moldovans	324525	10.5	253024	19934	50429	1138
Bulgarians	233800	-1.9	162586	6293	63676	1245
Poles	219179	-15.1	27500	146026	44420	1233
Hungarians	163111	-0.8	156011	4233	2604	263
Rumanians	134825	10.7	83966	13203	4607	32986
Others	675588	—	330577	2 8427	298179	18468
Total	51452034	3.7	45202380	446492	5725765	77397

1. nationality; 2. number of inhabitants; 3. change compared to 1979 (%); 4. mother tongue identical to nationality; (5-7. considers other language as mother tongue) 5. considers Ukrainian as mother tongue; 6. considers Russian as mother tongue; 7. considers some other language as mother tongue.

TABLE 1.6B UKRAINE'S POPULATION IN 1989 ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY AND MOTHER TONGUE (%)

1	2	3	4	5
Ukrainians	72.7	87.8	—	12.1
Russians	22.1	98.4	1.5	—
Jews	0.9	7.1	2.1	90.6
Belorussians	0.9	35.4	9.3	55.2
Moldovans	0.6	78.0	6.1	15.5
Bulgarians	0.5	69.5	2.7	27.2
Poles	0.4	12.5	66.6	20.3
Hungarians	0.3	95.6	2.6	1.6
Rumanians	0.3	62.3	9.8	3.4
Others	1.3	48.9	4.2	44.1
Total	100	87.9	0.9	11.1

1. nationality; 2. ratio in percent; 3. mother tongue identical with nationality; (4-5: considers other languages as mother tongue) 4. considers Ukrainian as mother tongue; 5. considers Russian as mother tongue.

Based on: *Бюллетень Статистики*, 1990/10:76-79.

The ratio of Hungarians within Ukraine was 0.3 %. Nationally it was 98.4 % of the Russian population, 95.6 % of the Hungarian population and 87.8 % of the Ukrainian population whose mother tongue and nationality was identical.

1.3. THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY LIVING IN TRANS CARPATHIA³

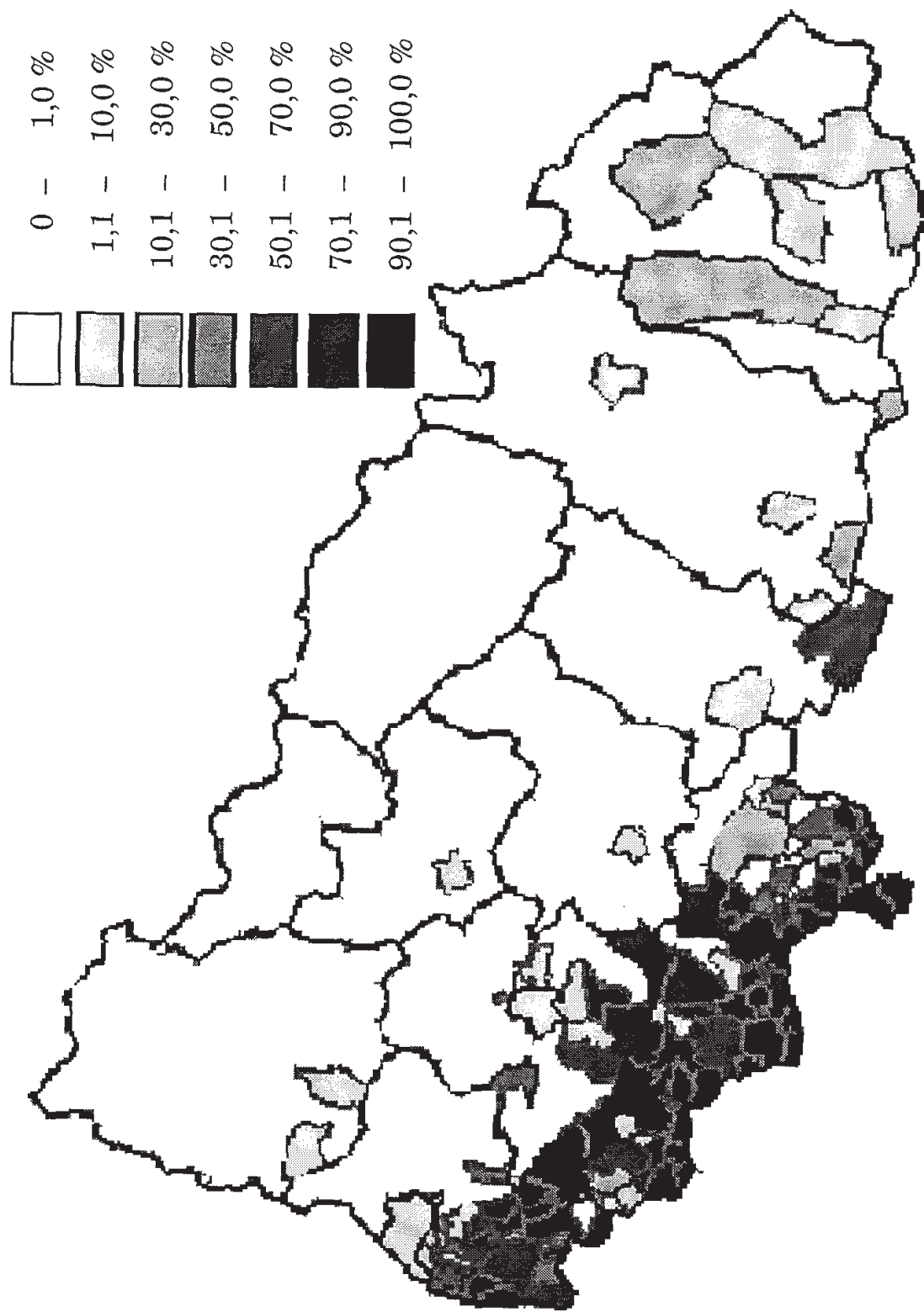
According to the 1989 census data (this is the latest census in the country) out of the 163,111 Hungarians living in Ukraine 155,711 (95.4 %) (cf. Dupka, 1994:171) live in Transcarpathia, the Hungarians are indigenous only in this region. Though there are some smaller colonies for example in L'viv or Dnipropetrovsk, one cannot prove that there are significant Hungarian communities in Ukraine having more than 1,000 members outside Transcarpathia (cf. Table 1.7).

TABLE 1.7 RATIO OF TRANS CARPATHIA'S LARGER NATIONALITIES (1989)

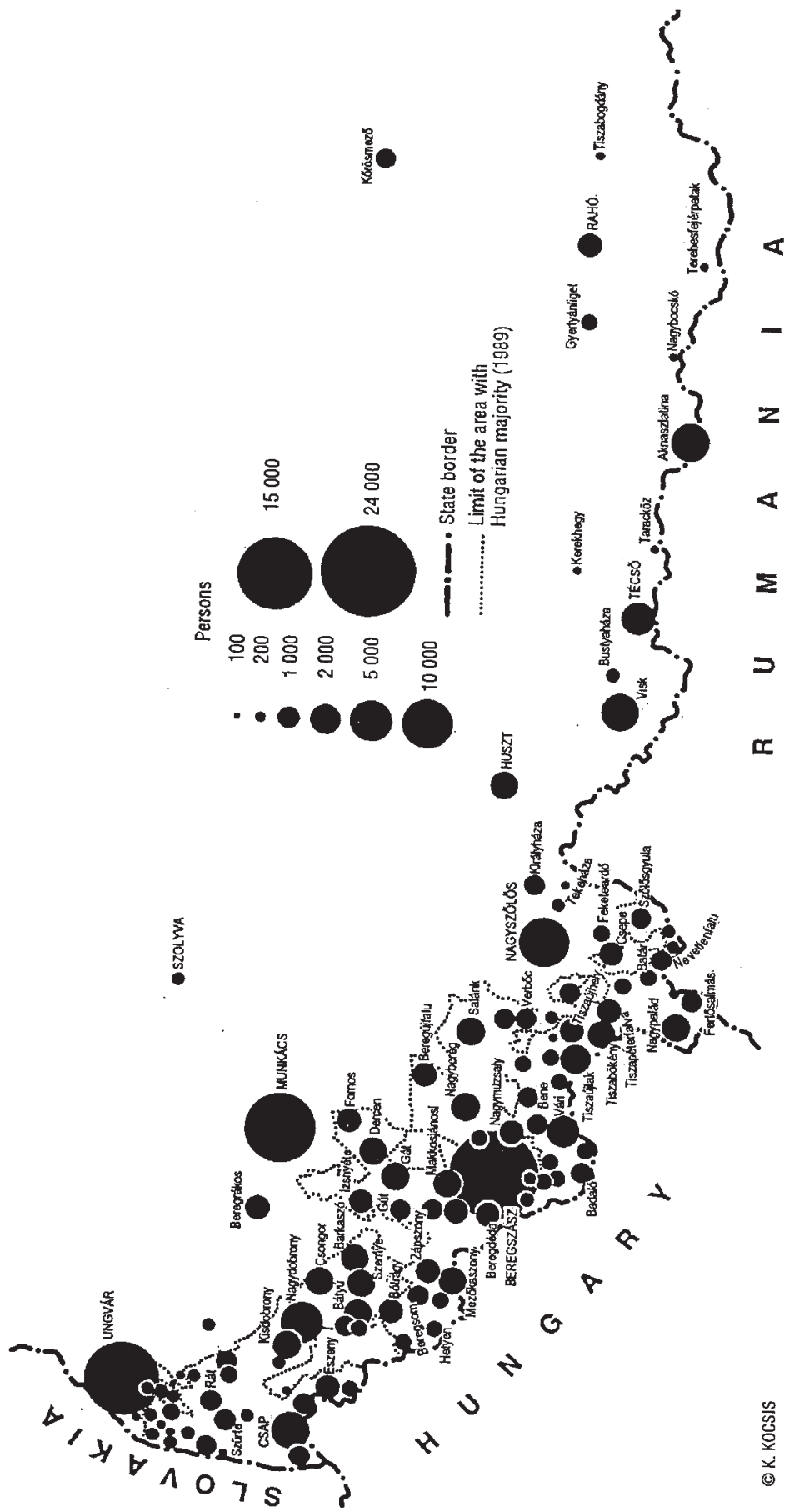
Nationality	Total number in Ukraine	Number of people living in Transcarpathia	Ratio of people living in Transcarpathia compared to total number living in the country
Ukrainians	37419053	976749	2.6 %
Hungarians	163111	155711	95.4 %
Russians	11355582	49458	0.4 %
Gypsies	47917	12131	25.3 %
Rumanians	134825	29485	21.0 %
Germans	37849	3478	9.2 %

MAP 2. Ethnic geography of Hungarians in Transcarpathia (1989)

Source: www.htmh.hu.



MAP 3. Hungarian communities in Transcarpathia (1989)
Source: Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi, 1998:97.



1.4. THE STRUCTURE OF SETTLEMENT OF TRANSCARPATHIAN HUNGARIANS, THE DEGREE OF LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC VARIETY WITHIN THE REGIONS INHABITED BY THEM, CHARACTERISTIC SETTLEMENT TYPES

Transcarpathia is linguistically and ethnically heterogeneous.

The Hungarians living in Transcarpathia formed a relatively homogeneous block till the end of the 20th century, and the contiguous settlement area has not been completely broken yet. Before the 20th century, due to the different way of life of the Hungarian and Slavic ethnic groups, Hungarian and Slavic settlement areas overlapped only in a narrow strip. The contiguous structure of settlement of the Hungarians living in the southern flat lands of the region began to be diluted in a significant way by means of the settling of the Slavic population.

Though the Hungarian settlement area is a relatively exactly definable unit even today, we can find a number of settlements with mixed population in Transcarpathia, not only among the towns, but the villages, too. However, segregation is characteristic of nationalities living together. This is shown by the investigations of a Soviet ethnographer, according to whom „certain nationalities form a compact group within villages of mixed population, too: some quarters or streets are inhabited by Hungarians, others – by Ukrainians. (...) Such distribution of the settlement is characteristic of villages of town type and even towns themselves” (Grozdova, 1971:458).

There are ten settlements of town status in present-day Transcarpathia: Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Khust, Berehovo, Vinohradiv, Svalyava, Rakhiv, Tyachiv, Irshava, Chop. In these ten towns the ratio of the Hungarian population was the highest at the turn of the century (cf. Table 1.8).

TABLE 1.8 THE COMPOSITION BY NATIONALITY OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S TOWNS

Town	Year	Total Number of inhabitants	Hungarians	Hungarians in %
Ungvár (Uzhhorod)	1910	16919	13590	80.3
	1930	26675	4499	16.9
	1941	35251	27397	77.7
	1989	116101	9179	7.9
Munkács (Mukachevo)	1910	17275	12686	73.4
	1930	26102	5561	21.3
	1941	31602	20211	63.9
	1989	83308	6713	8.0

Beregszász (Berehovo)	1910	12933	12432	96.1
	1930	19007	9190	48.3
	1941	19373	17917	92.5
	1989	29221	15125	51.7
Nagyszőlős (Vinohradiv)	1910	7811	5943	76.1
	1930	11054	2630	23.8
	1941	13331	7372	55.3
	1989	25046	3171	12.6
Técső (Tyachiv)	1910	5910	4482	75.8
	1930	7417	2335	31.5
	1941	10731	5789	53.9
	1989	10297	2640	25.7
Rahó (Rakhiv)	1910	6577	1177	17.9
	1930	8893	1015	11.4
	1941	12455	3884	31.2
	1989	15490	1282	8.3
Ilosva (Irshava)	1910	1919	947	49.3
	1930	3065	99	3.2
	1941	3863	311	8.1
	1989	9541	107	1.1
Szolyva (Svalyava)	1910	3802	735	19.3
	1930	5807	393	6.8
	1941	8400	3039	36.2
	1989	17764	322	1.8
Huszt (Khust)	1910	10292	3505	34.1
	1930	17833	1383	7.8
	1941	21118	5191	24.6
	1989	30716	1759	5.7
Csap (Chop)	1910	2318	2294	99.0
	1930	3572	2082	58.3
	1941	3498	3416	97.7
	1989	9307	3679	39.5

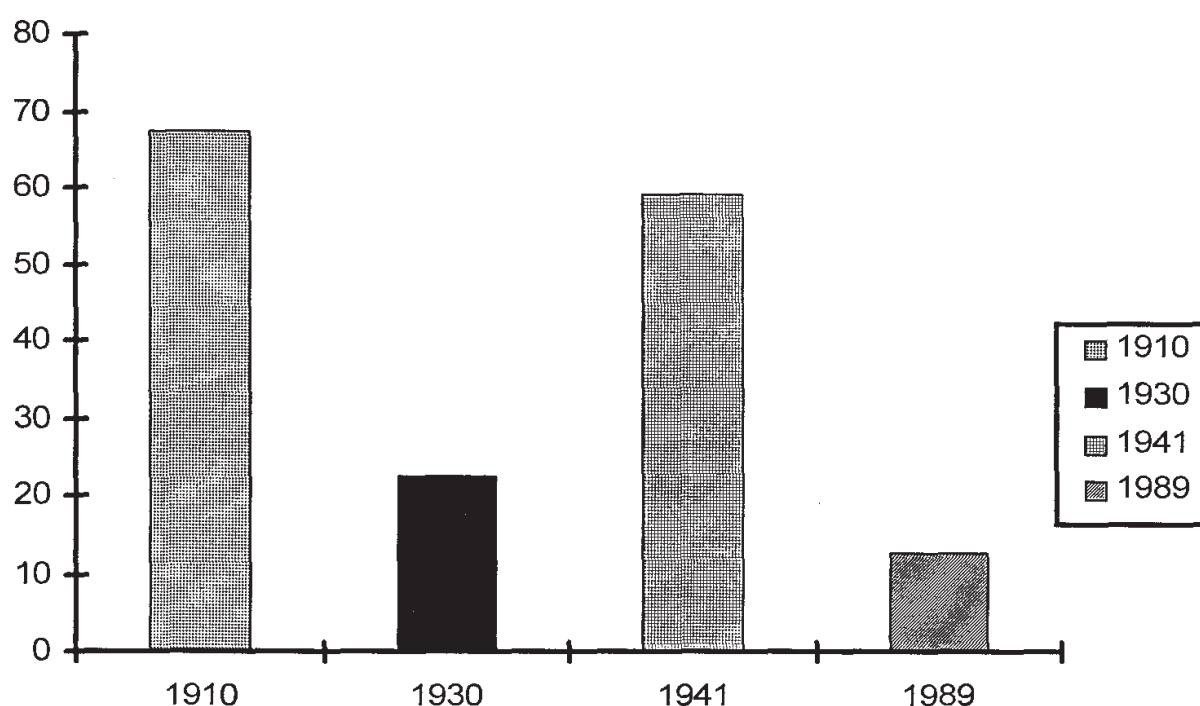
Sources: *Kárpátalja településeinek nemzetiségi (anyanyelvi) adatai (1880–1941)*. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1996.; *Статистичний збірник. Населення Закарпатської області за даними всесоюзного перепису населення 1989 року*. Ужгород, 1990.

The change of the ratio of the Hungarian population in the towns of Transcarpathia is summarised in Table 1.9.

TABLE 1.9 THE RATIO OF HUNGARIAN POPULATION IN TODAY'S SETTLEMENTS OF TOWN RANK OF TRANS CARPATHIA (1910-1989)

	Total townspeople	Hungarians	%
1910	85756	57791	67.3
1930	129425	29187	22.5
1941	159922	94527	59.1
1989	346791	43980	12.6

FIGURE 2. HUNGARIAN POPULATION IN TODAY'S SETTLEMENTS OF TOWN RANK OF TRANS CARPATHIA IN PERCENTAGE (1910-1989)



According to the census of 1989, Transcarpathia had 1,245,618 inhabitants among whom 346,791 people (27.8 %) lived in towns and 898,827 (72.2 %) lived in villages.

TABLE 1.10 THE COMPOSITION BY NATIONALITY OF TRANS CARPATHIA'S TOWNSPEOPLE (1989)

	Number	%
Hungarians	43980	12.6
Ukrainians	244109	70.4
Russians	38744	11.3
Others	19958	5.7
Total	346791	100

TABLE 1.11 THE COMPOSITION BY NATIONALITY OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S VILLAGE POPULATION (1989)

	Number	%
Hungarians	111731	12.4
Ukrainians	732640	81.6
Russians	10714	1.0
Others	43742	5.0
Total	898827	100

FIGURE 3. THE COMPOSITION BY NATIONALITY OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S TOWNSPEOPLE (1989)

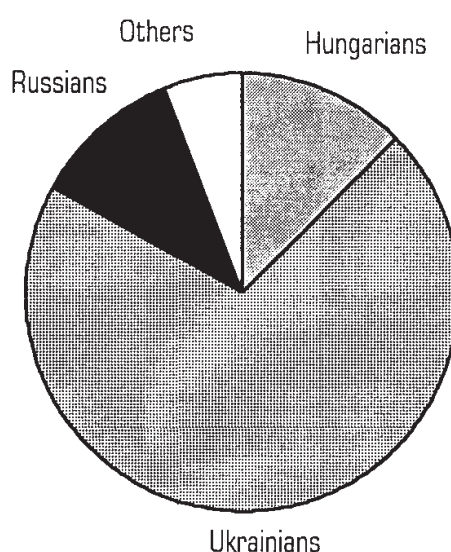
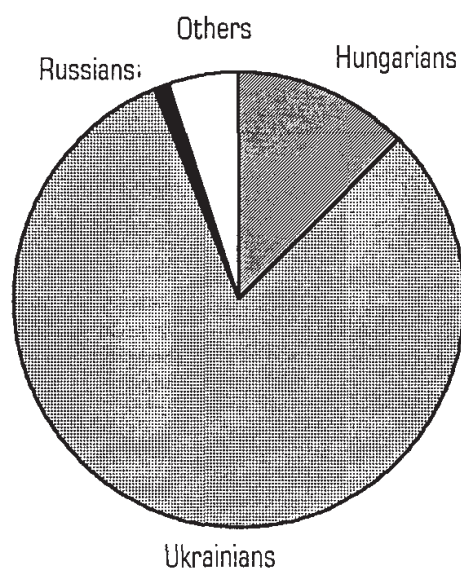


FIGURE 4. THE COMPOSITION BY NATIONALITY OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S VILLAGE POPULATION (1989)



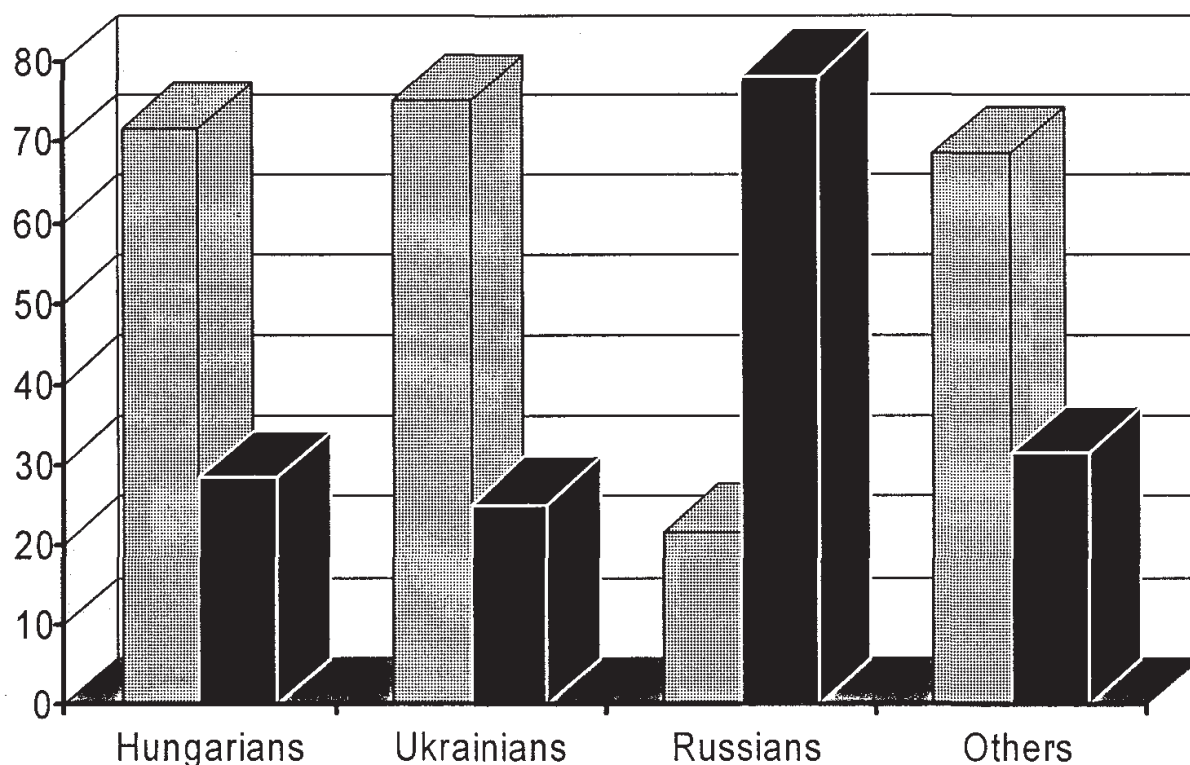
According to the nationality composition of Transcarpathia's village population the ratio of Hungarians in villages is approximately the same as the ratio in comparison to the total population of the region, but that of the Ukrainians is higher, and the ratio of the Russians is considerably lower.

If we examine the ratio of town and village inhabitants within certain nationalities we will see that the characteristic settlement type of the Transcarpathian Hungarians is the village, the case is the same with the Ukrainians, but the majority of the Russians live in towns (Table 1.12, Figure 5.).

TABLE 1.12 DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S NATIONALITIES ACCORDING TO SETTLEMENT TYPE (1989)

	In villages	%	In towns	%
Hungarians	111731	71.7	43980	28.2
Ukrainians	732640	75.0	244109	25.0
Russians	10714	21.6	38744	78.4
Others	43742	68.6	19958	31.4
Total	898827	72.2	346791	27.8

FIGURE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S NATIONALITIES ACCORDING TO SETTLEMENT TYPE IN PERCENTAGE

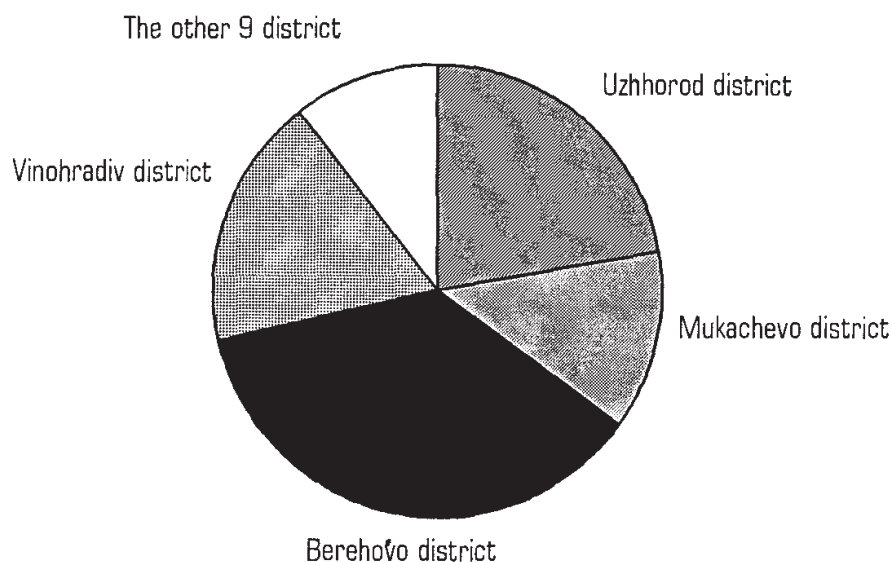


The Soviet censuses' data broken down according to settlements are inaccessible even in 1998, therefore we can only examine (by the indices of the 1989 census) how the Transcarpathian Hungarians are distributed between certain districts (cf. Table 1.13 and Figure 6.).

TABLE 1.13 DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSCARPATHIAN HUNGARIANS ACCORDING TO DISTRICTS (1989)

Districts	Total number of inhabitants	Out of total Hungarians	Ratio of Hungarians within districts (%)	% within total of Hungarians
Uzhhorod	189407	34720	18.3	22
Mukachevo	188134	19610	10.4	13
Berehovo	85115	56971	67.0	37
Vinohradiv	112611	27896	24.7	17
The other 9 districts	670351	16514	2.4	11
Transcarpathia total	1245618	155711	12.5	100

FIGURE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSCARPATHIAN HUNGARIANS ACCORDING TO DISTRICTS (1989)



According to the table, 89 % of Transcarpathian Hungarians live in four districts (the Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehovo and Vinohradiv Districts). These four adjacent districts are situated next to the Ukrainian-Hungarian border. 85.3 % of Hungarians living in Ukraine can be found in these four

districts. The only district of the region where the Hungarians live in majority is the Berehovo District. In the Vinohradiv District every fourth person is Hungarian, in the Uzhhorod District every fifth is of Hungarian nationality. The total population of the four districts mentioned above is 575,267 people, out of this number 139,197 (24.2 %) are Hungarian.

The total number of inhabitants of the Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehovo and Vinohradiv Districts without the towns of county rank (Uzhhorod and Mukachevo) is 375,858 people, out of them 123,305 (32.8 %) people are Hungarian. About one third of the total population of the four districts of Transcarpathia (without the two biggest cities) is Hungarian. These 123,305 Hungarians make up 75.6 % of the Hungarians living in Ukraine, and 79.2 % of the Hungarians living in Transcarpathia. Thus, three quarters of the Hungarians living in Ukraine and almost four fifths of Transcarpathian Hungarians live in one block, in a contiguous settlement area.

Those registered as Hungarians live in settlements with 1,000–2,000 inhabitants (24 %) and 2,000–5,000 (23 %). Only one quarter of Hungarians live in settlements with more than 10 thousand inhabitants and 5.6 % in towns over 100 thousand. In 1989 71.8 % of Hungarians lived in settlements where they formed an absolute majority. To maintain their ethnic awareness this may be positive: 46.8 % of them live in settlements where they constitute over 75 % of the population and only 16.1 % of them live in places where the Hungarian population makes up less than 25 % (cf. Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi, 1998:95).

1.5. MIGRATION WITHIN THE REGION

In Table 1.14 we can see that the number of people emigrating from Transcarpathia has increased by 1989 compared to 1979, and this number is gradually growing. The table shows that the period till 1979 was characterized by immigration, but beginning with 1989 the ratio of emigrants is much higher.

Since 1989 (i.e. the year when the borders became traversable) the Transcarpathians do not only go to the eastern regions beyond the Carpathians, but (mainly the Hungarians) go to Hungary to get illegal seasonal employment. The increase in the number of people wishing to get employment in Hungary is mainly caused by the fact that it is difficult for the people of Transcarpathia to travel to work to the former Soviet republics because the borders between the succession states after the collapse of the Soviet Union make it problematic. Unemployment appears as a result of the

Ukrainian economic breakdown which forces part of the Transcarpathian population to get seasonal employment in Hungary which has been necessary for more people since 1989 than before (cf. Table 1.14).

TABLE 1.14 MIGRATION IN TRANSCARPATHIA (IN PERCENT, RELATED TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF INHABITANTS 1920–1991)

Year	Immigrated	Emigrated	Came for seasonal work	Went for seasonal work
1920	3.5	0.3	0.3	0.2
1939	3.6	3.4	0.4	0.2
1944	0	3.3	0.1	0.1
1946	2.8	3.1	0	0
1959	1.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
1979	1.2	0.2	1.4	0.3
1989	0.6	3.2	1.6	6.4
1990	0.2	4.9	1.4	7.7
1991	0.1	5.5	1.3	10.3

Source: Szabó, 1993:64.

Earlier the number of the region's population was gradually increasing because of the immigrants, but today Transcarpathia's migration loss goes beyond the total number of settlers and the natural growth of population. In 1995 the number of those who left Transcarpathia never to return exceeded the number of settlers in the region by 2,500 people (Myhovich, 1997:50). In 1996 there were 11,444 emigrants and 9,610 people settled down in the region so the migration loss was 1,834 people (cf. Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1997/1:13). In the first half of 1997 the number of inhabitants of Transcarpathia decreased by 858 people (Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 13 August 1997:3).

49.3 % of those who leave Transcarpathia never to return are Ukrainian, 26.1 % of them are Russian, 13.8 % Hungarian, 6.5 % German, and 2.8 % Jewish (Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 6 June 1996:4). 85.6 % of the Russian emigrants and 85.4 % of the Hungarian emigrants settle down in Russia and Hungary respectively, 79.9 % of the Jewish emigrants go to live in Israel or the USA (Maryna, 1997:114).

There are people who consider that the emigration of Transcarpathian Hungarians is so numerous that it is a real danger for the community's survival (e.g. Dupka, Horváth & Móricz, 1990:12; Balla, 1993:81).

2. POLITICS

2.1. LEGAL STATUS

In Ukraine at the moment the legal status of the minorities are defined by the following documents having legal effect⁴: *The Constitution of Ukraine* (1996), *Ukraine's Declaration of Nationality Rights*⁵ (1991), *The Law of Ukraine about National Minorities*⁶ (1992), and a great number of decrees. The statements concerning only the Hungarian community can be found in various inter-state treaties between Ukraine and Hungary (e.g. *Treaty between the Hungarian Republic and Ukraine about the basis of good neighbourhood and cooperation*, 1991⁷, *Declaration of the principles of cooperation between the Republic of Hungary and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in guaranteeing the rights of national minorities*⁸, 1991) and in the suggestions of the Ukrainian-Hungarian Inter-state Joint Commission.

Articles 11, 24 and 92 of the Ukrainian Constitution touch upon the question of legal status of national minorities. Article 11 proclaims that the state guarantees „ethnic, cultural, language and religious development of Ukraine's indigeneous peoples and national minorities” (The Constitution of Ukraine, p. 6). Article 24 prohibits race, ethnic, nationality, language etc. discrimination. According to the wording of the text, the idea of positive discrimination cannot be implied, either. „There shall be no privileges or restrictions based on race, colour of skin, political, religious and other beliefs, sex, ethnic and social origin, property status, place of residence, linguistic or other characteristics” (ibid., p. 12). Article 92 proclaims that the human and citizens' rights and freedoms of indigeneous peoples and national minorities are defined exclusively by the laws of Ukraine.

Article 1 of Ukraine's Declaration of Nationality Rights guarantees equal rights for the nationalities and forbids discrimination based on nationality. Article 2 says that the state takes on itself the creation of circumstances necessary for development of language and culture of national minorities. Article 4 permits the use of national symbols.

The Nationality Law of Ukraine declares that human rights and nationality rights are inseperable notions. Article 1 of the Law admits citizens to be equal irrespechive of their nationality, and status that the rights of people

belonging to national minorities are part of generally accepted human rights. Article 3 says: „Those citizens of Ukraine who are not of Ukrainian nationality and declare their national identity, belong to national minorities”. Article 11 makes it possible for the citizens to freely choose their nationality or its re-establishment. The Law forbids discrimination on a nationality basis (Article 18), provides the right of nominating candidates for Parliament and for national organizations (Article 14), and states that separate sums of money are allocated in the state budget for developing the national minorities.

In the Ukrainian–Hungarian Inter-state Basic Treaty signed in 1991 there is only one paragraph (Paragraph 17) that deals directly with the minorities. The contracting parties without reference to specific documents proclaim the necessity of the defence of ethnic, linguistic and religious identity of the national minorities. The text contains a reference to a document signed by the two states before, under the title Declaration of the principles of cooperation between the Republic of Hungary and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in guaranteeing of the rights of national minorities. Four items of the treaty deal indirectly with the minorities. They are about frontier cooperation, the widening of contacts between frontier citizens and organizations, and cultural cooperation (cf. Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1995/8–9:24–25).

The introductory part of the basic treaty admits that national minorities live in Ukraine and Hungary, admits their rights on a personal and also on a community level, and considers nationality rights to be part of human rights. The document names the national minorities as a state-forming element (Paragraph 1). It has respect for admitting and choice of nationality (Paragraph 2). The signing parties take responsibility on themselves for creating such a status for national minorities which provides the right to participate effectively in public affairs (Paragraph 5). The parties promise not to strive for the assimilation of national minorities, they create conditions for saving the identity of the minorities and admit that the nationality organizations express the opinion of the national communities.

In sum, the above mentioned documents admit the existence of national minorities living in Ukraine, they see the minority rights as part of human rights, they consider nationalities to be a state-forming element, they forbid discrimination based on nationality, and one document (the Declaration signed by Hungary and Ukraine) mentions not only the individual, but the collective nationality rights, too.

Besides the above mentioned documents (applicable since 1991) there is a valid resolution (Resolution N° 52 of 26 November 1944, adopted at the

first congress of People's Committees of Transcarpathian Ukraine) which declares the collective guilt of the Hungarians, saying that the Hungarians and Germans are eternal enemies of the Ukrainian nation. This resolution was the ideological base for deportation of the Hungarian male population aged 18–50 in November and December of 1944. A group of Transcarpathian Hungarian intellectuals addressed a petition to the Soviet government in 1971 and 1972 in which they asked for the abrogation of the document mentioned above (cf. Petition I and II⁹), but the editors of the petitions were called to account, and the resolution is in force even today. The Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association (THCA) asked for the resolution's abrogation several times, but the authorities did not take any steps concerning this matter. Thus, in spite of the above mentioned documents, in Ukraine Hungarians are still theoretically the enemy of the Ukrainian nation, and a collectively guilty people.

2.2. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION (PARTIES, MOVEMENTS)

Political self-organization of Transcarpathian Hungarians had been impossible for a long time. It was only in 1989 that the first nationality organization of Transcarpathian Hungarians was formed – the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association (THCA) (see *A KMKSZ történetéből* and *Tíz év a kárpátaljai magyarság szolgálatában*).

The THCA started off as a cultural organization, but it has played a political and interest-safeguarding role from the very beginning. It became a significant political factor in Transcarpathia's life shortly after its foundation. Today it is the largest nationality organization of the region. According to its register, the association has 143 local groups and about 25,000 members.

On 5 August 1994 the committee of the Berehovo District of the THCA decided to cut free from the THCA and founded an independent organization – the Hungarian Cultural Association of Bereg Lands (HCABL). Their founders' meeting was held on 5 November 1994 with the participation of 117 delegates from 35 local groups (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 24 January 1995:4). The HCABL has 2,300 members and 38 local groups (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 24 January 1995:4).

Shortly after the separation of HCABL, the Uzhhorod, Svalyava and Tyachiv local groups founded independent organizations, too – the Association of Hungarians of the Ung Lands (AHUL), the Cultural Association

of Hungarians of Svalyava (CAHS) and the Cultural Association of Hungarians of Tyachiv (CAHT).

On 6 August 1994 the organizations that had separated from the THCA founded the Forum of Transcarpathian Hungarian Organizations consisting of the HCABL, AHUL, CAHS, CAHT and the Transcarpathian Community of Hungarian Intellectuals, the latter being founded on 30 April 1993 and defining itself as an intellectual association (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 25 January 1996:4).

In order to represent Transcarpathian Hungarians on a nation-wide level the THCA, together with the Associations of Hungarians of L'viv and Kyiv, founded the Democratic Association of Hungarians Living in Ukraine (DAHLU). But soon after its formation conflicting interests emerged within the DAHLU because of the difference of aims – the objectives of Transcarpathian Hungarians living in a block are those of having schools with Hungarian as a language of instruction, political safeguarding of interests, etc., whereas the aims of Hungarians who live scattered in Ukrainian cities are those of having Sunday schools and mother tongue clubs. The THCA suspended its membership within the DAHLU, which exists only theoretically as it has not been able to achieve practical results either in the political, or in the cultural sphere so far.

Each organization has its place on the multi-coloured Transcarpathian Hungarian political palette. The Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association (THCA) is politically the most significant organization of Transcarpathian Hungarians which expresses its opinion about all questions concerning this minority. The THCA is the only interest-safeguarding organization in Ukraine which plays an active political role and does not only follow the events but takes an active part in influencing them.

The other regional association – the Forum of Transcarpathian Hungarian Organizations – exists only by its membership organizations, and it is only one of them, the Transcarpathian Community of Hungarian Intellectuals (TCHI), which expresses its opinion publicly about questions regarding the whole of Transcarpathian Hungarians. The TCHI takes an active part in the formation of economic life, too.

The Hungarian Cultural Association of Bereg Lands (HCABL) is a regional association which attaches importance to culture instead of politics, and it takes part in the life of Berehovo and Berehovo District mainly by organizing cultural programs, promoting national traditions, inauguration of memorial tablets of famous people of Transcarpathia and Hungary who have visited the town.

The political importance of the CAHT and CAHS can be felt practically only within Tyachiv and Svalyava, and the significance of their cultural activity can also be observed only within their own towns.

The professional interest-safeguarding organization of the Transcarpathian Hungarian teachers is the Transcarpathian Association of Hungarian Pedagogues (TAHP).

2.3. REPRESENTATION IN ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES

During the Soviet era the ratio of Hungarians was minimal in leading posts and legislative bodies, whereas the Russian ethnic group was represented in excess of its numerical ratio (cf. Granchak, 1997:88).

The situation changed after the 1994 municipal elections. In 1994 among the 59 members of the regional council there were 9 Hungarians, i.e. 15 % of the council's body of representatives (Granchak, 1997:93). The first vice-president of the regional council was of Hungarian nationality. The fact that the nomination of 5 Hungarian representatives in the regional council was supported by the THCA, characterizes the role of political federation of Transcarpathian Hungarians in the forming of the community's life and destiny (Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1996/2:5).

In the board of district councils the representation of Hungarians was 14 % between 1994 and 1998 (among the 347 district council representatives there were 49 of Hungarian nationality) (cf. Granchak, 1997:93).

A total of 4,304 representatives took part in the work of town and village councils of Transcarpathia, 611 of them (14 %) were of Hungarian nationality (Granchak, 1997:93). The ratio of Hungarian representatives in the local councils was the highest in Berehovo District, where there were 380 mandates, and 298 of them were possessed by representatives of Hungarian nationality (Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 1 November 1994, p. 4).

In the cycle between 1994 and 1998 Transcarpathian Hungarians had one representative in the Supreme Council of Ukraine (the Verhovna Rada), and in the current period they again have a member of Parliament – Miklós Kovács, president of THCA.

After the parliamentary and municipal elections on 29 March 1998, eight nationalities are represented in the councils of different level of Transcarpathia. A total of 6,902 representatives have got mandates. There are 5,753 (83.3 %) representatives of Ukrainian nationality, and 918 (13.3 %) Hungarians. Compared to the former cycle, the number of Hungarian rep-

representatives grew from 672 to 918, that of the Russians – from 21 to 42, that of the Rumanians – from 82 to 126. The number of Hungarian representatives in the districts as follows: Berehovo – 450, Vinohradiv – 178, Mukachevo – 72, Rakhiv – 6, Svalyava – 1, Tyachiv – 16, Uzhhorod – 178, Khust – 8, City of Uzhhorod – 3; among the 73 representatives of the regional council there are 64 Ukrainians, 6 (8.2 %) Hungarians, 2 Russians and 1 Jew (Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 27 August 1998, p. 4).

3. RELIGION

The majority of Ukraine's population is Christian. Most of the Christian people living in Ukraine belong to the Orthodox Church.

The Hungarian population of Transcarpathia is also Christian, mainly members of the Calvinist Church.

As 70–75 % of Transcarpathian Hungarians are reformed (Calvinist), actually the Calvinist Church plays the role of the national church. This is illustrated by the popular saying according to which „In Transcarpathia not all of the Hungarians are Calvinist, but all the Calvinist people are Hungarian” (Józan & Gulácsy, 1992:157).

The Transcarpathian Reformed Church consists of three dioceses. In the Ung (Uzhhorod) diocese there are 22 congregations in which 22,000 believers live. In the Ugocsa (Vinohradiv) diocese there are 29 congregations with 10 ministers and 22,500 believers. In the Bereg (Berehovo) diocese there are 46 congregations with 14 ministers, among them three coming from Hungary (*A Kárpátaljai Református Egyház* – 1996. Beregszász, 1996, manuscript). The bishop of the Transcarpathian Reformed Church is László Horkai.

The Reformed Church is running three church secondary schools in Transcarpathia. Besides the Reformed Church, the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic Churches play an important role in the life of Transcarpathian Hungarians.

The number of the Roman Catholic believers in Transcarpathia is considered to be about 65,000. The great majority of these believers is Hungarian (85 %), 8 % of them is Slovakian and 7 % is German (Botlik & Dupka, 1991:119; Csáti & Dióssi, 1992:179). In January, 1996 Bishop Jenő Antal Majnek from Hungary was appointed to be head of the Transcarpathian Roman Catholic Church, which was a major step in ecclesiastical policy, because by this a new Roman Catholic episcopacy was formed on the territory of the Orthodox Ukraine.

In 1996 the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia had about 30,000 Hungarian members (Lajos, 1996:15), its bishop is László Szemedi.

The lack of pastors is a serious problem for all denominations. Over the past few years, however, a limited number of youths from Transcarpathia have been allowed to study at institutions of religious higher education in

Hungary. The Roman Catholic Church in Hungary are trying to ease the situation by sending over monk priests (e. g. *Report on the situation of Hungarians in the Ukraine*).

It has been possible for the Transcarpathian youth to study theology in Hungary since 1988 (Botlik & Dupka, 1991:118; 1993:48). In the 1995–1996 academic year 45 Transcarpathian Hungarian young people were the students of Hungary's theological higher educational establishments (Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1996/1:14).

4. CULTURE

4.1. INSTITUTIONS OF MINORITY CULTURE¹⁰

4.1.1. BOOK PUBLISHING

Transcarpathia's schools with instruction in Hungarian were supplied with textbooks by the local Hungarian editorial office (founded in June, 1946) of the Ukrainian publisher of textbooks 'Radyanska Shkola'. The textbooks in Hungarian language and literature were written by the editorial staff of the Publishers while the manuals in other subjects were translated into Hungarian from Russian or Ukrainian by the translation section that was attached to the Hungarian staff (Botlik & Dupka, 1991:91).

The Transcarpathian Publishing House and Radyanska Shkola are both in financial difficulties today. They do not publish textbooks in Hungarian independently, rather in 1995, Radyanska Shkola published several Hungarian textbooks with 'Svit' (L'viv, Ukraine) and National Publishing House ('Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó', Budapest, Hungary). School-books from Hungary have been arriving to Transcarpathia since the end of the 1980s, thus the importance of the local Hungarian editorial staff of Radyanska Shkola has decreased.

Besides Radyanska Shkola, Hungarian books were published by the Transcarpathian Publishing House, but because of financial problems now it cannot publish Hungarian books either.

The monopoly of the two state publishers was broken by the private publishers gradually appearing since 1992. 'Galéria Kiadó' (Gallery Publishers) was the first to appear on the market. It issued thirty volumes (mainly fiction) between 1992 and 1995. It closed down on 1 January, 1996.

It was also in 1992 that the most significant Transcarpathian Hungarian private publishing house, 'Intermix Kiadó' (Intermix Publishers) was founded, which has published more than 150 belletristic and scientific books so far. The most attractive and perhaps the best quality books are by 'Hatodik Síp' (Sixth Fife) in coproduction with 'Új Mandátum Kiadó' (New Mandate Publishers).

Some other smaller publishers issue one or two Hungarian books a year.

It can be said about each of the publishers that (practically) they are financed by support coming from Hungary. Only governmental publishers are state-supported, but this is too little for regular book publishing, and these, too, bring out most of their Hungarian volumes by getting support from Hungary. Transcarpathian Hungarian book publishing is virtually sustained by the Ministry of Culture and Education of Hungary that annually conducts a competition for Hungarian book publishing for Hungarians living beyond the Hungarian frontier. Between 1992 and 1996, 143 books were issued with the financial support of the Major Department of Hungarians beyond the Frontier within the Ministry of Culture and Education of Hungary (cf. *A Művelődési és Közoktatási Minisztérium Határon Túli Magyarok Főosztályának támogatásával kiadott könyvek kárpátaljai jegyzéke*. Ungvár, 1997). Books published in Hungary have not been placed on the market since 1991, thus the importance of locally published books has increased.

4.1.2. THEATRES

The Beregszász (Berehovo) People's Theatre was organized in 1952, working with two groups of actors: a Hungarian company with 50 members and a Ukrainian one with 30 members. The Hungarian section has performed almost 50 plays since the establishment of the theatre.

The first steps towards organizing a permanent Hungarian professional theatre were taken in 1989. Then in 1993 the Hungarian National Theatre named after Gyula Illyés was founded in Beregszász (Berehovo).

4.1.3. HUNGARIAN SCIENTIFIC LIFE

The Uzhhorod State University's Hungarian Philology Department established in 1963 was the only workshop of Transcarpathian Hungarian scholarly life for many decades. Its research fields are: linguistics, theory of literature, folk-lore. However, for various reasons, it has not become a real centre of scientific research (cf. Soós, 1993:637).

The Soviet Hungarological Centre was founded in 1989 within Uzhhorod University, with significant financial support from the Ministry of Culture and Education of Hungary. Nowadays it is known as the Hungarological Institute of Uzhhorod. The Transcarpathian Hungarian Scientific Society (THSS) was formed in 1994 within the Hungarological Institute. Both have their journals. 'Acta Hungarica' is the journal of the Hungarological Institute, while 'Proceedings of the Transcarpathian Hungarian

Scientific Society' ('A KMTT Közleményei') is that of the THSS. Both journals are only partly Hungarian. Most of the articles issued in 'Acta Hungarica' are written in Russian or Ukrainian.

The THSS has several natural scientists among its members.

Transcarpathian Hungarian amateur local historians and ethnographers have established the Transcarpathian Hungarian Ethnographical Society.

4.1.4. LIBRARIES

The Uzhhorod State University Library has the largest Hungarian book stock in the country. Out of more than one million volumes the number of Hungarian books is about 100,000 (Botlik & Dupka, 1991:115).

Transcarpathia's biggest public library is the Regional Library with its Foreign Language Department and 90 % of the books in this department is Hungarian. The Beregszász (Berehovo) and Nagyszőlős (Vinohradiv) District Libraries also have a large number of Hungarian books and so does the Transcarpathian Hungarian Regional Archives can be found in Beregszász.

4.1.5. CENTRAL NATIONALITY INSTITUTIONS

The nationality question has ceased to be considered a taboo since Ukraine became independent. This is proved by the fact, for instance, that in 1991 an all-country fund was started for the national minorities living in Ukraine. But President Leonid Kuchma cancelled the fund in 1996.

The Ministry of Nationalities, Migration and Religion was established in 1992 which included in its remit the task of dealing with the affairs and problems of the nationalities living in the country. In 1996 the Ministry was reduced into a major department by President Kuchma.

There is a parliamentary committee within the Ukrainian Parliament dealing with nationality issues.

In 1992 the Nationality Department was formed within the Transcarpathian Regional Council. It has had three presidents so far, but only one of them was Hungarian, though Transcarpathia's largest minority is the Hungarian one.

The Ukrainian-Hungarian Inter-state Joint Commission having the right of proposal is in session twice a year, its task being to promote the interests of Hungarians in Ukraine and Ukrainians living in Hungary. The leaders and representatives of the organizations safeguarding minority interests are also invited to the sessions of the above mentioned joint commission.

4.2. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Transcarpathian Hungarian education has been incomplete for decades (cf. Orosz, 1992:52). The situation has substantially improved recently; nevertheless, not all the missing stages have been filled up.

4.2.1. NURSERY SCHOOLS

There were no nursery schools with Hungarian as a language of instruction until 1988.

In the 1991/1992 school year 50,819 children attended 657 nursery schools in Transcarpathia. 3,489 children received training in Hungarian in 68 nursery schools. Thus 6.8 % of Transcarpathian nursery school children attended Hungarian nursery school groups (cf. Orosz, 1995:33). This ratio is lower than that of the Hungarian population within Transcarpathia.

The district distribution of Hungarian nursery groups in the 1994/1995 school year can be seen in Table 4.1.

In the 1996/1997 school year 9.6 % of Transcarpathian nursery school children attended Hungarian groups (Table 4.2).

4.2.2. SCHOOLS

It was in the 1944/1945 school year that Hungarian education started in Transcarpathia.

The school system of the Hungarians can be considered as well-developed as compared to other nationalities of Ukraine except for the Ukrainian, Russian and Moldavian systems of education because the Hungarians have primary, comprehensive and secondary schools (cf. Table 4.3).

The first secondary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction were started in the 1953/1954 school year.

The number of Hungarian schools was unchanged for years. The slow development began only at the end of the 1980s.

The ratio of Hungarian schools in the Transcarpathian school system is about the same as that of the Hungarian population within the region.

The distribution of pupils according to the language of instruction shows, however, that fewer Hungarian children attended schools with Hungarian as the language of teaching than the ratio of the Hungarian population is within Transcarpathia (cf. Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.1 TRANS CARPATHIA'S HUNGARIAN NURSERY SCHOOLS PER DISTRICT AND DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION (1994/1995 SCHOOL YEAR) (Bagu, 1995:19)

District	Hungarian	Hungarian-Ukrainian	Hungarian-Ukrainian-Russian	Total
Berehovo	36	5	—	41
Vinohradiv	11	5	—	16
Mukachevo	6	4	—	10
Uzhhorod	16	3	1	20
Upper-Tisza territory	—	4	—	4
Total	69	21	1	91

TABLE 4.2 NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN TRANS CARPATHIA'S NURSERY SCHOOLS IN THE 1996/1997 SCHOOL YEAR ACCORDING TO THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION (cf. Matso & Luts, 1997:234)

	Total number of children	Ukrainian	Russian	Hungarian	Rumanian	Moldavian	German
Total in Transcarpathia	31360	27792	473	3037	30	8	20
Berehovo District	2062	760		1302			
Velyka Berezna District	541	541					
Vinohradiv District	2519	2122		397			
Volovets District	690	690					
Irshava District	2540	2540					
Mizhhirya District	457	457					
Mukachevo District	2975	2716		259			
Perechen District	597	597					
Rakhiv District	1257	1249					
Svalyava District	1640	1640					
Tyachiv District	2673	2573	16	104	30	8	
Uzhhorod District	1843	1201	39	603			
Khust District	2709	2631		78			
Uzhhorod (City)	5258	5154	52	52			
Mukachevo (City)	3599	2971	366	242			20

TABLE 4.3 DISTRIBUTION OF COMPREHENSIVE AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UKRAINE ACCORDING TO THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE 1989/1990 AND 1990/1991 SCHOOL YEARS
(Shamshur & Izhevskaya, 1994:35)

	1989/1990				1990/1991			
	Schools		Pupils		Schools		Pupils	
	Number	%	Number (in thousands)	%	Number	%	Number (in thousands)	%
Ukrainian	15213	73.6	3051.3	44.8	15316	73.5	3060.4	44.7
Russian	4628	22.4	3169.6	46.5	4303	20.6	2791.7	40.7
Moldavian	108	0.5	33.2	0.5	14	0.06	5.3	0.1
Rumanian	—	—	—	—	93	0.4	23.3	0.3
Polish	2	0.01	0.3	0.004	2	0.01	0.4	0.005
Hungarian	55	0.2	10.9	0.1	59	0.3	11.5	0.17
Ukrainian— Russian	606	2.9	522.9	7.6	981	4.7	935.7	13.6
Ukrainian— Hungarian	19	0.9	6.9 (Hungarians: 3.2)	0.1	18	0.08	5.3 (Hungarians: 2.9)	0.07 (Hungarians: 0.04)
Russian— Hungarian	10	0.5	4.2 (Hungarians: 2.8)	0.06	8	0.03	3.9 (Hungarians: 2.7)	0.06 (Hungarians: 0.04)
Russian— Moldavian	13	0.06	6.8	0.1	5	0.02	3.4	0.04
Ukrainian— Moldavian	—	—	—	—	7	0.03	3.6	0.05
Russian— Rumanian	—	—	—	—	7	0.03	3.6	0.05
Ukrainian— Russian— Rumanian	—	—	—	—	1	0.005	1.04	0.01
Ukrainian— Russian— Hungarian	2	0.01	0.14 (Hungarians: 0.04)	0.001	3	0.01	0.8 (Hungarians: 0.6)	0.006
Ukrainian— Russian— Polish	1	0.005	0.7	0.1	2	0.009	1.4	0.02

TABLE 4.4 THE NUMBER OF TRANS-CARPATHIA'S SCHOOLS WITH HUNGARIAN AS THE LANGUAGE OF TEACHING BETWEEN 1987 AND 1993 (Orosz, 1995:15)

Language of teaching of the school	1987/88				1989/90				1990/91				1991/92				1992/93			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Hungarian	13	26	11	50	11	29	13	53	11	34	14	59	9	34	15	58	8	36	17	61
Ukrainian-Hungarian	-	9	8	17	-	10	9	19	2	8	8	18	2	7	9	18	1	9	12	22
Russian-Hungarian	-	8	7	15	-	4	6	10	-	2	6	8	-	2	5	7	-	2	2	4
Russian-Ukrainian-Hungarian	-	-	3	3	-	-	2	2	-	1	2	3	-	1	3	4	-	-	3	3
Total	13	43	29	85	11	43	30	84	13	45	30	88	11	44	32	87	9	47	34	90

1 = primary (forms 1-4); 2 = comprehensive (forms 1-8 or 1-9); 3 = secondary (forms 1-10 or 1-11); 4 = total.

TABLE 4.5 TRANS-CARPATHIA'S SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION (cf. Orosz, 1995:14)

	1989/90		1990/91		1991/92		1992/93		1993/94	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ukrainian	594	81.2	597	81.0	602	81.4	618	81.7	621	82.0
Russian	40	5.5	39	5.3	38	5.1	34	4.5	32	4.2
Hungarian	84	11.5	88	11.9	87	11.8	90	12.0	90	12.0
Rumanian	13	1.8	13	1.8	13	1.7	13	1.7	13	1.7
Slovak	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
Total	731	100	737	100	740	100	756	100	757	100

TABLE 4.6 DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION (cf. Orosz, 1995:16)

School year →	1989/90		1990/91		1991/92		1992/93		1993/94	
1	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3
Ukrainian	166245	81.0	166963	81.4	166198	81.7	167330	82.3	168764	83.2
Russian	16598	8.1	15874	7.7	14809	7.3	12839	6.3	10585	5.2
Hungarian	17275	8.5	17619	8.6	17969	8.8	18711	9.2	19074	9.4
Rumanian	4827	2.4	4622	2.3	4355	2.2	4483	2.2	4464	2.2
Slovak	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	0.006	18	0.009
Total	204945	100	204808	100	203331	100	203375	100	202905	100

1 = language of instruction; 2 = number of pupils; 3 = proportion in percentage.

We can observe an increase of the prestige of the Hungarian language in Transcarpathia after the opening of the borders by looking at the growth of the ratio of those Hungarian pupils who get instruction in their mother tongue. The fact that it has been possible to get further education in Hungary since 1989 was probably instrumental in the rise of the prestige of the Hungarian language (cf. Orosz, 1992:55). The number of pupils studying in Ukrainian is gradually growing, too, but the number and ratio of those getting education in Russian is decreasing. This prestige modification is even more significant looking at the data of the first form pupils (cf. Table 4.7).

Judging from the above data, the school system with Hungarian as the language of instruction appears to be good, because Hungarian language schooling is accessible for Hungarian children. But this conclusion is superficial, because it is true only for Hungarians who live in a block in the flatland parts of Transcarpathia: regarding the instruction in the mother tongue there are territorial differences. For instance, the Hungarians living in minority in the Upper-Tisza territory have no opportunity for mother tongue instruction.

In the 1996/1997 school year there were altogether 98 Hungarian schools in Transcarpathia (cf. Table 4.8), among them 94 schools in those districts where the majority of the Transcarpathian Hungarian population lives.

Table 4.9 shows the territorial distribution of Hungarian schools within Transcarpathia.

4.2.3. PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Hungarian language professional training did not exist in Transcarpathia until 1988: all the vocational schools in the region worked with Ukrainian and Russian as the language of instruction. The first Hungarian group was opened in 1988 at Berehovo Vocational School № 18. At present there are 6 vocational and technical schools where we can find Hungarian groups (Bagu, 1996:8).

Speaking about professional training we cannot help mentioning the peculiarity that the Mukachevo Teachers' Training School is a vocational secondary school according to its status, where one can apply after leaving comprehensive school. It trains nursery school and primary school teachers with a secondary educational level. This institution has been training teachers for the Transcarpathian Hungarian schools since 1950. The students of

the Mukachevo Teachers' Training School study only their major subjects in Hungarian (Hungarian language and literature, singing and music, mathematics), disciplines like pedagogy, psychology, etc. are taught in Ukrainian.

TABLE 4.7 THE FIRST FORMERS' RATIO IN PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94
Ukrainian	81.8	81.8	81.9	83.1	82.9	84.2	84.42
Russian	8.7	8.4	6.6	5.3	4.7	3.0	2.44
Hungarian	7.2	7.5	9.0	9.5	10.1	10.3	10.91
Rumanian	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.2
Slovak	–	–	–	–	–	0.1	0.03

(In 1993/1994 there were 22,386 first formers = 100 %; cf. Orosz, 1995:17)

TABLE 4.8 TRANSCARPATHIA'S HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS IN THE 1996/1997 SCHOOL YEAR (Közoktatás, 1997/4:13)

Language of teaching of the school	State-supported	Church school (reformed)	Total
Hungarian	64	2	66
Hungarian–Ukrainian	28	–	28
Hungarian–Russian	3	–	3
Hungarian–Ukrainian–Russian	1	–	1
Total	96	2	98

TABLE 4.9 THE DISTRIBUTION OF HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS IN TRANSCARPATHIA PER DISTRICTS (1996/1997)

	Primary	Comprehensive	Secondary	Total
Upper-Tisza territory	–	1	3	4
Vinohradiv District	8	9	6	23
Berehovo District	2	24	14	40
Mukachevo District	–	6	3	9
Uzhhorod District	4	9	9	22
Total	14	49	35	98

4.2.4. HIGHER EDUCATION

The first period of Hungarian higher education in Transcarpathia began in 1953 at the Uzhhorod Teachers' Training College where a new specialisation tier was opened – Hungarian language and literature studies. But the institution was closed down in 1954, and the students of the college (among them those who studied Hungarian language and literature) became the students of Uzhhorod State University, which was established in 1945.

The second period began in 1963 when the Hungarian Philology Department was founded at Uzhhorod State University. This department which trains teachers of Hungarian language and literature for the Transcarpathian Hungarian schools, represented Hungarian higher education in Transcarpathia for a long time. However, it is only the special subjects that are taught in Hungarian, the general subjects were taught in Russian before and now they are in Ukrainian. First the department worked with 20 students per year. In the 1969/1970 academic year a correspondence course was opened, thus the number of regular students was reduced to 10, and at the same time there were 10 correspondence students per year (Lizanec, 1993:12). The low-standard Hungarian correspondence course was subsequently cancelled, but instead of 10 regular students nowadays there are 15 admitted per year, and further students can join them but they have to pay a tuition fee. Approximately 500 teachers of Hungarian language and literature have got their degrees at the Hungarian Philology Department since 1963 (cf. Lizanec, 1993:12).

It was only the Hungarian department where the language of instruction was (partly) Hungarian till the 1995/1996 academic year. That year on the initiative of the Transcarpathian Association of Hungarian Pedagogues (TAHP) Hungarian groups were started at the mathematics, physics and biology faculties. The additional expenses of their instruction in the mother tongue are financed by the TAHP, the money for which they get from the advisory board of the Illyés Public Endowment (ie. from Hungary). This is because Volodimir Slivka, Rector of Uzhhorod State University, declared that the university will start Hungarian groups if the TAHP is able to raise funds for it (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 1st July, 1995, 4.; Közoktatás, 1995/4:11).

The third period of Hungarian higher education in Transcarpathia started in 1990. Since this year it has been possible for young people of Transcarpathia to continue their studies at higher educational establishments in Hungary. In the 1995/1996 academic year there were 350 Transcarpathian students studying at a higher educational establishment in Hungary (Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1996/1:14).

The fourth period started in 1993 when the Foundation for the Transcarpathian Hungarian College (FTHC) was founded, the aim of which was to establish an independent Hungarian Teachers' Training College in Transcarpathia. After the FTHC had entered into a contract with the Ministry of Culture and Education of Hungary and the György Bessenyei Teachers' Training College of Nyíregyháza, Hungary, Hungarian teacher training was started in Berehovo, Transcarpathia in 1994, the financial guarantees of which were created by the FTHC, the personal expenses were covered by the Ministry of Culture and Education of Hungary, and the lecturers were provided by the György Bessenyei Teachers' Training College of Nyíregyháza. Until the authorization of the independent Transcarpathian Hungarian Teachers' Training College in September, 1996, the 'cover-name' of the program was Beregszász Special Training. It functioned as a transferred department training nursery school and primary school teachers, and teachers of English and History and English and Geography.

The Transcarpathian Hungarian Teachers' Training College held its first official opening session in 1996. It has four tiers: primary school teacher, English-Geography, English-History, History-Geography. The official language of instruction is Hungarian. The Transcarpathian Hungarian Teachers' Training College is the first independent higher educational establishment beyond the frontiers of Hungary.

4.2.5. INDICES OF EDUCATION LEVEL OF CERTAIN NATIONALITIES

The inequality of the Transcarpathian education system can be seen by observing the indices of education level of certain nationalities (cf. Table 4.10).

TABLE 4.10 INDICES OF EDUCATION LEVEL OF CERTAIN NATIONALITIES PER 1000 PEOPLE BASED ON THE CENSUS DATA OF 1989

(cf. Myhovich, 1997:49; Maryna, 1997:114)

	Complete academic qualifications	Incomplete academic qualifications	Vocational school	Secondary school	Compre- hensive school	Primary school
Russians	246	25	267	310	–	34
Ukrainians	68	10	149	367	218	145
Slovaks	88	12	157	385	101	–
Hungarians	37	7	98	427	264	155
Rumanians	17	3	38	208	451	181
Gypsies	–	–	7	97	431	387

4.3. MASS COMMUNICATION

4.3.1. NEWSPAPERS, JOURNALS

Two regional Hungarian newspapers appeared in Transcarpathia after World War II.

Kárpáti Igaz Szó (*Transcarpathian True Word*) has been issued since 5 December, 1945; till 1965 it was the Hungarian copy of the Ukrainian 'Zakarpatska Pravda' and it could not publish its own articles. It was transformed into an independent Hungarian-edited newspaper on 8 March, 1967.

The editorial office of *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* was virtually the first Hungarian institution in Transcarpathia after 1944. The paper was published daily till 1991, since then it has been appearing three times a week – on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. In 1990 it had a circulation of 40,000 copies while in 1998 this number was 8,900.

The other regional Hungarian newspaper of Transcarpathia was *Kárpátontúli Ifjúság* (*Youth Beyond the Carpathians*), the title of which was changed into *Kárpátaljai Ifjúság* (*Transcarpathian Youth*) on 1 February, 1991. It was issued as the Hungarian translation of the Ukrainian newspaper 'Molody Zakarpatya' from 1958 till 1992 when the Hungarian publication was stopped. The Hungarian circulation was 10,000 and it was a weekly paper. It was the paper of the Ukrainian communist youth association, the Komsomol. Today it is published only in Ukrainian.

Beside the regional papers three local or district newspapers are published regularly in Transcarpathia.

From 2 December, 1945, the Berehovo district paper was *Vörös Zászló* (*The Red Flag*) the title of which was changed into *Beregi Hírlap* (*News from Bereg Lands*) on 1 January, 1991. It is published in Ukrainian and Hungarian. The Hungarian edition is the original, while the Ukrainian issue is its translation. It was the only original Hungarian newspaper in Transcarpathia till *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* became independent. The Hungarian issue was published three times a week in 10,000 copies until 1992. Nowadays it appears twice a week (on Thursdays and Saturdays) in 4,100 copies.

The Hungarian newspaper of the Uzhhorod District, *Kommunizmus Fényei* (*The Lights of Communism*) has been published since 1 March, 1957, and with the title *Ung-vidéki Hírek* (*News from the Lands of the Uzh*) since 1990. It is the translation of the Ukrainian publication, it does not issue

original articles. It used to appear three times a week, now it is published twice a week. 3,100 copies are produced, out of which 700 copies are Hungarian.

The Vinohradiv District paper, *Kommunizmus Zászlaja* (*The Banner of Communism*) has been published three times a week since 27 March, 1957, it was the Hungarian translation of the Ukrainian 'Prapor Kommunizmu' (it did not appear between 1962 and 1965). It has been published as *Nagyszőlős-vidéki Hírek* (*News from Vinohradiv*) twice a week since 1990. Its circulation is 4,000 with 315 Hungarian copies.

Besides the above mentioned papers two other regional newspapers appear in Hungarian in Transcarpathia.

Szolyvai Krónika (*The Chronicle of Svalyava*) has been issued since 3 January, 1995, the aim of which is to provide the Hungarians living in the Svalyava District with readings in their mother tongue. It used to be a monthly paper, now it is bi-monthly.

In Transcarpathia there has been a tendency for new newspapers and magazines to be launched gradually since 1989.

The Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association (THCA) has its own journal, *Kárpátaljai Szemle* (*Transcarpathian Survey*). It appears monthly or bi-monthly since 1993. *Kárpátaljai Szemle* is the only Hungarian public magazine in this region, since *Kárpátalja* (*Transcarpathia*), a fortnightly paper founded in 1990 (first being the paper of the THCA, later becoming independent) was cancelled in 1994.

The Hungarian community has two cultural magazines, too. *Hatodik Síp* (*The Sixth Fife*) has been published every three months since August, 1989, its type being mainly belletristic. Its editorial office deals with book publishing, too. *Pánsíp* (*The Panpipe*) is a cultural magazine published quarterly since 1993.

The Transcarpathian Association of Hungarian Pedagogues publishes a very popular magazine for children bi-monthly. It is *Irka* (*Copy-book*); it has a quarterly supplement – *Közoktatás* (*Public Education*) – a journal for pedagogues.

The Transcarpathian Hungarian Boy Scout Association has been publishing its paper for Boy Scouts and Girl Guides since 1995 – *Nyomkereső* (*Trace Searcher*) in 3,000 copies.

The choice of Hungarian publications has been enriched recently by church papers.

Küldetés (*Mission*) is the paper of the Transcarpathian Reformed Church District. It appears three or four times a year in 4,000 copies. Roman

Catholic believers have a similar publication, *Új Hajtás (New Sprout)* with four issues a year in 4,000 copies.

The first Transcarpathian Hungarian economic paper publishing advertisements is *BeregInfo*, which appeared on the market in the second half of 1997.

4.3.2. LOCAL HUNGARIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION

In Transcarpathia the regional radio began broadcasting Hungarian programmes in 1946. The Hungarian staff gives programmes daily: on week-days their program is half an hour long (from 7 pm to 7.30 pm), on Saturdays it is 40 minutes long and on Sundays their program lasts for two and a half hours.

Hungarian television began in 1965 in Transcarpathia. First the Hungarian staff used to broadcast programmes only on Mondays. The choice of the broadcasting day was extremely successful, because in the 1960s and 1970s Monday was an interval day in the Hungarian television in Hungary, so Transcarpathian Hungarians could enjoy Hungarian programs through Uzhhorod Television on Mondays, too. Later broadcasting time increased. Hungarian programmes can be seen three times a week (on Mondays, Thursdays and Sundays) on Uzhhorod Television in 1998. The weekly broadcasting time is 180 minutes – an hour on Monday, 40 minutes on Thursday and an hour and 20 minutes on Sunday.

4.3.3. ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA

One of the signs of the political détente after Stalin's death was that in 1957 it became possible to subscribe to newspapers and journals published in Hungary (Botlik & Dupka, 1991:65). By this the Transcarpathian Hungarians living in isolation for about fifteen years again obtained publications written in Hungarian (not translated from Ukrainian, as was the case with local papers).

The newspapers coming from Hungary usually reached the Transcarpathian readers with a day's delay. But in 1989 Hungary and the Soviet Union mutually changed from rouble-accounting to dollar-accounting and it became impossible to subscribe to any newspapers or magazines published in Hungary (cf. Botlik & Dupka, 1993:44). Transcarpathian readers can obtain papers just off the press (and not with two or three weeks' delay) since 1995, but only some of the publications reach Transcarpathia (e.g. Szabad Föld, Nők Lapja, Nemzeti Sport, etc.).

The programmes of the Hungarian Radio could be received in most parts of Transcarpathia since their beginning. The possibilities pertaining to the reception of Radio Petőfi and Radio Bartók are rather poor in other parts of Transcarpathia. With a simple wireless and aerial it is quite difficult to get them and only at certain times of the day, even in the territories closest to the border. The Hungarians living in the flat lands can get the programmes of Radio Kossuth, too. Since the beginning of 1998 it has been possible to get the programmes of two commercial broadcasting stations from Hungary, too.

The programmes of Channel 1 and Channel 2 of Hungarian Television cannot be received in the territory of the Upper-Tisza either (*Kárpátaljai Szemle*, 1996/2:2). The satellite broadcast of Duna TV (Danube Television) is mainly for Hungarians living in minority areas outside Hungary, but practically its programmes cannot be received in Transcarpathia, because only an insignificant part of the population has satellite dishes needed for receiving satellite broadcast programmes. Although there was a cable television network established in the territory of the Upper-Tisza, which would make access at least to Duna TV possible for the isolated Hungarian community in that area, this network did not fulfil the expectations attached to it, because its satellite dish was damaged several times, and ultimately stolen (*Kárpátaljai Szemle*, 1996/2:2).

Since 4 October, 1997 the programmes of MTV 2 (Hungarian Television Channel Two) can be seen by means of satellite dishes, too, thus Transcarpathian Hungarians can only enjoy the programmes of MTV 1 (Hungarian Television Channel One) and two commercial channels, TV2 and RTL Klub which were placed in the former frequency band of MTV 2.

Besides the Hungarian channels, of course, the reception of programmes of the Ukrainian State Radio and Television is also possible in Transcarpathia. Transcarpathian Hungarians switch to a Ukrainian radio station only when they can hear the Hungarian programme of the Uzhhorod Studio, otherwise they listen to the Hungarian Radio (Hungary). The transmissions of Ukrainian Television are more popular among the Hungarians than those of Ukrainian Radio, mainly because of the film series and sports transmissions.

5. ECONOMY

Agriculture is the dominant sector of the economy in Transcarpathia. Its economy, considering all sectors, is of low efficiency, it is characterized by outdated technical standards and poor organisation. Former urban industry has been ruined. Production per capital in the region is less than half of the national average. A drop in production that involved 68.6 % of the companies in the region in 1996 has had a negative effect on the population's real income.

Due to a lack of suitable business environment and capital, privatisation mainly involves small and medium size enterprises. According to local figures from 1 July, 1997, foreign capital of over USD 40 million has been invested in the region, a mere 2.5 % of the foreign capital invested in Ukraine. One out of three companies operate currently on foreign capital. Hungarian investors and company shareholders are in the first place in Transcarpathia, there are over 110 Ukrainian-Hungarian joint ventures.

71.7 % of the Hungarian national minority lives in small villages (see Table 1.12) and is engaged in jobs of lower social prestige due to a lack of schooling in the mother tongue, therefore they are threatened by unemployment more than Ukrainians or Russians. Official figures reflect a rather favourable situation of unemployment: they say that the rate of unemployment was 1.4 % in 1996 and 2.49 % in 1997. The figures, however, fail to reflect a realistic number of the unemployed as only one in ten unemployed will seek help from job centres (i.e. the actual rate of unemployment is at least ten times as high). Regarding the rate of unemployment, Transcarpathia is at place 9 of the 24 Ukrainian counties. As the number of the jobless is increasing, fewer and fewer people are entitled to unemployment benefits since companies have been freed of the obligation to contribute to an employment fund. Social problems are further aggravated by hidden unemployment (forced leaves, shortened shifts, shortened working hours) and an often several-month-long delay in the payment of salaries caused by a continuous decline of production.

Average salaries in Transcarpathia are Hr 158.3 (about USD 40) a month, lower than the national average. Most foodstuffs are imported by entrepreneurs from Hungary and Slovakia and are sold from privately owned

outlets or markets (the average price of a kilo of pork is USD 2.5, while a litre of milk costs USD 0.25 and a litre of cooking oil USD 1–1.5).

A revival of the agriculture and the development of private farms is hindered by the fact that the ownership of land has not been sorted out. If a Land Act makes it possible, forms of co-operatives based on real ownership may emerge relying on farmers' groups that have come into being in the villages of the Hungarian national minority over the past few years to replace state farms.

Setting up a special economic region in Transcarpathia could promote the social and economic situation of the population. The standard of living could increase, which would slow down a trend of emigration of the Hungarian national minority (e.g. *Report on the situation of Hungarians in the Ukraine*).

6. IDENTITY AWARENESS

Let us review the identity awareness of Transcarpathian Hungarians by the help of the data of two empirical surveys.

A sociological investigation carried out by the Spectrum Sociology Workshop in 22 Transcarpathian settlements with the co-operation of 300 people, arrived at the conclusion that the image of the motherland of Transcarpathian Hungarians is quite contradictory. According to the investigation the informants believed that Ukrainian independence has meant more bad than good so far. Only 1.4 % of those who were asked accepted Ukraine as their motherland, 1.4 % accepted Europe as their motherland, and only 1 % was eager to live in the Soviet Union again (cf. Kovács, 1996:18). According to the survey 5.2 % of the informants feel at home in the whole Hungarian-speaking territory. 8.2 % of the people asked see Hungary as their motherland. The fact that 10.7 % of people asked feel they have no motherland proves the feeling of uncertainty and the strangeness of environment (Kovács, 1996:18). Analysing the image of motherland of Transcarpathian Hungarians the author comes to the conclusion that the population of the region has created its own, narrowed notion of motherland, „according to which the motherland is not a country, but a broken piece of the once existing real motherland, a narrower region: the native land, that territory where one lives according to one's own traditions, where one uses one's own mother tongue, and forms a community with the representatives of one's own nation” (Kovács, 1996:18). It is that image of motherland according to the analyst to which 71.8 % of the informants agreed. At the same time it seems to be a contradiction that 53 % of the people asked reported about the fact that they or their relatives were or had been thinking about emigrating to Hungary (Kovács, 1996:18).

In the summer of 1996 a sociolinguistic investigation was carried out, based on a questionnaire. Within this survey 144 Transcarpathian Hungarian informants answered the following question:

PLEASE DEFINE ON A SCALE FROM 1 TO 5 HOW MUCH YOU ARE ATTACHED TO THE FOLLOWING PLACES BY CIRCLING THE CORRECT NUMBER

(1 = I am not attached to it at all; 5 = I am attached to it very much)

to your native village or town	1	2	3	4	5
to Transcarpathia	1	2	3	4	5
to Ukraine	1	2	3	4	5
to the former Soviet Union	1	2	3	4	5
to Hungary	1	2	3	4	5
to Europe	1	2	3	4	5
to nowhere	1	2	3	4	5

The results are summarised in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1 TERRITORIAL ATTACHMENT OF TRANSCARPATHIAN HUNGARIANS

	1		2		3		4		5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
to your native village or town	1	0.7	2	1.4	16	11.1	39	27.1	86	59.7
to Transcarpathia	—	—	—	—	12	8.3	42	29.2	90	62.5
to Ukraine	82	56.9	28	19.4	23	16.0	6	4.2	5	3.5
to the former Soviet Union	65	45.1	34	23.6	35	24.3	6	4.2	4	2.8
to Hungary	4	2.8	5	3.5	42	29.4	53	37.1	39	27.3
to Europe	14	9.9	9	6.3	30	21.1	40	28.2	49	34.5
to nowhere	140	97.9	1	0.7	1	0.7	1	0.7	1	0.7

Other questions in the questionnaire were to define in the same way how much Transcarpathian Hungarians are attached to the Transcarpathian Hungarian community, to the Hungarian nation and how much they feel they do not belong to anywhere. The answers demonstrate that the awareness of belonging to the Hungarian nation is very strong (cf. Table 6.2), but this feeling is not necessarily accompanied by close attachment to Hungary as a state.

The results of the two investigations briefly described above are almost exactly the same. The minor differences can be explained by the time passed between the two studies and the different ways of sampling. According to the investigations the image of motherland of Transcarpathian Hungarians is attached to the native land and not to the state. Hungary has a particular place in it, but its attachment ratio as a symbol of the Hungarian nation is

higher than that of Hungary as a state. The uncomplying separation from the new Ukrainian statehood is the direct result of the despair caused by the country's bad economic state.

TABLE 6.2 NATIONAL ATTACHMENT OF THE TRANSCARPATHIAN HUNGARIANS

	1		2		3		4		5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
To the Transcarpathian Hungarians	—	—	1	0.7	15	10.4	35	24.3	93	64.6
To the Hungarian nation	1	0.7	2	1.4	12	8.3	22	15.3	107	74.3
Do not belong to anywhere	139	96.5	1	0.7	1	0.7	2	1.4	1	0.7

7. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

7.1. LANGUAGE PLANNING

During the Soviet era the Russian language was in a privileged position, in spite of the fact that the Soviet Union did not have an official language (cf. Desherijev, 1966:68). Though Russian was not the official language of the Soviet Union, it was used in state administration and public life. Western scientific, technical and cultural achievements were introduced in the country through the Russian language. Russian became the language of communication between different ethnic groups. The glorification of Russian was confirmed by economic factors after World War II. The political and strategic aims relied on it, too (cf. Miller, 1994:613). In the 1980s, mainly after Gorbachev's new policy of openness, nationality and language endeavours, became more articulated including Ukraine, where, by passing the Law of Language in 1989¹¹, the national powers succeeded in making Ukrainian the official language of the republic. In the Law of Language Russian is mentioned only as a means of communication between peoples, and as a second language, respectively (Article 4). No doubt, the passing of the Law of Language was an important status-planning decision, but it was evident for the legislators that a complete change of the official language of a republic is impossible to be done in a moment. Therefore Ukraine's Supreme Council enclosed a supplement to the Law, in which the Order of putting the Law into force is defined. According to the document the Law gets into force on 1st January, 1990. At the same time, the supplement permits 3–10 years of tolerance for putting into force those articles which contain major alterations¹². The supplement allows a 3–5 years' respite for civil servants to learn Ukrainian (Article 6) and for laws, decrees, texts of seals and headed documents to be changed into Ukrainian (Article 10, Paragraphs 2 and 3), to replace Russian by Ukrainian in administration and documentation (Article 11, Paragraph 1) and to make Ukrainian the language of Prosecution (Article 22).

There are 5–10 years at disposal to change the language of technical documentation into Ukrainian (Article 13, Paragraph 1) and for Ukrainian to obtain the official language status in the fields of education, science, computer science and culture (Articles 25–29).

Thus the legislative body made a quite cautious language planning step, in that it provided a relatively long period of time for introducing the most radical alterations and it also averted potential conflicts caused by sudden change.

Now (October, 1999) as the time of tolerance defined in the supplement to the 1989 Law of Language is almost over, we can state that most of the paragraphs of the Law were realized in practice and the resolutions about education are in the process of realization. While putting into force the Law's regulations in the fields of state and social life did not meet any obstructions, the assertion of the articles concerning education did (cf. Csernicskó, 1998a, b).

7.2. THE STATUS OF THE LANGUAGES USED IN PRESENT-DAY UKRAINE

In the independent Ukraine the following documents concern the status of languages: *The Constitution of Ukraine* (1996), *The Law of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic about the Languages of the Ukrainian SSR* (1989), *Ukraine's Declaration of Nationality Rights* (1991), *The Law of Ukraine about National Minorities* (1992), *The Law of Ukraine about Local Municipalities* (1997) and several resolutions, too.

Articles 10, 11, 12, 24, 53, 92, 103, 127 and 148 of the Constitution of Ukraine contain paragraphs concerning languages.

Article 10 declares that „The state language of Ukraine is Ukrainian language”¹³, and that the state ensures the functioning of Ukrainian in all spheres of social life throughout the entire territory of Ukraine. According to the following paragraph, „In Ukraine, the free development, use and protection of Russian, and other languages of national minorities of Ukraine, are guaranteed”. But in accordance with the last sentence of the Article, „The use of languages in Ukraine is guaranteed by the Constitution of Ukraine and is determined by law”. Article 92 says, also, that it is Ukraine's laws exclusively that determine the procedure for the use of languages.

Article 11 contains general declarations about the defence of all nationalities and languages of Ukraine, Article 24 prohibits discrimination based on linguistic characteristics. Article 12 promises to meet the requirements of the Ukrainians living beyond the borders of Ukraine. Article 53 says that citizens who belong to national minorities are guaranteed

in accordance with the law the right to receive instruction in their native language, or to study their native language in state or communal educational establishments. Articles 103, 127 and 148 say that occupying a state post (e.g. President of the republic, membership in the Constitutional Court, office of judge) is dependent on the knowledge of the state language.

According to Articles 10 and 92, with respect to the status of languages, the Language Law passed in 1989 – during the Soviet era – is competent.

The Language Law defines Ukrainian as the state language (Article 2), but at the same time Russian remains the language of communication between nations (Article 4). According to Article 5 the use of the native language or any other language is guaranteed for the citizens; they have the right to apply to state or social organs, enterprises, etc. in Ukrainian or in another language used by these organizations, in Russian or in another language acceptable for both parties. The law does not only prohibit discrimination based on linguistic characteristics (Article 8), but puts forth sanctions for limitation in the use of nationality languages. According to the regulations the civil servant who refuses to take an application written in a nationality language referring to his or her lack of knowledge of the language, can be called to account (Article 5).

The law makes it possible to use the nationality language equally to and together with the Ukrainian language in the functioning of state organs, enterprises, institutions on the territories of administrative units (e.g. village, town, district, region) where a greater part of the population belongs to national minorities (Article 3).

The state documents are accepted and published in Ukrainian, on lower levels, too, but if need be, they are also published in the languages of other nationalities. The official application forms are in Ukrainian and Russian (Article 10). The language of office administration is Ukrainian, but it is possible to use a nationality language parallel with Ukrainian in those areas where a greater part of the population belongs to national minorities (Article 11).

The official personal documents (identity card, service certificate, certificate of education, birth, marriage and death certificates) are bilingual – Ukrainian and Russian (Article 14).

The language of services is Ukrainian, or another language chosen by the two parties (Article 17). The language of trial procedure is Ukrainian, but the use of the nationality language is possible in areas where a greater

part of the population belongs to a national minority; the person who does not understand the language of the court has the right to have an interpreter and to give evidence in his or her own native language (Article 18).

The language of services provided by solicitors and prosecutors and that of legal guidance is Ukrainian or another language which is the most appropriate for both parties (Article 23).

The choice of language of education is an indefeasible right (Article 25). But minority citizens can assert this maximum right up to the end of their secondary school studies. According to Article 25 applicants to institutions of higher and vocational education take an entrance examination in Ukrainian, and only those applicants are allowed to take an entrance examination in their native language who apply to institutions training national cadres.

The language of official mass information is Ukrainian or other languages of Ukraine under the possibilities provided (Article 33). The language of address of telegrams, postal envelopes, parcels is Ukrainian or Russian (Article 34).

The language of official announcements, advertisements, posters is Ukrainian; beside the Ukrainian text there can be translations in other languages, too (Article 35).

The language of labels of goods produced in Ukraine is Ukrainian and must not be translated into other languages (Article 36).

The official names of institutions, social and political organizations, enterprises, etc. are Ukrainian; they can be translated into other languages, and the translation must be placed either under the Ukrainian inscription or to the right of it (Article 37).

Ukraine's geographical names are Ukrainian. It is also possible to display or indicate them in the language of the national minority (Article 38).

Ukrainian citizens have the right to choose a name appropriate to their national traditions which can be rendered into Ukrainian by means of transcription (Article 39).

Ukraine's Declaration of Nationality Rights guarantees the right of use of the mother tongue in all spheres of social life for all its peoples and nationalities (Article 3).

According to the Law of Ukraine about the National Minorities, the use of the language of the minority is possible parallel to the official language in the functioning of state and social organs, enterprises, institutions in the ar-

areas where the national minority makes up a greater part of the population (Article 8). It also guarantees for minorities the use of personal names according to national traditions (Article 12).

Article 26 Item 1 Paragraph 50 of the Law of Ukraine about Local Municipalities gives an opportunity for local municipalities to choose the language of their functioning (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 3 July, 1997).

Thus the state language of Ukraine is Ukrainian according to the valid official documents. Russian functions as a language of office parallel with Ukrainian throughout Ukraine, and as a language of communication between nations, and the use of the other nationality languages is allowed in the areas where a greater part of the population belongs to national minorities. But none of the documents contains items where the conditions under which minority languages can be used equally to the state language would be explicitly determined. However, besides the documents having legal force, there are a number of state and regional decrees regulating the use of language which prove that the rights declared by the law work in another way in practice, or do not work at all.

Ukrainian gradually became the state language from the time Ukraine became independent, but Russian – in spite of its being mentioned as a language possible to use in official functions by the Constitution and the Language Law – is pressed back in the state, official sphere parallel with the expansion of Ukrainian, and soon it is certain to be ratified by legal means. We can come to these conclusions because we can find more and more articles in the press about the state of languages, and the idea of passing a new law of languages was formed by both the government and the opposition. Thus in Ukraine disagreements arose between the Russian minority (making up almost one third of the country's population) and the government giving preference to national (language) policy.

Theoretically beside the Ukrainian state language or parallel with it, it is possible for Russian and other minority languages (in areas where a greater part of the population belongs to minorities) to function in official language status but it does not work in reality.

We can state that *de jure* and *de facto* Ukrainian is Ukraine's state language, Russian is of official language status and people speaking minority languages have the possibility to use their mother tongue in all spheres of social life in those areas where they form a majority according to their nationality. *De facto*, however, Russian is used as an official language in the eastern territories densely inhabited by Russians despite the administrative prohibitions. Nevertheless, minority languages are only used in edu-

cation, nationality press, radio and television programmes, minority public life, church life and private sphere. Thus, the status of the Hungarian language did not change much even after Ukraine proclaimed its independence.

On 9 December, 1997 the Ukrainian Parliament ratified the Framework Convention about the defence of national minorities. The parts of the Convention about the minority languages practically coincide with the documents being in force in Ukraine. Article 10 Item 1, for instance, guarantees the right of use of native language for the minorities in private and public spheres of life, in oral and written forms. But Item 2 lays down conditions to the permission of office use of minority languages (cf. Convention, 1997.).

7.3. DIFFERENCES OF STATUS BETWEEN THE LANGUAGES

Kloss (1967:15) distinguishes five stages in the status of languages.

1. The language is official in country-wide measures.
2. It is the official language of a larger regional unit (area, district, land, etc.).
3. Minority language use permitted by authority in public education, public advertisements, though the minority language does not have an official status.
4. Tolerance towards the language in the private sphere (in the press, church and private schools, etc.).
5. Prohibition of the language.

Now in Ukraine the status of Ukrainian is equal to Stage One. The status of Russian within certain administrative units *de facto* and *de jure* is similar to Stage Two, with the restriction that the government does not admit it, though it has the right to do so. The status of the Hungarian language can only be examined within Transcarpathia, as it is the only region where a considerable number of inhabitants is Hungarian. In Transcarpathia, the status of the Hungarian language *de facto* is equal to Stage Three. Although based on legal limitations, it could be equal to Stage Two, but the negative political attitude of the state towards the Russian language's becoming official, and efforts made towards the setback of mother tongue education of minorities, make it clear that under the present conditions there is not much hope for advance even if the preservation of the present state is endangered.

The Hungarian language for Transcarpathian Hungarians is mainly the means of communication within their own group, while the Ukrainian and Russian languages are mainly used in the communication between different groups.

7.4. PUBLIC BILINGUALISM

According to Article 11 of the Ukrainian Language Law passed in 1989, the language of management and documentation is Ukrainian, but in those territories (districts, towns, villages, etc.) where the nationalities form a majority, the use of the nationality language is also allowed beside Ukrainian. Article 5 guarantees for every Ukrainian citizen the right to apply to state, political or social organs in Ukrainian, Russian or a third language acceptable for both parties. The resolutions of these organs are made in Ukrainian or another language used by the organ, but if need be, they can be translated into Russian. According to Article 17 the language of the services is Ukrainian or any language acceptable for the parties.

Thus, under legal regulations, Transcarpathian Hungarians can use their mother tongue in official functions theoretically. Yet, the declared rights and the real situation do not exactly coincide. It is because the Language Law does not order the official organs to use the languages of minorities, it simply does not prohibit their use. This use is attached to conditions the explicit explanation of which can be found nowhere in the Law. For instance, we cannot make clear the meaning of the term 'nationality majority area', because it is not explained in the Law.

Thus, the possibilities guaranteed by the Language Law are made use of in the Berehovo District where 67 % of the population is Hungarian, the management is done in Hungarian only in this district, but mainly orally, written official communication in Hungarian is not common or general even in this district.

In other districts of Transcarpathia Hungarian written official documents can be found only in schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction (e.g. form registers, protocols of staff meetings, etc.). In villages with Hungarian majority, in state offices and village councils, it is only oral communication that is Hungarian.

The lack of Hungarian or bilingual Ukrainian-Hungarian application forms makes official written management or documentation in Hungarian impossible (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 24 October, 1996:4).

7.5. LANGUAGE CONFLICTS¹⁴

In multilingual situations, social strife and other problems arise where the needs or rights or wishes of different groups speaking different languages conflict. These situations are called language conflicts (cf. Trudgill, 1992:44).

7.5.1. TEACHING UKRAINIAN IN SCHOOLS WITH HUNGARIAN AS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

In the Soviet Union where, theoretically, all the nationalities and languages were equal, officially the country did not have any state language. In spite of this, the Russian language enjoyed a privileged position (cf. Miller, 1994:613), and the role of the languages of different nationalities was restricted in order for the central party and political resolutions and announcements to reach all the nationalities.

An excellent example proving the privileged state of the Russian language is that during the Soviet era the teaching of Ukrainian in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was obligatory only in schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, but the teaching of Russian was obligatory in all the schools of the country (cf. Miller, 1994:613). In schools with Russian as the language of instruction the teaching of Ukrainian was optional, i.e. it was the pupil's parents who were to decide if their child would learn Ukrainian in Ukraine, or not (cf. Lizanec, 1994:125). In nationality schools (e.g. Hungarian or Romanian) the teaching of Ukrainian was not in the syllabus at all. The teaching of Russian was obligatory in these schools, too (Lizanec, 1994:125).

The population's knowledge of Ukrainian mirrors this kind of state of the Ukrainian language teaching. The census carried out in Ukraine in 1989 asked the language of the Soviet Union which the informant spoke fluently besides his or her mother tongue. According to the census data in 1989, 17.6 % (48,106 people) of the Transcarpathians whose mother tongue was not Ukrainian, spoke Ukrainian fluently by their own admission. On the contrary, 53.7 % (more than half!) of those whose mother tongue was not Russian, spoke Russian by their own admission. 514,516 people (41.3 %) considered they spoke only their mother tongue. Among the 155,711 Transcarpathian Hungarians, 65,718 people (42.2 %) thought they spoke Russian, and in spite of the fact that the Ukrainians make up a majority in the region, only 17,723 people (11.3 %) admitted they spoke

Ukrainian freely and fluently. 72,178 Transcarpathian Hungarians spoke only Hungarian, their mother tongue, by their own admission (cf. Csernicskó, 1997:72).

In the summer of 1996, seven years after the 1989 census, a sociolinguistic survey was carried out, based on a questionnaire (cf. Kontra, 1998) in which the Transcarpathian population's knowledge of languages was investigated. There were 144 informants of Hungarian nationality who answered the question: WHAT IS THE LEVEL OF YOUR SPEAKING HUNGARIAN, RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN BY YOUR OWN ADMISSION?

95 % if the informants considered their own knowledge of Hungarian *very good* or *mother tongue level*, 91 % of them believed their own knowledge of Russian ranged between *not very good* to *very good*, but only two thirds of them (67 %) thought their own knowledge of Ukrainian to be of the same level. Thus, we can state that the Hungarians' knowledge of Ukrainian is worse than their knowledge of Russian, and it is proved by the fact that the ratio of those who know only a few words or less in Russian is 6.3 % of the sample while in the case of Ukrainian it is 32.6 %. Another question in the survey was whether the informants could write and read Hungarian, Russian and Ukrainian. 97 % of the people asked said that they could write and read Hungarian, 3 % could only read. The ratio of those writing and reading Russian is close to that of the mother tongue (95.8 %), but only 56 % of the informants thought they could write and read Ukrainian, 30 % could only read, and 14 % could neither write nor read (see Csernicskó 1998c: 174–175).

In 1989 'The Law of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic about the Languages of the Ukrainian SSR' was passed, according to Article 2 of which Ukrainian is Ukraine's state language. Article 27 (The language of teaching and education in comprehensive schools) declares: „The teaching of Ukrainian and Russian is obligatory in the comprehensive schools of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic”. The Supplement to the Law ('Resolution of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR about the Order of Putting into Force the Language Law of the Ukrainian SSR') concerning the quoted Article says that it comes into force „within ten years of the Law's coming into force” (cf. Botlik & Dupka, 1993:288).

Article 10 of the Constitution of Ukraine adopted by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on 28 January, 1996, speaks clearly about the status of the Ukrainian language: „The state language of Ukraine is the Ukrainian language” (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 27 July, 1996, pp. 5–12; The Constitution of Ukraine, p. 6).

The teaching of Ukrainian was introduced in 1990 to all the schools of Ukraine, among them the Transcarpathian Hungarian schools. After passing Ukraine's Language Law it was in 1990 that the last generation left school for whom the learning of Ukrainian was not obligatory – unless they attended schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.

But in practice, the teaching of Ukrainian is not without problems, because the Transcarpathian Hungarian schools lack some of the most essential conditions for teaching the state language.

There are no Ukrainian language textbooks, not even primers, prepared for Hungarian schools (Summons, 1997). Most of the schools use the textbooks written for pupils studying Ukrainian in Russian schools (cf. Csanádi, 1996). But in such books, the texts of explanations, exercises, etc. are Russian, and Russian has not been taught in the Transcarpathian Hungarian schools since 1993.

There are no Hungarian–Ukrainian and Ukrainian–Hungarian dictionaries prepared for schools. The latest two-volume Ukrainian–Hungarian and Hungarian–Ukrainian Dictionary was published in 1963 (Katona, 1963). A Ukrainian–Hungarian, Hungarian–Ukrainian one volume pocket dictionary was published in 1997, containing 5000–5000 entries including derivatives (Palkó & Palkó, 1997), but – though better than nothing – it is by no means a piece of work prepared with academic requirements in mind.

There is a lack of qualified Ukrainian language teachers. Those who teach the language are usually qualified Russian language teachers who speak the language to a certain extent. The lack of teachers is not accidental: those who left Hungarian schools were not allowed to apply for admission to the Ukrainian language and literature department of the Uzhhorod State University before, because Ukrainian was not a school subject in Hungarian schools, therefore Ukrainian language teachers were not appointed to Hungarian schools. Nowadays, however, there is a great demand for Ukrainian language teachers in the region, especially those who speak Hungarian, too. According to the data of the Berehovo District Education Department 64 pedagogues taught the Ukrainian language in Hungarian schools of the district in the 1995/1996 school year. Among them there were only 14 qualified Ukrainian language teachers, 33 qualified Russian language teachers, 8 primary school teachers, 2 cultural workers, 5 teachers qualified in other subjects (cf. Csanádi, 1996). According to the Declaration of the TAHP this problem could be solved by retraining the qualified Russian language teachers (Declaration, 1996).

The basic methodological ideas of teaching Ukrainian are not precise and concrete as it was not included in the syllabus of Transcarpathian Hungarian schools. One cannot directly transfer the methods of teaching Russian because, on the one hand, the quality of teaching Russian does not warrant such a decision, on the other hand, in the Soviet Union the teaching of Russian was based on the idea that it was the second language of every Soviet citizen, hence it had to be taught as a mother tongue, and not as a foreign language (cf. Orosz, 1992:53).

Demographic factors should be taken into account when planning Ukrainian language teaching, e.g. Ukrainian language teaching should not be the same in the schools of Berehovo District villages where the population is almost 100 % Hungarian as in the Upper-Tisza area, where it is possible that the Hungarian first form pupils speak better Ukrainian than Hungarian.

Furthermore, there has not yet been any discussion about how the Ukrainian language syllabuses and textbooks prepared for Hungarian schools should relate to the local Transcarpathian dialects or the Ruthene language, the status of which is still controversial and the existence of which has not yet been admitted officially, but – just like some other Ruthene communities – the Transcarpathian Ruthenes are also trying to codify a Ruthene standard (cf. Fedynyšynec', 1996). The problem is real and waiting for a solution, because those Transcarpathian Hungarian children who go to school with a little knowledge of Ukrainian, do not speak the Ukrainian standard, but the local dialect to this or that level. Either we consider the local Slavic variants as a dialect of Ukrainian or as an independent Ruthene language. Note that the lexical, grammatical differences between this and the Ukrainian standard are more significant than those between the Hungarian dialects.

In spite of this, the National Curriculum approved and signed by the President of Ukraine says that all school-leavers must be provided with the knowledge of Ukrainian as the state language (cf. Summons, 1997). Article 2 of the Language Law also declares that the state guarantees the opportunity for the acquisition of Ukrainian by means of its various institutions (cf. *Закарпатська Правда*, 4 November, 1989, p. 2).

However, the problem is not solved. This is proved by the fact that the Ukrainian–Hungarian Joint Commission Dealing with the Guarantee of the Rights of National Minorities put this question on the agenda several times and the Hungarian press regularly deals with this theme. As yet, substantial changes have not been made.

During the six years of the state's independence it has not created the conditions for minority citizens' acquiring the Ukrainian language and this can lead to the isolation of the community. The present conditions of teaching the state language remind us of the so-called segregational education model. The essence of the model applied to minorities is that the language of teaching is that of the minority and the language of the majority is not taught, or if it is, the level of effectiveness is very low. It is done with the aim of segregating and isolating the minority and depriving it of having equal chances with the majority (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990).

In the opinion of Philipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas (1994), the right to learn (at least one of) the official language(s) of a certain country is part of language human rights. 'The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities' declare that the state language must be taught as a discipline (school subject), possibly by bilingual teachers (cf. The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities and Explanatory Note, Article 12, p. 7).

7.5.2. SCHOOL-LEAVING AND ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS

Further problems emerged in relation to Ukrainian while the teaching of Ukrainian in schools is not satisfactory.

In the February 1996 issue (N° 3–4) of the Collection of Statutes of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education a decree was published according to which two obligatory school-leaving examinations should be taken at the end of Form 9 – in Mathematics and Ukrainian language, and at the end of Form 11 – Ukrainian language and literature, History of Ukraine, Mathematics and two freely chosen subjects (cf. Інформаційний Збірник Міністерства Освіти України, 1996:53). This means that the school-leavers of the Transcarpathian schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction must take examinations in Ukrainian language and literature, but they take an exam in Hungarian language and literature only if they choose to do so. But the Ministry left a kind of way out for schools of national minorities. According to Article 2.4.3. those pupils who were not awarded marks in Ukrainian language and literature, take examinations „in the language and literature of other people” (ibid.). In accordance with this, in those Transcarpathian Hungarian schools where the pupils officially were not awarded marks in Ukrainian language and literature, children could take examinations in Hungarian language and literature, and they took an examination in Ukrainian language only if they chose that subject in addition to the obligatory ones.

Similar decrees appeared in the bulletin of the Ministry of Education regarding the 1997 school-leaving examinations. At the end of Form 9 and Form 11 pupils could take school-leaving exams under conditions similar to those in 1996, i.e. pupils of schools where the language of teaching was not Ukrainian could take an examination in their mother tongue (as a subject), if they were not awarded a mark in the Ukrainian language (cf. Інформаційний Збірник Міністерства Освіти України, 1997: 4).

Similar problems emerged in connection with the entrance exams to the university.

Since 1964 it has been possible for the school-leavers to write their compositions and dictations in Hungarian at the entrance examinations of the Uzhhorod State University and there were periods when taking a Hungarian entrance examination in one's major subject was also possible. In 1986 the right to apply to the university in one's mother tongue was recorded in the admission rules (cf. Summons, 1997).

After the passing the Ukrainian Language Law in 1989, the Declaration of Ukraine's Sovereignty in 1991, the Declaration about Guaranteeing the Rights of Minorities (passed by Hungary and Ukraine in 1991), entering into the Ukrainian-Hungarian Basic Treaty in 1991 and announcing the Ukrainian Law of Minorities (1992) the question seemed to be solved and the right of the Transcarpathian Hungarians to take admission examinations to local educational establishments in their mother tongue was guaranteed. But as it stands, this is not certain at all.

According to Article 29 of the Language Law applicants to higher and vocational educational establishments take an entrance examination in the Ukrainian language. Those applicants who learned their mother tongue parallel to Ukrainian and Russian in the secondary school, applying to an institution with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, also must take an entrance examination in Ukrainian. It is only the applicants to those higher and secondary educational institutions training national cadres that can take an admission examination in their mother tongue. The Ministry of Education of Ukraine is to make a resolution about the order of entrance examinations of those who were not graded in Ukrainian language (cf. Закарпатська Правда, 4 November, 1989, p. 2).

The protraction still going on nowadays began in the 1993/1994 school year. This was the year when a new rule was introduced: the applicants 'brought along' the scores gained at the school-leaving exams in those three subjects in which they had to take an entrance examination at the given faculty. The Ukrainian or Russian languages could be found among the ad-

mission exams to all the faculties, but in the schools with Hungarian as the language of teaching applicants could not yet learn Ukrainian on a proper level (because that subject had been taught in Hungarian schools only for three years then), and Russian was not taught any longer in most of the schools according to a ministry decree of August, 1993. The TAHP wrote a letter to the ministry of Education of Ukraine asking reconsideration of the decree, referring to the fact that if the Russian minority has the right to take entrance examinations in their mother tongue, then this right must be guaranteed for other minorities, too. The THCA addressed the Nationality and Migration Ministry with a similar request, and finally Uzhhorod State University made it possible for the applicants leaving Hungarian schools to bring with them the scores obtained at the Hungarian language school-leaving exam, and to write a dictation as an admission test not in Ukrainian or Russian, but in Hungarian (cf. Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1994/4, p. 6–7).

After further agreement Uzhhorod State University made a concession in the 1994/1995 academic year, to the effect that those applicants who left schools with Hungarian as the language of teaching and were not graded in Ukrainian language at their schools, could take entrance examinations in Hungarian. Though in 1995 Ukrainian was taught in all the Hungarian schools, the above mentioned were possible in the way that the General Certificate of Secondary Education contained the clause that it was not the Ukrainian language, but only speaking skills that were taught in Hungarian schools and that the pupils were not graded in it (cf. Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1995/6–7, p. 9).

Regarding the 1995/1996 academic year, Item 13 of Decree 21 of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine of 29 January, 1996 (About the Admission Order to Ukrainian Higher Educational Establishments) declares that it is obligatory for the school-leavers graded in the Ukrainian language to take an entrance examination (in the form of composition or dictation) in Ukrainian. Pupils not graded in Ukrainian take an admission exam in the language in which the General Certificate of Secondary Education contains a grade.

Item 4.14. of Chapter IV of Decree No 26 of the same Ministry (2 February, 1995) says that it is obligatory to indicate all the grades in the subjects of the curriculum in the supplement to the GCSE. Item 4.19. says that the documents not filled in under the above requirements are to be considered null and void (Summons, 1997). But the Ukrainian language is in the Curriculum.

Finally, the Ministry of Education of Ukraine issued another decree (No I/9–210) on 16 May, 1996 in which it allows that those nationality schools

which taught the Ukrainian language only in 450 academic hours, would not grade the pupils, but write '*Learned the Ukrainian language*' in their GCSE. This decree was confirmed by the Head of the Regional Educational Department in his Decree No 468 (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 3 August, 1996, p. 4. and 17 August, 1996, p. 4., respectively).

All this has a great importance because those applicants who were graded in Ukrainian language and literature could sit an admission exam only in Ukrainian, but those who did not have a grade in Ukrainian in their GCSE, could take admission exams to Uzhhorod State University in their native language (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 3 August, 1996, p. 4 and 17 August, 1996, p. 4). But some of the Hungarian schools were not informed about the decree and its consequences, they graded their pupils in Ukrainian and in such a way they deprived them of the possibility of taking entrance exams in their native language.

Thus the state – while it has not created proper conditions for teaching the state language in nationality schools – theoretically expects that the school-leavers of nationality schools and those of schools with Ukrainian as the language of teaching share the same level of knowledge of the Ukrainian language, because it sets equal requirements for them in the command of that language. At the same time the Basic Curriculum says: „If the language of instruction is identical with that of the state, the requirements towards the knowledge of Ukrainian should rise above the generally obligatory level” (cf. Summons, 1997). But then it is not clear how the admission system of requirements can be identical for pupils leaving nationality schools and those leaving schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.

In the Spring of 1997 the question of taking entrance exams in the native language was brought up again, and it was only on the 15th of April, 1997, less than three months before the beginning of entrance exams that the press reported about the fact that applicants could take admission exams in their mother tongue (see Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 15 April, 1997, p. 1; Népszabadság, 15 April, 1997, p. 3, 24 April, p. 3; Beregi Hírlap, 24 April, 1997, p. 1) and the situation was the same in 1998.

However, the matter was not settled definitely, because the achievement of the possibility to take admission exams in the native language was a concession every year, and not a fact recorded in a legal rule. Insistence on the temporary character is due to the fact that the Ukrainian educational leadership does not give up its wish to enforce Article 29 of the Language Law according to which admission examinations should be taken in Ukrainian to higher and secondary educational establishments of Ukraine. The tempo-

rary indulgence can be explained by the fact that the document disposing the order of the Language Law's coming into force defined five to ten years of grace for realizing this Article, and this termin is coming to an end. During this period the new Ukrainian Language Law is certain to be ratified, which will be likely to contain unambiguous resolutions regarding the language of admission.

Paragraph VI of Article 6 of the new Recommendation No 1353 (1998) on access of minorities to higher education of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe says: „Students coming from minority groups should be given the possibility of taking their entrance exams in their mother tongue to participate in higher education”. Ukraine is a member of the Council of Europe. It is true, though, that the recommendations of this organization are not obligatory.

7.5.3. THE CONCEPT OF THE REFORM OF MINORITY EDUCATION

When in Spring, 1997, even though temporarily, the question of taking admission exams in the mother tongue seemed to be solved, the Ministry of Education of Ukraine had another idea which tried to undermine the prestige of education in the native language. Actually, it is a project of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine, having the title 'Conceptual Bases of Meeting the Educational Requirements of National Minorities of Ukraine' (original Ukrainian title: Концептуальні засади задоволення освітніх запитів національних меншин в Україні), which was dated 14 May, 1997, had Registry Number 1/9-183, signed by the Minister of Education, and reached all the nationality schools with a note that comments were expected to be received in Kyiv on the 19 May, 1997 (thus in five days!).

In this 16 page document the idea of the Ministry about the education of national minorities in Ukraine is summarized. Among others, the project sets poli-cultural education as an aim to be reached, the main idea of which is the formation of the Ukrainian mentality (page 5). The poli-cultural educational model in the opinion of the project's authors means that bilingual teachers (nationality language – Ukrainian) teach in Ukrainian, with the exception of those subjects having ethnic characteristics (i.e. native language and literature, history and knowledge of one's country; see pp. 6–7), which can be learned by the children in their mother tongue. The project claims that the language of instruction in comprehensive and secondary schools (according to Ukrainian terminology, schools of stages II–III) must be Ukrainian except for the subjects with ethnic characteristics. Education in

the mother tongue can be performed only in primary schools (schools of stage I) and schools run by nationality organizations.

In connection with Ukrainian the project says: „The project, aiming at confirming the Ukrainian language as the state language in educational establishments, guarantees the right and duty to acquire Ukrainian on the level of state standards” (p. 8). But it does not say what is to be understood by ‘the level of state standards’.

The document declares that the acquisition of Ukrainian makes it possible for minorities to take an active part in the country’s social, civil, and cultural life and that it guarantees the right to work irrespective of race and nationality (p. 9). This is in contradiction to Article 6 of Ukraine’s Language Law, according to which the lack of knowledge of the Ukrainian language is not a reason for turning down a job application (though at the same time the person employed must acquire the language used by his office on a level necessary for his post immediately after his being employed). Thus the project makes the integration of minorities, their taking part in the economic, social life of the state dependent on the knowledge of the language of the majority, which is discrimination on a language basis and as such, it is against the Constitution and Law.

There have been four subsequent variations prepared of the project since that time, but its essential parts remained unchanged.

The educational model sketched in the project is in many ways similar to the so-called ‘transitional educational programmes’, the essence of which is that in the first two or four years of school minority children begin studying in their native language, and besides it the language of the majority is also taught to them. After two or four years, when the second language skills of pupils belonging to a minority are considered to be sufficient for using the language of the majority for studying and gaining information, the pupils are ‘changed over’ to studying in the language of the majority. The aim of this educational model in the long run is forming the majority monolingualism by means of education. The rôle of the minority language is restricted to helping second language acquisition and by this the transition to education in the language of the majority, i.e. assimilation (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990:25).

The project’s content is contrary to Article 53 of the Constitution of Ukraine, Articles 6 and 13 of the Law about Ukraine’s Nationalities, Articles 3, 6, 25, and 28 of the Language Law, Article 7 of the Law of Education, Article 17 of the Ukrainian–Hungarian Inter-state Basic Treaty and Articles 5 and 10 of the Minority Declaration enclosed to the Basic Treaty respec-

tively and to the recommendations of the Ukrainian–Hungarian Inter-governmental Joint Commission. Furthermore, it cannot be made consistent with several international documents, e.g. The Universal Declaration of Language Rights. Nevertheless, it is in accordance with the Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities (cf. ‘The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities’ and Explanatory Note, Articles 12, 13, p. 7).

7.5.4. WHAT CAN WE LOSE IF WE DO NOT SPEAK UKRAINIAN?

The question of taking entrance exams in the mother tongue has been solved every year so far – though only temporarily. But it is another matter how a Hungarian student manages at university after passing the admission exams in the native language successfully (knowing the conditions under which he/she studied the state language), for the language of instruction at Uzhhorod State University is Ukrainian – except for the Hungarian Philology, Mathematics and Physics Departments where part of the lectures are held in Hungarian (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 3 May, 1997, p. 11). The Transcarpathian Hungarian students who do not get a grade in Ukrainian, can apply to Uzhhorod State University because this is the university which makes it possible to take admission exams in Hungarian by the help of understanding Hungarian. There is an exception, The Transcarpathian Hungarian Teachers’ Training College which was registered not long ago and is not a state-governed, but a foundation college, where there are four tiers: English–Geography, English–History, History–Geography and Primary School Teacher Training.

The situation with those who are not graded in Ukrainian and do not apply to a university is even worse than that, because there are only six vocational schools in Transcarpathia where there are Hungarian groups, but only general subjects are taught in Hungarian. The teaching of the profession itself is in Ukrainian (cf. Bagu, 1996:8).

But those Transcarpathian pupils who were graded in Ukrainian could not continue taking other exams because they got an unsatisfactory mark at the first entrance examination which was Ukrainian dictation. In the 1995/1996 academic year not one of those Transcarpathian Hungarian children who were forced to take their entrance examinations in Ukrainian was admitted to Uzhhorod University (cf. Kárpátaljai Szemle, 1997/1, p. 3).

The ratio of those who participate in further education among the Transcarpathian Hungarian population is very low because of language bar-

riers and limits; it is the ratio of applicants to vocational schools that is mainly shocking. For instance, in the 1993/1994 school year 1,587 pupils got their general certificates about primary education in one of Transcarpathia's schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction. In the following school year (1994/1995) 736 pupils (46.3 %) continued their studies in secondary schools, 614 (44 %!) did not continue their studies at all, and only 154 pupils (9.7 %) got admission to a vocational or a secondary technical school (cf. Bagu, 1996:8). It can be supposed that this is due to professional education being carried out in Ukrainian.

A kind of solution to the problem can be the training of Transcarpathian Hungarian students at universities, colleges and vocational schools in Hungary. But after finishing his or her studies, the person will certainly need the knowledge of Ukrainian if he/she wants to get by in Ukraine.

If the Transcarpathian Hungarian intellectual class can assert itself only within the territory of its own ethnic group, the community can be completely isolated and unemployment can increase which, judging from the Ukrainian economic conditions, can aggravate their unfavourable perspectives and it can also accelerate the process of emigration (e.g. besides economic reasons, part of the Transcarpathian Hungarian students graduated from an educational establishment in Hungary will never return home because they do not speak Ukrainian).

It is also important that Transcarpathian Hungarians lose the possibility to be accepted for a state post unless they speak Ukrainian.

For instance, the Constitution says that only the person who speaks the state language can be elected President of Ukraine (besides other requirements) (Article 103). It is probable that in the nearest future no one of the Transcarpathian Hungarians will step down the post of President of Ukraine because of lacking the knowledge of Ukrainian, but it is more serious that according to Article 127, „A citizen of Ukraine, not younger than the age of 25, who has a higher legal education and has work experience in the sphere of law for no less than three years, has resided in Ukraine for no less than ten years and *has command of the state language*, may be recommended for the office of judge by the Qualification Commission of Judges” (cf. The Constitution of Ukraine, p. 74).

The Language Policy Council functioning beside the President adopted a program ‘The Ukrainian Language’ setting the following goal: the bases of the Ukrainian language’s becoming an essential communicative means in Ukraine must be created (cf. Kárpáti Igáz Szó, 26 June, 1997, p. 1). The document also contains the following: in the future the knowledge of the state

language will be considered when filling a state office (cf. *ibidem*). The new Ukrainian Law of Elections adopted on 24 September, 1997 says that a citizen of Ukraine, not younger than the age of 21, who has resided in Ukraine for at least five years and speaks the state language fluently can be a candidate in Ukraine (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 27 Szeptember, 1997, p. 1).

The above mentioned matters have political importance, too. The facts that Transcarpathian Hungarians have to fight for the right to sit school-leaving and entrance examinations in their native language every year and that the result of this struggle in each of the cases depends only on the Ministry's 'benevolence', gradually undermines the Transcarpathian Hungarian education system – parents seeing this uncertain situation ask themselves the question: will it not do harm for children in the long run if they let them attend schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction? And the results of ruining mother tongue education are known by everybody.

All this, of course, may have a more threatening message. Undermining the prestige of Hungarian language teaching can serve the isolation of Hungarians: „making school-leaving and entrance examinations in Ukrainian obligatory deprives the school-leavers of schools with Hungarian as the language of teaching of possibilities of equal and honest competing, and in the long run it degrades the members of the Hungarian national minority into secondary citizens incapable of rise and development. What makes the situation more difficult is that the state educational bodies have not created the necessary conditions for acquiring Ukrainian on a proper level, it is taught in nationality schools in accordance with the conception of teaching the mother tongue, in this way, therefore, acquisition of the Ukrainian language by native speakers of Hungarian is made impossible” (Declaration, 1996).

In 1995 the Ukrainian–Hungarian Joint Commission wrote about the entrance examinations in the following way: „The Joint Commission greeted the fact that the Ukrainian party made it possible for pupils studying at Hungarian schools to sit their school-leaving examinations in Hungarian. It is recorded in a legal rule that pupils who left schools with Hungarian as the language of teaching can sit entrance examinations in their mother tongue at Uzhhorod State University” (Protocol of Session V of Ukrainian–Hungarian Joint Commission on Guaranteeing Rights of National Minorities, Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 4 April, 1995, p. 3).

We should not forget either that the deprivation of the right to make entrance examinations in the mother tongue has financial consequences, too.

In Ukraine there is a government regulated limit of number of students getting admission to a vocational school, college or university. These stu-

dents' studies are financed by the state. Since 1993 educational institutions can accept students above the limit, but for them paying tuition is obligatory. In practice it works like this: those who reached the defined score limits by the points gained at the entrance examinations, get admission to the given educational establishment, but those who did not gain the necessary points can start their studies paying tuition.

As far as citizens belonging to minorities will be deprived of the right to take entrance examinations in their native language, it is evident that applicants whose mother tongue is not Ukrainian are at a disadvantage and will only have the chance of getting further education at their own expenses.

At the Philology Department of Uzhhorod State University those who covered their own educational expenses had to pay hryvnias equal to \$500 for two terms, at the Medical and Legal Departments this sum was \$900 in the 1996/1997 academic year (cf. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 15 April, 1997, p. 3). The monthly income of an average Ukrainian citizen is less than \$40.

Thus, the question of sitting entrance exams in the native language is not only a political, but also an economic matter. And as such, it definitely influences the perspectives of Transcarpathian Hungarians in the long run.

While the state has not created the conditions for the acquisition of the state language, it made a sketch of the conception of such a school type for minority pupils according to which mother tongue education would be forced back to the level of elementary schools (the first 4 years of study). László Brenzovics, vice-president of the THCA, considers it to be a further example of the chaos in Ukraine, and believes that the Ukrainian-Hungarian dictionaries and manuals of the Ukrainian language for Hungarian schools have not been published because the state does not reckon with nationality schools (cf. Magyar Hírlap, 31 October, 1997, p. 7).

Thus, one can feel retrocession in the Ukrainian nationality policy, which can probably be explained by the fact that Ukraine feeling its European positions confirmed, gradually gives up the tactics of tolerance in the minority question, needed in the first years of its sovereignty for winning the European public opinion, and now begins to act as a homogenous national state. After the 1991 ratification of the Ukrainian-Hungarian Basic Treaty, in the first halves of 1996 and 1997 Ukraine signed the Basic Treaty with all its neighbours, by this sanctioning its frontiers, and after the international political stage it confirmed its positions in the area, too.

SUMMARY

The present book devoted its seven chapters to the demographic, social and political factors which shape the situation of the autochthonous Hungarian national minority in the southwestern Ukraine.

The chapter on geography and demography showed favourable conditions for Hungarian language maintenance: 95.4 % of all Hungarians in Ukraine live in Transcarpathia, and 89 % of them live in districts bordering on Hungary. There is, however, increasing emigration from the region.

The political analysis treated the minority policies of the former Soviet Union and present-day Ukraine. The minority laws of Ukraine recognize the minorities' existence and regard minority rights as human rights. Minorities are state-forming entities and discrimination against them is forbidden. However, the enjoyment of minority rights is restricted for various reasons.

Concerning the maintenance of Hungarian language and culture, one chapter was devoted to the churches, whose role in this process increased since the fall of communist rule.

Next, the cultural and political organisations of Hungarians were surveyed, and detailed statistical analyses were provided about the Hungarian educational system.

Relying on sociological research, the authors showed that Transcarpathian Hungarians claim identity with their homeland and the Hungarian nation much more than with Ukraine.

In summary, the authors characterized the situation of Hungarians in Transcarpathia as controversial. Several factors promote language maintenance but others work for the dissolution of the community. To the former belong the current *de jure* situation of the Hungarian minority, the revival of old, and the establishment of new, Hungarian organizations and institutes, and the revival of Hungarian churches. The factors which bode ill for the future include increasing emigration, the ever-worsening economic situation of those who stay, and recent political development which point towards a possible abandonment of Ukrainian tolerance to minorities.

NOTES

- ¹ In spite of the fact that a detailed essay was published about the language situation in Ukraine (Arel, 1995). A book presenting the most important European language contacts does not contain data about the language situation of Transcarpathian Hungarians (cf. Goebel et al. eds., 1996/1997), and even in the Encyclopaedia of Ukraine not too much can be found about the Hungarians living in Ukraine (cf. Markus, 1993).
 - ² See details about Ukraine's nationalities in Етнічні меншини в Україні.
 - ³ See Matveeva, Melvin & Pattle, 1997.
 - ⁴ About the minority and language situation in Ukraine see Stewart, 1993; Solchanyk, 1993; Shevelov, 1986/1987.
 - ⁵ The text of the document is published in Botlik & Dupka, 1993:299–300.
 - ⁶ See the Law in Botlik & Dupka, 1993:313–315.
 - ⁷ The text of the Basic Treaty is accessible on web site: www.htmh.hu.
 - ⁸ The text of the Declaration is published in Botlik & Dupka, 1993:294–297.
 - ⁹ The texts of the Petitions are published in Botlik & Dupka, 1991:160–175.
 - ¹⁰ For data about Transcarpathian Hungarian institutions and organizations see in A kárpátaljai magyar kulturális szervezetek, intézmények, társaságok, egyházak, alapítványok, stb. névjegyzéke.
 - ¹¹ The text of the Language Law is published in Hungarian in Botlik & Dupka, 1993:289–293; see the Law and its Supplements in the original in Zakarpats'ka Pravda, 4 November, 1989, p. 2.; published in Russian in Nationality Papers Vol. 23 No 3, September, 1995 (pp. 644–652).
 - ¹² „The following deadlines must be defined for introducing certain articles of the Law into all spheres of social life...” — says the document enclosed to the Language Law (Resolution of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic about the Order of Putting into Force the Language Law Existing in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).
 - ¹³ In the original: „Державною мовою в Україні є українська мова” (cf. Голос України/The Voice of Ukraine, 13 July, 1996, p. 5).
 - ¹⁴ For former summaries of the problem discussed here see Csernicskó, 1998a, b.
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APPENDIX

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Additional photographs from archived files and published sources



1. A section of the Ukrainian-Hungarian border



2. Ukrainian-Hungarian bilingual road sign



3. View from *Uzsok* Pass



4. Panorama from *Huszt* Castle



5. The junction of White Tisza and Black Tisza near *Rahó*



6. Lake *Szinevár*, 800 metres above sea level, formed by rockslide



7. Pond in the park of Schönborn Castle, *Beregvár*



8. View from Verecke Pass



9. View from *Verecke* Pass



10. Ruins of *Nevicke* Castle



12. Reformed church, Viski



11. Greek Catholic cathedral, Ungvár



13. Reformed church, Bányás



14. Reformed church, built in 1996, Csap



15. Inner yard of *Ungvár* Castle



16. Upper Castle, *Munkács*



17. Main Street of a Transcarpathian Hungarian village (*Bátyú*) as seen from the church tower



18. View of *Bátyú* from the church tower



19. Ruthenian woman shelling corn (*Beregrákos*)



20. Hungarian women getting ready for home-canning (*Bátyú*)



21. Folk embroidery (*Bátyú*)



22. Folkweave (*Nagybereg*)



23. The Hungarian-language secondary school of *Bányú*



24. Hungarian village primary school (*Bányú*)



25. Class of Hungarian Grammar in the school of *Bátyú*



26. Before a maths class



27. Ukrainian and Hungarian banners in the Main Square of *Beregszász*,
Spring 1999



28. Centre of *Rahó*, the Hungarian-inhabited Transcarpathian town furthest
away from the Hungarian border



29. Gyula Illyés National Theatre, *Beregszász*



30. White Stone Restaurant, *Beregszász*



31. Schönborn Castle, *Beregvár*



32. A street in *Beregszász*



33. Monument of the first victorious battle of the 18th-century
Rákóczi War of Independence (*Tiszaújlak*)



34. *Tiszaújlak*



35. Statue of V. I. Lenin in the Main Square of *Ungvár*, 1989



36. Removal of the statue of Lenin in the Main Square of *Ungvár*, 1991



37. Removal of the statue of Lenin in the Main Square of *Ungvár*, 1991



38. Removal of the statue of Lenin in the Main Square of *Ungvár*, 1991



39. Transcarpathian Hungarian Teacher Training College in the centre of *Beregszász*



40. Opening ceremony at the Transcarpathian Hungarian Teacher Training College, 1 September 1997



41. Statue of Zsigmond Perényi in front of Perényi Castle (Nagyszőlős)



42. Monument of the victims of Stalinism (Nagybereg)

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