



Carpathian Euroregion: Prospects and Challenges


Workshop # 2

# **Role of the Carpathian Euroregion in Confronting its Minority Agenda**

Sanatorium "Karpaty" (Ukraine), March 29-31, 2001

Organized by:  
**Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association**  
and  
**Strategies Studies Foundation**

Supported by:  
**Freedom House**  
and  
**Carpathian Foundation**





Carpathian Foundation

This publication is a part of the project *Carpathian Euroregion: Prospects and Challenges* conducted by the *Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association* and the *Strategies Studies Foundation*. The project is sponsored by the *Freedom House* and the *Carpathian Foundation*.

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*The texts in this publication were not subject to linguistic corrections and appear here in their original form as submitted by the individual authors*

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**ISBN 80-89041-27-2**

# Contents

<b>Preface</b> .....	5
<b>Policy recommendations</b> .....	6
<b>Keynote addresses</b> .....	12
Marián Gajdoš & Stanislav Konečný <i>Ethnic Minorities in Slovakia</i> .....	13
Aleksander Kolańczuk <i>Ukrainian Minority in Poland</i> .....	26
Emil Micu & Lidia Elena Kozma <i>The Role of Education in Developing Interethnic Relations and the Preservation of the National Cultural Identity in the Carpathian Euroregion</i> .....	32
Svitlana Mitryayeva & Eva Kish <i>The Carpathian Euroregion: Minority Problems</i> .....	42
I. Süli-Zakar, K. Czimre, K. Teperics and Cs. Patkós <i>Cultural Identity and Diversity in the Carpathian Euroregion</i> .....	47
<b>Selected discussion addresses</b> .....	77
<b>Appendix # 1: Ethnic composition of the Transcarpathian Region</b> .....	80
<b>Appendix # 2: Tables and figures</b> .....	115
<b>Appendix # 3: List of participants</b> .....	117

# Map of the Carpathian Euroregion



# PREFACE

The Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Prešov (Slovakia) and the Strategic Studies Foundation, Uzhgorod (Ukraine) held the workshop on **Role of the Carpathian Euroregion in confronting its minority agenda** on March November 29-31, 2001, in Sanatorium “Karpaty” (Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine). This event was the second in the series of four workshops within the joint project on *Carpathian Euroregion: Prospects and Challenges*. The first workshop on *Role of the Carpathian Euroregion in strengthening security and stability in Central and Eastern Europe* was held on November 23-25, 2000, in Sanatorium “Karpaty”. This project is supported by the Freedom House’s programs Partnership for Reform in Ukraine and Regional Networking Project and the Carpathian Foundation.

The project aims to address prospects for future developments of the Carpathian Euroregion and examine its role in the following areas:

- Strengthening security and stability in Central and Eastern Europe
- Solving minority problems in the area
- Improving cross-border economic co-operation
- Overcoming possible negative effects of the implementation of the Schengen-type border on eastern borders of an enlarged European Union.

The main goals of the project are as follows:

- To elaborate policy recommendations for the Carpathian Euroregion and also for central and local state and self-government authorities of the five participating countries
- To create a network of think-tanks and academic community within the Carpathian Euroregion in the field of political and economic studies
- To provide expert background for public discussion on issues of security, welfare, minorities, and Schengen in the area of Carpathian Euroregion and member countries.

This publication presents the policy recommendations on role of the Carpathian Euroregion in confronting its minority agenda that are worked out on the basis of the workshop discussion, the full text of the keynote reports and also selected contributions made during the panel discussions.

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# Role of the Carpathian Euroregion in confronting its minority agenda

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The first seminar on the “Role of the Carpathian Euroregion in Strengthening Security and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe” (Sanatorium “Karpaty”, 23-25 November 2000) concluded with a broadly shared agreement. The Carpathian Euroregion (CE) - as a project of cross-border cooperation - can only succeed if its agenda includes possible solutions to problems that surpass the regional context and offer a challenge to central governments of participating countries and to international organizations. In other words, the Carpathian Euroregion will be able to develop its activities and gain support for its programs only if these are going to focus on specific *securitized issues*, as defined during the first seminar in the framework of this project.<sup>1</sup>

Given the great ethnic and religious heterogeneity of its population combined with difficult history and frequent changes of borders, search for solutions to the problems of minorities on the territories of the Carpathian Euroregion extends far beyond the confines of the CE. However, current programs of the Carpathian Euroregion do not fully consider this broader dimension.

### Minority agenda in the Carpathian Euroregion

Almost every tenth inhabitant of the Carpathian Euroregion from the total population of 15 million living in the five different states is a member of an ethnic minority.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carpathian Euroregion: Prospects and Challenges I: Role of the Carpathian Euroregion in Strengthening Security and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe. Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Strategies Studies Foundation, Prešov - Uzhgorod, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Süli-Zakar, I., Czimre, K., Teperics, K. and Cs. Patkós: Cultural Identity and Diversity in the Carpathian Euroregion. A contribution included in this volume and delivered at the seminar in Sanatorium "Karpaty", 29-31 March 2001. See keynote addresses.

This figure originates from official national statistics that however need not always objectively mirror reality on the ground. For example, the real number of the Roma minority on the territory of the CE is unofficially estimated at 2 million, although official numbers give an estimate of approximately 700 thousand. The question of the Ruthenian minority is also complicated. Ruthenians have a status of an official minority in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania but they do not have such a status in Ukraine and as a result are not included in the official statistical data. Yet, the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine with its population of about 1 million and 200 thousand people is an historical home of Carpathian Ruthenians. While official statistics suggest that every tenth inhabitant of the CE belongs to an ethnic minority, non-official estimates, that take into account the complex history of the region and the present situation on the ground, suggest that every sixth inhabitant of the CE is a member of an ethnic minority.

The Transcarpathian region of Ukraine is a good yardstick for the complicated history of the CE. Only during the course of the twentieth century did this area belong to six different states. The Transcarpathian region (historically also Sub-Carpathian region) was a part of Austria-Hungary until 1918. In the inter-war period it formed the easternmost part of the first Czechoslovak Republic. For a short while in 1939 it gained complete independence. During the WWII the Sub-Carpathian region was added to Hungary. In 1946 it became a part of the Soviet Union and since 1991 it belongs to Ukraine. Throughout the twentieth century today's common Hungarian-Romanian, Hungarian-Slovak, Slovak-Ukrainian, Romanian-Ukrainian and Polish-Ukrainian borders experienced several changes. The changes of borders were accompanied by changes in the numbers of the various ethnic groups.

The religious make-up of the population of the CE is similarly heterogeneous. According to official data from national statistics the breakdown of the CE's religious structure is as follows: Orthodox - 33 %, Greek Catholic - 24 %, Roman Catholic - 24 %, Calvinist - 8 %, Protestant - 1 %, Jewish - 1 %, other religions - 9 %. Particularly complicated was the recent history of the Greek Catholic Church that - with the exception of Hungary - had been banned in all countries of the CE after WWII. Also, historically there had emerged two unions of the Greek Catholic Church: the Brest union in 1596 and the Uzhgorod union in 1646. Finally, the Jewish community on the territory of the CE was virtually destroyed during the Holocaust.

On the European Continent there is no analogy to this territory that encompasses comparatively young borders of five states, includes the presence of seven different nationalities and ethnic minorities and is home to more than six principal religious

groups that belong to the main European Churches. The Carpathian Euroregion is also a meeting area of the borders of two European civilizations - the Latin and the Byzantine.

## **The significance of the minority agenda for the Carpathian Euroregion**

Local and regional ethnic and religious conflicts became one of the main challenges for European security in the post-Cold War era. A number of ethnic and religious wars broke out in the Balkans and on the territories of the former Soviet Union throughout the 1990s. These conflicts resulted in vast humanitarian catastrophes and became a source of wider international tensions. Prevention of potential ethnic and religious conflicts has become one of the key policy priorities for the most important international organizations, such as the UN, the EU, NATO, OSCE and the Council of Europe.

Among other things, the Carpathian Euroregion attracted the attention of the international community in connection with the wars in the Balkans. The London Times called the CE “an ex-Yugoslavia awaiting a spark”. Experts in research and conflict prevention at the University of Cambridge reached the conclusion that the region of Central Carpathian Mountains represents “a mosaic of nationalities, cultures and religions, a microcosm of the New Europe, containing a potential volatile mixture of nations and peoples.” According to experts, this region is “one of the greatest friction plates in Europe, with significant potential for both conflict and cooperation.” They reached this view on the basis of the fact that the region of the Central Carpathian Mountains is a meeting point of seven main ethnic groups (Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Romanians and Romas) and five religious communities (Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Orthodox, Calvinist and Jewish). A high degree of ethnic and religious heterogeneity alone is a factor with potential risks for conflicts. In the CE this regional make-up is complemented not only by complicated historical experience. Today the region also suffers from high unemployment, obsolete economies and low standards of living.<sup>3</sup>

On the one hand, national and religious diversity poses possible security dangers. On the other hand, the variety of ethnic groups and religious denominations represents an enormous cultural, historical and human richness of the Carpathian

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<sup>3</sup> Blénesi, Éva: Ethnic Early Warning Systems and Conflict Prevention. GSFI Occasional Paper No. 11, University of Cambridge, 1998; see Preface by Dr. Jack Shepherd, pp. 8-15.



Euroregion. The minority agenda represents a huge challenge for further development of cross-border cooperation that extends beyond the borders of the region and has an all-European character.

## **Inadequate place of the minority agenda in the activities of the Carpathian Euroregion**

Issues and problems related to minorities do not belong to the priorities of the CE's programs since its foundation in 1993. To date there are seven working commissions coordinating cross-border cooperation in the Carpathian Euroregion. Their activities include the following areas:

- Working commission for financial audit and control (coordinated by the Hungarian side of the CE)
- Working commission for trade (coordinated by the Romanian side of the CE)
- Working commission for regional development (coordinated by the Hungarian side of the CE)
- Working commission for tourism (coordinated by the Polish side of the CE)
- Working commission for preservation of environment (coordinated by the Polish side of the CE)
- Working commission for social infrastructure (coordinated by the Ukrainian side of the CE)
- Working commission for prevention of natural catastrophes (coordinated by the Slovak side of the CE)

Although the need for prevention of potential ethnic or religious conflicts was one of the motivating factors for the establishment of the Carpathian Euroregion, the CE does not have a working commission that would focus specifically on questions of national minorities and religious communities. The working commission for social infrastructure addresses this agenda only partly. It deals with the issues of education, culture and sport and is coordinated by the Ukrainian side. The most significant success of this working commission in the area of education was the establishment of the Association of Universities of the Carpathian Euroregion in 1995. There are also programs that support cooperation of cultural institutions of the participating countries and that organize folk festivals and common sporting events. However, given the security dimension of the CE's minority agenda, these activities are not sufficient.

## **The Character and the goals of potential minority programs of the Carpathian Euroregion**

The discussion of this seminar with respect to the character and the goals of possible minority programs of the Carpathian Euroregion can be summarized in several main conclusions and recommendations:

- The minority agenda is crucial for further development of the Carpathian Euroregion and it would therefore deserve special attention at the planning stage. Creation of a working commission for national minorities and religious communities would be an adequate step forward, given the importance of this agenda. This working commission would work alongside the other seven working commissions and would coordinate programs and common activities in this area of cross-border cooperation.
- Given the political sensitivity of the minority agenda in the region and varying interpretations of and attitudes to national minorities and to specific ethnic groups in the countries of the CE, it would be useful to establish a permanent expert commission for national minorities and religious communities. This permanent expert commission would work under the auspices of the proposed working commission for national minorities and religious communities and would - among other issues - deal with discrepancies in official and non-official statistical data and with classification of minorities and different ethnic groups.
- The goals of this expert commission would include a search for an overall definition of minority problems and for uniform terminology in all five countries of the CE. Its tasks would also focus on sociological and statistical research and on practical recommendations for the work and programs of the working commissions of the CE. Recommendations should also embrace the areas of legislative harmonization of the status of national minorities and religious communities in the member countries of the CE and of financing of minority and religious educational programs.
- Legislative norms specifying the status and guaranteeing the rights of national minorities and religious communities are an internal matter for the participating countries of the CE. Programs of the Carpathian Euroregion in this area can only come up with practical recommendations and proposals for improving the status and rights of minorities.
- Minority programs of the Carpathian Euroregion should aim at easing cooperation and contacts among the members of the respective national

minorities and religious communities that are divided by national borders. These programs should equally target national minorities without home countries (Romas and Ruthenians) and national minorities living outside their home countries (Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Hungarians and Romanians), as well as all religious communities.

- Through common educational, cultural, sporting and media activities, minority programs of the Carpathian Euroregion should strengthen the consciousness of ethnic and religious tolerance among the members of the individual nations, national minorities and religious groups living on the territories of the Carpathian Euroregion.

Minority and religious agenda in the Carpathian Euroregion belongs to politically sensitive and complex questions. Recent communist past suppressed many of the minority issues, however today they remain very much open. Lacking discussion of the minority agenda does not imply that it is without problems. The example of the former Yugoslavia suggests that at a certain point there remains little room for discussion and incremental civilized solutions. At present there is time and space - in the context of the Carpathian Euroregion - for authentic and lasting dialogue on a broad range of minority issues. Naturally, such dialogue requires political courage and will of the participating sides. With political will there is a solid chance that what seems a weakness of the Carpathian Euroregion today - namely its ethnic and religious heterogeneity - could soon become its own strength and enriching asset.

Cross-border cooperation under the framework of the Carpathian Euroregion can become a “microcosm of a new tolerant Europe”. This can only happen if the work of the CE is actively going to engage the region’s minority and religious agenda. Otherwise, the Carpathian Euroregion cannot hope to be a real partner for the national governments of its member states and for international organizations. It will not be able to legitimize its existence and activities in relation to its own population, develop qualitatively new programs and thus contribute to security and stability in the border areas of the region and in Central and Eastern Europe more broadly.

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## *Ethnic Minorities in Slovakia*

### Introduction

Ethnic issues occupy an important place in the processes of transformation ongoing in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe since the end of the eighth decade of the twentieth century. These issues have an impact upon the internal political scene and are a significant determinant of international relations.

The place of ethnic issues in the consciousness of citizens of Slovakia is similar, with ethnic awareness on the rise. Changes have materialized also in the content of the notion of ethnic awareness, as well as in its place in the hierarchy of values and in the mutual relation of ethnic and civic principles. In the cultural and ethnic life of minorities, a process of deepening of relations has occurred.

The ethnic composition of contemporary Slovakia is a legacy of the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire and of the relatively liberal (in the Central European context) policy of the Czechoslovakian state, which after World War II did not expel non-Slavic ethnic groups (with the exception of the German minority).<sup>4</sup>

According to the results of the 1991 census, 746 235 persons with a nationality other than Slovak lived on the territory of the Slovak Republic, accounting for 14,15% of the country's population. (See the fig „Inhabitants of Slovak Republic according to the ethnicity“<sup>5</sup>). However, the real number of non-Slovak inhabitants is higher than indicated, as some persons reported an ethnicity different from the one to which they actually felt they belonged.

Whereas among Germans, the reason for declaring an ethnicity other than German might be traumatic memories of the period immediately following the Second World War, in the case of Rusins/Ukrainians it was a lack of national development and a low degree of ethnic identity. In the case of Jews, both the trauma of the Holocaust and oscillation between religious and national identity explain the tendency to not declare Jewish nationality. The reasons for the lesser

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<sup>4</sup> PODOBA, Juraj: Menšinové elity a etnický konflikt: dilemy vývoja interetnických vzťahov na Slovensku. In: Slezský sborník 95-1997-1/2, s. 111 - 112.

<sup>5</sup> Sčítanie ľudu, domov a bytov. ŠÚ SR Bratislava 1993.

interest of Roms in presenting their ethnic belonging have roots not only in the past, but also in the present negative attitudes of the non-Romani population, as well as in identification with the ethnic majority. An additional problem is the reliability of statistical data. The fact that anonymity is not guaranteed in the gathering of data despite safeguards designed to guarantee such anonymity leads individuals to answer “as is expected of them” rather than according to personal conviction.<sup>6</sup>

The proportion of the population with non-Slovak nationality varies significantly among the regions of Slovakia. Particularly significant is the concentration of the Magyar nationality in southern Slovakia, along the border with Hungary. Nearly two thirds of Slovakia’s Magyars live in western Slovakia, where their share of the local population varies from 5% to 87%.<sup>7</sup>

Rusins (Ukrainians) live primarily in northeastern Slovakia, with 83,9% of the members of this nationality residing in the counties of Humenné, Svidník, Bardejov, and Stará Ľubovňa.<sup>8</sup>

The Romani population lives dispersed throughout the entire territory of Slovakia, and is most concentrated in Eastern Slovakia, where Roms account for 9,1% of all inhabitants – nearly twice Roms’ 4,7% share of the population of Slovakia as a whole.<sup>9</sup>

During the 1991 census, 75 802 persons (1,4% of Slovakia’s population) declared themselves members of the Romani nationality. Calculations of state

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<sup>6</sup> GONĚC, Vladimír: Celoevropské trendy v pohybu etnik od 2. světové války. Formy u nás málo reflektované. In: Slezský sborník 93-1995-1/2, s.30.

<sup>7</sup> In the counties of Dunajská Streda (87,2%) and Komárno (72,2%). In the counties of Galanta, Šaľa, Nové Zámky, Levice, Veľký Krtíš, Lučenec, Revúca, Rimavská Sobota, Rožňava and Trebišov 25-50%; Senec, Košice - okolie, Michalovce more than 10%, Nitra more than 5%. PODOLÁK, Peter: Národnostné menšiny v Slovenskej republike z hľadiska demografického vývoja. Martin, Matica slovenská 1998, s. 18.

<sup>8</sup> PAUKOVIČ, Vladimír: Etnická štruktúra Slovenska, jej vývoj, demografické a sociálne charakteristiky. In: Sociológia 26-1994-5/6, s.428.; Minoritné etnické spoločenstva na Slovensku v procesoch spoločenských premien. Bratislava: Veda, 1994, s. 24.

<sup>9</sup> JUROVÁ, Anna: Vývoj rómskej problematiky na Slovensku po roku 1945. Bratislava: Goldpress Publishers, 1993, s. 99.; The Progress report on the achievement of a package of measures for the solution of contemporary problems resulting from the way of life of gypsy citizens of 11.4.1989 presents an estimate of 247 775 Gypsies-Roms settled on the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

administrative offices, however, give a number of Roms living in Slovakia in 1989 which is three times higher (253 943 or 4,8%).<sup>10</sup>

A relatively high degree of geographic dispersion is typical of the Czech, Moravian, and Silesian nationalities. In the present day, Slovakia's Carpathian Germans live in relatively small enclaves concentrated primarily in Horná Nitra, Pohronie, Spiš, Abov, and Bratislava. The development of this nationality since 1989 has been characterized by growth and revitalization in the areas of culture, language, and traditions, receiving significant support from organizations and cultural institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Numerous smaller national minorities – Poles, Russians, Bulgarians, Romanians and others – are not found in significant concentration anywhere in Slovakia.

The return to the system of a democratic society has significantly affected the life of national minorities. Because mechanisms to respond to the legitimate demands of minorities could not be formed in the short term, the search for an appropriate strategy to realize nationality rights did not occur without conflict, with many members of minorities perceiving the quick loss of certainties – albeit furnished by the totalitarian state, expressed in “internationalist” terms and formally limited – as an injustice.<sup>11</sup>

## **Slovak-Magyar relations**

Convictions about negative historical inheritance constitute the core around which standard images of Slovak-Magyar relations are formed. Problematic for mutual understanding between Slovaks and Magyars are diverging interpretations of coexistence in the Hungarian state and in Austria-Hungary. There are also significant differences in evaluations of the handling of minority issues in the period 1948-1989, with Slovaks tending to evaluate positively the same policies which Magyars view quite negatively.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> MANN, Arne: Problém identity Rómov. In: Gabriela Kiliánová (ed.): *Identita etnických spoločenských: Výsledky etnologických výskumov*. Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV 1998, s. 45.

<sup>11</sup> SOKOLOVÁ, Gabriela - HERNOVÁ, Šárka - ŠRAJEROVÁ, Oľga - BORÁK, Mečislav - SOMMER, Karel: *Češi, Slováci a Poláci na Těšinsku a jejich vzájemné vztahy*. Opava: Tilia 1997, s. 30.

<sup>12</sup> ZELOVÁ, Alena - BAČOVÁ, Viera - ŠUTAJ, Štefan - VÝROST, Jozef: *Interpretácia slovensko - maďarských vzťahov v súvislosti s vybranými charakteristikami*. Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1992, s. 85 - 87, 106.

The level of Slovak-Magyar relations since 1990 has been negatively affected by mutual recriminations. Widespread among Slovaks is the view that Magyars are insufficiently loyal to the Slovak Republic. Additionally, Slovaks and Magyars give divergent evaluations of the position and rights of the Magyar minority. Whereas Slovaks consider the position of the Magyar minority to be excellent, Magyars see their own rights as limited. These divergences have manifested themselves as well in the low degree of tolerance among Slovaks toward bilingual signs in ethnically mixed areas and toward the request that names and surnames be written in the Hungarian language.<sup>13</sup>

Differences are also evident in evaluations of the Slovak government's policy toward minorities. Whereas critical attitudes predominate among citizens with Magyar nationality, Slovaks claim that these policies correspond to the same international standards which only a minority of Slovaks actually accept.

In this light, the Slovak population of the newly independent Slovak Republic could be divided into three groups, characterized as follows:

- a) predominantly cooperative attitude with a tolerant attitude toward the Magyar minority (21%);
- b) ambivalent or reserved attitude (41%);
- c) predominantly combative to intolerant attitude (38%).

These divergent attitudes do not vary according to social-demographic factors, but are conditioned by people's broader value orientation. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that prejudices and aversion toward Magyars manifest themselves more often among Slovaks in ethnically homogeneous environments than among those in ethnically mixed regions. Inhabitants of the latter regions also take less seriously politicians' artificial dramatization of Slovak-Magyar relations.<sup>14</sup>

Neither the circumstances surrounding the passing of the law on the state language (1995) nor those around the new administrative-territorial division of Slovakia contributed to a smoothing of mutual relations.

Among Slovaks and Magyars predominate both a high degree of support for the demands of one's own nationality and considerable resistance to the demands of the

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<sup>13</sup> Slovensko rok po. Cesty a križovatky nového štátu očami jeho obyvateľov. Sociologické nakladateľstvi, Praha 1994, s.45 - 46.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, s. 49. ŠOUKOVÁ, Dana: Občania maďarskej národnosti vo svetle výskumov verejnej mienky. In: Etnické menšiny na Slovensku. Ed. V. Paukovič. Košice 1991, s. 33 - 34.



other side. Attempts by one side to solve problems of the nationality in question are perceived by the other side as confrontational, leading to the escalation of ethnic tensions. Slovaks consider the rights of the Magyar nationality to be excellent in comparison with the position of the Slovak nationality in Hungary and demand that reciprocity be applied.<sup>15</sup>

In politics, the situation of the Magyar minority changed radically in connection with the parliamentary elections of fall 1994, when three political parties of the Slovak Republic's Magyar minority (Coexistence, the Magyar Christian-Democratic Union, and the Magyar Civic Party) formed an electoral coalition which won 10,12% of all votes, making it the third strongest political party in Slovakia.<sup>16</sup> The Magyar Coalition Party was formed from this electoral union, and is now one of the most stable political parties in Slovakia.

At the threshold between the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the Magyar minority is a stable and integrated components of Slovak society. Its political and civil position is a sensitive barometer of government policy and the general approach of the state toward national minorities, in effect indicating whether the government favors the civil-democratic or rather the national principle in its approach.

## **Relations between mainstream society and Roms**

The Romani minority has no motherland in Europe, but members of the Romani nationality live in varying numbers in the majority of European countries.

The attempt to integrate Roms into mainstream society in the period 1945-1990 was unsuccessful, resulting in the current social and cultural degeneration of Romani communities and regions. Slovakia occupies first place in the relative proportion of Roms in the population of the country.

The first postwar census of Roms in the CSR was conducted in 1947 by the Ministry of the Interior. Further censuses of Roms were conducted in the years 1966-1968. In the 1970 and 1980 censuses of the general population, designation

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<sup>15</sup> FRIC, Pavol: Problém soužití Slováků a Maďarů na Slovensku v polovině 90. let. . In: Gabal, Ivan a kolektiv: Etnické menšiny ve střední Evropě: konflikt nebo integrace. Praha: G plus G, 1999, s. 224.

<sup>16</sup> HUNČÍK, Peter: Maďarská menšina ve Slovenské republice. In: Gabal, Ivan a kolektiv: Etnické menšiny ve střední Evropě: konflikt nebo integrace. Praha: G plus G, 1999, s. 216.

of Gypsies as such was left to census takers, with statistics on the Gypsy population calculated separately. The census of 1991 brought the first possibility to declare oneself Rom, also bringing a change in data on the number of Roms. According to the data of the people's committees, the Romani population of Slovakia was 253 943 (4,8% of all inhabitants of Slovakia). Romani organizations estimate the Romani population to be 400-500 thousand.<sup>17</sup>

In contradistinction to all other minorities, the Romani population is quite young and has a consistently progressive character. The postwar census of Roms in 1947 put the proportion of children among the Romani population at 39,3%. At the census of Roms in 1966-68, on the other hand, children constituted 50-51% of the Romani population, with this proportion stabilizing in the 1980s around 43%. At present, the fertility of the Romani population is again on the increase, particularly in the most backward Romani settlements. Located primarily in Eastern Slovakia, these settlements have the highest concentration of socially, culturally, and physically handicapped persons.

Measures taken to raise the educational level of Roms have also been insufficient. The issue of further educating Roms is key to changing this minority's demographic behavior and to stemming the growth of the unhealthy Romani population, as is shown by the behavior of educated members of the Romani minority according to the same family model favored by the majority population.<sup>18</sup> Romani ethnocultural development since 1989 has been affected by factors working in mutual contradiction. As a result of Roms' concentration in the ranks of low-skilled workers and consequent inability to find employment, their economic situation has worsened. At the same time, certain barriers to the Roms' ethnocultural development and to the development of ethnic consciousness have been removed. Still, the process of ethnic emancipation among Roms is still in the early stages.

The economic and social results of the transformation of society at large have affected Roms more deeply and more negatively than they have affected the

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<sup>17</sup> MANN, Arne B.: Formovanie etnickej identity Rómov na Slovensku. In: Plichtová, J. (Ed.): *Minority v politike. Kultúrne a jazykové práva. Česko-slovenský výbor Európskej kultúrnej nadácie*, Bratislava 1992, s. 237-241.

<sup>18</sup> JUROVÁ, Anna: *Rómska problematika 1945 - 1967. Dokumenty, Zv. 1 - 4*. Praha 1996., Jurová, A.: *Die Roma in der Slowakei nach 1945*. In: *Ethnos - Nation*. Köln, 2 Jahrgang. Heft 2, 1994, 29 - 48., Jurová, A.: *Cigányok - Rómak Slovákiaiban*. In: *Regio. Kissegségi Szemle*, 1996, 2, 35 - 56.

majority population. Before 1989, the majority of Roms had inadequate skills or no skills. In the present conditions, this hurts Roms' chances for employment, as does their low degree of work discipline. Additionally, Roms meet with various forms of discrimination in presenting themselves for employment. Construction, technical services and other economic sectors which in the past offered employment possibilities for less skilled workers are at a standstill, rendering impossible the creation of jobs for the Romani population.<sup>19</sup>

In isolated Romani settlements, the number of persons apathetic toward both themselves and others is growing. These persons are mentally numb and vacant, lacking in internal motivation and purpose in life.<sup>20</sup>

This situation has real potential to lead to a tremendous growth in social problems the management of which would require considerable effort, placing enormous stress on human, material, and financial sources.

The extremely poor position of Roms is caused primarily by the following factors:

- Roms are a minority without an elite;
- Roms are a minority without relevant political representation;
- Roms are a marginalized minority;
- Roms are a minority corresponding to the lowest social layers;
- Roms are a minority at extremely great social distance from the majority population; and
- Roms are a minority cut off from their roots.<sup>21</sup>

In general, relations between Roms and mainstream society are poor. Such relations are marked by ethnic stereotypes and closed-mindedness, mutual antipathy, and mistrust to the point of hostility, including racial discrimination. Also significant is the overall increase in criminality, in which Roms participate to a significant extent. Feelings of being confronted with threats (to property, health, and life) have led people to advocate that problems be solved in radical fashion. This applies also

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<sup>19</sup> JUROVÁ, Anna: Sociálne postavenie Rómov na Slovensku - jeho determinanty a podmienky zmien. In: Slezský sborník 93 - 1995 - 1, s. 151.

<sup>20</sup> Mann, Arne: Duchovný rozvoj - podmienka urýchlenia spoločenského rastu rómskeho obyvateľstva na Slovensku. In: Slezský sborník 93 - 1995 - 1, s.160.

<sup>21</sup> VAGÁČ, L. (ed.): Národná správa o ľudskom rozvoji. Slovensko 1998. Bratislava: United Nations Development Programme 1998. Cited in Slovensko 1998-1999: Súhrnná správa o stave spoločnosti. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, 1999, s. 177.

to ideas about solving the Romani question with an „iron fist“ – repression combined with discrimination and isolation.<sup>22</sup>

All of this provides fertile ground for racist and other non-democratic phenomena, including not only the terrorist actions of skinheads, but also certain materials publicized in the mass media.

The resistance of Slovakia's other inhabitants (including minorities) to Roms is extraordinarily strong. Roms find themselves confronted with great disdain on the part of all other nationalities and occupy the lowest position in the hierarchy of social status.<sup>23</sup>

Social distance toward Roms is great among practically all social strata, irrespective of age, education, sex, economic activity, political orientation, and religion.<sup>24</sup>

One factor behind the „tough prescriptions“ is the phenomenon of a particular twist of logic which has spread as a result of the failure of numerous attempts to solve the Romani problem in recent decades. Additionally, no convincing positive alternative has been offered and non-solution of the problem continues. Also contributing to the apparent dead end is the Romani population's lack of unity, which impedes the articulation of policy addressed specifically to the needs and interests of the Romani community.<sup>25</sup> At the end of 2000, there were seventeen Romani political parties and nearly 40 Romani nongovernmental organizations.<sup>26</sup>

## Czechs

With the division of Czecho-Slovakia in 1993, Czechs in Slovakia were transformed from a state-forming nation into a national minority. Extremely similar cultural environments, common history, linguistic proximity and other factors account for the extremely high quality of relations between Czechs and Slovaks. Controversial

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<sup>22</sup> Slovensko rok po, s. 52.

<sup>23</sup> BAČOVÁ, Viera: Rómska minorita na Slovensku v súčasnosti. In: Etnické menšiny na Slovensku. Ed.: V. Paukovič. Košice 1991, s.119.

<sup>24</sup> Slovensko rok po, s. 52.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., s. 54.

<sup>26</sup> In preparation for the 2002 parliamentary elections, representatives of 37 Romani nongovernmental organizations signed an agreement to offer a single program. VAŠEČKA, Michal: Rómska politická scéna. Dilema: spoločensko-kultúrny mesačník, č. 12, december 2000, s. 27.

issues connected to the division of the Czecho-Slovak Federal Republic have been treated as problems between states and consequently have had no negative effect on interpersonal relations. In much the same way as Slovaks in the Czech Republic, citizens of Czech nationality in Slovakia have the opportunity for complete realization of their minority rights. The extremely favorable character of the Czech minority's conditions in Slovakia is largely a result of mutual effort for positive interstate relations on the part of political representatives of both Czech and Slovak Republics.

## **Relations within the Rusin community in Slovakia**

A noteworthy aspect of the ethnic situation in Slovakia after 1989 is the division of the Ukrainian ethnic minority (until then officially accepted as unitary) into two parts with separate identities.<sup>27</sup> According to the 1991 census, Rusin ethnicity was declared by 16 570 persons (1,18%), Ukrainian by 12 188 (0,87%) persons. The ratio of Rusins to Ukrainians changed during the last forty years from 4:1 to 3:2.<sup>28</sup> The solution of the rift between these two groups is further complicated by fact that there are no objective criteria for distinguishing between Rusin and Ukrainian ethnicity. Both groups share common territory, history, culture, and religion, also communicating using the same dialect.

The leaders of the Ukrainian community are willing to respect so-called "cultural Ruthenism", which they understand as a historic and cultural component of Ukrainian identity, but they interpret so-called "political Ruthenism" as a threat to Ukrainian nation and state. On the other hand, the Rusin representatives declare respect for all citizens who consider themselves Ukrainian and that they respect the Ukrainian nation, but claim that Rusins are not part of that nation.<sup>29</sup>

The birth of the Ukrainian movement in Slovakia in 1990 aroused a certain level of sympathy on the part of majority society. In common perception, previous official

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<sup>27</sup> DULEBA, Alexander: "Rusínska" otázka a jej hrany. In: OS-Fórum občianskej spoločnosti. Jún 1997/2, s. 45 a n.

<sup>28</sup> Slovenský národný archív, fond Povereníctvo vnútra, Sekretariát povereníka, inv. č. 121, kart. 204. Sčítanie obyvateľstva v rokoch 1930 a 1950 podľa obcí. Kraj č. 19 Prešovský a Podklady Krajskej správy Štatistického úradu Slovenskej republiky v Košiciach spracované pre Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV v Košiciach.

<sup>29</sup> MAGOCSI, Paul Robert: Birth of a New Nation, or the Return of an old Problem? The Rusyns of East Central Europe. In: Canadian Slavonic Papers /Revue canadienne des slavistes. Vol. XXXIV, September 1992, No 3, p. 209.

representation of the Ukrainian minority was connected with the communist nomenclature and was frequently observed — though not deservedly — to constitute the “fifth column” of the Soviet Union. However, this temporary advantage could not remove all problems connected with the development of the national life of Rusins.

The Rusin community suffered, especially in the early stages of development, from a lack of leading personalities. Consisting of persons from Slovak and partially Ukrainianized cultural environments, contemporary Rusin leadership lacks public-relations experience. Also lacking was the broad organizational base comparable to the Ukrainian community’s platform, consisting perhaps most notably the Union of Rusins – Ukrainians of the Slovak Republic. Founded in 1990, Rusin Revival has thus far constituted more a free union of Rusin activists than a firm and vertically structured organization. This is true also of the Union of the Rusin Intelligentsia of Slovakia and recently renewed Russian Club.<sup>30</sup> A more significant role is played by the Rusin press, namely the weekly *Narodny novynky* and the monthly *Rusin*.

The social and regional structure of the Rusin community also poses an obstacle to its development. Persons of Rusin orientation live mostly in small villages or towns and are consequently disadvantaged by the rustic mode of life of North-East Slovakia, as economic difficulties in Slovak agriculture connected to recession and high unemployment exert a negative influence on the development of ethnic activities. These difficulties are exacerbated by the insufficient communication network and obsolete infrastructure which characterize the region.

Persons of Ukrainian orientation, on the other hand, are mostly city dwellers with a higher level of education. With respect to professional structure, the majority of Ukrainians belong to the category of administrative employees (working in either in state or non-governmental institutions), who have higher standards of living and enjoy stronger social influence.

The representation of the Ukrainian wing also has considerably stronger international backing. It can draw support from Ukraine and from numerous Ukrainian diasporas around the globe who for almost eighty years have been an active part of various Ukrainian movements. By way of contrast, Rusin organizations must struggle to protect their very existence. Because Rusin

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<sup>30</sup> Duleba, Peter: Rusini a Ukrajinci ma severovýchode Slovenska: organizácia a elity. In: Politický systém Slovenskej republiky: stav - kontexty - perspektíva. Ed.: Marcela Gbúrová. Prešov: Katedra sociálno-politologických vied Prešovskej univerzity, 1997, s. 94-101.

emigration occurred earlier, the Rusin diaspora is more assimilated and less motivated to bolster the Rusin cause. As a result, Rusins in Slovakia tend to receive help from abroad mostly in the forms of scientific advice and moral support.

As the community with the highest share of university-educated members in the Slovak Republic, the Ukrainian wing has considerable intellectual potential. Cultural associations and associations of writers and scientists also play an important role in mobilizing the ethnic Ukrainian community. Among these organizations, T. Ševčenko's *Scientific Society* occupies a prominent place.

The Rusin representation devotes much of its energy and resources to codifying the Rusin language and to instilling it among the members of this ethnic group. In spite of the fact that the Rusin language exhibits a number of similarities to dialects of North-Eastern Slovakia, it is at a disadvantage with respect to the Ukrainian language, which has greater significance as the mother tongue of fifty million people. For this and other reasons the Ukrainian language is somewhat more venerable, despite the fact that only an Ukrainian intellectual elite is using this language as a medium of communication.

After the codification of the Rusin language in January of 1995, the Rusin Revival activists struggled to establish this language as a teaching language in schools where parents requested it.

As a result of various obstacles and administrative impediments, the non-compulsory subject *Rusin language and literature* was integrated into the curriculum of twelve schools only in September 1997. Further, this endeavour brought only meager results, with only 50 pupils studying the Rusin language in the 1998-99 school year.<sup>31</sup>

Representatives of the Rusin community were somewhat more successful in the creation of other institutions: the Department of Rusin Language at State Pedagogical Institute, the Department of Rusin Language at the Center for Methods in Prešov, and, from 1. September 1998, the Department of Rusin Language and Culture at Institute of Ethnic Studies and Foreign Languages at the University of Prešov. Rusin activists are currently working to create of chair of Rusin language, which would prepare teachers and became a base for research activities.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> GAJDOŠ, Marián: Ukrajinské a rusínske národnostné školstvo na Slovensku (1945 - 1999). In: Človek a spoločnosť III-2000-1. Internetový časopis pre pôvodné teoretické a výskumné štúdie z oblasti spoločenských vied (<http://www.saske.sk/cas/1-2000>).

<sup>32</sup> PLIŠKOVA, Anna: Istoričnyj začatok pro rusínske školstvo. Rusyn, č. 1-2/1999, s. 13-15.

The increase in tensions between leaders of Rusin and Ukrainian movements has manifested itself in a struggle for a greater share of influence in mass media and in cultural institutions. Whereas, for example, the Museum of Ukrainian/Rusin Culture in Svidník retained its Ukrainian orientation despite criticism from the Rusin elite, the Theatre of A. Duchnovič in Prešov became a spiritual center for Rusins. Additionally, although ethnic programming on Slovak Radio is managed by an ethnic Slovak, disputes in regard to character of broadcast and use of language in radio persists between pro-Rusin and pro-Ukrainian adherents.

The leading organizations of both orientations – Union of Rusins/Ukrainians of Slovak Republic and Rusin Revival – are active in the same space and are consequently natural competitors. Moreover, both sides have a tendency to politicize their stands instead of taking a pragmatic approach to issues. Lacking the willingness to look for compromises, neither side shows ability to be tolerant of other, with the result an inability to coordinate activities when the minority most needs them.

The relevance of ethnic minorities in Slovak Republic is given not by their size, but by their unique characteristics. Addressing the problems of Slovakia's national minorities in schematic fashion, we might say that whereas the problems of the Magyar minority has thus far come primarily from without, the problems of Roms are both internal and external in origin. In the case of Rusins and Ukrainians, the predominance of controversies over the group's own identity is such that the problems of this minority come primarily from within. Here, it is important to mention that neither the pro-Ukrainian nor the pro-Rusian orientation constitutes a threat to the territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic.

## **Conclusion**

- At the beginning of the twenty-first century, ethnic processes occupy a more prominent place in the Slovak Republic than they occupied in the preceding fifty years.
- Changes have occurred both in the content of national awareness and in the place of such awareness in the value hierarchy.
- The process of democratization has been reflected in the sphere of ethnicity, most deeply affecting ethnic minorities.
- New stereotypes have formed within the various national minorities, among them the perception that members of the ethnic majority bear primary responsibility for problems in ethnic relations.



- New barriers have appeared in majority-minority relations, but these manifest themselves more in the macro-environment than in the micro-environment. In interethnic relations between individuals, tolerance and mutual understanding is the rule.
- National minorities have become more sensitive to assimilationist tendencies and to the possible means of addressing ethnic issues in general.

The census, which will be realized in the year 2001, will probably show an increased share of minority members in Slovakia. It is reasonable to expect that this increase will be greatest in the Romani minority, with this expectation based on Roms' high birth rate and the probable impact of growing ethnic awareness. In similar fashion, leaders of other ethnic communities expect an increase in the size of their respective ethnic groups as a result of increased ethnic awareness. Nonetheless, it is necessary to take into consideration also processes of natural assimilation, especially among the members of smaller ethnic groups.

## **Aleksander Kolańczuk**

### ***Ukrainian Minority in Poland***

As a result of the First World War Poland, after over a hundred years of servitude, gained independence. The Ukrainians had the same goal and they also started a struggle to achieve it. Both nations claimed a right to the border territories, which had belonged to Poland since XIVc. In East Galicia, which had been ruled by Austro-Hungarian Empire since XIXc, the Ukrainians were allowed to create their own national, political and cultural organizations so the fights there were especially intense and desperate. The nations linked in Entente Cordiale played a mediatory role in this conflict but final decisions were made not before 1923. Meanwhile, the negotiations were carrying on, as well as Polish-Ukrainian political and military alliance was signed in 1920 in order to take part in the war against Bolshevik's Russia. After this war Poland gained advantageous east frontier, but the alliance with Ukraine was broken. 30 thousand Ukrainian soldiers were put in internment camps. Signing the Riga Peace Treaty on 18th March 1921 Poland did not acknowledged the People's Republic of Ukraine. It caused increasing agitation among interned soldiers, National Centre of People's

Republic of Ukraine in exile in Tarnow, West Ukrainian People's Republic government as well as population of East Galicia. That unrest was expressed by boycotting elections to Polish Parliament in 1922 and founding an underground Ukrainian university in Lvov. In 1923 the Ambassador's Council decided to give Poland administrative power in East Galicia what caused even more agitation. After dissolution of internment camps former Ukrainian soldiers got nothing, while their Polish comrades in arms received farms in Volyn. People who took part in Polish-Ukrainian war 1918-1919 were not allowed to study at Lvov University. The

Ukrainians were called the Ruthenians by government order and the name of East Galicia was changed into Little Poland. More than 2,000 schools out of 2,500 existing before the war were closed down.

The Catholic Church hierarchs also did nothing to improve the situation and often made it even worse. When in May, 1920 metropolitan Szeptycki asked Warsaw metropolitan Archbishop Aleksander Kakowski for help in releasing 498 Greek Catholic priests who were interned during Polish-Ukrainian war 1918-1919, archbishop said that "all these priests and monks deserve gallows". Achilles Ratti, who was a nuncio in Warsaw, commenting on this Statement said that "Polish chauvinism blinds even church dignitaries". Members of Orthodox Church also

suffered. In the area of Chelmszczyzna and Podlasie, from where 300,000 Orthodox Ukrainians were deported to Russia in 1915 in consequence of ethnic cleansing, 149 Orthodox Churches were converted into Catholic ones, 111 were closed down, 72 burned or demolished. /out of 389 existing in 1914/. In 1938 further 120 churches were destroyed. All Ukrainian schools founded in 1917-1918 were closed down.

In 1930s special units were formed to polonize areas where Ukrainian population dominated. They dissolved all educational organizations and schools. Villages were pacified. As a result Ukrainian national organizations had become more appealing. At the outbreak of war when Nazis invaded Poland in 1939 all Ukrainian national organizations remained loyal and appealed to 5 million Ukrainian population to fight in defence of Poland. 150,000 Ukrainians were in Polish Army including several dozen officers who had fought in the war in 1920. They cast their lot with Polish soldiers as prisoners of war. Unfortunately during World War II the situation from World War I was repeated. Illegal military units of both countries, Poland and Ukraine, started to fight for border territory hoping that it would change the frontier after the war. But it turned out to be completely useless and resulted only in the great loss of life on both sides which increased hatred and bitterness which were intensified by post war territorial solutions and deportations.

At Yalta and Potsdam Conferences the frontiers of Poland were settled and there were 700,000 Ukrainians living within them. As a result of agreement concerning exchanging population between Ukrainian Socialist Republic and Polish Committee of National Liberation 200,000 Ukrainians left Poland voluntarily in 1945 and further 280,000 were deported with help of Polish Army in 1945 and 1946. In 1947 150,000 were displaced by force on the terms of "Vistula Operation" to 74 poviats in 9 voivodships in northern and western Poland. It was said that "Vistula Operation" was to eliminate Ukrainian nationalist underground but now there are no doubts that the authorities wanted to liquidate Ukrainian minority in Poland. According to secret instruction of Polish authorities displacement should have resulted in assimilation in a new surrounding. During this forced deportation almost 4,000 people including 700 women and children and 70 Greek Catholic and Orthodox priests were arrested and put in concentration camp in Jaworzno. 200 of them died of hunger, diseases and torture. The military court sentenced 364 civilians to death and 173 of them were executed. Even in 1950 under a cryptonym "Vistula" inhabitants of 4 villages in Lemkowszczyzna were displaced. Hundreds of villages were burned during this operation. More than 300 Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches of historical value were burned or demolished, 200 were converted into Catholic churches but the icons and iconostases were destroyed.

The Ukrainians were scattered in several thousands villages among Polish who were often repatriates from Volyn and Galicia remembering tragic events from 1943-44 what resulted in considering Ukrainians bandits. Anti-Ukrainian propaganda was also present in mass media. Ukrainian soldiers and church were to blame even for the defeat of Warsaw Uprising in 1944. Schoolchildren and students were forced to reading anti-Ukrainian books such as “Głows in Bieszczady”/”Luny w Bieszczadach”/ which was also filmed /”Sergeant major Kalen”-“Ogniomistrz Kalen”/and shown in the cinemas and on Polish TV. The Ukrainians were not allowed to leave the places of deportation. They did not have their own schools or churches.

All minorities in Poland had hope for changing their situation after transformations in 1956-58. Central Committee of the Polish United Workers` Party decided to establish government Committee for Minorities Affairs. Authorities also allowed 20,000 people deported in 1947 to return to their previous homes and enabled creating Social and Cultural Ukrainian Society /UTSK/ with superior authority of Ministry of Internal Affairs. Ukrainians started to edit a weekly magazine “Our Word”/”Nasze Slowo”/. Meanwhile government committee stopped spontaneous returns and promised to organise them. But instead local authorities did not give back Ukrainians their farms and property and created problems with formal affairs. Government did not want massive returns so they even gave Ukrainians in northern and western Poland some financial help for repairing buildings, enabled them to learn their mother tongue and organise artistic groups. In Bartoszyce and Szczecin schools for future teachers were opened.

But beside these positive aspects in autumn 1957 propaganda against Ukrainian activists started. This process increased in 1970s when a new theory of “moral and political homogeneity of Polish nation “ was created .In a consequence the number of places where children could learn Ukrainian fell down from 82 in 1956 to 37 in 1977. The Security Forces kept Ukrainian population under strict surveillance. General Oliwa speaking in Sejm warned of possible danger from Ukrainian organisations under the banner of trident /Ukrainian national emblem/. The number of anti-Ukrainian literature rapidly increased and in 40 post war years it included over 50 memoirs, 60 scientific works, 10 titles/edition 100,000 each/in a popular book series Yellow Tiger /Zolty Tygrys/ and over 60 novels which were very offensive.

New hopes aroused in 1980s when a worker-run trade union Solidarity was established in Poland. Young Ukrainian intellectuals started to set up their own societies such as

- Ukrainian Christian Brotherhood /1989/
- Independent Ukrainian Youth Association /1989/
- Association of Lemkowie /1989/-they publish a magazine “Revelry”
- Ukrainian Scouting Organisation Plast /1990/
- Association “National Home” in Przemysl /1990/
- Ukrainian Physicians` Association /1990/
- Association of Ukrainian Women /1990/
- Ukrainian Teachers` Association /1991/
- Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners /1991/
- Ukrainian Lawyers` Club /1991/
- B. Lepki Association in Cracow /1991/

Round table debates in 1989 became a turning point for Ukrainian minority in Poland as many Ukrainian representatives including priests took part in them. In February 1990 a new organisation Ukrainians` Association in Poland was established. Shortly after Lemkowie Union was created and they started to edit “Watra Magazine”; in Podlasie- Association of Ukrainians of Podlasie with their magazine “Nad Buhom i Narwoju”.

In 1989 dr Włodzimierz Mokry, who was elected to Sejm, established St Włodzimierz Foundation, which has become a centre of Ukrainian culture and Polish-Ukrainian friendly relations. This foundation publishes magazines such as “Among Neighbours”, ”Cracow Ukrainian Papers”, organises symposiums for young scientists and students from Poland and Ukraine. It is possible with a great help from the students of Ukrainian Studies at Jagiellonian University in Cracow. Ukrainian Studies are also in Warsaw, Lublin and Poznan.

The most difficult problem is teaching Ukrainian in primary schools because the Ukrainian minority is very scattered and only a small part of children have possibility to learn their mother tongue. Local authorities also do not help explaining to parents that their children would have too much to learn. Ukrainian school in Przemysl had difficulties because radical chauvinist organisations as well as some members of parliament wanted to close it down. At the moment there are similar problems in north Podlasie. There are only 4 Ukrainian secondary schools in Poland: Bialy Bor, Przemysl, Legnica, Gorowo Ilaweckie, so for many children it is not possible to learn in their mother tongue.

In Poland 3523 pupils learn in Ukrainian /10% of children of Ukrainian descent/  
 279 pupils in 4 primary schools  
 158 pupils in 6 gymnasiums  
 529 pupils in 4 lyceums

The rest of them have Ukrainian classes in 82 primary schools.

In some primary schools in Lemkowszczyzna region children are taught in Lemko dialect, but because of lack of money caused mostly by unemployment very few of them go to Ukrainian secondary schools which are far from their homes. There are also problems with Ukrainian teachers who do not have enough classes to be employed full-time.

Amateur dramatics` societies have played a very important role in preserving ethnic identity and culture. There are a lot of choirs and bands which have public recognition and international reputation such as men`s choir Zuravli, bands Lemkovyna, Oslawiany, Kiczera, Ranok, Dumka, Czeremosz, Bandura, Namysto, Orden, Syntahma, Chutir and many others. Ukrainian Culture Festival is held every second year and there are also annual festivals such as Lemkowska Watra in Zdynia, Bytivska Watra in Bytov, Podliska Osin, which gather from 5 to 10 thousand spectators from all over Poland. These festivals are an excellent opportunity to meet friends and relatives. Ukrainian schools have also their own artistic groups and choirs. Unfortunately even cultural activity sometimes causes anti-Ukrainian riots. In Przemyśl Town council wanted to prevent organising Ukrainian Culture Festival and in the end when the matter was positively settled there were still a few protesters who set fire to the Ukrainian Culture Club and to the artists` coach and threw petards into artists` bedrooms. These events became known nation wide.

At the same time radical nationalist organisations from Przemyśl wanted to dissolve Ukrainians` Association in Poland. 20 activists from this association were interrogated by the public prosecutor`s office and although the investigation was stopped Ukrainians were very offended.

Ukrainian population in Poland belongs to Greek Catholic Church and Orthodox Church. Orthodox Church has two dioceses with Ukrainian majority: Przemyśl-Nowy Sacz established in 1983 and Chelm-Lublin reactivated in 1989. Przemyśl-Nowy Sacz diocese saved 24 Orthodox churches from liquidation and the congregation from being polonized. In 1956 Greek Catholic Church dissolved in 1946 was reactivated. In 1989 Jan Martyniak was appointed a bishop. It provoked a conflict between Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic over Greek Catholic Cathedral. Roman Catholic did not give back the building to its legal owner. They did not allow ordaining Jan Martyniak a bishop in this cathedral. When the Pope John Paul II came to Przemyśl and wanted to meet Greek Catholics there Roman Catholic prevented it. They also demolished the miniature of the dome of St Peter`s Cathedral in Rome. Greek Catholic received another church but the conflict has not

stopped yet. There are some protesters who prevent building a belfry at the new Greek Catholic Cathedral. Greek Catholic Church in Poland has 150 parishes and the congregation consists of 100,000-110,000 people. It helps Ukrainian minority to preserve their ethnic identity and language. Another matter of deep concern is renovating and preserving neglected cemeteries and individual graves of Ukrainian soldiers and churches. These problems are being solved in Polish-Ukrainian talks. Ukrainian minority in Poland is still waiting for parliament resolution admitting “Vistula Operation “ to have been ethnic cleansing.

**Emil Micu & Lidia Elena Kozma**  
***The Role of Education in Developing Interethnic Relations and the Preservation of the National Cultural Identity in the Carpathian Euroregion***

Motto:

*Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.*

(Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

In the twenty-first century, the role of education, in particularly, of the universities, will be more important in solving the crises facing society. Education, a prerequisite to social and economic advancement, a key instrument to bringing changes in cultural attitudes, shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups.

Recomandation No 78 of the 43rd International Conference of Education (1992), addressed to the Ministries of Education and Culture, emphasizes the implementation of relevant measures with regard to peace and tolerance, respect of the peoples and their cultures, global problems, inter-multicultural education, and makes provisions for strategies on national level, as well as for strengthening regional and international co-operation.

In the Romanian educational systems, as of 1998, the priorities of Ministry of Education were the adoption of international human rights standards with regards to the rights of minorities, the preservation of culture and minorities language. Education in minority language (Hungarian, German, Ukrainian, Serb, Turkish, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Hebrew) is centred on the cultivation of the cultural linguistic identity in a democratic Romania, integrated into European architecture, favouring dialogue and diversity.

The objectives of the Decade for Human Rights Education (1995/2004) include strengthening respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms; promoting the full development of human personality and the sense of its dignity; and promoting understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups; achieving a synthesis between humanity's universal culture and the pluralism of various people's cultural identity.



All over the world it is recognised that interethnic and inter-religious tolerance is everlasting values of civilisation and humanism. Education has to actively foster “citizens of the globe” - global citizens- who can think and act in favour of the welfare of humanity as a whole, and not only in the interest of their own country or their own ethnic minority.

The education for peace, non-violence and tolerance needs to be applied in all segments of society, starting with the most important institution - the family - and continuing with school, faculty, media, literature, cinema, television, to eliminate violence in language and arts. The school and family must educate children and youth to respect the dignity of the human being and the ethnic minorities culture.

In many countries of South Eastern Europe, especially in the former communist countries from the Balkan area, the last decade has manifested a recurrence of ethnic, religious and linguistic conflicts. But the restored democracy, after a totalitarian experience, the institutional autonomy and academic freedom are capable of starting a healthy institutional construction and to acquire the actual shape toward inter- and multicultural education.

In the Romanian Constitution the right to identity is stipulated. 1. The state acknowledges and assures the right to keep, develop and express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity to people belonging to national minorities. 2. The state’s protection measures for keeping, developing and expressing the identity of people belonging to national minorities must correspond to the equality and non-discrimination principles referenced to the other Romanian citizens. (Art. 6) The right to education. 3. The right of people belonging to national minorities, to learn in their own mother tongue, and the right to be educated in this language are guaranteed. The modalities to pursue these rights are established by the law. (Art. 32)

In the Law of Education it is provided that, persons belonging to national minorities have the right to study and get educated in their mother tongue, at all levels and forms of education, under the stipulations of the present law, as well as for the education types for which there is enough requirement, in the stipulation of the law. (Art. 118)

1. Within public universities, groups, sections, colleges and faculties with teaching in minority languages can be organised, under the conditions of law, on demand. In this case, the learning of the specific terminology in Romanian will be ensured. On demand and within a legal framework, multicultural higher education institutions can be established. The languages of teaching in these institutions are specified within the establishment laws. 2. It is hereby recognised that people

belonging to national minorities have the right to establish and administer their own private higher education institutions, as in accordance with law. 3. They do hereby encourage higher education institutions with multicultural structures and activities to promote harmonious interethnic living and integration on national and European level. 4. Any Romanian Citizen can register and train in all forms of education in Romanian or in any minority language, regardless of his mother tongue or the one in which former studies were completed. (Art. 123)

1. Depending on the local necessities, there can be organised, as requested and stipulated by law, groups, classes, departments or schools with teaching in the language of the national minorities. 2 The stipulations of the 1st paragraph of this article will apply without any prejudice, being brought to the learning of the official language and to the teaching in this language (119).

The Ministry of National Education has taken several important steps in respect to human rights concerning education, with a special outlook to minorities, the preservation of culture and language, the right to attend any form of education by all citizens regardless of race, religion, nationality or gender.

The Ministry has also adopted measures of specific significance. These refer to the elaboration of schoolbooks about the history and tradition of minorities in Romania, launching a program of schoolbooks translated into Romanian, co-operation with other countries in the elaboration of schoolbooks or the adopting of schoolbooks from other countries with the authorisation of the Ministry of National Education. There is the Romanian-Hungarian Foundation for Youth project in implementation. The group of pedagogical research in Hungarian has been re-established at the Institute of Sciences in Education. The Centre for Continuing Education in German has been established at Medias, applying the co-operation agreement with Germany in education. The equivalence agreement of certificates and diplomas with Hungary has been forwarded to the Parliament. The equivalence agreement with Slovakia has been signed and negotiation for similar agreements with other neighbouring countries has started. A program of positive discrimination of Roma people has been launched to satisfy their desire to study in highschoools and faculties, for their social and professional integration. The education of the Roma people changes through the effort to reduce school abandon and application of positive discrimination measures in highschoools and universities, in order to support their wish to create their own intellectual elite.

In the National Councils, that assist the Ministry of National Education, the representation of specialists from the education in national minority languages has been

granted. All the initiatives and applications of staff, pupils and students of national minorities, elaborated according to today's legislation, have been promoted and attended to by the Ministry. Specific measures for education in the languages of the national minorities have been applied. The year 1998/1999 was the year of reorganising the school network, an operation which yields response to the existing requirements forms (grades), sections, school units in Ukrainian, German, Turkish, Serb, Polish etc. Romania has applied the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (1998).

The percentage of the nationalities in the Romanian multicultural Society is the following: Romanians - 89.4%, Hungarians - 7.1%, Germans - 0.5%, Turks - 0.1%, Ukrainians - 0.3%. Reported to this situation, the number of school units/ departments from the kindergartens, schools and highschoools with teaching in minority languages is the following:

Teaching language	Total of school units and departments	%	Total of children and pupils	%
Total - country	29298	100	4223444	100
Total minorities	2799	9.54	220896	5.23
Hungarian	2419	8.25	197279	4.67
German	282	0.96	20602	0.48
Ukrainian	21	0.07	733	0.01
Serb	31	0.10	823	0.01
Slovak	37	0.11	1281	0.03
Czech	6	0.05	138	-
Croatian	3	-	40	-

288 Ukrainian pupils study in the Ukrainian Lyceum in Sighetu Marmăției: 36 of them in primary school, 38 in secondary school (gymnazium) and 214 in lyceum. The studies are performed in Ukrainian language, except for History and Geography, which are studied in Romanian.

In many schools and highschoools of the minorities, Romanian pupils also study. Thus, at the "Bruckenthal Lizeum" of German language in Sibiu, from its 800 pupils, 90% are Romanians.

The two practical problems encountered in the last years of minority education are the ensuring of schoolbooks in their respective mother tongues and teacher

training. The Ministry of National Education approaches them with new regulations and co-operates ceaselessly with the minority education representatives in our country, and with European educational systems.

The universities - said Federico Mayor - as places of learning and research, have the role of transmitting the values necessary for the development of a culture based on respect and tolerance.

In order to strengthen the training of Romanian specialists in the knowledge of the languages and literatures of neighbouring countries, to support the promotion of the cultural identity of the national minorities in our country, sections of academic specializations in Czech, Polish, Slovak, Serb, Ukrainian and Turkish language and literature have been opened.

Development in a multicultural profile in universities, envisaged by the present governing program, is materialised by the extension of education in Hungarian (in sections such as ecology, archeology, library management, political sciences, etc.), in German (journalism, public administration, etc.), the extension of bilingual colleges and the opening of a trilingual college. In the universities of Cluj-Napoca was inaugurated the Faculty of Open Studies, having an interdisciplinary and interlingual profile. The pedagogical colleges in various cities have adopted university structure (Bucharest, Constanța, Iași, Cluj, Timișoara, Sibiu, etc.); the university in Cluj inaugurates the master program in Judaic studies. Education in German will extend and considerably be strengthened by applying the program announced by the Ministry of Education, centering on the re-establishment of German studying in school and highschools. The professional education, the education organised by cults develop within the legislation in force.

The multicultural studies are a reality in the Romanian higher education system. "Babeș-Bolyai University" in Cluj-Napoca has 13 faculties of Hungarian language, 6 of German and 4 of Romany (Roma people). Studies in Hungarian are present in Medical and Pharmaceutical University and Theatre University in Târgu Mureș, German Studies in universities of Sibiu, Timișoara and Bucharest.

The High Commissioner of OSCE for minorities, Max van der Stoel, visits Romania between 28 November - 2 December 1999. The fact that Romania was accepted by all the 54 member states to take over the Presidency of OSCE in 2001, shows that Romania respected all of its commitments in applying the concept of multiculturalism in the field of education for minorities. It can be said that Romania is a model of ethnic and multicultural tolerance of man in the Balkans.

When it comes to human rights, religious prescriptions also intervene. With the various religions in our country (Christians - with several branches - 90%; Muslim and Mosaic - 10%), both religious institutions and individuals have the right and freedom to exert their rights and beliefs without any interference. This is materialised in the teaching of religion as a subject included in the curricula, in primary and secondary schools, and in specializations in faculties with a religious profile. In the University of Bucharest there are faculties of Orthodox, Baptist and Roman-Catholic theology; in Cluj-Napoca, Orthodox, Calvinist, Roman-Catholic and Greek-Catholic theology; in Baia Mare, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic theology; in Oradea - Orthodox and Baptist theology.

The study of various religions and cults in schools, the existence of faculties where they train theologians for the Orthodox Church, Greek-Catholic, Roman-Catholic or Protestant, represent an expression of the ecumenism promoted by the church in majority - the national church - Orthodox - and a hope for the establishment of the inter-religious tolerance and unification of the Christian religion.

Before 1997, there was no special department focusing on human rights in Romanian universities. Romania's National Commission for UNESCO and IRDO (Romanian Institute for Human Rights), decided to propose the establishment at North University Baia Mare of the UNESCO - Chair of Human Rights, Democracy and Peace, because it is an area, in the north-western part of Romania, in the proximity of the Hungarian and Ukrainian borders, with a rich tradition in interethnic and interconfessional tolerance. The chair will be a laboratory for experiments and research for non-governmental organisations in the area, such as civic, ecological, child protection, human rights protection organisations, as well as for the problems of minorities. On the level of academic training, students will have the opportunity to encounter new topics and subjects such as: Human Rights - Universal Values, Public authorities and Citizens, Democracy as a governing system, The culture of peace and the struggle against interethnic intolerance, The individual and society in contemporary world, The inter-confessional relations in the contemporary society, The majority-minority ratio, as a way of cohabitation, The state of national minorities of central and eastern Europe, UNESCO and the rights of ethnic minorities, The inter-confessional relations in Romania: history and present, Xenophobia, Racism and the Social Exclusion, The prevention of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional conflicts, The education in the spirit of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional brotherhood. The UNESCO Chair will co-operate with authorities at various levels, in implementing the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights especially. During this academic year, in the North University of Baia Mare started the Master Study in Human Rights.

Maramures is one of the most famous counties of Romania due to its beautiful and varied natural scenery, its rich and significant historical past, its particular spiritual and ethnographic background, still preserved vestiges of an archaic culture, with high steepled wooden churches and beautifully carved gates and the special quality of its hospitable people who still wear their traditional costumes on Sundays and holidays and possess a huge heritage of oral literature as well as exquisite music, dances, customs and rituals.

Maramures county, as an administrative unit corresponding to the geographical and ethnographic division of the country, is set in the north-west of Romania, bordering the Hungarian Pusta and the Ukrainian Transcarpathia, is connected to these neighbours by the common waters of the rivers Tisa and Someş, highroads and railways that facilitate communication. This vicinity is at the basis of the corresponding ethnic communities to which the Tsipsers of German origin from the Viseu valley have to be added, as well as the Roma population on its reluctant way to integration, all these, together with the Romanian majority, forming a multicultural community of people that live in peace and understanding, more interested in their present well-being and the future of their offsprings than in re-kindling the issues that had led to conflicts in the past.

In the north-east, through the highest pass in the country - Prislop - the highway from Maramures leads to the country of Moldova, connected to it by the early history of the very foundation of the nation by the legendary Voivod Bogdan, and the first written documents in the Romanian language, the codex from Ieud. On the eastern side, the county is bordering Transilvania, with Cluj, its capital city only at a distance of 150 kilometres from Baia Mare. Towards the south, the roads lead to the county of Bihor that houses the Western range of the Carpathian Mountains.

The name of Maramures county, that for speakers of Romance languages seems connected to the Latin “mare” - which is also in the name of the capital city Baia Mare where it means “big” -, is actually containing two river names: Mara, which is one of the important rivers in the county, and the other, Mures, one of the most important rivers of Romania. Along the valleys of the rivers Mara, Someş, Iza, Viseu, Cosau and Lapus, there are settlements from ancient times, the nowadays villages that form the various ethnographic zones of the county, each with its specific costumes, that differ in cut and the range of their colour codes, with white predominating in the lower areas, while black in the heights, and grey in hilly regions.

In order to preserve the rich traditional culture from the danger of the destruction due to the penetration of the urban culture, village museums, like those in Sighetu

Marmatiei and Baia Mare, have been set up, and there are various festivals presenting traditional folk customs and costumes. Foreign ethnographers who explored the region, recorded music, collected folk tales, wrote books and published albums, have also contributed to the preservation of this culture, by heightening the people's awareness of the values they inherited and still possess. There are even romantic love stories like that of the English doctoral student researching folk music for her dissertation and learning to play the fiddle as well as the local artists and finally marrying a young peasant from a village she had researched.

Besides Baia Mare, the other two important urban centres are Satu Mare - at its origin, as the name tells, only a big village - and Sighetu Marmatiei. Satu Mare, close to the Hungarian border, is an important cultural centre with its theatre, philharmonic, a unique in the country poetry monthly and festival, rich industry for mining equipment, for foodstuffs and textiles. It leads to another important and singular ethnographic zone, Oas, famous for its ancient traditions, music and costumes, and the character of its inhabitants, mostly woodcutters. Sighetu Marmatiei with the bridge over the Tisa river leading to Ukraine, is the heart of the so-called historical Maramures, that nowadays has become the seat of a yearly memorial of the victims of communism, because of the famous prison in which many great Romanian politicians have found their death at the beginnings of the communist era. Sighet is the birthplace of the Noble prize winner for peace, Elie Wiesel, coming from the formerly numerous Jewish community of the town. Sighet is an important centre of the timber industry and of trading, due its position at the crossing of the roads. From it one can reach the village Sapanta that has a unique "Merry Cemetery", so called due to its wooden crosses on which, its first artist, Stan Patras and his continuators, using a primitive technique of vividly coloured bas-relief, engraved the whole history of their village community. Each cross tells the story of the deceased, both through the scene carved and the verses that humorously record the essence of his or her personality.

The image of the beginning of this century is a special one. Several global problems have appeared, which go beyond borders such as: environment, climate, water, health, population and migration.

The governing problem has enlarged its sphere. On the world stage and the national stage new actors have appeared, that is, the civil society and its organizations OSC or nongovernmental organizations such as NGO.

Romania, as well as other Eastern countries partially isolated from the Western world in the last 50 years, has preserved the cultural traditions and customs of all

ethnic groups, a fact that must be stressed. It's useless to prove here the great favour that the popular art and folklore brought about in keeping our national identity.

Nowadays in the framework of an open world it's high time to take financial advantage of these treasures as well as to better preserve our customs and traditions.

What really developed in this county and in the whole Carpathian zone during the totalitarian regime? I will not praise, of course, the past period, but this isolation had nevertheless a certain advantage. We had to refine, to develop, to reach a certain perfection in the fields we had at hand.

For example, in the learning system we succeeded to improve learning methods and in sports training methods.

In popular art tissues, pottery, music and dance from native counties developed.

The best light and symphonic music were those inspired from popular art motives. We consider nowadays that we have to reevaluate these treasures. If we look back we can notice that underdeveloped countries take into account their popular art and develop it (such as African, Indian or Chinese cultures).

So if we look at the culture of these peoples we have to admit that we have, ourselves many beautiful things. Customs variety makes us aware of our world beauty.

The fact that in present time in Maramureş cohabit: 82% Romanians, 9% Hungarians, 7% Ukrainians, 0.6% Gypsies, 0.7% Germans and other minorities such as: Turkes, Russians, Jews, Serbs etc. urges us to make a concrete proposal. What about organising in turn, in each country, in a certain county of the participant countries to this seminar of Northern Carpathians, an annual folkloric festival?

First, we should propose students exchanges from different schools to learn dances, songs, customs from a neighbouring country.

If the aim of this students exchange were exclusively teaching children the beauty of other people's customs and traditions, the result would be a charming system of camps (in summer holidays for instance). We believe that the whole project would be much more interesting if it finished with singing and dancing contests etc.

I remember and have to mention here, in brackets, a special cultural activity that took place in Latin America - a sort of festival - scientific seminar. If a university or



a scientific forum would organise a seminar having as main theme “colour”, only chemists, industry researches, men of science who use or make it would participate.

Can you imagine a total festival on colours in which every field that uses colours would participate: folklore, painting, art, teaching, industry, science?

In this respect I suggest an annual contest to be held, in turn, in the neighbouring Carpathian zones, a sort of zone festival: Ukraine, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland and Romania. The festival should include all kinds of cultural activities of our counties (areas): dancing, singing, all kinds of exhibitions, offers of industrial products, hand-made goods, light and symphonic music etc. Why shouldn't our preoccupations bring about a financial profit too? This profit could be obtained by selling the exhibits and would also be a good opportunity to conclude all kinds of agreements, multilateral contracts. Some details could be established from now on: to take place within a weak period in July or September, each ethnic group to take the charge of it during 1 or 2 days. It would be a pity not to use the wonderful assets and resources of our regional areas, of our peoples. Promoting the cohabiting nationalities rights would be a natural fact, not part of a mere statistic.

Which is the place and the part of the universities in this framework? The fact that most of them are state universities makes people hesitate including them in the civil society. Universities first target is to promote free and independent thinking. They are apolitical and should fight against intellectual sclerosis. The open windows of the universities should join the open doors of companies and industry.

North University of Baia Mare has four faculties, a college training department, a centre for distance learning that continue the tradition of the Maramureş county. Besides sections that prepare necessary specialists for the actual labour market, it is an institution that, together with the Teaching Staff Inspectorate and the Prefect Department could begin to put into practice our initial proposal.

Our university offer its help in development of any activity in the sense of our proposal. Of course, we will help any other such actions.

Thank you.

# Svitlana Mitryayeva & Eva Kish

## *The Carpathian Euroregion: Minority Problems*

### Introduction

While analysing problems related to the minorities one should define clearly the category of “**ethnic minority**”. Under the contemporary conditions of the ethnopolitical revival, the ethnic minorities and their status acquire special importance in the international relations of the **CEE countries** in general and in the multicultural environment of the **Carpathian Euroregion (CE)** in particular (see Appendix 2).

Though there is some divergence of expert opinions as to the categories of **national and ethnic minority** hereafter we use these concepts as the equivalent categories.

Thus, **ethnic minority is a variety of ethnic group of any country population which is characteristic of:**

- firstly, **common origin;**
- secondly, **historic and cultural originality;**
- thirdly, **ethnocultural values that unite the natives of a certain ethnos in the other nation environment.**
- It is quite evident that the actuality of ethnic minority issue in the CE is defined by at least **three important factors:**
- **radical political and democratic changes** in the CEE region by the break of XX-XXI centuries under the conditions of changes of international relations in the region;
- **growth of ethnic self-consciousness** and identity preservation by the ethnic minorities of the region;
- **strong legitimate interest** from the CEE countries regarding the representatives of their ethnos which are the minorities on the territories of the Euroregion neighbouring countries.

The issue of the ethnic minority institutionalization in the **Transcarpathia** as well as in the **Carpathian Euroregion** on the whole is not a problem, since the **substantial legislative basis** in each CE country (including Ukraine) creates the favourable and democratic conditions regarding the formation of the public associations and national cultural societies of the CE ethnic minorities (see Appendix 3).

## The Rusyn issue

So-called “**Rusyn issue**” should be considered in the terms of the international legal dimension. The **Framework Convention** (point 1, article 3) clearly determines that any individual’s feeling of his difference from the majority of the country population due to the presence of certain ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious characteristics is the main factor of belonging to the national minority.

The conclusion of the **Ukraine’s State Committee on the issues of nationalities and migration** officially defines the “Carpathian Rusyns” in the Transcarpathian region of **Ukraine** as a subethnic group of the **Ukrainian ethnos**, and their language as a local dialect of Ukrainian. Thus, this is the state official version, however the Framework Convention confirms the right of the free choice of the belonging to a minority.

We might single out **two directions** of the **Rusyn issue**:

- **ethnocultural dimension**: development by the Rusyns of their identity;
- **ethnopolitical dimension**: so-called “**political Rusynism**” which tackles the “Rusyn issue” by granting Transcarpathia the autonomy being the part of Ukraine.

But under the certain conditions these factors may coincide and create latent conflict situations in the dimension of “centre-region” as well as on the international level.

## General characteristics of the multicultural situation in the Carpathian Euroregion

One should notice the traditionally high level of tolerance of interethnic relations in **Transcarpathia** that might serve as **a model of interethnic tolerance** for other regions of the European continent. The **general trend** shows the stabilization and even the reduction of the interethnic distances, and therefore the **strengthening of ethnic tolerance**, first of all in the so-called “**Western block**”:

- of all ethnic minorities regarding majority – the Ukrainians;
- of the Germans regarding other ethnic communities; though the “self-isolation” of the Germans was found out because of the high level of emigration, in comparison with 1995, when the Germans had been playing the leading role among the ethnic minorities of the region;

- growth of prestige of the Hungarians among the Russians, the Germans, the Jews and the Romas;
- the weakening of ethnic prestige of the Rusyns among the Germans and the Romas because of internal split and regarding the majority.

Under conditions of the “**self-isolation**” of the **Germans**, the trend of formation of the parity relations between the **Slovaks** and the **Hungarians** has taken shape. The completion of this process **is being complicated** by the unbalanced relations between the **Romanians** and the **Slovaks**.

What concerns the so-called “**Eastern Slavic block**”, it is characteristic of **weakening the Russian predominance** as well as **lowering the social status of the Ukrainians** that causes the **growth of activation of the ethnic Rusyns**. But activation of the Rusyns does not threaten security in the existing situation. The **genuine danger** is in the **ruining of the customary system of the restraining interethnic parities** and the so-called “**Transcarpathian buffer**” structure. As a matter of fact, **the lack of parity** between the **Hungarians** and the **Rusyns**, as well as the **Rusyns** and the **Slovaks**, and a **split of buffer** between two ethnic blocks means the **growth of interethnic conflictability risk** so far on the **latent level**. However both the stability in the region and the possibility of the more global transformations **depend on the position of the ethnic Rusyns**.

For example, provided ruining the ethnic buffer in Transcarpathia, it could be displaced either in **Slovakia** or farther in **Ukraine** that in any case would be **undesirable for Ukraine**. In the first case Ukraine would be distanced from Europe, in the latter – the **Western part of the Ukrainian ethnos** would be threatened by the genuine statics.

Finally, there is another issue, which belongs to both EU and member states policy priorities. This is the question of the **Roma minority**, which is a scattered minority living in all participating countries. The **Romas** settled the area around the **Carpathian Mountains** in the past and their concentration is quite significant in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, **northern western Romania and eastern Slovakia**. The **EU** has recognized the fact that the **Roma issue** extends beyond borders of accession states and this is why it should be tackled in a broader European context. There is a need to develop a special program in co-operation with member states and the **EU** aimed at solving social and cultural problems of the **Romas** within the area of the Carpathian Euroregion. This is also especially important when we consider the fact that the territory of the Carpathian Euroregion is one of the oldest areas of the original settlements of the **Romas** in Europe.

## Risk factors of the national conflicts

Analysis of the **national conflict risk** enables to pick out the next **factors** that have an impact on the **ethnopolitical situation** in the region:

- geopolitical position of the ethnic area;
- economic basis of the ethnopolitical situation;
- cultural and historical identity of the national group;
- religious factor;
- the level of the political activity of the ethnic minority in the region.

The **interethnic conflict management** provides for:

- analysis of the ethnic, economic, social, political, geopolitical and religious situation in the region;
- forecast of the ethnic conflict possibility;
- conflict prevention (taking the preventive measures);
- weakening the risk factors of the ethnic conflict;
- regulation of a conflict.

Ethnic conflict management is more effective having been realized at the **early stage**. The earlier a conflict situation is revealed, the lesser efforts would be made for its constructive solving.

We consider the next **preventive measures** to be the most important:

- working out the state program regarding ethnic relations;
- working out the early prevention measures regarding ethnic conflicts on the level of the state authority organs;
- levelling the social and economic development of the regions;
- implementation of the special employment programs in the depressive regions;
- the purposeful propaganda of interethnic tolerance in mass-media;
- the creation of the public organizations aiming at the consolidation of the efforts of the different ethnoses in solving social problems;
- supporting the development of the regional economic interaction as a factor of interethnic interest harmonization;
- widening the powers of the local self-government organs.

In this context the **program-purposeful approach** should become the main tool of realizing the **state national policy** aiming at improving the well-being of all people of Ukraine.

## Conclusions

The **minority issue** is a **decisive problem** in the interethnic relations of the CE countries, especially nowadays when almost each country has a strong legitimate interest regarding its ethnoses being a minority in the neighbouring countries.

**Peculiarity of the geographic position** of the CEE (and CE in particular) region and **its marginality** have caused the strong **interaction** and **mutual influence** between cultures of these nations, when their own cultural values and mentality were being normed in the interaction of the different cultural traditions of the ethnoses which were on the **different levels of the cultural and socio-economic development**. In this context one should notice both **positive and negative consequences** of this contradictory process of interaction, namely direct or indirect devaluation of socio-cultures of nations-ethnoses or creation of the extremely radical subcultures provided certain socio-historic conditions.

Integration is the actual dimension for the European countries today. Integration of the CEE countries (and the CE countries in particular) with the EU is quite possible in the near future already on the way of the gradual formation of the **civil society**. Thus the formation of the civil society is the issue of great importance in each CE country.

**Implementation** of the main principles of the **European regional policy** in Ukraine's political and legislative sphere as well as pointing out the importance of the transfrontier co-operation (CE being an institutional form of the transfrontier co-operation in this particular case) is very actual in terms of Ukraine's real progress in the **direction of the European integration**.

Taking into consideration the **necessity of activation of the CE activities**, it should be useful to create the **constant active expert commissions** of the CE representatives which would serve the formation of the constructive dialogue of the scholars and the representatives of the CE local self-government bodies at the expert level. It would serve both **finding out the latent conflicts** and **working out the recommendations** regarding their prevention. It would be important from the point of view of **forming security in the Carpathian Euroregion** too.

What concerns the general characteristics of the interethnic relations in the CE, one should notice the fact of **the traditionally high level of the interethnic tolerance** that determines interethnic relation stability in the **Transcarpathia**. It might serve as **a model** for other regions of the **European continent**.

# **I. Süli-Zakar, K. Czimre, K. Teperics & Cs. Patkós** *Cultural Identity and Diversity in the Carpathian Euroregion*

## **Introduction**

The regions which belong to the **Carpathian Euroregion** are social and economic peripheries in their own countries. **Economically** speaking, these border regions did not count as development regions in the decades before 1990. The competitive position of the central regions become stronger in all of these countries after the changes and their shift to market economy can be called successful, so far. Their capacity for adaptation was greater, too. However, the marginality or peripherality of the regions that form the Carpathian Euroregion has increased. The social and economic backwardness of these regions compared to the development of the central regions has accelerated in the last couple of years.

**Regional-ethnic problems** inherited from the past are an impediment to European co-operation and unity. The most problematic barriers to unity are those border-regions where the unsettled ethnic and socio-economic problems are clustered. Such problematic border-regions include the Hungarian-Romanian, Hungarian-Ukrainian, Hungarian-Slovakian, Ukrainian-Slovakian and Ukrainian-Polish borders. We have been able to complete comparative geographical research on these border regions, together with the surrounding territories clarification of the situation, the widening of the socio-economic co-operation along these borders and to the total normalisation of the political relations, as these were laid out in the Carpathian Euroregion Pact (Agreement).

In our report we show that the **socio-economic differentiation** in Eastern Hungary has become more and more pronounced over the past few decades. It is clear today that for the backward Eastern Hungary the crucial point is the reduction in the divisive affect of the borders and the strengthening of international relations within the Carpathian Euroregion. Therefore it is not accidental that political leaders in the towns and counties of Eastern Hungary have begun to support the creation of the Carpathian Euroregion.

**Education** has an honoured and determining role in the field of the development of human infrastructure, since the success of **regional development** depends on the state and development level of the available **human infrastructure**

to a considerable degree. Thus, it is a central question from the aspect of the integration of **East Central Europe** into the Union whether the education of the region is “EU-conform” or not? From this point of view, the **education policy of** these (mainly young) **nation states** shows out of date because of the large-scale **national commitment** in comparison with the pedagogical practice generally experienced in the western part of Europe (KOZMA 1998).

The history of the European Union without borders, at the same time, demonstrates that the education policy and **trans-national regionalism** placed on new foundations was one of the most important instruments of the surmounting of the national isolation there as well. In our region, the first of these – copying western examples – cross-border regional co-operations is the **Carpathian Euroregion** which has been trying to decrease the socio-economic development hindering role of the state borders since its establishment (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1992), and endeavours to promote the better understanding between the nations instead of the national isolation.

It is well-known that the Central European co-operation and union are hardened by territorial-ethnic problems inherited from the past. The most problematic barriers to the co-operation are those border segments where there are unsettled ethnic-social-economic questions accumulating (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1992). Together with our foreign partners, we consider the Hungarian-Romanian, the Hungarian-Ukrainian, the Hungarian-Slovakian, the Ukrainian-Romanian and the Ukrainian-Polish borders as such problematic border segments (HELINSKI 1999). In the case of the region belonging to the **Carpathian Euroregion**, the drawing of the borders happened in this century and this meant that the new borders divided regions which were contiguous and interdependent in the past (CORRIGAN-BÉRES-SÜLI-ZAKAR 1995). We may hope from the strengthening of the cross-border co-operations that it shall promote the better understanding, the clarification of the situation, and the widening of the social-economic co-operations along the borders. We also hope the absolute normalisation of the political relations - as it is included in the basic agreement of the **Carpathian Euroregion**.

## **The geopolitical significance of the first East Central European euroregional initiative**

In the countries belonging to the Carpathian Euroregion, the uneven regional development and its consequence, the regional crisis became the fundamental problem for not only the geographers, economists and sociologists but also for the governments, county and city leaders of the European countries concerned. The uneven regional growth is understood by both the scientists and the politicians that



it concentrates the positive results of the market economy into some “privileged place” - to the **centre**; and its disadvantages into the regions without relative production profits - to the **peripheries**. In the peripheries, socially regressive processes are created which further deepen the regional crisis. The entire area of the Carpathian Euroregion and all of the member countries may be qualified as peripheral from a socio-economic aspect (SÜLI-ZAKAR–TURNOCK 1999).

Thus, the regions constituting the Carpathian Euroregion are peripheries in their own countries both socially and economically. It may be established in general that these border regions did not count as regions to be developed in the decades prior to the nineties. Following the change of regime, the competitive environment of the centre areas of these countries strengthened and their switch-over to the market economy may be regarded successful so far - since their adaptability was also bigger than that of the peripheries. Thus, **the marginality and peripherality of the regions constituting the Carpathian Euroregion increased**. Their social and economic backwardness accelerated in comparison with the centre areas in the past years (ILLÉS 1995; SÜLI-ZAKAR–CORRIGAN 1998).

In the past decades, the socio-economic breaking-off of the north-eastern areas within the peripheralising Hungary became more and more accentuated. For the breaking-off North-eastern Hungary, **one of the most important breaking-out points** is the decreasing of the dividing role of the borders and the strengthening of the external relations along the borders (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1997).

The expression euroregion is used to denominate an area where there is mutual interregional or cross-border co-operation between two or more states, or the local self-governments in the fields of economic, social, cultural or other relations. Thus, the euroregion means a definite geographic area which includes certain parts of two or more countries which agreed to harmonise their activities **for the more fruitful development of the border regions** (CZIMRE 1998).

As an impact of the above mentioned initiatives, the so-called “euroregional attitude” is becoming more and more powerful in Western Europe. According to this attitude, the future Europe may not only be understood as the Europe of nation states but as the **Europe of regions** formed from the (border) regions with similar economic interests. A euroregion bridging state borders may be suitable to treat unsolved intra- and interstate conflicts (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1998).

We think that the vision of future for Hungary should not only be connected to the accession to the European Union. **The significance of the euroregional endeavours**

**started from our region should also be taken into consideration** since the interstate regions with similar economic interests and the Central and Eastern European euroregions building complex economic and cultural co-operations may also be the germs of the future United States of Europe. The Alps-Adria Working Community operates similarly to several Atlantic and Alsace-Rhine euroregions, the Danube-Tisza-Maros-Kőrös Euroregion was created and the Carpathian Euroregion - struggling with all its pains and problems - also exists (SÜLI-ZAKAR-CZIMRE-TEPERICS 1999).

The creation of the **Carpathian Euroregion** on 14 February 1993 was preceded by many years of - mostly bilateral - cross-border co-operations. The political and economic transformation taking place in the central part of Europe in the beginning of the nineties gleamed the possibility of interregional co-operations and made the practical application of the Western European experiences possible here as well (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1997).

The founding documents, that is the **Basic Agreement** and the **Joint Statement** both expressed that the Carpathian Euroregion is not a supra-national or supra-state organisation but an initiative which promotes interregional co-operation between the member countries. The following aims were laid down in the founding documents of the Carpathian Euroregion: co-ordination of the joint activities; promotion of co-operation in the fields of economy, science, ecology, education, culture and sport; support of joint cross-border projects, encouragement of mutual co-operation with international institutions and organisations. The aims and activities of the Carpathian Euroregion are in harmony with the (106 Convention of the Council of Europe (European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities and Authorities).

The most important merit of the Carpathian Euroregion is that it is **the first clearly East Central European initiative** since its members are all border regions of “post-communist” countries. Of course, this “merit” includes the difficulties as well because here there are really a lot of foreign and domestic affairs, foreign and domestic trade affairs, ethnic and cultural conflicts inhibiting its development (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1999).

The aim of the creation of the Carpathian Euroregion was to assure an proper **institutional framework** for the members to co-ordinate cross-border co-operations and to assist a faster regional and economic development and of course to help the creation of good neighbourly relations between the countries and nations concerned (HORVÁTH 1998).

In the short period which passed since the creation of the **Carpathian Euroregion** - we think - , it managed to achieve encouraging results. Of course, the

Association could record more considerable successes if it could overcome the factors inhibiting its operation. These are mainly of political nature and its roots date back to the previous centuries. Primarily this explains the fact why the Romanian and Slovakian self-governments were only associate members in the work of the Euroregion for many years (BÉRES–CORRIGAN–SÜLI-ZAKAR 1995).

Beside the political barriers, the differing economic, social and infrastructural conditions (after all, however, uniformly unfavourable) of the member countries also appear as an endowment or factor slowing down co-operation and inhibiting progress. These are such negative factors which the **Carpathian Euroregion** cannot solve on its own but with constructive suggestions it may facilitate the work of the national and local politicians. Beside the extreme political groups supporting the rigid dividing role of the borders, the differing customs, finance and tax regulations and the difference in the fiscal institutional systems also appear as particular problems. At present, the institutions are still missing which would support the cross-border investments in the forms of credits and loans (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1997).

The varying economic conditions within the region and the different economic development resulting from it also contribute to the **inadequacies of cross-border co-operation**. This is especially obvious in the case of the cross-border trade where co-operation is hindered by the lack of border crossings, the weak fiscal system and the bureaucracy. Besides, the development of the “services” related to international relations show fundamental differences between the countries of the region. State centralisation appeared as a main obstacle in the formation of cross-border co-operations in many Western European countries as well. From this point of view, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe may be regarded as strongly centralised. This means a fundamental problem during the building of regional cross-border co-operations since the local self-governments depend on the governmental organisations to a great extent (ALONSON 1993; ALVAREZ 1995; ANDERSON 1993).

Despite of the arising problems, we think that the activities of the Carpathian Euroregion **may provide an opportunity for breaking-out** for the region concerned and this may be a serious help in the solving of the minority problems (e.g. problems of ethnic education) present in the region. Of course, the “staying on foot” of the Carpathian Euroregion largely depends on the fact that to what extent can be the available resources (the natural, the economic and above all the human resources) dynamised for the interest of these interregional co-operations and to bringing the interests closer in the co-operation (WILSON 1990).

In the past few years, the Carpathian Euroregion - complemented with the six Romanian counties - developed its proper programme, its organisational and operational rules proved proper and may be regarded effective and democratic **even on the European scale**, and it may rely on well functioning working committees. The Euroregion gets into contact with more and more Western European political and CBC organisations, and more and more institutions and foundations think it worth to support the work of the euroregion.

In the past seven and half years which passed since the establishment of the Carpathian Euroregion Interregional Co-operation on 14 February 1993 in Debrecen and which is evaluated by many as a declarative phase -, the legal and organisational frames of its operation were created and during their operation the Council and working committees gave evidence about **more and more professionalism**. For the successful putting forth of the merited phase in front of us - when the forces can be concentrated on the fundamental tasks - the personal, organisational, financing and foreign political conditions are developed by today (HELINSKI 1999).

## **The geographic area and structure of the Carpathian Euroregion**

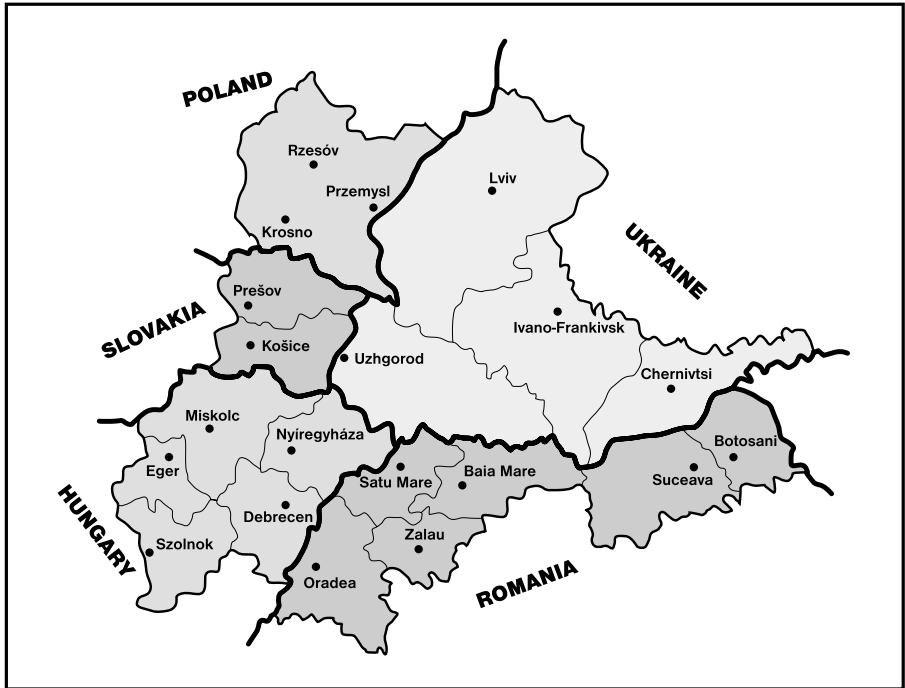
The Carpathian Euroregion includes the area of the Northeast Carpathians (Woody Carpathians by its well-known name) and it extends to the hilly areas north and south and to the north-eastern part of the Great Plain (*Figure 1*).

The **founding self-governments** from Hungary: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Heves, Hajdú-Bihar counties, and Miskolc, Nyíregyháza, Eger and Debrecen cities with county rights; from Poland: the Krosno and Przemysl voivodships; from Slovakia: the members of the “Carpathian Alliance”, that is, the cities and districts of Bardejov, Humenné, Mihalovce, Svidnik, Trebisov and Vrannov; from Ukraine: the Transcarpathian oblast (SÜLI-ZAKAR-TURNOCK 1999).

Following the formation, the following regions **joined** the Carpathian Euroregion from Hungary: Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county; from Poland: Rzeszow voivodship; from Slovakia: the cities of Kosice and Presov; from Ukraine: Ivano-Frankivs’k, Tsernovci and Lviv (Lemberg) oblasts; from Romania: Satu Mare and Maramures counties. The Slovakian self-governments, however, were not allowed to participate in the work of the euroregion during the Meciar-government.

On 7 February 1995, the Slovakian government informed the Secretary General of the Euroregion through the Slovakian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the full

membership of the Slovakian self-governments is **annulled**. The Slovakian government accounted for its deed that the self-governments did not ask for the preliminary permission of the government when they handed in their application for the full membership. As the result of the subsequent negotiations, the Slovakian regions were allowed to maintain their associate membership.



*Figure 1: The geographic area of the Carpathian-Euroregion*

The entering of the Romanian counties also **happened contradictorily** under the Illiescu-government. In the beginning, the two applying counties participated in the work of the organisation only in an observer status but at the end of 1993, the Council of the Carpathian Euroregion accepted the official application of Satu Mare and Maramures counties and thus these Romanian counties became full members. The Romanian government, however, soon declared this step annulled and thus these counties were also forced to return to the observer status (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1997). In the beginning of 1997, following the elections in Romania, Satumare and Maramures counties became full members again and four new Romanian counties (Bihor, Salaj, Botosani and Suceava) also asked for admission into this interregional

organisation. In 1999, the new Slovakian government also agreed to the entering of the two eastern regions (Kosice and Presov) as full members into the euroregion (SÜLI-ZAKAR 2000).

Today, the area of the **Carpathian Euroregion** is more than 140000 km<sup>2</sup>, the number of the population living here is over 14 million, and the **population density is 104.6 people/km<sup>2</sup>** (*Table 1*).

**Table 1: The area, population and population density of the member self-governments of the Carpathian Euroregion**

MEMBER REGIONS	AREA (km <sup>2</sup> )	NUMBER OF POPULATION (person)	POPULATION DENSITY (person/km <sup>2</sup> )
From the area of Poland	<b>18 683</b>	<b>2 370 654</b>	<b>127.2</b>
From the area of Hungary	<b>28 639</b>	<b>2 609 114</b>	<b>91.8</b>
From the area of Romania	<b>27 104</b>	<b>2 274 013</b>	<b>84.1</b>
From the area of Slovakia	<b>10 459</b>	<b>1 111 177</b>	<b>106.2</b>
From the area of Ukraine	<b>56 605</b>	<b>6 429 903</b>	<b>113.5</b>
Carpathian Euroregion in total	<b>141 490</b>	<b>14 794 861</b>	<b>104.6</b>

According to the Joint Declaration and basic Agreement accepted at the creation, the **goals and tasks** of the Carpathian Euroregion are the following:

- Organise, co-ordinate those activities which promote economic, ecological, cultural, scientific and educational co-operation between the members.
- Promote the elaboration of concrete projects between the members of the association in the fields with common interest.
- Promote and facilitate the relations between the people - including the relations between the experts of different fields.
- Promote the building of good neighbourly relations between the members.
- Promote regional development.
- Define the potential fields of multi-lateral cross-border co-operations among the members.
- Link and facilitate the co-operation of the members with other international organisations, institutions and agencies.

The **structure** of the Carpathian Euroregion followed the examples of the similar CBC organisation in Western Europe (*Figure 2*). According to the

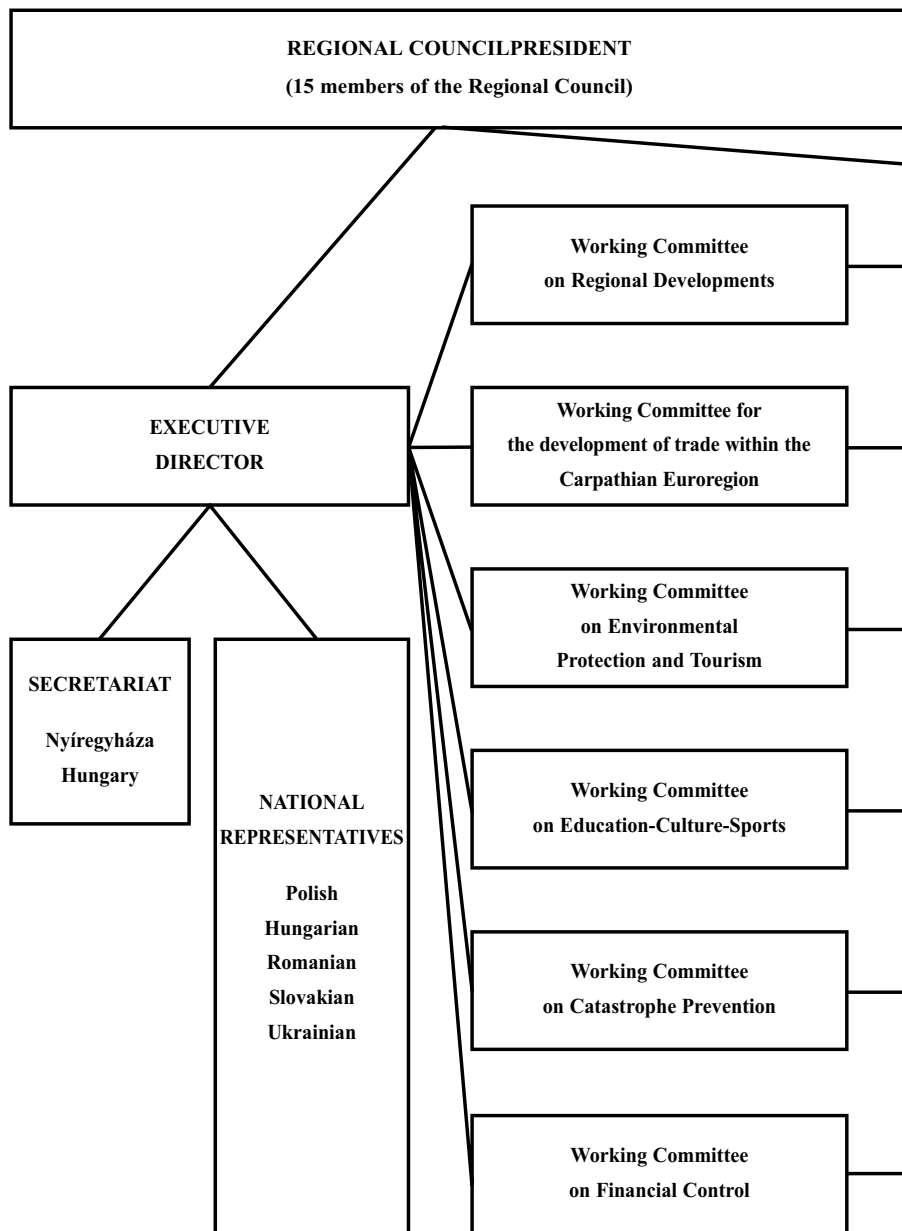
present organisational and operational regulation, the supreme organ of the Carpathian Euroregion is the Regional Council in which there are three participants from each member countries. The head of the Regional Council is the President who is elected for two years from among the council members. The meetings of the Council are held four times a year in a rotational order in the participating countries.

The following working committees have been organised so far on the basis of the decision of the Regional Council:

- Working Committee on Regional Development (seated in Hungary)
- Working Committee on Environmental Protection and Tourism (seated in Poland)
- Working Committee on Education-Culture-Sports (seated in Ukraine)
- Working Committee for the development of trade within the Carpathian Euroregion (seated in Romania)
- Working Committee on Catastrophe Prevention (seated in Slovakia)
- Working Committee on Financial Control (seated in Hungary and operates ad hoc)

The success of the Western European cross-border co-operations were primarily assured by the **professional successes of the working committees**. By today, the legal framework was developed for the Carpathian Euroregion, the Organisational and Operational regulation is based on European values and the more and more equalised fiscal financing made it possible for the working committees to organise the professional work. In Central Europe, it is the area of the Carpathian Euroregion which is the most divided by state borders. Their socio-economic development inhibiting impact in our region is rather well-known and we may attribute a significant role to this division in the backwardness of the region concerned (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1999).

Figure 2: Carpathian Euroregion - Organisation chart





Therefore, the Carpathian Euroregion encourages the building of more and more **border crossings**. The borders were “etherealised” in Western Europe and the former border stations, customhouses got new functions there. It may serve as an example for us that the Association of European Border Regions is seated in the former customhouse of Gronau on the German-Dutch border (CZIMRE 1998).

## The situation of education in the Carpathian Euroregion

The member countries of the Carpathian Euroregion are very young states (e.g. Slovakia and Ukraine were created only in the nineties), or due to their peculiar history, the attainment of the political independence last for a long time. Thus, beside the socio-economic backwardness, these are primarily political reasons which explain the fact that the formation of the people here into a bourgeois nation happened only **with a considerable delay** in comparison with Western Europe. Thus, it becomes understandable that education is a national problem in our region and in many places it is even a nation building “instrument” (FORRAY-KOZMA 1992).

The interstate relations are considerably hindered by the fact that the new bourgeois nations could only create their states **at the expense of each other** in this ethnically very colourful region (*Figure 3*). The state borders dividing the region were all drawn in this century deepening the contention and prejudices between the neighbouring people. The varying (even contradictory) explanation and education of the historical events and geographical phenomena may be followed from page to page in the history and geography school books. This is especially striking when comparing the Polish-Ukrainian, the Hungarian-Slovakian and the Hungarian-Romanian school books (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1997).

The school facilitated the “task” of the assimilation of the minorities in other regions as well. The **homogenising endeavours** in the eastern part of Central Europe, however, only strengthened in the 20th century and thus the (psychical) wounds caused by them were healed the less in this region. At the same time, due to the late formation into a nation the extreme political parties representing the aim of ethnic homogenisation - even today - can rely on a considerable mass of people (WILSON-DONNAN 1997).

The primary victims of the national determination dominating the education in the eastern part of Europe are the **minorities** who can achieve the right of being educated on their mother tongue only through huge struggles and at the price of great sacrifices (KOZMA 1998).

**Every tenth person** of the Carpathian Euroregion with its almost 15 million inhabitants - that is one and a half million people - are the members of some kind of minorities. In geographical terms, it is characteristic that the minorities of the Carpathian Euroregion mainly **live in the border regions** (*Figure 4*).

There is hardly any minorities living in the border region of Poland or Ukraine, although, the **historic Galicia** was very mixed with regard to its ethnic composition. The Jewish population became the victim of the fascists or fled abroad, the Polish and the Ruthenian minorities became the victims of the **ethnic cleansings** after the Second World War. The Eastern Galician Poles were settled down on the place of the Silesian Germans or became the victims of the Stalin despotism, and the Ruthenians living in Southeastern Poland were spread around in the country by the Poles.

In the rural regions of the Ukrainian-Romanian border, in North Bukovina and in North Maramures, there are Ukrainians living in typical (mainly rural) **ethnic segregation**.

In the north-eastern part of the present Slovakia – in the zone spreading east of Poprad – there were Greek Catholic **Ruthenians** in large numbers. The natural assimilation into the Slovakian nation which lasted for centuries was accelerated by the forced orthodoxisation after the Second World War. As a consequence of this, the formerly contiguous Ruthenian ethnic territory broke into bigger and smaller ethnic patches-islands (KOCŠIS–HODOSI 1997).

*Figure 3: The ethnic map of the Carpathian Euroregion  
Legend: 1. Hungarians 2. Slovaks 3. Poles 4. Ukrainians 5. Romanians  
6. Uninhabited or very sparsely habited areas*

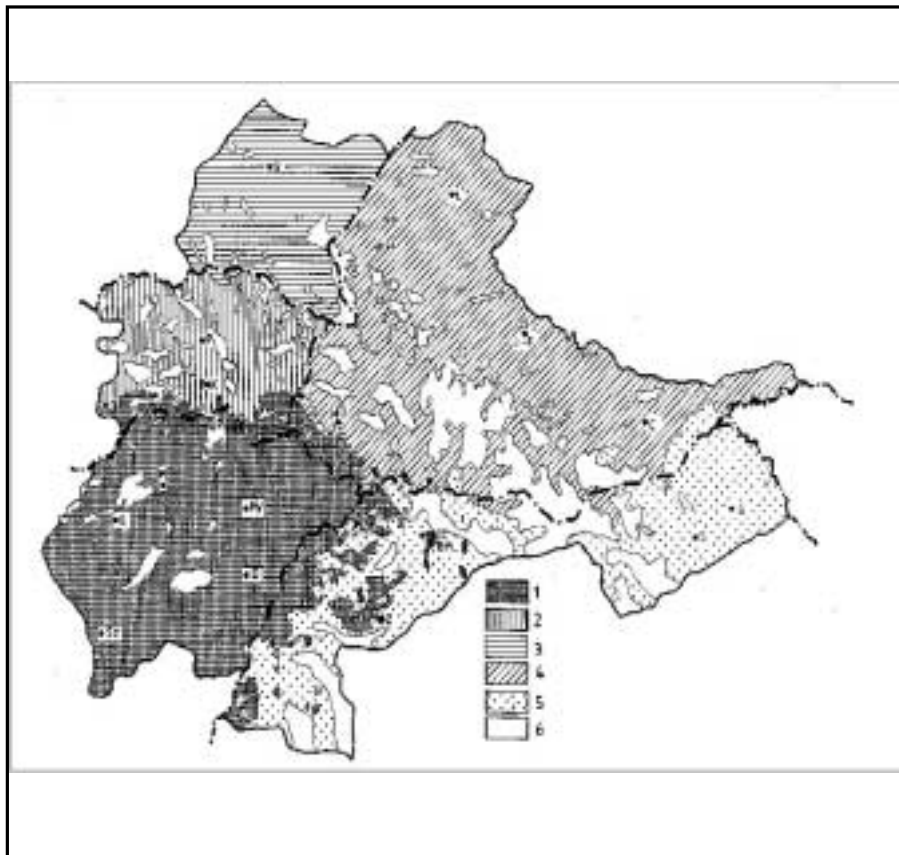
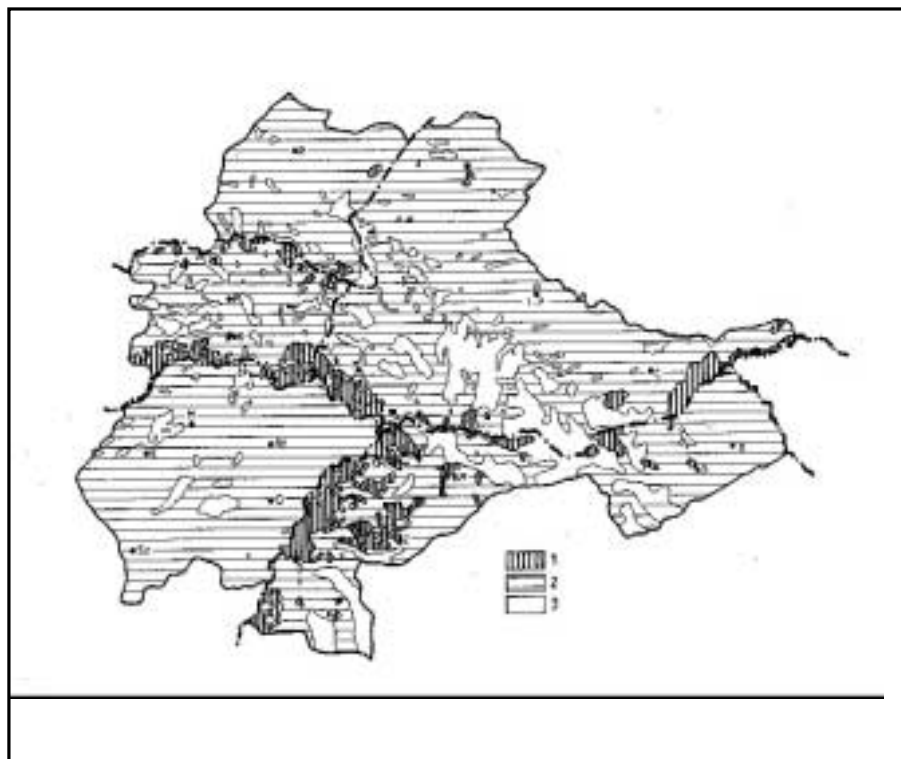


Figure 4: National minorities on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion  
Legend: 1. National minorities, 2. State forming nations,  
3. Uninhabited or very sparsely habited areas



The borders of Hungary are mounted by an almost contiguous – wider-narrower – **minority zone**. The Hungarians living as a minority in Eastern Slovakia, Southern Transcarpathia and Western Partium with their number over one million **constitute the biggest national minority group** of the Carpathian Euroregion (Table 2). They have been fighting in the past eighty years for their survival alienated from the mother country and as apart of this they fight their rear action for the keeping of the remnants of their educational-cultural-religious infrastructure (KOZMA–HÍVES–RADÁCSI 1999).

**Table 2: Hungarians living outside Hungary on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion**

MEMBER REGIONS	TOTAL POPULATION	HUNGARIANS (person)	HUNGARIANS (percentage)
<b>Romania</b>	-	-	-
<b>Bihar</b>	638 863	181 706	28.4
<b>Botosani</b>	461 305	1 508	0.3
<b>Hargita</b>	348 335	295 243	84.8
<b>Maramures</b>	540 099	54 906	10.2
<b>Satu Mare</b>	400 789	140 394	35.0
<b>Salaj</b>	266 797	63 159	23.7
<b>Suceava</b>	701 830	5 019	0.7
<i>Total</i>	3 358 018	741 000	22.1
<b>Slovakia</b>	-	-	-
<b>Kosice Region</b>	748 722	96 021	12.8
<b>Presov Region</b>	746 168	807	0.1
<b>Ukraine</b>	-	-	-
<b>Transcarpathian oblast</b>	1 245 618	166 700	13.4
<b>Carpathian Euroregion</b>	14 794 858	1 009 000	6.8

*Source:* Kocsis K. - Hodosi E. (1998)

In the Carpathian Euroregion, the public education is handled by the **“Working Committee on Education Culture and Sports”** led by the Ukrainian partners on that very narrow area which is left for it as a scope by the national governments of the involved regions. This space is very narrow since the individual states preserve their education as national sovereignty. In the past few years, the ethnic affairs – and within this especially the issue of the minority education – were **taboos**. In the work of the Council and of the Working Committees, the principle of consensus is the accepted, that is this “delicate” question cannot even be put down in the agenda of the meetings (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1999).

On the other hand, the “going down the drain” of the saved funds of the Carpathian Euroregion (because of the bankruptcy of the Ukrainian “Liszt-Bank”) aggravated the work of the working committees since from that on they are not financed from a central budget but **the national partners finance the working committees belonging under their leadership**. In the past years, the Ukrainians

could operate the Working Committee on Education only very haltingly which was partly due to the subjective conditions (the frequent changing of the national representatives and working committee leaders, the inability for the fulfilment of the tasks) and partly due to the financing problems.

The working committee does not deal with the primary and secondary education – we think – that it is due to the fact that the omnipotent state government would not be gratified if unwarranted foreigners question the national character and goals of the education. The disturbance of the ethnic taboo topics would mean **intervention into domestic affairs**.

This is why, in the past few years, the co-operation between schools within the euroregion was promoted only in some cases. The **children' drawing competition** is announced annually for the pupils of the lower grades is really an exhilarating exception whose topic are the Carpathian Euroregion as a homeland and the interdependency of the people living on its area. It means a modest armament against the **deep prejudices** brought from the families and against the **homogenising endeavours** represented by the education as well. The invited member of the Regional Council or the national representative helped in the building-out of sister relationships between some schools. (These after all non-official assistance were asked for by mainly Hungarian and Polish minority schools searching for home-country partners.)

But it has to be definitely acknowledged that after the defeat of the Iliescu-government in Romania and of the Meciar-government in Slovakia **the situation of minority education improved**. The attitude of the sovereign state towards the minorities was formed interestingly in Ukraine. In the beginning of the nineties – in the Soviet Union – the Ukrainians had to endure the priority of the Russian language in the public life and in the education. However, following the attainment of the independence, the Ukrainian government – especially after 1996 – started the realisation of the Ukrainian **linguistic nation state**. This is reflected in the limitation of the language use of the minorities as well.

The biggest political change of the nineties – beside the attained independence and general democratisation – in East Central Europe was the formation and strengthening of the **minority parties**. Thus, they got considerable say in local politics - and through their parliamentary representation in the national politics as well. The strongest are the Hungarian minority parties – thus, in Romania, the DARH, in Slovakia the Party of the Hungarian Coalition - and today these Hungarian parties are the members of the Romanian and Slovakian governments (SÜLI-ZAKAR 2000).



The activities of the **Working Committee on Education, Culture and Sport** today basically covers much more neutral areas than the public education: thus, it is mainly involved in the organisation of cultural co-operations (libraries, archives, statistical offices, museums, art shows and exhibitions), and sport programmes (children's sport, folk games and competitions, competitions for physically handicapped) (SÜLI-ZAKAR 1998).

### *Case Study 1*

## **The situation of the Gypsy (Roma) population on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion**

In the countries belonging to the Carpathian Euroregion the public education is characterised by a national character and **strong centralisation**. The governmental financing is determining since even in Hungary - which has the most advanced self-governmental practice - the operating local self-governments are in fact only pay-offices from the financial aspect. In accordance with the socio-economic situation considerable differences may be observed in connection with the education financing of the particular countries. It may be established in general, however, that under-paid pedagogues are employed in the physically-technically deteriorated educational institutions (in Romania and Ukraine it even happens that the pedagogues get their payment only with several months - almost half a year - delay). This weakly financed educational system is expected to help along the social integration of the numerically rapidly growing gypsy population (KOC SIS 2000).

Even according to the moderate views in the transforming post-communist countries of East Central Europe, the number one victim of the change of regime in the particular countries was the highly considerable number of the gypsy population (*Table 3*). On the basis of the estimations, the majority of the **European gypsy population** of about 6.5 million lives in Southeastern and Central Europe, partly in the Balkans (Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia), and partly in Central Europe (Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia).



**Table 3: The estimated number of the gypsy population in Europe (1999)**

AREA	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
<i>Western Europe</i>	<b>1 561 600</b>	<b>0.41</b>
<b>Central and Eastern Europe</b>	<b>4 635 000</b>	<b>3.79</b>
<b>the former Soviet Union (European part)</b>	<b>347 000</b>	<b>0.16</b>
<i>Europe in total</i>	<b>6 543 600</b>	<b>0.9</b>
<b>Out of which: - Hungary</b>	<b>450 000</b>	<b>4.33</b>
<b>- Poland</b>	<b>40 000</b>	<b>0.1</b>
<b>- Romania</b>	<b>2 200 000</b>	<b>9.65</b>
<b>- Slovakia</b>	<b>262 000</b>	<b>4.82</b>
<b>- Ukraine</b>	<b>80 000</b>	<b>0.15</b>

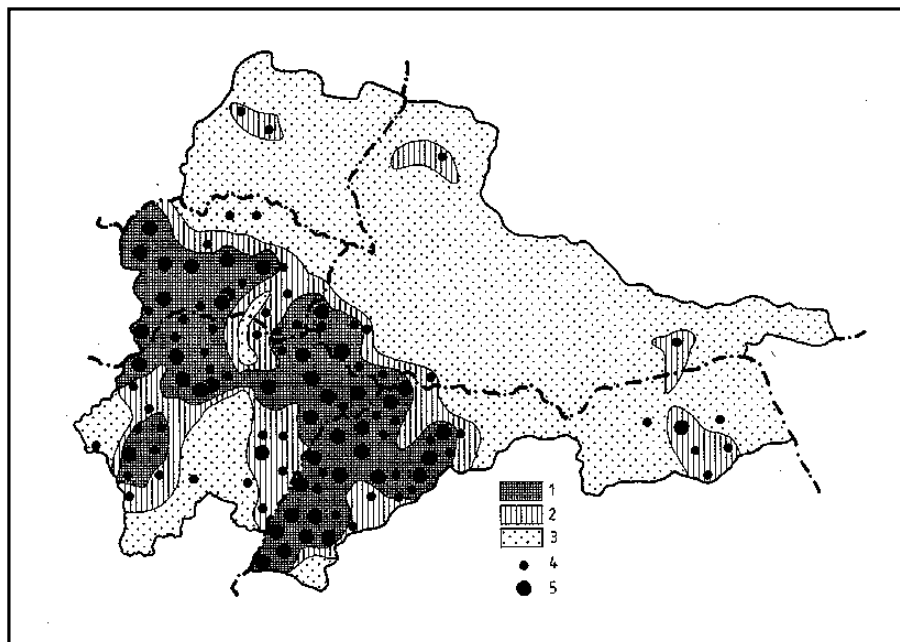
*Source:* Kocsis, K. (2000)

The socio-economic integration of the gypsy population in the seventies-eighties accelerated in these countries, more and more of the working age men got permanent job and thus assured basis for the support of his family. The change of regime and privatisation happening in the region at the turn of the eighties-nineties primarily ceased those activity types which formerly employed high numbers of the gypsies. Thus, primarily the **unemployment** increased to a frightening size among them (in some regions to the a level of 90-95%), and their impoverishment and social marginalisation increased. In the deepening crisis situation, of course, the gypsy families concentrate on the survival and the prospects for the rise – because due to the very low level of education level – are very unfavourable (SÜLI-ZAKAR-TURNOCK 1999).

The Roma population is spread unevenly on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion (*Figure 5*).

Figure 6: The geographic location of the Roma population on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion

Legend: 1. Above 10%, 2. 5-10%, 3. Below 5%, 4. 5000 Romas, 5. 10000 Romas



There are not many gypsies on the areas of Poland and Ukraine. The Transcarpathian oblast is an exception where on a relatively small – Hungarian border – region lives half of the Ukrainian gypsy population. This region, is part of that **roma zone nevertheless and** runs across the north-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin which spreads from North-eastern Hungary and Slovakia to the Czech Republic and joins the Transylvanian-Wallachian-Bulgarian ethnic mass in the south-east which represents the most considerable proportion of the world's gypsy population with regard to its number (KOC SIS 2000).

From among the member regions of the Carpathian Euroregion, the **gypsy population** constitutes about 10% in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county and in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county in Hungary, in the Kosice Region in Slovakia, and it is around 20% in the Romanian Bihor and Salaj counties (*Table 4*). The migration of the gypsy population to the north-eastern counties of Romania – especially into their ageing rural regions – from Central Transylvania and the Havasalföld is very considerable.

**Table 4: The estimated number of the gypsy population on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion (1999)**

MEMBER REGIONS OF THE CARPATHIAN EUROREGION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
<b>Hungary</b>	-	-
<b>Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county</b>	<b>80 100</b>	<b>10.50</b>
<b>Hajdú-Bihar county</b>	<b>26 500</b>	<b>4.83</b>
<b>Heves county</b>	<b>24 100</b>	<b>7.21</b>
<b>Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county</b>	<b>30 400</b>	<b>7.13</b>
<b>Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county</b>	<b>56 500</b>	<b>9.87</b>
<i>Total</i>	<b>217 600</b>	<b>8.34</b>
<b>Poland</b>	-	-
<b>Sub-Carpathian Region</b>	<b>10 000</b>	<b>0.42</b>
<b>Romania</b>	-	-
<b>Bihor</b>	<b>120 000</b>	<b>18.80</b>
<b>Botosani</b>	<b>15 000</b>	<b>3.25</b>
<b>Hargita</b>	<b>10 000</b>	<b>5.74</b>
<b>Maramures</b>	<b>37 000</b>	<b>6.85</b>
<b>Satu Mare</b>	<b>54 000</b>	<b>13.50</b>
<b>Salaj</b>	<b>50 000</b>	<b>18.70</b>
<b>Suceava</b>	<b>20 000</b>	<b>2.85</b>
<i>Total</i>	<b>306 000</b>	<b>13.46</b>
<b>Slovakia</b>	-	-
<b>Kosice Region</b>	<b>73 100</b>	<b>9.86</b>
<b>Presov Region</b>	<b>65 000</b>	<b>8.79</b>
<i>Total</i>	<b>138 100</b>	<b>12.43</b>
<b>Ukraine</b>	-	-
<b>Transcarpathian oblast</b>	<b>40 000</b>	<b>3.27</b>
<b>Other oblasts</b>	<b>10 000</b>	<b>0.19</b>
<i>Total</i>	<b>50 000</b>	<b>0.78</b>
Carpathian Euroregion in total	721 700	4.88

Source: Kocsis K. (2000)

Geographically, the majority of the gypsy population is **crowded into the** peripherising **rural regions**. Their ratio especially increased in the regions which got into the shadow of traffic, or to the mountainous and border regional backward rural regions (SÜLI-ZAKAR–CORRIGAN 1998; SÜLI-ZAKAR–TURNOCK 1999). As opposed to the senile (Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian) population the **age structure of the** growing number of the **gypsy population is juvenile**. Thus, the gypsy youth mean bigger and bigger part of the pupils of the schools (HÍVES–RADÁCSI 1997).

In the past ten years, in the bigger cities with considerable gypsy population of the region – especially if the heavy industries of these regions got into deep crisis and a considerable exchange of population took place – the symptoms of the ghettos also appeared. It was primarily characteristic of Ózd, Kosice, Miskolc and Oradea in the region.

The gypsy population living on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion, of course, **cannot be regarded homogeneous** in the socio-economic field neither in its language nor in its culture. We could also put it that the gypsy population of the region – their easily separable communities – **stand on different levels of integration** and the rising strategies have to be elaborated in accordance with joint actions.

### *Case Study 2*

## **Higher education in Hungarian – beyond our borders**

Following the changes in 1989/90, many of the neighbouring countries started to establish **Hungarian-speaking** higher education institution in several places. It is characteristic of these higher education institutions that **the range of the initiators and the participants** is very varied. It is a corresponding feature that during the beginning and middle of the nineties in the neighbouring countries they tried to make a breach in the national-like higher education traditions which stiffened in the years of socialism. **During the long lasting years of the transformation**, the central control partly weakened, and partly **the hope gleamed** for a short time that similarly to Western Europe higher education institutions may be established and operated on a market basis – and not only in the language of the nation state (KOZMA 1998, 2000).

Their formation, however, did not happen easily, the **problems of organisation and starting to escalate** and the question of survival rose to the rank of interstate politics not only in one case. The “Hungarian” attribute **does not appear in any of the names** of the institutions behind the borders of Hungary (because with this

name, the initiators could not count on the least success) - although the use of the mother-tongue had a determining role in their establishment.

The **historic events and processes hiding behind the establishment of the universities of the Hungarian minorities behind the borders of Hungary** are rather complicated. We can say as a normal position that until 1920, the Hungarian minority of almost 3 million people in the Carpathian Basin – belonging to the historic Hungary – stepped on the way of becoming a bourgeois nation as the whole of the Hungarian nation. Their social structure – on the regional level – was built and total. The peace treaties and border modifications following the first and second world wars, primarily affected the workers in the administration and public education, and fleeing-expatriation took place moving significant masses of people from time to time. Following the change of regime – also primarily affecting the intelligentsia –, **a considerable emigration started** especially towards Hungary. The **manifold “beheading” of the intelligentsia layer of the Hungarians** pushed into minority resulted in a rather hopeless situation on which even the accelerating schooling from the nineties to universities in Hungary did not help either. Because those who got their degrees stayed in Hungary so the majority of them did not return to their mother countries after getting the diploma. It became clear relatively quickly that the strengthening of the Hungarian-speaking intelligentsia in its number and its re-creation may be achieved only with the establishment of **Hungarian-speaking universities and colleges across our borders** (TEPERICS 1999).

By the middle and end of the nineties, however, significant changes happened in the countries concerned. The formation of the national institutional system strengthened – similarly to the public education – and today we experience that **the higher education system is centrally more and more controlled**. In the previous years, the still occurring irregularities provided an opportunity for the most varied enterprises but today those who start building out higher education for the minorities are forced to a very narrow space and to a more and more hopeless bureaucratic wrangling. We may experience it not only in one case that the professional institutions – e.g. the accreditation – may be used for the aims of the governmental politics (KOZMA 1998).

The **legitimate organisations initiating** Hungarian higher education behind the borders are varied: churches (Reformed, Roman Catholic), civil organisations of the local political-cultural elite, and lately these are mostly the parties of the minorities who are the most important initiators.

The strategic actors of the new foundings are **the professors of the universities and colleges in Hungary** who shoulder the block (8-10 hours a day) lecturing

despite of the small and uncertain payments and professionally legitimise the being born institutions (KOZMA 2000).

In the establishment of the Hungarian-speaking universities behind the borders of Hungary, of course, the **local demand** for the higher education training in the mother-tongue also plays a fundamental role. A considerable difference may be pointed out between the training offer of the higher education institutions of Hungary and the higher educational demand of the Hungarians living behind the borders of Hungary. For the minorities, there is a special demand for the majors **building and maintaining national identity** in the mother-tongue (using verbal communication) (TEPERICS 1999).

The issue of cross-border co-operation in education are intensively dealt with from the beginning of the 1990s in the **Hungarian Institute for Educational Research** (KOZMA, T. et al). According to their studies, two main characteristic strategies can be differentiated: **closing-up strategy** and **survival tactic**. According to the nomenclature, the “**closing-up strategy**” is foreshadowing progress. This means that the settlements of the periphery on the two sides of the border attempt at catch up with the level of the region. In concrete terms, this means the establishment of institutions with which the backward region tries to preserve its competitiveness. The elements of the **survival tactic** can be also recognised in the region. The large higher education centres in the dynamically developing socio-economic situation attract students from the other side of the border as well. Those who choose this way query the future of the emitting community with their individual coping (brain drain). (SÜLI-ZAKAR I.-CZIMRE, K.-TEPERICS, K., 1999)

**In Ukraine**, the University of Uzhgorod and the Teacher Training College of Munkacevo also school Hungarian nationalities but both institutions offer a **very narrow** range of courses in the mother-tongue. For the interest of the training in the mother-tongue of the Hungarian youth, the Foundation for the Hungarian College in Transcarpathia was registered in 1993. The following institutions had outstanding role in its establishment: the Alliance of the Hungarian Pedagogues, the Hungarian Cultural Association, the Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches, and the City Council of Beregovo. After three years of bureaucratic wrangling, the **Transcarpathian Teachers Training College of Beregovo** became a state-acknowledged private college in 1996. Now it is allowed to give a college diploma legally which is accepted in Ukraine. In the initial years, the professional background was mostly provided by the Bessenyei György Teachers Training College of Nyíregyháza.

**In Slovakia**, it is very difficult to maintain a private university in a legitimate way because the existence of an institution like this does not fit the Slovakian legal regulations. There is education in Hungarian at the State University of Nitra - but the offer here is far from the quantitative needs of the Hungarian minority with six hundred thousand people. There are civil organisations - and from 1992 the city self-government as well - who fight for the establishment of the **University of the City of Komarno**. They tried to maintain legitimacy through the professional supports of universities from Győr, Sopron and Budapest. In Eastern Slovakia, the teachers of the Pedagogical College of Sárospatak and the University of Miskolc assisted in the establishment of the teacher training in Hungarian in **Királyhelmec** and lately in **Kosice**.

From the aspect of politics and of course from the aspect of the human infrastructure as well, the **Hungarian universities in Romania** represent the biggest weight. The historic antecedents are also the most numerous here. The roots of the Hungarian higher education in Transylvania go back to several centuries: the second Hungarian university was established in Cluj Napoca in the previous century. This university became Romanian between the two world wars, after the re-annexation of Northern Transylvania it became Hungarian again, then it became a Romanian-Hungarian university. During the Ceaucescu-era, the training in Hungarian was absolutely withered. In the nineties, the Romanian government – primarily to prove the uselessness of the independent Hungarian university – expanded the prescribed number of the Hungarian (and the German as well) courses on certain professional areas. The dictatorship largely aggravated the life of the other **professional higher educations** (pastor, priest, doctor, actor) as well because it limited the training in Hungarian to a very narrow area.

After the revolution in Romania in 1990, the Királyhágó Reformed Church District brought to life the **Sulyok István Reformed College of Oradea**. In the beginning, they started irregular, then from 1991 regular teacher of religion classes and expanded the training to double major (teacher of religion-teacher of German, teacher of religion-lawyer, teacher of religion-deacon). The religious instruction was the basic training at the college and this assured the legitimacy of the denominational higher education. The professional background was provided by the universities from Cluj Napoca (Babes-Bolyai University, Protestant Theological Seminar) and Hungary (Kossuth Lajos University of Debrecen/University of Debrecen). Today, the Sulyok István College functions as the **Partium University** and we hope that it will be one of the basis of the **Transylvanian Hungarian Private University**. The seat of the private university supported financially by the Hungarian government is planned to be Cluj Napoca but the Partium University in Oradea and “regional” universities of Tirgu Mures and Miercurea-Ciuc will also be

the member institutions of it. The Romanian Hungarian Democratic Association participating as a coalition party in the present Romanian government as well still clings to its former plan to establish an **independent Hungarian State University in Cluj Napoca**.

### *Case Study 3*

## **The Greek Catholics**

### **(A peculiar religious minority on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion)**

The great religions of Europe (Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Orthodox and Israelite) were - and still are - present on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion. Besides the previously mentioned ones, the **Greek Catholics** also represent a considerable ratio. Even so, since according to the authoritative estimations about 80% of the Greek Catholics in the world live on this area, therefore, we may state that the **Carpathian Euroregion may be regarded as a favoured area from the aspect of the Greek Catholic religion** (KEMÉNYFI, R. 2000).

The **religious heterogeneity** of the Carpathian Euroregion is almost statutory, since the **buffer zone** between the Western and the Eastern Christianity runs across this area.

Several attempts were made for the “reconciliation” along the border between the Latin and Byzantine Christianity (Florence 1439, Brest 1596, Uzhgorod 1646, Transylvania 1698). As a result of this the **Catholic “inter-church” with Byzantine liturgy** was created on this area (PIRIGYI I. 1990, IVANCSÓ I. 1997). Following the division of Poland, the Greek Catholic Church was abolished on the areas which were annexed to Russia. However, this **religion with Byzantine liturgy acknowledging the Pope in Rome** practically flourished on the area which was bestowed upon the Hapsburgs.

In 1910, approximately **one-third** of the population on the area of the present Carpathian Euroregion was Greek Catholic by religion (3.1 million Greek Catholic believers lived in Galicia and 1.2 million on the area of the Hungarian Kingdom at that time).

Between the two world wars, around 1930, the number of the Greek Catholics **grew to 5.5 million** on the area of the present Carpathian Euroregion. The number of the Greek Catholics was 3 336 164 in Poland, 1 427 391 in Romania, 585 041 in Czechoslovakia and 201 093 in Hungary (RÓNAI, A. 1945).



Between the two world wars, however, **the return of the Greek Catholics to the Orthodox Church was urged** in Czechoslovakia and in Romania as well. The real tribulations of the Greek Catholics ensued only after the Second World War (KEMÉNYFI, R. 2000).

The Greek Catholic religion was **abolished** administratively in Romania (1948), in the Soviet Union (1949) and in Czechoslovakia (1950). In Poland, the Greek Catholic population was spread all over the country (1946). In some cases, the Greek Catholic Church continued its mission **illegally** but the number of the congregation considerably lowered due to the terror.

As an impact of this, the number of Greek Catholics (Orthodox) between 1930 and 1990 became 6.5 times more and their ratio grew to 33.7% from 6.7% on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion. Thus, it became the **biggest** denomination of the region (ILLÉS, I. 1995).

Prior to 1990, the Greek Catholic Church **could operate legally only in Hungary** in the region. Of course, it is not because the Hungarian communist leaders were more tolerant than their neighbours but it is due to the fact that the **Ukrainian nationalism** - against which the dissolution of the Greek Catholic Church was a step in the Soviet Union, in Poland and in Czechoslovakia - **did not mean a danger** in Hungary.

The **revival** of the Greek Catholic Church on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion happened after the change of regime - although in a rather ambiguous way. Though, the Greek Catholic Church was **legalised** in all countries but their churches and their other church properties were given back only fractionally. In the nineties, therefore, - in some cases a rather sharpened - **fight went on for the churches** and for the believers as well. In Ukraine, Romania and Slovakia, the historic rights have to be enforced as opposed to those of the Orthodox Church. Although, in Poland - and partly in Slovakia as well - the Greek Catholic believers were forced to take on the Roman Catholic religion after 1945. They have to fight - especially in Romania and in Ukraine - with the accusation of “anti-nationalism” since in these countries, the national Orthodox Church vindicates the title of **being the sole church of the nation**.

There are only very contradictory **estimations** available for us about the number of the Greek Catholics. There are about 5 million Greek Catholics in the world today and out of these about **4 million lives on the area of the Carpathian Euroregion**. (Outside the Region, there are considerable numbers of them in Budapest, Cluj

Napoca, South Transylvania, Voivodina, Croatia, the USA and in Canada.) **Within the Region** there is a quarter of a million both in Hungary and in Romania (according to our estimations there are 700 thousand in Romania), 180 thousand in Slovakia, and 30 thousand Greek Catholics in Poland. Their number is the highest in Ukraine - nevertheless, the different estimations show the biggest variations in the case of latter. However, almost all estimations agree in that the number of the **Ukrainian Greek Catholics** is over 3 million today.

Overall, we can establish that the Greek Catholic Church is one of the **most fundamental peculiarities** of the Carpathian Euroregion and **it is one of the most important elements of its homogeneity**. Although, the Greek Catholic is the **third biggest religion** (behind the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic) in the Carpathian Euroregion - but since the majority of its believers live in the region - it may be regarded as **the most peculiar religion within the region**.

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# SELECTED DISCUSSION ADDRESSES

**Igor Piliaev** (The Permanent Delegation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe)

1. Taking into consideration the leading role of the Council of Europe in introducing and harmonizing European legal standards for the protection of national minorities and noting that that the European Charter of the Council of Europe for Regional or Minority Languages have so far not been signed by Poland and Slovakia and that Hungary is the only Carpathian Euroregion country which has ratified the Charter, it seems expedient to recommend all the regional authorities of the Carpathian Euroregion to address the respective national governments and parliaments to promote signing, ratification and the following implementation of the above legal instrument to really harmonize the regional law in this sphere.

2. Bearing in mind that repeated attempts to elaborate the generally acceptable legal definition of the term “national minority” at the all-European level have so far failed due to serious divergences between different approaches to the problem in different European states (e.g. France does not recognize national minorities on its territory at all) and that the Framework Convention on Protection of National Minorities leaves it to State Parties to decide at their own discretion on criteria of the national minority, it would be quite important and useful to try to agree on and adopt at the Carpathian Euroregion level some unified criteria of the national minority. That would undoubtedly promote settling any possible local or regional ethnic problems and become a progressive example for the whole Europe.

3. One may speak about the prospect to create in the near future the common standards political and legal space spreading all over Carpathian Euroregion states in the field of protecting national minorities comprising, in particular, the above Framework Convention and the Charter, the Rome (4 November 2000) Protocol N 12 to the European Convention on Human Rights providing a general prohibition of discrimination, the PACE Recommendation N 1201 (1993) on an additional protocol on the rights of national minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights as well as the Copenhagen, Lund and Oslo Recommendations of the OSCE, the respective legal and political instruments of the UNO. The working group of national governmental and independent experts to harmonize and unify regional standards in this sphere might well be established within the Carpathian Euroregion framework.

## **Larisa Yurasova** (The Russia's Institute for Strategic Studies)

1. The majority of the contemporary states is heterogenous by their ethnic and national composition. The ethnical and national minorities in Hungary, for instance, consist 10 % of the total population, it's more than 1 million people. Among the European countries in Slovakia there is the highest percentage of national minorities, in fact, almost every fourth citizen of Slovakia is not Slovakian by its ethnical origin. Ukraine is also poliethnical state where about 100 nationalities are represented.

The majority of the current conflicts arises from the internal problems of a state. They rather originate from the problems regarding to the sphere of interethnical relations than to those in the social one.

At the beginning of 90-s a lot of experts in political sciences considered Ukraine a state where „the ethnic bomb“ seemed just about to blow. Conflictologists indicated the places in TransCarpathian region where the ethnic Hungarians lived. The character and degree of the ethnic and religious contradictions gave some ground to draw analogy with the situation in the then Yugoslavia. Fortunately Ukraine has managed to avoid the nightmare of ethnic wars. Moreover TransCarpathia provides an example of the tolerant co-existence of different national groups through the centuries and this experience is worth being studied and used just taking into account those peculiarities that exist in other European regions.

That is why it's evident that the issue of defending national minorities' rights is actual and urgent in our contemporary world.

Still there is always a lack of possibilities in solving a problem or managing a conflict. From this point of view it seems very important to make out a diagnosis and to define which of the existing problems is a prior one. And if one manages to solve it those that are to a certain degree dependent on it will probably lose their acuity. In this connection I am inclined to think that the economic stability and prosperity of the region (which is now considered a depressive one) is a key factor of stability from the point of view of the issue of national and ethnic minorities. It's absolutely necessary to coordinate the solving of minorities problems with the economic ones.

2. Neither NATO nor EU is interested in importing unsolved conflicts. That is why beside some economic requests there is one that regards the sphere of national minorities.

The last decade of the XX century is characterised by a new wave of activity of the international law in the sphere that concerns the status and rights of national minorities.

The very first efforts of this kind that were taken after the I World War (when under the auspice of the League of Nations the system of defending minorities rights was established) are hardly considered successful. Today we can witness the other extreme when this problem sometimes turns out to be in the epicenter of political heat and even acquires exaggerated forms. But in the whole international conventions and agreements as well as bilateral agreements undoubtedly favour the stability TranCarpathian region included.

In this connection the current situation regarding the ratification of the European Charter of regional languages and minorities by the Ukraine draws attention. On the one hand all that has happened does not favour the image of the state in the eyes of the world community. On the other such a situation causes some worries from the side of the country's own population, that is poliethnic. The European Charter concerns every minority that is why to ratify it is to prove that Ukraine sticks to the standards of the international law in the sphere of cultural, educational, ethnical and national minorities policies. The policy in the sphere of national minorities rights consists in ability to provide priority development of title ethnic group culture and language and at the same time not to limit national minorities rights.

3. Today the problem of Roma minority is widely discussed. A lot of international institutions, EU and OSCE included, pay great attention to this issue, considering it one of the most important in regulating national minorities problems. Moreover, sometimes the state attitude to this ethnic group and its position in the social majority has become a criterion of democracy in this or that state. This problem is actual indeed for the time being but it's also evident that while solving it one should bear in mind peculiarities of this ethnic group - its customs, traditions, the caste structure of the society, mentality. If they could be integrated into the social majority it could be realised only through a very specific way.

Nobody doubts today the significance of the sphere of ethnic relations for every multinational state. It is an urgent and very delicate problem. Errors in this field may result in dramatic and sometimes tragic consequences. While solving the problem the most important and difficult is to give maximum rights to national minorities and at the same time to preserve territorial integrity of a state, in other words while solving ethnical problems we must not disrupt the situation from inside.

## *Appendix # 1:*

# **Ethnic composition of the Transcarpathian Region**

### **Ethnic composition of the region's population<sup>33</sup>**

According to the last population census in the Transcarpathian Region, conducted in 1989, there were 976.7 thousand (78.4 %) Ukrainians (living throughout the region); 155.7 thousand (12.5 %) ethnic Hungarians (Uzhgorodsky, Berehovsky, and Vinogradovsky districts, cities of Mukachevo and Ňyachev, village Vishkovo (Khust district), village Solotvyno (Tyachev district); 49.5 thousand (4.0 %) of ethnic Russians (dispersed throughout the region, but large part of them living in the cities of Uzhgorod and Mukachevo); 29.5 thousand (2.3 %) ethnic Romanians (compactly inhabiting nine settlements - Solotvyno, Dibrova, Glyboky Potik, Topchyno, Podishor, Beskheu, Korbuneshti, Maly Bouts, Velyky Bouts, in the Tyachev district, and 4 smaller villages - Bela Tserkva, Seredne Vodyane, Playuts, Dobryk in the Rakhivsky district); 12.4 thousand (1.0 %) Roma (most of them live in the Uzhgorod, Berehovsky, and Vinogradovsky districts, in the cities of Uzhgorod and Mukachevo, most of them compactly settled on the outskirts of cities and villages); 7.4 thousand (0.6 %) ethnic Slovaks (living in the cities of Uzhgorod, Mukachevo, and Velky Berezny, as well as in the villages of Storozhnica, Antonyivka, Glyboke, and Seredne of the Uzghorodsky district, Turia-Remeta of the Perechynsky district, village Rodnykova Guta of the Svalyavsky district, and village Dovge of the Irshavsky district; 3.5 thousand (0.3 %) ethnic Germans, who inhabit a quarter in the city of Mukachevo, the villages of Pavshino, Nove Selo, Synyak, Borodyvka, Kuchava, Velyky Koropec, and Lalovo of the Mukachevo district, and village Ust-Czorna of the Tyachev district, and in individual villages of the Svalyavsky, Irshavsky, and Rachyvsky districts; 2.4 thousand (0.2 %) Jews, who live throughout the region, but mostly in the cities Mukachevo, Uzhgorod, Berehovo, Vinogradov and Khust. In total there are more than 70 ethnic groups, living throughout the region.

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<sup>33</sup> This text presents a constituent part of the paper "The Carpathian Euroregion: Minority Problems" submitted by Svitlana Mitryayeva & Eva Kish, Strategies Studies Foundation, Uzhgorod



## **Ukrainian state cultural and educational organisations, (including territorially and ethnographically-based groups), country ethnic minority organisations**

### **1. Transcarpathian Regional Cultural and Educational Association “Prosvita” (1993)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Grendji-Donskoho, 3; tel: 345 42
- Own premises (“Prosvita“ Association National House in Uzhgorod)
- Membership: 900
- Organisation’s activities financed by membership fees and donations
- Chairman: Fedaka Pavlo Mikhailovich  
Home address: Uzhgorod, Grushevskoho st., 37/101; tel: 628 76;
- Deputy Chairman: Syusko Mikhailo Ivanovich  
Home address: Uzhgorod, Universitetsky st. 6/29; tel: 420 83;  
Baglay Yosiph Oleksiovich  
Home address: Uzhgorod, Lehotskoho st. 7/32; tel: 502 48

### **2. Transcarpathian Association of T. Chevchenko’s Ukrainian National Association “Prosvita” (1997)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical; publishes in Ukrainian nationwide magazine “Slovo Prosviti” (Kiev)
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Grendji-Donskoho sq. 3; tel: 374 41
- Own premises („Prosvita“ Association National House in Uzhgorod)
- Membership: 4,500
- Organisation’s activities financed by membership fees and donations
- Chairman: Chuchka Pavlo Pavlovich;  
Home address: Uzhgorod, Jana Husa st., 18/1; tel: 374 41
- Responsible Secretary: Mohorita Mikhailo Vasilyovich  
Home address: Uzhgorod, Chelyuskyntsev st., 6/38

### **3. Transcarpathian Ukrainian National Council (1994) - association**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Grendji-Donskovo sq. 3, flat 18; tel: 371 14
- Rented premises
- Membership: not available
- The organisation’s activities are financed by sponsorship (no membership fees)
- Valera Yuri Ivanovich  
Home address: Uzhgorod, Universitetsky sq. 8/21; tel: 421 67

- Khudanich Vasil Ivanovich  
Home address: Uzhgorod, st. Grushevskoho 39/56; tel: 624 63

#### **4. Carpatho-Rusyn Society (1997)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Universitetsky sq, 6/20; tel: 331 39
- No own premises
- Membership: 2,500
- Financed by membership fees
- Chairman: Turyanica Ivan Mikhailovich  
Home address: Uzhgorod, Universitetsky sq, 6/20; tel: 429 84
- Deputy Chairman: Zhupan Yevgen Yevgenovich  
Home address: Mukachevo, Osipenka st., 39, flat 15; tel: 220 85

#### **5. Rusyn Educational and Cultural Association (1997)**

- Regional status
- Issues popular educational gazette “Rusnatski Svit”, and article collections
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Universitetsky sq. 14; tel: 437 30
- No own premises
- Membership: 100, among them researchers and popularisers of Rusyn history, ethnogenesis, language, literature, and traditions
- Financing: not available
- Makara Mikola Petrovich: Uzhgorod, Gvardijska st. 4/2; tel: 422 46
- Fedinishinec Volodimir Stepanovich  
Uzhgorod, Lehotskoho st. 9/52; tel: 523 83

#### **6. Transcarpathian Regional “Subcarpathian Rusyns’ Society” (1997)**

- Regional status
- Registered newspaper “Pidkarpatska Rus - nash kray (our country)”, not published yet due to funding difficulties
- Official address: Mukachevo, Miru st. 30; tel: 491 64
- Own premises (made available by Mukachevo Executive Committee)
- Membership: 3,000
- Financed by membership fees and donations
- Co-Chairmen:
  - Letsovlch Ladislav Vasilyovich  
Mukachevo, Podoprighori st. 7/53; tel: 491 64
  - Talabishka Ivan Dmitrovich  
Svalyavsky District, village Suskovo

## **Ethnic minority public organisations:**

### **1. Democratic Association of Ukrainian Ethnic Hungarians (1993),** whose members are:

- Association of Transcarpathian Hungarian Intelligentsia
- Transcarpathian Hungarian Organisations' Forum
- Lviv Region Ethnic Hungarian Cultural Association
- Ivano-Frankovsk Hungarian Association "Balaton"
- Dnepropetrovsk Hungarian Association
- Kiev Hungarian Association
- River Uh Region Hungarian Association
- Svalyavsky Hungarian Cultural Union
- Ferenc Rákóczi II's Mukachevo Literal and Cultural Club
- Berehovsky District Hungarian Cultural Association
- Tyachevsky Ethnic Hungarian Cultural Association
- S. Pötöfi's Crimean Hungarian Association
- Transcarpathian Hungarian Health Worker's Association
- Transcarpathian Hungarian Journalists' Club
- Transcarpathian Hungarian Club "Gazda"
- Ukrainian Nationwide Status
- No printed periodical
- Rented premises
- Membership: over 10,000 (membership of 15 organisations)
- Financed by membership fees

One of the main goals of the organisations is to deal with social and economic issues of the Ukrainian ethnic Hungarian population, which includes economic development efforts, particularly in the areas settled compactly by ethnic Hungarians. It is interested actively in the protection of the organisations' members, organises round-table talks, conferences, discussion opportunities for economic development.

- Tovt Mikhailo Mikhailovich  
Uzhgorod, Bereznia st. 8, 35/23; tel: 240 73 (Uzhgorod), 516 50 57 (Kiev)
- Vash Tibor - Executive Chairman  
Kiev - Nikolayeva st. 225, 11/121; tel: 546 67 37 - home, 290 32 14 - work

### **2. Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association (1993)**

- Regional status
- Together with the Transcarpathian Regional Council and the Regional State Administration, it is the co-founder of the regional newspaper "Karpati Igaz Szo" (Carpathian Word of Truth) in Hungarian on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Number of copies: 9,000

- Publisher of own monthly magazine “Karpátaljai Szemle” (Carpathian Overview), Number of copies: 3,000
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Pravoslavna River Bank 5; tel: 369 23
- Own premises
- Membership: 22,000, roofs more than 100 local organisations
- Financed by membership fees, donations, and Hungarian foundations (particularly the Illyes Foundation)

The association supports the realisation of Transcarpathian Hungarians’ individual and group rights, submits proposals for drafted Ukrainian laws concerning minority issues, actively participates in organising and celebrating ethnic minority holidays and historical anniversaries of the Hungarian nation.

The THCA is responsible to its political organisations for the forms and methods of its activities, it focuses attention to basic questions, it actively participates in electing Ukrainian Central Council deputies, it supports the idea of providing territorial autonomy to ethnic Hungarians, while, with its demands, it stands at the most radical position. It comes up with demands for creating an administrative and territorial unit, called “Tizsa Region”

- Chairman: Kovács Mikola Mikhailovich, Ukrainian parliamentary deputy  
Home address: Uzhgorod district, village Siurte, Rákoczi st. 67; tel: 752 45
- Deputy Chairman: Brenzovich Vasil Ivanovich  
Home address: Berehovo district, village Zapson, Golovna st. 70.; tel: 922 41

### **3. Community of Hungarian Intellectuals in Transcarpathia (1993)**

- Regional status
- “Karpátaljai Magyar Kronikó” information bulletin (monthly) in Hungarian, number of copies: 300
- “Delibab” (Mirage) magazine for young people in Hungarian, number of copies: 300
- Official address: Uzhgorod, L. Tolstoy’s st. 5f; tel: 170 27;
- Rented premises
- Membership 1,500
- Financed by membership fees, donations, and Hungarian foundations (Gyula Illyes Foundation, “New Handshaking” - the second one also supports the Transcarpathian Hungarians’ business activities)
- TSHI is mainly involved in organising cultural activities, but it pays a lot of attention to social and economic issues. The association’s primary role is to create good working conditions for creative work of qualified people, increasing educational, cultural and economic

standards in the region, and supporting young people. Based on this method, a business support agency “Association of Transcarpathian Border Municipalities” increases the qualification of specialists in various areas in an organisation called Hungarian Academy of Economics, and work in close co-operation with the foundation “New handshaking” (Hungary), the Nyíregyháza Institute of Agriculture of and the Faculty of economics of the Uzhgorod state university.

It regularly organises meetings of inhabitants from our region as well as from Hungary, it organises exhibitions, conferences, and seminars; it is a member of the international foundation “Three cordons” and the founder of the cross-border economic development region “The Carpathians” (Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary).

- The organisation does not have any political goals; in its common political activities it pays attention mainly to protecting ethnic Hungarians’ interests (particularly of its intelligentsia), which lives in the region’s territory, by making their problems visible at the regional, nationwide and international levels. It is building a system of relations with the local state organisations and also with organisations working in the territory of Hungary and other countries.
- Chairman: Dupko Yuri Yuriovich - Uzhgorod, Tikha st. 15/74; tel: 296 17
- Co-Chairmen:
  - Horvath Sándor Kalmánovich
  - Uzhgorod, Shumna st. 28/13
  - Horvath Erszebet Fedorivna
  - Uzhgorod district, village Holmok, Svobodni st. 59; tel: 732 34

#### **4. Forum of Hungarian Organizations in Transcarpathia (KMSZF) (1995)** partnership of 25 organisations:

- Berehovo District Hungarian Cultural Association (Piridi Béla)
- Tyachevsky District Hungarian Cultural Association (Tibor Szellési)
- River Uh Region Hungarian Association (Arpád Péter)
- Svalyavsky Hungarian Cultural Union (Vas István)
- Ferenc Rákoczi II’s Mukachevo Literal and Cultural Club (Helm Judit)
- Berehovo District Handicapped People’s Association (Balogh Iren)
- Hetenska Association “Gazda” of the Berehovo District (Hegedüs Tibor)
- Dyakivska Association of Vinogradovsky District Peasants (Stojka Ferencz)
- Tyachevsky District Solotvyno Miners’ Group (Pohar Elek)
- Zapon Association of Berehovo District Peasants (Cerhati Teodor)
- Garazdivsky Farming Group “Golden Ear” of the Berehovo District (Deák István)

- Tyachevsky District Upper-Tisza Business Club (Sava Józef)
  - Berehovo District Business Association “Four Borders” (Kincz Gábor)
  - Berehovo Young Hardiuses’ Association (Fedor Gyula) (Hardius - biblical term)
  - Regional status
  - In august lat year, a trial issue of the Forum newspaper was issued “Co-operation, Economics, Culture” in Hungarian; number of copies: 2,000
  - Official address: Berehovo, Chmelnitskoho st. 14; tel: 254 48, 241 77
  - No own premises
  - Membership: approx. 10,000 (membership of 25 organisations)
  - Financed by membership fees and international grants (particularly the Illyés Foundation - Hungary)
- The forum unites the region’s ethnic Hungarian organisations on federal principles, and the forum’s main goal is to protect the Transcarpathian ethnic Hungarians’ interests, co-ordinate activities, and build mutual relations with state organisations on the principle of equality and independence. It is a member of the Democratic Association of Ukrainian Hungarians, the Worldwide Hungarian Association, the Confederation of Western Ukrainian Ethnic Minority Organisations, and the International Ukrainian Forum. It actively deals with issues of social and economic character by increasing the Hungarian population’s standard of living, it organises conferences and round table talks. It monitors the current political situation in Ukraine and the region.
- Kincz Gábor Jozefovich: Berehovo, Tompa Michaya st. 8; tel: 32 97  
Regional Co-Chairmen
  - Horvath Sándor Kalmánovich - Uzhgorod district
  - Piridi Béla – Berehovo district
  - Ambrusz Pál – Upper-Tisza region

## **5. Transcarpathian Association of Hungarian Pedagogues (1996).**

- Regional status
- Periodical journal for teachers “*Közoktatás*” (*Public Education*), issued 3 times a year, number of copies 1,000, children’s magazine “*Irka*” (exercise book), issued 4 times a year; number of copies: 5,000
- Official address: Berehovo, Kobylyanskoy st. 17; tel: 243 43, 227 29
- Own premises (in 1999 they added to them a new building in the city of Berehovo, financed by an international grant)
- Membership: 1,200, mostly pedagogues who teach at ethnic Hungarians’ primary schools
- Financed by membership fees and international grants

- The TAHP actively stands for the autonomous status of the ethnic Hungarian school system. It actively supports the liberalisation of the education system on a legal basis. It analyses and assesses ethnic Hungarians' primary school issues, and it provides them with professional and organisational assistance. It pays special attention to the teaching of Hungarians in places where ethnic Hungarians live dispersed. Every year it organises Olympics in 12 subjects, organises school theatrical groups, a conference on the topic "The Issues and Perspectives of Hungarian Education in Transcarpathia", it organises summer relaxation camps, mother tongue groups for children who learn Hungarian as a voluntary subject, English, dances and songs, mathematics - "Abakus" - for talented children, post-graduation courses for teachers of informatics. The association submits its proposals concerning the improvement of teaching at ethnic Hungarian primary schools, it actively participates in the work of the Centre for the Co-ordination of Hungarian Primary Schools, set up at the Regional School Board
- Orösz Ildikó Imriivna  
Uzhgorod district, village V. Dobron, Vesni st. 4/6; tel: 783 32
- Gulaszi Geyza Lajozsovicz - Mukachevo, Miru st. 85; tel: 543 13

## **6. Transcarpathian Hungarian Scientific Association (1993).**

- Regional status
- Yearly bulletin „Transcarpathian Hungarian Scientific Association's Gazette”, issued in Hungarian with Ukrainian, Russian, English and German resumes, number of copies 500
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Zamkova st. 12; tel: 342 77
- No own premises, work on the basis of the Centre of Hungarology
- Membership: 79 (Dr. and PhD. who have very good command of Hungarian, and who are interested in Hungarian language issues)
- Financed by membership fees  
The members of the association analyse the social and economic situation in the region, and the professors - economists - regularly give lectures among the ethnic Hungarian population. The basic role of the association is the organisation of scientific work and its introduction into practical life, with the aim of widening international scientific links between Ukraine, Hungary, and other countries, as well as organising scientific conferences, symposia, study journeys, and publishing.
- Lizanec Petro Mikolayovich, Uzhgorod, Drugetiv st. 57/1; tel: 159 34
- Fabri Zoltán Jozefovich,  
Uzhgorod, Zamkovetskoi st. 36/20; tel: 282 28

## **7. Transcarpathian Hungarian Student Researchers' Association (1999)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Zamkova st. 12; tel: 342 77
- No own premises, work on the basis of the Centre of Hungarology
- Membership: 90
- Financed by membership fees
  - Operates under the auspices of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Scientific Association, influences preparation and realisation of scientific and practical events in the fields of humanities, natural and exact sciences, assists the preparation of conferences and other events concerning the social and economic situation.
- Balogh Livia Ivanivna
  - Uzhgorod district, town of Cop, Bereg st. 80;
- Kikenesi Róbert Oleksandrovich
  - Uzhgorod, Bachinskoho st. 32; tel: 306 53

## **8. Transcarpathian Hungarian Journalists' Association (1998)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical, large part of the association's members are correspondents of Hungarian newspapers in the region and of the Transcarpathian Television and Radio Committee
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Gagarina st. 42/1; tel: 207 39
- No own premises
- Membership: 86
- Financed by membership fees and international grants
  - The association is actively involved in analysing the state and development of the Transcarpathian Hungarian press, radio and television, it organises courses designed for increasing journalists' qualifications, establishes close co-operation and working links with colleagues in the neighbouring countries, increases the level of communication
- Chairman: Kevsgi Elemir Zigmundovich, Uzhgorod, Chopin's st. 13/6; tel: 207 39
- Deputy Chairmen:
  - Horondi Georgi Pavlovich
    - Mukachevo, Turgenyeva st. 1/4; tel: 247 68 - home
  - Zubanich László Lászlovich
    - Berehovo district, village Hut, Nagy Georgy st. 18;



## **9. Hungarian Scouts Association of Transcarpathia (1996)**

- Regional status
- Periodical magazine “Niomkeresev” (Researcher), number of copies 1,500-2,000, issued 2-4 times a year
- Official address: Mukachevo, Frunze st. 1; tel: 217 38 (office)
- Own premises
- Membership: 500
- Financed by donations and international grants  
Since its start, the organisation has provided very strong support of Hungarian young people in organising their leisure time, who, through various international organisations, take part in various events for young people; it educates people through sports, tourism, and learning.
- Popovich Albert Pavlovich  
Mukachevo, Queen Elizabeth’s st. 9; tel: 217 43
- Popovich Pál Pavlovich  
Mukachevo, Queen Elizabeth’s st. 9; tel: 283 25

## **10. Association of Hungarian Librarians in Transcarpathia (1994).**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Berehovo, Kosshut’s st. 2; tel: 243 51
- No own premises
- Membership: 124
- Financed by international funds  
The activities focus mainly on the protection and promotion of Hungarian literature, organisation of training and re-training of library staff, development of co-operation between libraries in Ukraine and in foreign countries. Using this method, the association systematically organises local and international conferences and workshops, during which their participants exchange results of their work; it closely co-operates with the Association of Hungarian Librarians
- Chairman: Horváth Ilona Mikhailivna  
Uzhgorod, Shumna st. 28/13

## **11. Association of Hungarian Health Workers in Transcarpathia (1996)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod district, Cop, Miru st. 3; tel: 155 79
- No own premises

- Membership: 94
- Financed by membership fees
  - The organisation's activities focus mainly on the support of languages in the professional area
- Czik Ferencz Isvánovich, Vonogradov, Koshovoho st. 8
- Varga Ludvig Samuilovich
  - Uzhgorod district, village Storoznica, Druzhby st. 5; tel: 548 36 - home, 714 54 - work.

## **12. Russian Cultural Association “Russian House” (1993)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod. Narodna sq. 4.; tel: 247 58
- No own premises
- Membership: 1,500 regular
- Financed by donations
  - Since its start, the organisation has taken part in sessions, conferences about the issues of social and economic situation, organised by the Transcarpathian state administration, it provides various assistance in resolving identified problems, but it focuses its attention to the cultural and education activities, by organising the “Russian Culture Days”, creative and musical evenings, scientific conferences, humanitarian actions, etc. By the initiative of the association in Uzhgorod, it organised an international symposium “Ukrainian-Russian Relations in the Context of European Co-Operation”, which was held on the occasion of 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Alexander S. Pushkin's birth.
- Makhortova Svitlana Sergivna, Mukachevo, Nedecei st. 41/10; tel: 541 08
- Romanova Tetiana Danilivna
  - Uzhgorod, Blagoeva st. 14/20. 4; tel: 392 20

## **13. Transcarpathian Department of Ukrainian Nationwide Organisations Ukraine's Russian Movement (1999)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Koriatovicha sq. 22
- No own premises
- Membership: 50
- Financed by membership fees
  - It focuses its attention to cultural and educational activities

- Chernomirdin Vladislav Oleksandrovich  
Uzhgorod, Glyboka st. 13; tel: 141 29
- Progoraev Volodimir Oleksandrovich  
Uzhgorod, Blagoeva st. 14/20; 392 20

#### **14. Koshbuk's Transcarpathian Romanian Social and Cultural Association (1994).**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Tyachevo district, Solotvyno, Mozgovoho st., 36; tel: 319 36
- No own premises
- Membership - 1,500
- Financed by membership fees and donations  
The association's main goal is to nurture young people's love of the mother tongue, the country's history, keeping national traditions, habits, and the social position of the ethnic Romanian population. Every year, a festival of the local ethnic Romanian population is organised. They co-operate closely on resolving cultural, educational, and social problems and with the local municipalities, schools, and religions by negotiations.
- Chairman: Oprish Yuri Mikhailovich  
Tyachevsky district, Solotvyno, Dzerzhinskoho 16; tel: 565 49
- Deputy Chairmen:
- Migalka Ivan Ivanovich, Tyachevsky district, village Dibrova
- Siman Nucu Ivanovich  
Rakhiv district, village S. Vodyane

#### **15. Ioan Mikhali's Transcarpathian Romanian Social and Cultural Association *Ansha (1999)***

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Tyachevo district, Solotvyno, Sportivna st. 72
- No own premises
- Membership: 100
- Financed by membership fees  
The association's main goal is the support and development of national culture, and the protection of Transcarpathian Romanians' cultural, economic and other common interests.
- Bokoch Yuri Vasilyovich  
Tyachevsky district, Solotvyno, Kharkivska st. 104; tel: 561 97
- Yovdyi Vasil Yuriovich  
Tyachevsky district, village Dibrova, Borkanyuka st.; tel: 575 69

## **16. Regional Cultural and Educational Organisation “Matica Slovenská in Transcarpathia”(1994)**

- Regional status
- At the end of 1998 it started to print its own monthly periodical “Subcarpathian Slovak” in Slovak; number of copies: 500
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Shumna st. 26/3; tel: 396 94
- No own premises
- Membership: 1,500
- Financing: not available; on public principles.

Since its start, it has dealt actively with the issues of social and economic assistance, e.g. organising humanitarian assistance for ethnic Slovaks in the region, however, its basic goals are the development of the Slovak schools, culture, and deepening national self-consciousness. By their initiative, Slovak classes have been opened, and a Department of Slovak Philology has been opened at the Uzhgorod University.

- Gajnič Jozef Jozefovich  
Uzhgorod district, village Glyboke 169; tel: 771 14
- Mikita Andrij Ivanovich, Associated Professor  
Uzhgorod, Universitetska st. 10;

## **17. E. Štúr’s Transcarpathian Slovak Association (1997)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod district, village Storozhnica, Chevchenka st. 4; tel: 75 431
- Own premises at the Centre of Slovak Culture (Storozhnica)
- Membership: 750
- The organisation is financed by donations, and the Centre of Slovak Culture is financed by state budget.

The association carries out active work in support and development of Slovak culture, traditions, and customs. With the support by governmental bodies, in 1991, a Ukrainian-Slovak school was opened, and Slovak classes at the schools where Slovaks live compactly were started. There are separate cultural ensembles active at the Centre of Slovak Culture.

- Horváth Jozef Yuliovich  
Uzhgorod district, village Storozhnica, Gagarin’s st. 14; tel: 75 594
- Ograzanskyi Pavlo Pavlovich  
Uzhgorod district, village Storozhnica, Tarnivetska st. 27; tel: 75 471

### **18. Regional Association of Slovak Inteligentsia (06.10.2000)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod district, village Storozhnica, Chevchenka st. 4; tel: 161 16
- No own premises
- Membership: 60
- Financed by membership fees  
The association started by the initiative of Slovak educationalists, with the goal of resolving education and development issues in Transcarpathia. Besides that, the development of culture and good neighbouring relations, and protection of ethnic Slovaks' interests in general.
- Horváth Ernest Ivanovich  
Uzhgorod, Dobrianskoho st. 10, flat Ç; tel: 161 16
- Dalekorey Boris Yuriovich  
Uzhgorod, Onokivska st 20, flat 99; tel: 396 17

### **19. Regional Transcarpathian Slovak Women's Association "Dôvera" (1999)**

- Regional status
- Printed periodical - magazine "Dôvera" (issued once or twice a month, number of copies: 1,000)
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Kavkazska st. 15/22; tel: 158 05
- No own premises
- Membership: 50
- The organisation is financed by membership fees and donations  
It carries out active work in the support and development of Slovak culture, traditions, and customs.
- Herceg-Pash Natalia Fedorivna, Uzhgorod, Kavkazska st. 15/22; tel: 424 36
- Shovan Tetiana Ivanivna  
Perechinsky district, village Ň. Remeta, Lenina st. 15; tel: 824 555 53 00

### **20. Regional Association of Transcarpathian Germans "Revival" (1994)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Mukachevo, Chemborna st. 4; tel: 425 36
- Own premises
- Membership: 1260
- Financed by international grants  
Actively interested in issues of social and economic position of the ethnic German diaspora in the region, prepares various materials,

programmes for receiving grants from international organisations, particularly religious groups in Germany. They are members of the Association “Krailand Faltz - Ukraine” (Germany).

One of the main goals is to revive ethnic Germans’ language and culture, their distinctiveness and spirituality. Every year a holiday of German culture is organised. Thanks to the voluntary assistance of various organisations in Germany and Austria, ethnic German boys and girls have an opportunity to perfect their mother tongue in Germany.

- Kizman Zoltán Mikhailovich  
Mukachevo, Grapha Cherborna 46; tel: 440 43
- Hudak Magdalina Yosipivna  
Mukachevo, Komparova st. 19; tel: 471 05

## **21. Regional Transcarpathian organisation “Transcarpathian Germans”**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Mukachevo, Komparova st. 44; tel: 471 72
- No own premises
- Membership: 1500
- Financing: not available

Main goal of activities: connected with the effort of the members of the organization to be recognized and to protect their own legal rights and interests, preservation and support of national culture, traditions, forming national self-consciousness, providing assistance, and learning and preserving the mother tongue.

- Schurani Stefania Antonivna  
Khust, Rilskoho st. 2; tel: 253 31 (Khust)
- Fechtel Valentina Yanivna  
Mukachevo, Komarova st. 44; tel: 471 72 (Mukachevo)
- Tsanko Volodimir Vasilyovich  
Svalyava, Vyzvolenyia st. 172/2; tel: 733 14 (Svalyava)

## **22. Roma cultural and educational association “Romani Yah” (1993)**

- Regional status
- Weekly newspaper “Romani Yah” in Ukrainian and Romani language, number of copies: 5,000
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Gyengesi 10; tel: 361 77, 158 05
- Own premises
- Membership: 750
- Financed by international funds, sponsors, basically foundation “Revival”

and the European Centre for Romany Rights. The organisation is actively involved in legal protection of Transcarpathian Roma. The organisation has opened a cultural centre, which is a legal consultation place, runs a charity canteen, and has opened the first Romany kindergarten on Ukraine. With the participation of the European Centre for Rights of Roma, a series of workshops, an international conference “Roma Legal Protection: Law and Practice of Their Protection in International and Ukrainian legal Provisions” have been organised. The organisation concentrates on the social position of Roma and revival of their culture and habits.

The association includes the following work:

- Cultural and promotional – finding and supporting Romany talents, promotion and popularisation of Romany culture, organisation of local leisure time;
- Social and economical – assistance to poor and affected, organisation of humanitarian assistance;
- Educational – preparation of pre-school age children, preparation of the most talented young Romani people in learning at higher grade classes of primary schools, secondary, special, and higher schools;
- Protection of rights – legal consultations as assistance to Romany population;
- Adam Aladar Yevgenovich, Uzhgorod, Glinki st. 43; tel: 137 66
- Buchko Ernest Antonovich, Uzhgorod, Lehotskoho âœ 50/55; tel: 513 95

### **23. Transcarpathian association of Romany public organisations “Ekhine” (We are One) (1998)**

- Regional status
  - No printed periodical
  - Official address: Uzhgorod, st. Gyengiesi 10; tel: 361 77
  - Own premises on at “Romany Yah” association
  - Membership: over 11,000 (membership of 7 organisations):
  - Regional association “Romani Yah” (Ř. Řdam)
  - Regional organisation “Unh-Romen” (Ň. Horváth)
  - Regional organisation “Rom Som” (Ř. Pál)
  - Berehovo organisation “Roma” (Ě. Szabo)
  - Mukachevo organisation “Nevipe” (J. Birah)
  - Vilokska organisation “Romano Chachipe” (V. Pinzes)
  - Regional organisation “Terne Chaya Po Nebo Drom” (Ě. Savko)
  - Financed by membership fees and international grants
- Co-ordinates work and provides substantial assistance to all Romany organisations - association members

- Adam Aladar Yevgenovich, Uzhgorod, Glinki st. 43; tel: 137 66
- Navrotska Yevgenia Mikholaivna  
Uzhgorod, General Svoboda's st. 5/83; tel: 547 56

**24. Transcarpathian Romany Women's Regional Cultural and Educational Association "Terne Chaya Po Nebo Drom" (Young Women On a New Road) (1999)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Gyengesi st. 10; tel: 361 77
- No own premises, operating on the basis of the cultural centre "Romany Yah"
- Membership: 20
- Financed by membership fees and assistance funds  
Goal of activities: protection of social, economic, educational, intellectual rights of Romany women, effort in improving their social and psychological, cultural, and living conditions.
- Savko Mariana Ivanivna Uzhgorod, Shvabska st. 27; flat G b
- Adam Livia Yevrenivna  
Uzhgorod, Glinki st. 43

**25. Association of Transcarpathian Roma (1993)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Donskoho st. 4; tel: 137-58
- Rented premises
- Membership: 550
- Financed by membership fees

They are actively involved in solving Roma problems of social and economic character by protecting their interests at governmental bodies. The association focuses its effort on the social protection, charity work, writing documents, cultural development of the Romany population through organisations of pre-school facilities and elementary school with accessible programmes and methods; reviving traditional crafts, including young people into cultural and restoration processes, supporting young boys' and girls' entry of secondary and higher schools and their job careers, organising folklore holidays, participating in regional and international festivals.

In 1998, the association opened a Romani state school in Uzhgorod, in which children learn Romany language and literature, Ukrainian language, Ukrainian law, play music, and learn about Romany crafts. The awarded folklore group "Solnyachna Radvanka", led by Svitlana



Adam, takes part in local festivals, not just in Ukraine, but also in Hungary, Poland, Spain, and Macedonia.

- Adam Yosiph Ivanovich Uzhgorod, Donskoho st. 4; tel: 137 58
- Gazi Andrij Mikolayevich Uzhgorod, Donskoho 19

## **26. Transcarpathian Roma Congress “Praline” (2000)**

- Regional status- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Bohatirska st. 45; tel: 137 58
- Operates at the Romany association “Roma”
- Membership of 6 organisations:
- Transcarpathian Romany association “Roma”
- Cultural association for the protection of interests of Hungarian-speaking ethnic Roma “Hung-Romen”
- Association of Transcarpathian musical culture “Lautari”
- Cultural association of Transcarpathian Roma “Rom Som”
- Transcarpathian regional Roma association “Amaro Drom”
- Transcarpathian young Roma association “Amaro Drom Ternengero”\_
- Financed by membership fees Co-ordinates activities of Romany organisations - members of the Congress - in representation and protection of legal social, economic, and public rights, ethnic cultural, spiritual, educational and other interests of Transcarpathian Roma.
- Adam Yosip Ivanovich, Congress President Uzhgorod, Donskoho st. 4; tel: 13 75

## **27. Transcarpathian regional Roma association “Amaro Drom” (1995)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Chopin’s st. 15f/8; tel: 365 64
- No own premises
- Membership: 200
- Financed by membership fees  
It is mainly involved in the development of sport, organising mini-football, volleyball and basketball events at playgrounds, during which there are interesting and growing tournaments and championships. The main asset of the association’s activities - living out of “streets”, without smoking, drinking, or taking drugs.  
Pál Omelian Yosipovich  
Uzhgorod, Chopin’s st. 15f/8; tel: 205 55
- Ahii Omelian  
Uzhgorod, Nakhimova st. 18

## **28. Transcarpatian young Roma association “Amaro Drom Ternengero” (1995)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Hakhimova st. 24
- No own premises
- Membership: 100
- Financing: not available  
Practically no activities carried out
- Plisov Valeryi Mikolayovich  
Uzhgorod, Vysoka st. 10/11; tel: 308 97

## **29. Transcarpathian Roma cultural association “Rom Som” (1997)**

- Regional status
- On 3rd January 2000 it started issuing a monthly information leaflet “Rom Som”; number of copies: 500
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Mukachivska st. 10/5; tel: 167 59
- No own premises
- Membership: 100
- Financed by international funds  
The activities focus on increasing the educational and cultural level of the Romany population around Uzhgorod. It formed the first Roma child folklore ensemble, which won the highest award for choreography at an international festival. There is a legal centre at the association, which assists the protection of Transcarpathian Roma’s rights, a child Romany studio is being created, and the first Romany child music theatre in Ukraine has been created.
- Pál Aladar Aladarovich  
Uzhgorod, Mukachivska st. 10/5; tel: 167 59
- Keshel Wilhelm Oleksandrovich  
Uzhgorod, Minaiska st. 16

## **30. Association of Transcarpathian Roma music culture “Lautari” (musician) (1998)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Odessa st. 336/25; tel: 206 48
- Rented premises in a teacher’s building
- Membership: 200
- Financed by membership fees  
The association was created by the initiative of the leader of a popular jazz group “Pál Quartet” of the well-known musician, virtuoso -

saxophonist and clarinettist. The main goal of its activities is further development and popularisation of music culture, particularly Romany one, organising musical festivals, musical and theatrical exhibitions, and musical education of Romany children. In 1998, the first nationwide jazz festival “Pap-Jazz-Fest-98” was organised, and in 2000 there was the third nationwide and the second international festival. Active work is being done to open an ethnic Roma musical theatre of drama and the sound recording studies.

- Pap Vilmos Arpadovich  
Uzhgorod, Odesska st. 336/25; tel: 206-48
- Pap Wilhelm Wilmoshovich  
Uzhgorod, Novaka st. 4/10

### **31. Transcarpathian cultural association for the protection of interests of Hungarian-speaking Roma “Hung-Romen” (1999)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Svobodi sq. 39/50
- Own premises
- Membership: 1000
- Financed by membership fees and sponsors

It supports cultural protection of Hungarian-speaking Roma who live in the region, protection of their social, economic, educational, cultural, and other rights.

- Horváth Tibor Oleksandrovich, Uzhgorod, Svobodi sq. 39/50; tel: 278 96
- Horváth Yosip, Tiborovich the same

### **32. Transcarpathian Regional Jewish Association (1993)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Voloshchina st. 1/2
- No own premises
- Membership: 1000
- The association’s work is done basically with the support of the Jewish foundation of Ukraine, the “Sholom” foundation in Lviv, the “Sinbera” foundation, and the voluntary foundation “Mir”. Since its creation, the organisation has supported close contacts with the Jewish population, it provides moral support, and it is involved in organising cultural and beneficial programmes. Due to the lack of financial means, however, it does not resolve issues of social and economic character. The main aspects of the

activities include culture, education, preservation of the memory of the innocent Jews killed during the war time, and assistance to those in need.

- Guber Adalbert Beilovich, Uzhgorod, Filatova st. 13; tel: 319 03
- Yakubovich Mara Yosipivna, Uzhgorod, Odesska st. 186/8

### **33. Transcarpathian Association of Polish Culture (1995)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Koshitska st. 7; tel: 329 43
- No own premises- Membership: 40
- Financed by membership fees

The association is involved in organising cultural events, it maintains close contacts with the public organisation “Polish Society” (Poland), provides moral support to the ethnic Polish in the region, however, due to the lack of financial means, it does not deal with issues of social and economic character. As one of the aspects of their activities, the association’s members support awakening of the national self-consciousness of the ethnic Polish population in Transcarpathia, and maintenance of their language, culture, religion, traditions and customs. They organise cultural and educational, as well as methodical and ecological actions. Among other things, it also organises activities of the medical section “medical ring”, holidays of children from ethnic Polish families from Transcarpathia in Poland, sending young boys and girls for studying at prestigious universities in Poland, celebrating holidays, as on the occasion of 200 years of the birth of the famous Polish poet A. Mickiewicz. In 1999, by their initiative, a Polish Sunday school was opened in Uzhgorod.

- Vakarova Galina Volodimirivna, Uzhgorod L. Tolstoy’s st. 46/16; tel: 329 43
- Shiguryski Olexandr Valentinovich, Uzhgorod, Minaiska st. 25/33; tel: 264 23

### **34. Transcarpathian association of Armenian culture “Aram”**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, General Svoboda’s st. 5/1; tel: 207-35
- No own premises
- Membership: 450, however, not all representatives of the Armenian nationality, but also Ukrainians, Hungarians, Jews, Slovaks - all who are interested in preservation of Armenian culture and enrichment of national traditions.
- Financed through membership fees

Promotes history and culture of its own nation, Armenian-Ukrainian friendship, through the organisation of scientific conferences, literature and musical evenings, artists' exhibitions, etc. The association has made an artistic-documentary film "I'll take your sorrow on me", "The Prayer of the Stone", book "Light the Candles", organised by the Armenian Sunday school.

- Nokohosian Sergii Senikerimovich  
Uzhgorod, General Svoboda's st. 5/1; tel: 217 35
- Mikhailianc Eduard Aramaysovich  
Uzhgorod, Kerchinska st. 22/1; tel: 424 03 - home, 420 53
- office

### **35. Transcarpathian regional cultural association of Belorussians "Siabri" (1999)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Grushevskoho st. 27/16; 142 46
- No own premises
- Membership: 3000
- Financed by membership fees  
The association's basic goal is to protect and develop Belorussian cultural and spiritual heritage, teaching young people to respect the Belorussian culture, make an effort to improve the social skills of their members.
- Donets Anatolyi Adamovich  
Uzhgorod, Grushevskoho st. 27/16; tel: 636 49
- Karmazin Olexandr Ivanovich  
Uzhgorod, Dobrianskoho st. 14/23; tel: 306 52

### **36. Regional organisation of the Congress of Azeris in Ukraine (2000)**

- Regional status
- No printed periodical
- Official address: Uzhgorod, Lehotskoho st. 76/16
- No own premises
- Membership: 50
- Financing: not available  
It unites representatives of ethnic Azeris in the diaspora in order to assist their common development of culture, spiritual, and public-political needs
- Geyushev Zakir  
Uzhgorod, Lehotskoho st. 76/16
- Khalilov Zachid Shanchetdin Ogli  
Uzhgorod, Lavrishcheva st. 12a/50; 152 34

## **Representation of ethnic groups in the governmental bodies and in own areas of activities.**

### **Deputies of all councils in the region:**

5753 Ukrainians (83.3 %), 918 Hungarians (13.3 %), 42 Russians (0.6 %), 126 Romanians (1.8 %), 15 Roma (0.2 %), 8 Slovaks (0.1 %), 29 Germans (0.4 %), 2 Jews (0.02 %) and 11 representatives of other ethnic minorities (0.2 %).

### **All Regional Council Deputies:**

74, including 64 Ukrainians (86.5 %), 6 Hungarians (8.1 %), 2 Russians (2.7 %), 1 Jew (1.3 %), 1 Romanian (1.3 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.2 %).

### **Local Council Deputies:**

Uzhgorod: 39 deputies, out of them 34 Ukrainians (87.2 %), 3 Hungarians (7.7 %), 1 Slovak (2.6 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (2.6 %).

Mukachevo: 43 deputies, out of them 41 Ukrainians (95.3 %), 2 Germans (4.7 %).

Khust: 30 deputies, out of them 30 Ukrainians (100 %).

### **District Council Deputies:**

1. Berehovsky district: 600 deputies in total; out of them 142 Ukrainians (23.6 %), 450 Hungarians (75.0 %), 4 Russians (0.7 %), 3 Roma (0.5 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.2 %).
2. Velikoberezniansky district: 358 deputies in total; out of them 350 Ukrainians (97.7 %), 4 Russians (1.1 %), 3 Slovaks (0.8 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.2 %).
3. Vinogradovsky district: 661 deputies in total; out of them 482 Ukrainians (72.9 %), 178 Hungarians (26.9 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.2 %).
4. Volovetsky district: 288 deputies in total; out of them 288 Ukrainians (100 %).
5. Irshavsky district: 549 deputies in total; out of them 546 Ukrainians (99.4 %), 3 Russians (0.6 %).
6. Mirzhgirsky district: 441 deputies in total; out of them 441 Ukrainians (100 %).
7. Mukachevsky district: 754 deputies in total; out of them 651 Ukrainians (86.3 %), 72 Hungarians (9.5 %), 6 Roma (0.8 %), 25 Germans (3.3 %).
8. Perechynsky district: 297 deputies in total; out of them 297 Ukrainians (100 %).
9. Rakhivsky district: 465 deputies in total; out of them 411 Ukrainians (87.6 %), 6 Hungarians (1.8 %), 51 Romanians (10.9 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.2 %).
10. Svalyavsky district: 287 deputies in total; out of them 276 Ukrainians (96.1 %), 1 Hungarian (0.3 %), 4 Russians (1.4 %), 1 Roma (0.3 %), 2 Germans (0.7 %), 1 Jew (0.3 %), 2 representatives of other ethnic minorities (0.7 %).

11. Tyachevo district: 855 deputies in total; out of them 763 Ukrainians (89.2 %), 16 Hungarians (1.9 %), 75 Romanians (8.8 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.1 %).
12. Uzhgorodsky district: 564 deputies in total; out of them 352 Ukrainians (62.4 %), 178 Hungarians (31.6 %), 23 Russians (4.1 %), 5 Roma (0.9 %), 4 Slovaks (0.7 %), 2 representatives of other ethnic minorities (0.3 %).
13. Khustsky district: 593 deputies in total; out of them 583 Ukrainians (98.3 %), 8 Hungarians (1.3 %), 2 Russians (0.4 %).

## **Representation of ethnic minorities in governmental structures of the region (in local, district governmental and administrative bodies and local municipalities).**

### **All employees in the region:**

3359; out of them 2901 Ukrainians (86.4 %), 219 Hungarians (6.5 %), 182 Russians (5.4 %), 3 Romanians (0.1 %), 18 Slovaks (0.5 %), 7 Germans (0.2 %), 2 Jews (0.06 %), 27 representatives of other ethnic minorities (0.8 %).

### **Regional level of government:**

920 in total; out of them 753 Ukrainians (81.8 %), 44 Hungarians (1.8 %), 95 Russians (10.3 %), 15 Slovaks (1.6 %), 13 representatives of other ethnic minorities (1.4 %).

### **District and local together:**

2439 in total; out of them 2148 Ukrainians (88.1 %), 175 Hungarians (7.1 %), 87 Russians (3.5 %), 3 Romanians (0.1 %), 3 Slovaks (0.1 %), 7 Germans (0.3 %), 2 Jews (0.1 %), 14 representatives of other ethnic minorities (0.6 %).

### **Out of that number, local:**

- Uzhgorod: 56 in total; out of them 50 Ukrainians (89.3 %), 4 Russians (7.1 %), 1 Slovak (1.8 %).
- Mukachevo: 250 in total; out of them 201 Ukrainians (80.4 %), 14 Hungarians (5.6 %), 27 Russians (10.8 %), 1 Slovak (0.4 %), 1 German (0.4 %), 6 representatives of other ethnic minorities (2.4 %).

### **District:**

- Berehovsky district: 74 in total; out of them 38 Ukrainians (51.3 %), 31 Hungarians (41.9 %), 4 Russians, 1 representative of other ethnic minority (1.4 %);
- V Bezernyansky district: 76 in total; out of them 76 Ukrainians (100 %);

- Vinogradovsky district: 231 in total; out of them 158 Ukrainians (68.4 %), 71 Hungarians (30.7 %), 2 Russians (0.9 %);
- Volovetsky district: 127 in total; out of them 122 Ukrainians (96.1 %), 4 Russians (3.1 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.8 %);
- Irshavsky district: 155 in total; out of them 151 Ukrainians (97.4 %), 3 Russians (1.9 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.6 %);
- Mizhgirsky district: 83 in total; out of them 83 Ukrainians (100 %);
- Mukachevsky district: 201 in total; out of them 182 Ukrainians (90.5 %), 7 Hungarians (3.5 %), 7 Russians (3.5 %), 1 Romanian (0.5 %), 1 Slovak (0.5 %), 1 German (0.5 %), 2 representatives of other ethnic minorities (1.0 %);
- Perechynsky district: 102 in total; out of them 97 Ukrainians (95.1 %), 4 Russians (3.9 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (1.0 %);
- Svalyavsky district: 152 in total; out of them 142 Ukrainians (93.4 %), 5 Hungarians (3.3 %), 1 Russian (0.6 %), 3 Germans (2.0 %), 1 Jew (0.6 %);
- Rakhivsky district: 194 in total; out of them 181 Ukrainians (93.3 %), 11 Hungarians (5.7 %), 2 Russians (1.0 %);
- Tyachevo district: 270 in total; out of them 241 Ukrainians (89.2 %), 18 Hungarians (6.7 %), 7 Russians (2.6 %), 2 Romanians (0.7 %), 2 Germans (0.7 %);
- Uzhgorodsky district: 241 in total; out of them 188 Ukrainians (87.8 %), 15 Hungarians (7.0 %), 10 Russians (4.7 %), 1 representative of other ethnic minority (0.5 %);
- Khustsky district: 254 in total; out of them 238 Ukrainians (93.7 %), 3 Hungarians (1.2 %), 12 Russians (4.7 %), 1 Jew (0.4 %).



## Ethnic language situation and cultural and educational issues of ethnic minorities.

### Numbers of pre-school childcare facilities in the region and children in them (according to communication language):

Total number of pre-school childcare facilities: 500

Total number of children: 23 153

No.	Communication language	No. of facilities	No. of children	
1	Ukrainian	424	982	19 286
2	Russian	1	4	81
3	Hungarian	64	71	1 674
4	Ukrainian-Hungarian	9	39	796
	including Ukrainian	-	27	565
	Hungarian	-	12	231
5	Russian-Hungarian	1	4	117
	out of that Russian	-	2	63
	Hungarian	-	2	54
6	Ukrainian-German	1	6	143
	out of that Ukrainian	-	5	119
	German	-	1	24

### Numbers of general-education schools in the region (including lyceums, grammar schools) and numbers of students in them (according to communication language)

Total number of general-education schools 705

203 812 students

Out of that, with communication language:

No.			
1	Ukrainian	577	162 660
2	Russian	3	1 614
3	Hungarian	68	16 551
4	Romanian	11	3 516
5	Ukrainian-Hungarian	27	8 329
	out of that Ukrainian	-	4 086
	Hungarian	-	4 243

No.			
6	Russian-Hungarian-Ukrainian	1	232
	out of that Ukrainian	-	24
	Russian	-	56
	Hungarian	-	152
7	Russian-Ukrainian	14	7 972
	out of that Russian	-	1 432
	Ukrainian	-	6 540
7a	Romanian-Russian-Ukrainian	1	1 008
	out of that Romanian		666
	Russian		318
	Ukrainian		24
8	Russian-Romanian	1	468
	out of that Russian	-	16
	Romanian	-	452
9	Ukrainian-Slovak	2	1 466
	out of that Ukrainian	-	1 364
	Slovak	-	102
10	Grammar schools	9	3 881
	out of that Ukrainian	-	3 489
	Hungarian	1	392
11	Lyceums (state run)	5	1 017
	out of that Ukrainian	3	785
	Hungarian	2	232
12	Lyceums (private)	-	-
	Hungarian	3	257

**Number of lyceums that teach ethnic minority languages as subjects:**

No.		
1	Ukrainian	29 118
2	Russian	50 585
3	Hungarian	1 339

**Number of students learning an ethnic minority language as a subject:**

No.		
1	Ukrainian	295
2	Russian	12 505
3	Hungarian	678
4	Slovak	131
5	German	324

**Number of Sunday schools: 6**

No.		
A	<b>Jewish Sunday School</b>	
	Uzhgorod	55 students
	Mukachevo	35 students
	Khust	28 students
B	<b>Polish Sunday School</b>	
	Uzhgorod	80 students
C	<b>Armenian Sunday School</b>	
	Uzhgorod	35 students
D	<b>Romany Sunday School</b>	
	Uzhgorod village Kontsovo of Uzhgorod district	70 students 37 students

**In the region there are 16 state higher education schools of 1st to 4th accreditation level.**

Out of them: 1st-2nd accreditation level - **13, at which 7670** students learn (including 6,380 of full-time study).

Accreditation level	Name of school	No. of students
1st level	Mukachevo Pedagogical School	882
1st level	Uzhgorod Commercial Vocational School of Technology	790
1st level	Transcarpathian Vocational School of Forestry	964
1st level	Transcarpathian Vocational School of Machinery Production	243
1st level	Khust Basic Medical School	666
1st level	Berehovo Medical School	539
1st level	Mizhgirske Medical School	274
1st level	Uzhgorod School of Culture	316
1st level	Uzhgorod State Musical School	298
1st level	Mukachevo State Vocational School of Agriculture	791
1st level	Mukachevo Co-operative Vocational School of Finance and Commerce	568
2nd level	Svalyava Technical College	1 121
2nd level	A. Erdeli's College in Uzhgorod	218

In three schools of the 3rd-5th accreditation levels there are **13,666** students (out of that 7,600 full-time):

3rd level	Uzhgorod State Institute of Informatics, Economics, and Law	2 154
3rd-4th level	Mukachevo Institute of Technology	2 192
4th level	Uzhgorod State University	9 320

Five higher-education 1st-5th accreditation level schools in the region that teach in Hungarian:

No.		Number of students
1	UzhDU- (Department of Hungarian Language and Literature)	210
2	Mukachevo Pedagogical School	101
3	Uzhgorod School of Culture	45
4	Berehovo Medical School	80
5	Mukachevo State Vocational School of Agriculture	50

Among non-state higher education schools, teaching in Hungarian is done in at the **Transcarpathian Hungarian Pedagogical Institute (125 students) in Berehovo.**

At the UzhDU, at the Faculty of Roman-German Philology, there is a Department of Romanian Language and Literature. Currently there are 25 students. A Department of Slovak Language has been created at the university's Faculty of Philology, which has 50 students in total.

## Regional media and book publishing

### Overview of the use of broadcasting time of television programmes in Ukrainian and in ethnic minority languages (in hours)

	Yearly		Monthly	
	TV programmes	Radio programmes	TV programmes	Radio programmes
Ukrainian	743.0	484.0	46.6	40.3
Hungarian	72.0	270.0	6.0	22.5
Romanian	58.0	104.0	4.8	8.6
German	18.0	-	1.5	-
Slovak	24.0	20.0	2.0	1.6
<b>Total:</b>	<b>915.5</b>	<b>878.0</b>	<b>76.0</b>	<b>73.1</b>

### Overview of broadcasting time used by local TV and radio broadcasters:

	Yearly	Monthly
- ITC (Ukrainian)	20.0	240.0
- 21st Channel (Ukrainian)	8.0	96.0
- "Alliance" (Ukrainian)	2.5	30.0
- "M-Studio" (Ukrainian)	18.0	216.0
- "Carpathi" (Ukrainian)	12.0	144.0
- PTK "Khust"	10.0	120.0

### Radio broadcasting

	Yearly	Monthly
"Radio-107"	720.0	8 640.0
Ukrainian:	504.0	6 048.0
Russian:	187.0	2 244.0
Hungarian:	29.0	348.0

### Local periodicals and number of copies by language:

	Number	Number of copies
Ukrainian	156	297 115
Russian	2	4 000
Hungarian	12	27 800
Slovak	3	1 300
Romanian	1	

### Overall number of published books by language:

	Number	Number of copies
Ukrainian	37 titles	212.950
Hungarian	5 titles	15.9
Russian	7 titles	83.2
German	2 titles	4.0
Total:	51	317.0

### Cultural life of ethnic minorities.

- Total number of amateur theatres, *theatrical studios, theatrical groups in the region*: **142**
- Out of them, **4** amateur theatres, theatrical studios, theatrical groups of ethnic minorities (out of that 2 Romanian, 1 German, 1 Slovak).
- Total number of amateur choirs in the region: **749**
- Out of them **28** amateur choirs of ethnic minorities (including 24 Hungarian, 2 Romanian, 2 Slovak).
- Total number of amateur dance groups in the region: **303**
- Out of them **100** dance groups of ethnic minorities (93 Hungarian, 3 Romanian, 3 Slovak, 1 German).
- Total number of amateur musical ensembles in the region: **270**
- Out of them 40 amateur musical ensembles of ethnic minorities (out of that 23 Hungarian, 9 Roma, 5 Slovaks, 3 Romanians).
- Total number of libraries in the region: **588**
- Out of that 5 with literature in languages of ethnic minorities (besides Russian)

### **Serving in languages:**

- Hungarian - **98** (Berehovsky district 37, Vinogradovsky district 25, Rakhivsky district 5, Tyachevsky district 4, Uzhgorodsky district 23, Khustsky district 3, Mukachevsky district - 1);
- German - **5** (Mukachevsky district 5);
- Slovak - 4 (Perechynsky district - 1, Uzhgorodsky district - 3);
- Romanian - 8 (Rakhivsky district - 4, Tyachevsky district - 4);

Names of settlements whose libraries offer literature of ethnic minorities (besides Russian):

- Uzhgorod - Transcarpathian Regional Versatile Scientific Library - at the Department of Foreign Literature there a Hungarian Literature Section.
- Uzhgorod - D. Bakarov's Transcarpathian Regional Library for Children - with Hungarian Literature Section.
- Mukachevo - local centralised library system - a specialised library - affiliated office of Hungarian literature.
- Vinogradov - Central District Library - with Hungarian Literature Section.
- Berehovo - Central District Library is the base one for serving ethnic Hungarian population in the region.

Total overview of literature in libraries - **7 242 186 pcs**:

a) Ukrainian - 2,983,921 pcs (41.2 %)

b) Other languages - 4,258,265 pcs

Out of that number:

Russian	3 795 487	52.4 %
Hungarian	431 774	6.0 %
German	4 930	0.06 %
Slovak	6 339	0.1 %
Romanian	12 501	0.2 %

Historical and cultural memorials of ethnic minorities (including memorial houses) in the region: **51**

### Uzhgorod

1. House in which I. Gyengesi was born
2. House in which D. Yas lived and worked
3. House at which I. Olbracht stopped
4. Place where S. Pötöfi (revolutionary, writer) stayed
5. I. Laudok's monument
6. D. Yas's monument
7. S. Pötöfi's memorial

8. H. Daici's memorial (poet)
9. Memorial house in honour of M. Bercheni

#### Mukachevo

1. House in which H. Bato lived
2. House, in which L. Shafari was born
3. House, in which T. Lehotsky lived
4. Place of the house in which M. Munkacsi was born (artist)
5. T. Lehotsky's monument
6. H. Bato's monument
7. House in which Y. V. Bihar lived
8. M. Munkachi's memorial
9. F Rákoczi II's memorial (political figure)

#### Berehovo

1. Hotel building "Oroslan", at which S. Pötöfi stayed
2. Place where F. Kazinci stayed
3. House in which D. Gyeri lived and worked
4. Place where I. Seczeni stayed
5. Place where T. Ese stayed
6. Ies's memorial (writer)
7. S. Pötöfi's memorial (revolutionary, writer)
8. L. Kosshuth's memorial (political figure)

#### Berehovsky district

1. Place where S. Pötöfi stayed
2. Place where T. Ese stayed

#### Vinogradovsky district

1. Place where T. Ese stayed
2. Memorial sign at the place of the F. Rákoczi II's last stop of (Mikesh Krinycya)
3. Place of F. Rákoczi's stay

#### Vinogradov

1. House in which Zh. Pereni lived
2. I. Reves memorial (artist)
3. Shamu Caban's monument
4. Place of Jewish ghetto
5. Zhigmond Pereni's memorial (participant of anti-Habsburg war)
6. Béla Bartók's bust (composer)



### Svalyava

1. Park in memory of the victims of Stalinism (memorial sign) Tyachev
2. House where H. Simon lived
3. L. Kosshuth's memorial

### Khust district

1. Place of the house in which I. Lassu was born
2. Place of F. Rákoczi's stop

### Memorials that are not yet registered

1. M. Munkacsi's memorial
2. H. Bethlen's memorial
3. L. Kossuth's memorial
4. Simon Hollosi's memorial (artist)

State museums and public museums which have exhibitions, halls, or sections devoted to the history and spiritual heritage of ethnic minorities: **24**

### State Museums

1. Transcarpathian Regional Museum.
  - Exhibition "Hungarian Revolution and Transcarpathia" - is devoted to 150 years of the revolution
2. Mukachevo Historical Museum
  - Exhibition hall devoted to the leader of the national liberation struggle of the Hungarian nation Ferencz Rákoczi II.
  - Exhibition section devoted to the life and work of the archaeologist, ethnographer, and public activist, founder of the Mukachevo historical museum Tibor Lehotsky.

### Museums based on public principles

3. Memorial room - museum of the composer and pedagogue, lecturer, founder and the first director of the Uzhgorod Musical School Dezider Zador. (museum at the D. Zador's Uzhgorod musical school).
4. Museum room of Ivan Olbracht - leading Czechoslovak writer and public activist at the Kolochava Secondary School.
5. M. Munkacsi's Mukachevo Memorial Museum at M. Munkacsi's School of Arts. The museum is devoted to the life and work of a leading Hungarian artist M. Munkacsi, marking 150 years of his birth.
6. Berehovo fine arts gallery of the members the Ukrainian Artists' Association, leading Hungarian artists D. Horváth and Y. Herani. The

museum works in one of the rooms of the regional administration building.

7. Complex of public museums in the Hungarian village Petrovo of the Vinogradovsky district.
  - National museum, Petrivska Fine Arts Gallery
  - Petrivsky Historical Museum
  - Petrivsky Open-Air Ethnographic Museum
8. Ethnographic Museum in the Hungarian village Beregi of the Berehovsky district.
9. Historical museum in the Hungarian village Palad Komarivci of the Uzhgorod district.
10. Museum of the History of Solotvyno Salt Mining. Fragments of the exhibition are devoted to the salt miners, representatives of various ethnic groups: Romanians, Germans, Austrians, and others.

Centre of Transcarpathian ethnic minorities' cultures in Uzhgorod (opened in October 1999);

- Centre of German Culture "Palanok" (Mukachevo);
- Centre of Slovak Culture (village Storozhnica village of the Uzhgorod district).

## Appendix # 2: Tables and figures

**Table 1: Population of the Slovak Republic by nationalities** <sup>33</sup>

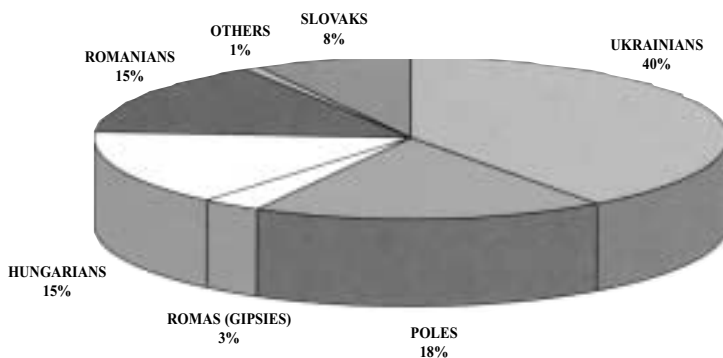
Nationality	Number of inhabitants	%
Slovak	4 519 328	85.685
Czech	52 884	1.002
Moravian	6 037	0.114
Silesian	405	0.008
Magyar	567 296	10.755
Romani	75 802	1.437
Polish	2 659	0.050
German	5 414	0.102
Rusin	17 197	0.326
Ukrainian	13 291	0.251
Russian	1 389	0.026
Jewish	134	0.003
Greek	65	0.01
Bulgarian	1 400	0.026
Romanian	197	0.004
Austrian	81	0.002
Vietnamese	161	0.003
Other	1 823	0.034
Unknown	8 782	0.166
TOTAL	5 274 335	100.0

**Table 2: Number of Romas, 1947 - 1991**

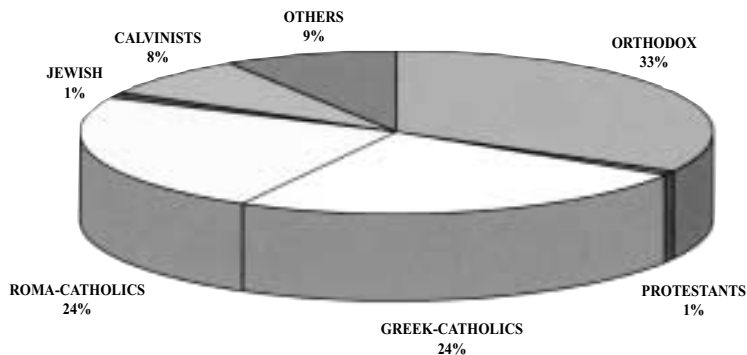
Year	Czechoslovakia	Czech Republic	Slovak Republic
1947	101 190	16 752	84 438
1966	221 525	56 519	165 006
1967	223 993	59 467	164 526
1968	226 467	61 085	165 382
1970	219 554	60 279	159 275
1980	288 440	88 587	199 853
1991	114 116	33 489	75 802

<sup>34</sup> Tables (1-2) are constituent part of the paper "Ethnic Minorities in Slovakia" submitted by Marián Gajdoš & Stanislav Konečný, Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Košice.

**Graph 1: Ethnic composition of the population in the Carpathian Euroregion (%)<sup>35</sup>**



**Graph 2: Religions in the Carpathian Euroregion (%)**



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<sup>35</sup> Graphs (1-2) are constituent part of the paper "The Carpathian Euroregion: Minority Problems" submitted by Svitlana Mitryayeva & Eva Kish, Strategies Studies Foundation in Uzhgorod.

## ***Appendix # 3:***

# **List of participants**

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