

Columbia University
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RESEARCH PROJECT ON HUNGARY

605 WEST 118TH STREET

June 4, 1957

To: Henry L. Roberts
From: Alex Dallin
Copy to: Andre Varchaver

Subject: "A" Interview Pretest

Before I leave for Europe, I thought it might be useful to summarize briefly the results of the pretest of the "A" questionnaire. As you recall, we slated the month of April for completing the questionnaire. We practically stuck to the schedule and began pretesting on May 3, after a lengthy seminar with the ten part-time New York interviewers (including three who will be full-time interviewers with the Project in Europe) and briefings on methods and techniques of interviewing. During the following three weeks 35 "A" interviews were begun; not all were completed: in some instances, the respondent failed to return; in some, the respondent left New York (either temporarily or permanently); in some, the pretest was begun before the questionnaire was complete, and efforts are now being made to contact the same respondents again~~x~~ to complete the interviews. At any rate, by May 22 we had a sufficient number of interview transcripts to consider them for a rough analysis in time for the revisions of the "A" questionnaire. The following ten days were spent revising the questionnaire (which, to distinguish it from a written instrument, we now call an Interview Guide). The Hungarian and English versions are both complete, reproduced, and assembled in time for our departure on June 5.

This effort could not have been completed in time and with a measure of scientific control and precision, had it not been for strenuous efforts on the part of the staff and interviewers. The schedule, to be frank, was too tight. Perhaps, in retrospect, fewer pretest interviews might have sufficed. However, in addition to giving us extra experiences with the contents and transcripts--experience that was vital in the revising of the Guide--the pretest served several other purposes as well. It permitted us to weed out some of the New York interviewers and keep, from here on in, those whose performance was superior. It gave valuable training to those interviewers who will be with us in Europe all summer. It permitted our office staff to go through all the steps of the routine--from scheduling and assignment to recording, transcribing, and proof-reading--and to get all the bugs out of forms, procedures, and machines prior to embarking (literally) on our major endeavor. And, last not least, the actual transcripts strike me as superior in quality and interest to what I had expected from the pretest. I am sure we

the Hungarian language, 3 of them dailies, 11 semi-weeklies or weeklies, the rest of lesser frequency, with a total circulation of about 350,000.

Background Information

The older immigrants: There is a tremendous difference in the general attitude of those Hungarians who immigrated before 1918 and their children, and those who came as refugees after World War I and World War II.

Most of the older immigrants were peasants and others who voluntarily or involuntarily broke with the feudal social order of Habsburg Hungary and sought freedom and opportunity in America. They have become completely integrated into the American way of life. They remember that the Hungary they left was very undemocratic, ruled by a foreign dynasty, full of hardships for those who did not belong to the privileged classes. They remember the lessons of the Revolution of 1848-49, when the Hungarians under Lajos Kossuth dethroned the Habsburg monarchy, but were finally defeated by the Austrian Emperor, aided by Russian troops. They also remember that an effort was made in 1918 to establish a democratic republic in Hungary, under Count Michael Karolyi, but that this was followed by the "red terror" of Bela Kun's Soviet Republic (March-August 1919) and by the "white terror" of those who "liberated" the country with the aid of foreign bayonets and established the rule of Admiral Nicholas Horthy. They also have heard of the horrors of the Hungarian Nazi regime of 1944-45, headed by Hitler's puppet, Ferenc Szalasi, and his Arrow Cross movement.

Most of these Hungarian Americans have a profound dislike for all brands of totalitarianism, right or left. They are anti-fascist as well as anti-communist. They would like Hungary to have a democratic government, similar to that of the United States, with freedom for all, regardless of class, creed, or nationality. These Hungarian Americans, however, are not particularly interested in seeing any one political party or any particular set of politicians come to power in Hungary. Their political interests are in America, not in Hungary. This is the normal result of their Americanization. Their aloofness from the details of Hungarian politics has also been aided by the fact that up to World War II, Hungarian political leaders showed little interest in the activities and problems of the Hungarian American Community.

Recent immigrants and refugees: The majority of Hungarians who came to the United States after 1918 were refugees belonging to the following five groups:

(1) Refugees from the Bolsheviks, in 1919. They were not numerous. Most of them are monarchists (pro-Habsburg).

(2) Refugees from the Horthy regime, 1919-1944. Many of these were Socialists who fled from political oppression and persecution of the labor movement, and Jews who fled from racial discrimination--the "numerus clausus" (quota) system at the universities, etc.

(3) Refugees from the Arrow Cross regime, 1944-1945. This includes anti-Nazis of various kinds, liberals, moderate conservatives, Socialists, Jews. This group, as well as the one previously mentioned (2), appreciates American liberty even more than the pre-1918 immigrants do. Most of these people would like Hungary to have a democratic republic similar to that of the United States.

(4) Those who fled from 1945 to 1947. This group includes a high percentage of anti-democratic and undesirable elements such as members and supporters of the

Arrow Cross (Hungarian Nazi) movement, fugitives from justice, and some who had a good hunch about the future.

(5) Refugees from Communism, 1947 to the present. This is a highly diversified group. It includes former Socialists, members of the opposition in the Communist Party, persons who openly opposed the Communist regime for a variety of reasons, and many Jews who succeeded in fleeing the country. Many persons in this group are extremely valuable from the point of view of American democracy, but it also includes some ex-members of the Arrow-Cross movement, and persons who have committed common crimes.

Many of these refugees and recent immigrants have brought all the political quarrels of Hungary with them. The monarchists, supporters of Archduke Otto of Habsburg, son of the dethroned Emperor Charles who was King of Hungary under the name of Charles IV), fight the republicans who are still dreaming of Count Karolyi's liberal reforms of 1918-1919. The Socialists and all others hate the Communists. Many Catholics dislike and distrust the Protestants, and vice versa, and many Catholics and Protestants dislike the Jews. Most refugees hate the Arrow Cross Nazis who took part in murdering their relatives and friends.

The Hungarian American Communists are organized in the fraternal group, Hungarian Brotherhood, a section of the International Workers Order (IWO), 80 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York. Arpad Feder is president of the Brotherhood, and Sandor Rakosi is secretary. There are about 9,000 members. Their press organs are the daily, Magyar Jovo, and the women's monthly, Nok Vilaga, which are both published at 130 East 16th Street, New York 3, New York. The Hungarian American Council for Democracy, which was headed by Bela Lugosi and included Communists as well as fellow travelers, has not shown any signs of life for several years. Hungarian American Communists adhere to the Stalinist line with no noticeable flinches.

The political issue of Hungarian supremacy over the other nationalities of pre-1918 Hungary (Slovaks, Rumanians, Croats, Serbs, etc.), which was once of major importance, has lost its significance because these nationalities gained their independence after World War I. However, memories of "Greater Hungary" still linger, and the issue of Hungarian borders is not definitely dead.

The antagonism between refugees and pre-1918 immigrants: The majority of Hungarian political exiles now in America learned, upon reaching this country, of the accomplishments of the Hungarian Americans, and appreciate the fact that the former sons and daughters of Hungary, who came to America as poor immigrants, have by their own efforts and sacrifices established scores of churches, a powerful network of fraternal and civic organizations, and an influential press.

Other political refugees, however, are irked by the independence of the Hungarian Americans with regard to Hungarian politics, and sharply criticize Hungarian American organizations and newspapers for whatever they do or neglect to do. Others tried to capture key positions in Hungarian American organizations and newspapers almost as soon as they arrived in America. Some of them succeeded temporarily, but were ousted when the Hungarian American membership received the impression that the newcomers were trying to use their organizations and newspapers for personal or political ambitions.

The result has been that due to a widespread tendency to generalize such unpleasant experiences, a deep gulf has opened between the exiles and a majority of Hungarian Americans. It shows itself, among other things, in the reluctance of old

immigrants to give "assurances" necessary for bringing more Hungarian D.P.'s from European camps to America.

Current Political Attitudes and Activities:

American Hungarian Federation: The principal leaders of the four largest Hungarian fraternal organizations, officers of important church and cultural societies, and the publishers of influential newspapers are members of the Board of Directors of the American Hungarian Federation. President of the Federation is Daniel Szantay, a manufacturer from Chicago, and the secretary is Rev. Stephen Balogh. Its national Headquarters are at 1824 Nye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The four fraternal organizations mentioned above are:

The Yerhovay Fraternal Society, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, John Bance, president, and Coloman Revess, secretary. It has a membership of 80,341.

Bakocsy Aid-Association, Bridgeport, Connecticut, Albert V. Kocsis, president, and Joseph Vasas, secretary. It's membership is 25,356.

The Hungarian Reform Federation of America, Washington, D.C., Francis Ujlaki, president, and George Kerekos-Borsky, secretary. It has a membership of 30,496.

The American Life Insurance Association, Bridgeport, Connecticut, Peter Suto, president, and Stephen L. Segedy, secretary. There are 14,634 members.

Despite this comparatively wide organizational basis, the leadership of the Federation recently became the object of vehement criticism in the press and among the rank and file of the principal Hungarian American organizations. The Federation and its general secretary, Stephen Balogh, have been accused in particular of aiding former Nazi sympathizers and Nazi supporters to come to the United States and, in general, of being blind to the dangers of neo-fascism and neo-nazism, as evidenced in the activities of many Hungarian refugees in Europe and some in America.

Such papers as the daily Szabadsag in Cleveland, whose publisher, Zoltan Gombos is a member of the Board of the Federation, the liberal weekly, Magyar Nemzet, in Pittsburgh, and the Catholic weekly, A Jelenkor, in Cleveland have attacked the Federation for giving job assurances to former Arrow Cross members. They have also criticized Rev. Balogh for "biased statements" made before a Senate Sub-Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in September, 1949, in Washington. He testified, "in the name of hundreds of thousands" of Hungarian Americans, although his critics claim that no one authorized him to do so. The largest Hungarian daily in the United States, the New York Amerikai Magyar Hírlap, demanded on October 10, 1949, that Rev. Balogh be ousted from the Federation. "His role in securing affidavits for fascists is against the best interest of the United States," the paper declared.

Critics of the Federation point out that while the organization condemned Nazism in unmistakable terms in January, 1941, and excluded from membership anyone supporting Nazi or Communist causes, it has shown little concern for the growing danger of Hungarian neo-fascism. Leaders of the Federation, they say, have been too eager to welcome as allies anyone who claims to be anti-communist. These critics emphasize that fascism and nazism are serious threats to peace and freedom in the world, and

that American citizens of Hungarian descent should not consider the cooperation with Nazi and pro-Nazi elements as a purely domestic question, to be settled by Hungarians among themselves.

The Hungarian National Council: The National Council, consisting of all former non-Nazi and non-Communist members of the Hungarian Parliament now living in exile, was formed in the United States in May 1949, under the chairmanship of Monsignor Bela Varga, a Catholic priest who was Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament in 1945-1946. The National Council has an Executive Committee composed of the chairmen of committees dealing with Hungarian domestic, social, economic, military, refugee problems, foreign affairs, etc. The make-up of the Executive Committee is such that it could easily be transformed into a government when and if this should become desirable.

General criticism: In Hungarian American circles there has been considerable criticism of leading individual members of the Council, and of the Council itself, which is often described as "much too far to the right," and as "blind toward the dangers of fascism." On the other hand, influential organs of the Hungarian political refugees in Western Europe and a few extremists in the United States have criticized the Council for consisting primarily of people who cooperated with the Communists in 1945 and 1946 under the 1945 Constitution, which was promulgated with the approval of the Soviet authorities.

Hungarian Americans have also been unfavorably impressed by some of the personal jealousies and fights which are evident in the Hungarian National Council although the members of its Executive Committee promised to forget, when assuming their functions, whatever political differences existed between them in the past, and whatever difference of opinion they may have concerning the future course of Hungarian politics and to devote all their efforts to the common cause-- Hungary's liberation Communist tyranny.

In evaluating the National Council, many Hungarian American observers distinguish between two groups which have adopted opposite attitudes on important problems. One group is led by Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister and peasant leader, Sołtan Pfeiffer, former Assistant Attorney-General and leader of the Hungarian Independence Party, and Karel Feyer, exiled leader of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. The other group is led by Dr. Tiber Eckhardt, former Chief Delegate of Hungary to the League of Nations, Gyorgy Bakach-Bessenyei, Horthy's last minister to Switzerland, and Bela F. bian, once a spokesman for Hungarian Jewry in the Budapest Parliament, and a member of the now defunct Hungarian Democratic Party.

The first group advocates a Hungarian Republic, while the second group favors a restoration of the Habsburg monarchy. There are also sharp differences of opinion concerning land reforms and other social reforms in Hungary. The Eckhardt group is believed to advocate a reconsideration of all radical reforms carried out after World War II. The Nagy group maintains that most of these reforms were long overdue and that their reconsideration would create serious dissatisfaction and bitterness among farmers and industrial workers, and would sow the seeds of new civil strife.

One observer stated that, "The two groups are jockeying for position, and since the Hungarian National Council's Executive Committee has certain limited funds at its disposal, patronage-hungry opportunists among the exiles are carefully watching the struggle in the Council, ready to throw in their lot with whichever group will ultimately gain the upper hand."

Criticism of individual leaders: Here is a summary of some of the principal

criticisms of individual leaders:

Monsignor Bela Varga, President of the Hungarian National Council, has been attacked for a variety of reasons. Protestant leaders have accused him of submitting to Cardinal Spellman, Catholic Archbishop of New York, who on one occasion forbade Catholic priests to speak on the same platform with Protestant ministers (Magyar Híradó, April 7, 1950). The Pittsburgh weekly, Magyarország, of April 7, 1950 attacked the National Council for being Catholic and Habsburg minded. Magyar Híradó of September 23, 1949, criticized Varga for his alleged statement that the late President Roosevelt was responsible for Hungary's plight. In az Est, Desso Sulyok (see below, page 13.) accused Monsignor Varga of being anti-Semitic.

Tibor Eckhardt is frequently criticized for his present policies, for his past record, and the the amazing rapidity with which he has changed his political ideas at frequent intervals during his career. He has been accused of being the leader of the Jew-baiters in Hungary in 1919, of having been president of the "Awakening Hungarians," a terroristic organization which killed many Jews and Socialists in the early twenties, and of helping Admiral Horthy to establish a Fascist regime even before Mussolini became dictator of Italy. Eckhardt is also accused of saying, in the United States, that there is a Jewish problem in Hungary, and of having declared in one lecture: "Hitler and Laval had a definite mission to carry out and thus were able to win the support of the people. Hitler gave the German people a mission and a destiny to work for....The United States, too, must have a definite mission...." Eckhardt's critics point out that having started his political career on the extreme right, with the "Awakening Hungarians" and the "Race Protection League," Eckhardt moved slowly toward the left when the Nazi regime was rising in Germany, but that he is now moving toward the right again. In the early thirties, he was the principal leader of the Independent Smallholders Party which advocated democratic electoral reforms and land reforms. He opposed Hungary's alliance with Nazi Germany and, having lost his fight in the Budapest Parliament, came to the United States in 1941. For a while, he exercised considerable influence in Hungarian American circles, but with no permanent success. His critics also point out that he was once closely associated with the anti-Habsburg racist leader, Gyula Gombos, but is now one of the principal supporters of Archduke Otto of Habsburg.

Zoltan Pfeiffer was criticized in the press, for instance the New York daily, Amerikai Magyar Híradó, and the Cleveland daily, Springfield, for having made a speech glorifying Stalin in the Hungarian Parliament, in June 1947. He was said to have attributed Hungary's liberation to the Soviet Union alone.

Desso Sulyok, former leader of the "Freedom Party," and a former member of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council, was quoted by Amerikai Magyar Híradó, of Bridgeport, as having praised the Soviets in a speech delivered in the Hungarian Parliament on June 12, 1947. There has been serious criticism of several of Sulyok's activities in the United States. For a short time, Sulyok served on the editorial staff of Amerikai Magyar Híradó. His political ideas were resented by a large number of the readers, and the publisher dismissed him. He is also said to be on extremely bad terms with most of the other political exiles.

Ferenc Nagy, who was Prime Minister of Hungary up to May 1947, was attacked by Desso Sulyok in Amerikai Magyar Híradó on July 11, 1949, in the following terms: "Those criminals did not start their hangman's job December 29, 1948, the day Mindszenty was arrested. In 1946 and 1947, the same terrible man-hunting and torturing as in 1949 was common in Hungary. Everyone who has been a member of the government since 1946 is responsible for this."

Bela Fabian is the only Jewish member of the Hungarian National Council.

but Jewish organizations and periodicals have protested loudly against the idea that he represents them. Two New York weeklies, the liberal AE Ember, and the Jewish Egyetesi Kiselet led the attack against him. The New York Communist daily Magyar Jovo, used particularly abusive language against him. Magyar Jovo and Egyetesi Kiselet contend that Fabian, as a prisoner at Auschwitz, the Nazi extermination camp for Jews and opponents of the Nazi regime, served as a "Kapo," one of those selected by the Nazis to guard and supervise their fellow prisoners; the "Kapos" were often more cruel than the Nazis themselves in order to save their privileged position. Fabian threatened to file lawsuits against Magyar Jovo and Egyetesi Kiselet, but the Communist daily, in reply, threatened to produce such proofs that at the end of the trial, Fabian would "wish the good old days of Auschwitz back". On Jan. 21, 1950, the same paper stated: "The Free Europe movement has found the right kind of collaborator in the person of Fabian. He learned from the Nazis how to free Europe." Egyetesi Kiselet, on January 30, 1950, in an article by Joseph Halmi, quoted Mrs. Vilmos Vaszonvi, whose husband was a former Attorney-General of Hungary. She condemned Bela Fabian, who had been her husband's protege, for betraying the ideals for which her husband fought, saying, according to Halmi, that "It is an accepted rule in the whole world that one does not shake hands with fascist murderers over the dead bodies of one's parents." With reference to Bela Fabian's book, "Cardinal Mindszenty: The Story of a Modern Martyr," (Scribner's, New York, 1949) Amerikai Magyar Hepszo of November 10, 1949, ridiculed his claim that he had been Mindszenty's confidential agent for 17 years.

Vincse Nagy, who is a liberal political leader and was Secretary of the Interior in Michael Karoly's Cabinet of 1918-1919, and Karol Peyer, a right wing Socialist, have not been the subjects of major criticism by the Hungarian Americans. It is generally admitted that they have consistently followed the same democratic political line throughout their public life. Both are now members of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council.

Hungary's future form of government

Uncertainty about the future form of government advocated by prominent members of the Hungarian National Council led to some uneasiness among the Hungarian Americans. The Reverend Charles Vincse, of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, Archdean of the Free Magyar Reformed Church, in an open letter to the Hungarian National Council, requested a clear statement on this matter. This request was supported by the Executive Committee of the American Hungarian Federation.

In answer to these requests, the Hungarian National Council declared June 21, 1950, that it is the unanimous wish of the members of the Executive Committee of the Council that "after the liberation of Hungary, the Constitution and all other important questions shall be decided in a free election by the Hungarian people, thus conforming to Western democratic principles. Our task consists only in creating the preliminary conditions for the decisions of the Hungarian nation. The institutions of the future will be determined exclusively by the liberated Hungarian nation." The statement also said: "The National Council will abide by the free choice of the Hungarian people regarding their form of government. The National Council endeavors to win the confidence of every class, race, creed, and party of exiled Hungarians in the task of liberating Hungary from Communism. It accepts Christian ethics and wishes to avoid the repetition of the atrocities of the Nazi and Bolshevik eras....It condemns acts of vengeance by any individual or group. It stands for the free exercise of all religions and recognizes that complete freedom of conscience is the most sacred good of the individual."

Writing in Amerikai Magyar Hepszo, George Karokas-Borsby, Secretary of the Hungarian Reformed Federation, declared, on behalf of the American Hungarian Federation, that the declaration is satisfactory, especially the statement that the present time is not suitable for choosing the type of government which Hungary should have after the fall of Communism.

Magyar Hírvédelme, however, declared that the Hungarian National Council did not state whether it advocates a democratic republic or a kingdom with the old vices. In the paper's opinion, the Council should have issued a clear statement against the return of the Habsburg dynasty and the rule of the former upper class.

Principal Publications

Dailies:

Amerikai Magyar Hírvédelme, 380 Second Avenue, New York 10. Circulation: 23,385. Since it was taken over by Zoltan Gombos, the policy is less conservative than previously, and it supports, though not without some criticism, the American Hungarian Federation and the Hungarian National Council.

Magyar Jovo, 130 East 16th Street, New York 3. Circulation: 9,337. Communist.

Szabadseg, 1736 East 22nd Street, Cleveland 14, Ohio. Circulation: 20,225. Published by Zoltan Gombos (publisher of Amerikai Magyar Hírvédelme). It is more liberal in its policy than Amerikai Magyar Hírvédelme, and also more critical of the policies of the American Hungarian Federation and the Hungarian National Council.

Weeklies:

A Jo Pasztor, 1736 East 22nd Street, Cleveland 14, Ohio. Circulation: 8,163. Also published by Zoltan Gombos. Pursues a more definite Catholic line than Szabadseg.

A Munkas, 30 Fourth Avenue, New York 3. Circulation: 1,100. Organ of the Socialist Labor Party, agrees with some principles of the Budapest regime, but is critical of some others to such a degree that it is banned from Hungary. Critical of the Hungarian National Council and the American Hungarian Federation.

Amerikai Magyarok, 628 Boston Avenue, Bridgeport 5, Connecticut. Circulation: 2,100. Conservative.

Aszaber, 330 East 79th Street, New York 21, Circulation: 3,000. Liberal, with socialist leanings. Supports Vinco Nagy and Karol Peyer of the Hungarian National Council opposes Bela Fabian, is highly critical of the American Hungarian Federation.

Asiras, 1632 North Howard Street, Chicago 47. Circulation: 8,000 Liberal.

Hermunkas 8618 Buckeye Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Circulation: 2,708. Hungarian organ of the Industrial Workers of the World. Critical of the American Hungarian Federation and the Hungarian National Council. Sometimes comments favorably on events in Hungary.

California Magyarok 648 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Circulation, 6,500. Conservative.

Detroiti Magyarok, 8502 West Jefferson Avenue, Detroit 7. Circulation 4,112. Conservative.

Detroiti Ujsag, 7907 West Jefferson Avenue, Detroit 7. Circulation: 4,534. Conservative.

Egyetesi Elet, P.O. Box 33, High Bridge Station, Bronx 52, New York. Circulation, 17,000. Jewish Organizational Life.

Hirado, 237 Madison Avenue, Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Circulation: 3,127. Conservative.

Katolikus Magyarok Yasznapja, 4160 Lorain Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Circulation: 5,304. Catholic. Supported former members of the Arrow Cross movement and organized a collection

File with
Hungarian folder
HLR

Note: This report was compiled, some five years ago by an organization operating in New York City. The Research Project on Hungary does not vouch for it in any way. We are suggesting that it be used as background material only.

AMERICAN NATIONALITY GROUPS AND THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

A survey of current political attitudes
and activities among HUNGARIAN AMERICANS

Statistical Data

Number: 453,000 persons (1940 Census) reported Hungarian as their mother tongue. Out of that number, 241,220 were foreign born, 198,800 were natives of foreign or mixed parentage and 13,180 were of native parentage.

Distribution by States:

Ohio	96,800
New York	84,200
Pennsylvania	73,800
New Jersey	59,300
Michigan	36,100
Illinois	34,800

Other states have less than 20,000.

Distribution by Cities:

New York	64,400
Cleveland	38,900
Detroit	20,200
Chicago	18,300

Other cities have less than 8,000.

Another U.S. Census figure stating that 662,068 persons were born in Hungary or were "native whites" of Hungarian or mixed parentage, included Hungarians and some Slovaks, Carpatho-Russians (Ruthenians), Rumanians, Germans, and others, many of them born, or descendants of those born in Hungary before World War I.

Organizations and Press: The Hungarian American group is organized in 7 fraternal societies with about 800 lodges and more than 145,000 members. Hungarian Catholics of the Roman Rite are organized in 60 parishes, and of the Eastern (Greek Catholic) Rite in 15 parishes. The Roman Catholics have their parishes in the archdioceses and dioceses of Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Youngstown, and Toledo. The Eastern Rite Catholics belong to the Greek Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh. The Hungarian Protestants belong to: (a) The Hungarian Synod of Reformed Churches (a section of the Evangelical Reformed Church) with 70 churches; (b) the Free Magyar Reformed Church in America, with 31 churches; (c) the Hungarian Baptist Union of America, with 31 churches; (d) the Hungarian branch of Assemblies of God, with 17 churches, and (e) the United Lutheran Church in America, Hungarian Conference with 11 churches. The Catholic parishes are, as a rule much larger than the Protestant congregations. There are 49 publications in