

# POLITICAL MOSAIC

## HUNGARY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SPEECH OF THE HUNGARIAN DELEGATE IN THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY

In the course of the discussion of the report on the work of the League of Nations since the Seventeenth Session of the Assembly, *General Gabriel Tánczos*, the Hungarian Delegate-in-chief to the League of Nations delivered a long speech on the main political problems of the day which interest the League of Nations. The Hungarian delegate informed the Assembly of Hungary's point of view concerning the *reform of the Covenant* and stressed the necessity of a more efficient *protection of the minorities*. Following are the outstanding passages in the speech of General Tánczos.

"The last Assembly would seem to have understood the warning given by recent serious events when it decided to consider the possibility of adapting our Covenant and our methods to the requirements of the present situation in the light of past experience.

"The central problem of any *reform of the Covenant* is the bringing about of a proper balance and equilibrium between its preventive and repressive provisions. The publications which have already appeared give no idea which can guide us to any positive action in the future on those lines.

"The *first delegate of Norway* very aptly said in the last Assembly that if you seriously desire international reconciliation you must deal beforehand with the questions which divide the nations, and not wait till the time when those problems give rise to actual conflicts.

"At the last Assembly I had the honour of drawing your attention to the great importance of *Article 19*. We feel that it is regrettable that the Committee of Twenty-eight has not yet discussed any questions connected with that Article. So far as *Article 11* is concerned, the distinguished rapporteur of the Committee has submitted a very valuable report on the subject containing certain suggestions which we think might be the starting-point for very valuable work in the future. The reference to the importance of a modification of Article 11 in respect of proposals which involve a change in the *status quo* raise in our

minds the whole fundamental problem and the suggestion with regard to the recommendation to be made, if necessary, by the Council, by a majority appears to us to be very valuable. The same remark applies to the desirability of a clearer and more precise definition of the competence of the Assembly so far as Article 11 of the Covenant is concerned. This question is of particular interest to States like Hungary whose chances of obtaining seats on the Council are very small in view of the rules and customs which regulate the composition of the Council.

"These States, particularly since certain permanent members are not now attending the meetings of the Council, are beginning to think that the Assembly of the League is the only organ of the League which, by its composition, still represents the principle of universality and includes all the main currents of contemporary civilisation. The enumeration of the various factors which hinder the evolution of a system of *collective security* brings into relief the need of realising certain necessary conditions before we can think of a literal application of the principles contained in this Article, because if the League is not universal and if you do not carry out *Article 8* of the Covenant, you will have fundamental difficulty in carrying out *Article 16*.

"These difficulties cannot be got rid of by a system of regional pacts for mutual assistance. In spite of the brilliant speech in favour of such pacts by the honourable rapporteur of the Committee of Twenty-eight, we still think that such pacts are a disruptive element and that they are not calculated to unite nations in peace. I should like to dwell for a moment on the *question of Alexandretta and Antioch*. The settlement of this dispute between the two Member States is a classic example of what the action of the League should be, and it is of very great interest in showing how the question of minorities should be solved. Chapter X of the *Statutes of the Sanjak* contains provisions which raise in general the questions concerning the protection of minorities of race and language and religion. They deserve particular attention because they represent considerable progress as compared with the stipulations in treaties concluded by the principal Allied and Associated Powers at the end of the Great War with certain Powers in Central and Eastern Europe. Article 32 of the Statutes provides that the elections to the Legislative Assembly should be on a system of proportional representation, and in Article 10 there is provision that the minority should have a minimum number of seats in the Assembly of the Sanjak. Article 32 provides also that the minority should have equitable representation in the Civil Service so far as that is compatible with the requirements of efficient administration.

"Lastly, may I say that the fact that there is to be a delegate of the League of Nations to supervise the execution of the provisions of the Statutes is, in itself, a guarantee for the protection

of minorities. These provisions have been unanimously approved by the Council, which has taken an extremely enlightened view so far as this particular arrangement is concerned. Therefore it is surprising to find that the same Council and its members persist in a passive attitude on every occasion when questions of minorities in Europe are raised. The passages in the Annual Report concerning the protection of minorities show how very passive that attitude is. The Hungarian delegation desire to draw attention once more to this situation, because increased respect for treaties which provide for the protection of minorities in Europe and the effective exercise of the right of supervision by the Council constitute the most practical element of reconciliation between nations in Europe and the surest guarantee of the maintenance of peace in that continent.

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### THE CRY OF AGONY OF THE TWO MILLION MAGYARS LIVING IN TRANSYLVANIA

At last, after four years of *forced inactivity*, the two millions of Magyars united of the Hungarian Party of Rumania have been able to hold their Party Assembly. This Assembly, held at Sepsiszentgyörgy on September 4th and 5th, was convened under the influence of events which day by day are depriving the Magyars of Rumania more and more effectually of the chances of earning a subsistence. The opening speech delivered at the meeting by the President — a speech of real historical importance — and the Resolutions passed by the Assembly all breath the agony of suffering minority and serve to inform the world at large of the *unceasing persecution* to which the Hungarians living in the Transylvania annexed to Rumania by the Peace Edict of Trianon have been *subjected during the past seventeen years, ad-  
ducing objective proofs of that suffering.*

So much of the text of the *General Resolution* passed by the Assembly was *deleted by the Censor* that in several passages that text was so distorted as to be absolutely intelligible. However, the Censor could not prevent the publication of the Resolution, which even in its distorted form *exercises a thrilling effect*; for the General Assembly had declared that *in the event of the publication being hindered the contents would be brought to the notice of Rumania and of foreign countries through the channel of international forums.*

The Resolution passed by the Assembly draws a ghastly picture of the sad situation of the two million Magyars who form a minority in Transylvania; it establishes the fact that *in the Rumanian press and at public meetings a campaign of virulent*

*hatred of the Magyars is being carried on incessantly in a spirit which no other State in the world would dare to permit. This campaign of anti-nationality agitation which has been going on already for years and has led frequently to excesses punishable under the penal code, — an agitation which the State prosecutors have never attempted to check by criminal proceedings —, has profoundly influenced Rumanian public opinion and is reflected in the intolerable treatment to which the Magyars are in consequence being subjected by all branches of the Public Administration. — The mere fact that the Censor has made no attempt to stem the tide of this agitation, which is poisoning the very soul of the Rumanian people, makes it quite clear that the introduction and maintenance in working of the Censor's Department has not for its object the safeguarding of public order. — From this passage of the resolution the Censor has deleted four lines. What this passage of the resolution desired to stress was probably the fact that, although on paper a national institution, the real object of the Censor's Department was anti-minority. Our readers will remember, for instance, that one organ of the Rumanian press threatened the Magyars with a modern Bartholomew's Night, and that the Censor declared that the article in question contained nothing to which exception could be taken!!*

The Resolution then points out that the statement made in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1934 by the Rumanian Premier — to the effect that *"a reparation of the historical wrongs" committed in the past during the days of oppression must most decidedly be carried into effect alike in cultural and in economic questions* — induced a serious aggravation of the campaign to undermine the very subsistence of the Magyar minority of Transylvania in economic life and precluded the possibility of the younger generations of Magyars being admitted to the public service. The *dismissal en masse of Magyar public employees on the pretext that they had failed to pass a language test* threw thousands of Magyar families into a state of desperate poverty. The *National Labour Defence Act* restricts the right of work and the free choice of work only in the case of foreigners; but the shifts and ruses employed when carrying the Act into execution had for their object to persuade employers to dismiss their Magyar workers and clerks and officials. The resolution solemnly protests *against the employment of official pressure to drive the Magyar minority from the industrial and commercial undertakings.* The provisions of the laws and other measures of an economic character calculated to ruin the minorities, combined with the system of unequal taxation, are crying evidence of the treatment which the Prime Minister has adopted as the programme of his Government and which he was pleased to call "historical reparation".

The Resolution further establishes the fact that *grants out of the public administration budget are given almost exclusively to Rumanian churches, Rumanian associations and Rumanian institutions. Churches have been built at all periods by the generosity of members of the respective congregations. There is therefore no excuse whatsoever for the illegal influence brought to bear for the purpose of compelling the members of other denominations to devote their material resources or their labour for this purpose.* — The resolution also shows that in very many cases *the activity of institutions established by Act of Parliament, of fictitious persons recognised by law, and of the organs of associations of a purely religious character, is being systematically impeded, while the cultural activity of the Magyars is also thwarted by innumerable obstacles.* The embargo placed on newspapers, combined with the suits for libel brought against Magyar journalists *en masse* and usually ending with an acquittal, throw a searching light on the real character of the *liberty of the press in Rumania.*

The General Assembly established the fact that *the educational policy of M. Anghelescu* involved the elimination of the conditions essential to a peaceful symbiosis owing to the *unceasing chicanery and unjust measures which had resulted,* — measures which formulated the methods to be employed by subordinate organs when dealing with minority schools. The forcible measures incidental to the system of "name-analysis" were no credit to the State. The consistent refusal to remit the *State grants due to the minority schools under international treaties* and of the 14% contributions to be appropriated out of the parish and town (municipal) budgets, adds to the material sacrifices of the Magyar minority; while the *enormous charges imposed on the parishes (villages) as contributions to the building and maintenance of the State elementary schools,* still further enhances the impoverishment of the population. The "culture zone" served to further the manifest objects of the work of Rumanianisation. In the counties with a preponderant majority of Magyars and Széklers *all teaching was being done exclusively with Rumanian as the language of instruction.*

The General Assembly then solemnly demanded the *realisation of the school autonomy* promised in Article 11 of the Minority Treaty.

The Resolution then *enumerates a whole series of grievances.* It points out that *the land-owning corporations in Széklerland* (bodies enjoying corporate possession) — corporations owning certain property in common — *have been deprived of the natural right to dispose freely of the yield of their property,* the only occasions on which no obstacles are thrown in their way being *when it is a question of that yield being appropriated for the support of State or other Rumanian institutions.*

The *Rumanian Nationality Act* has made homeless thousands of Magyars for failing to comply with formalities. The public registers are being repeatedly tampered with, arbitrary changes of name and religion being effected for the purpose of depriving citizens of their nationality. A series of measures have been introduced for the purpose of restricting the use of Magyar in business and private life, and of removing or destroying Hungarian statues and art memorials; and the result of those measures is the aggravation of the spirit of hatred of the Magyars and in public officials behaving in a manner calculated to outrage the personal and national feelings of the Magyars.

On the basis of the arbitrary measures and illegal actions referred to above the Resolution establishes the fact that — notwithstanding the existence of a censorship — the Government throws no obstacles in the way of the incitement to hatred of the minorities, has set itself openly the task of relegating the minorities to the background in both economic and cultural matters, is fostering a feeling of bitterness in minorities — five million souls — living in the immediate vicinity of bolshevism, and encourages the organs of the State administration to perpetuate a system of abuses, oppression and injustice. In conclusion the Resolution appeals to the King for protection against the attempts being made on the vital interests of the Magyar people.

Apart from passing the above Resolution the General Assembly established the fact that the new Agrarian Act of March 22nd, 1927, as also the Act comprising a single paragraph passed for the purpose of interpreting Article 47 of the Transylvanian Land Reform Act, stressing the importance of the national interests, have made it extremely difficult for Rumanian nationals belonging to the Magyar minorities to purchase agrarian property; these measures must gradually lead to their being deprived of land altogether.

The General Assembly further decided to submit to the King and to Parliament — supported by detailed data — a statement revealing the constantly increasing taxation charges imposed on the Magyar minority, the grievances of that minority being outlined summarily in seven points, from which we would quote the following: — the scale of assessment applied in the case of Magyar craftsmen, merchants and members of the educated professions is a disproportionately high one; the Magyar inhabitants — being compelled to contribute to the costs of public works, of building State and Greek Oriental schools — have to pay twice or even three times contributions towards schools and churches with which they are not in any way connected; in districts inhabited by Magyars the even collection of the taxes is carried out in the most ruthless manner, the movables protected

by law being taken from tax-payers and sold unscrupulously for a mere song. And so on *ad infinitum*.

Another point established by the General Assembly was that the official statistics relating to the so-called State schools and sections of schools using Magyar as their language of instruction did not show the real situation. Of the 445 institutions of the kind figuring in the official statistics only 44 were really functioning, the result being that out of the nearly 100,000 pupils of schooling age only 4527 were receiving instruction in Magyar.

### THOMAS G. MASARYK

The death, at a patriarchal age, of the first President of the Czecho-Slovak State has thrown the whole Republic and the Czech nation, of which the deceased was undoubtedly the greatest son, into deep mourning. The personal merits of the one-time Professor of the Prague Czech University won for him the respect of the Hungarian nation; although during the past 19 years we were so often compelled to condemn the system of which, until the end of 1935, Dr. Masaryk was the personification and which was so much at variance with his humanist teachings. It would be an injustice to the memory of the deceased to say that this system was always in harmony with his personal convictions and wishes. On the contrary, we know well that his statements on the question of the Hungarian frontiers — which were naturally consistently refuted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs — to a certain extent acknowledged the need, in the interests of the Czecho-Slovak State, of a solution politically rational and morally just. If only the Czecho-Slovak State and the Czech nation would raise a monument more durable than marble to the memory of Thomas G. Masaryk by co-operating, in the spirit of his statements, in a readjustment of the Danube Valley which would restore the friendly relations that prevailed between the Hungarian and the Czech nations in the days of the Anjous and the Luxemburgs, the most brilliant era in both nations' history!! This would be the most fitting tribute to the memory of the Czech nation's noble dead. — y —

### VISIT OF BRITISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO HUNGARY

In the course of their tour of study in Central Europe, Messrs. *Rhys J. Davies*, *Ben Riley* and *David Quibell*, three members of the British House of Commons, in August 1937 paid a visit to Hungary for the purpose of inquiring into the political, economic and social conditions prevailing in an area of the

Continent which commands the attention of the British public in an always increasing measure.

The three members of the British Parliamentary Labour Party spent a week in this country and established contacts with every shape and shade of Hungarian public opinion, had conversations with every type of representative Hungarians and thoroughly studied the country's social institutions. In order to obtain exhaustive information on Hungary's political aims in the fields both of home and of foreign policy, they had informal exchanges of ideas with the leaders of the Hungarian political parties and were also received by Baron Gabriel Apor, permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. A series of visits to the headquarters of the various social institutions, such as the *Health Insurance Institute*, the *Trades Union Center*, *Public Hygiene Institute* etc., provided them with an opportunity of ascertaining on the spot the immense progress which has been made in this country in the last few years, so that they were able to make some very useful comparisons between the level of social welfare organizations in this country and elsewhere.

At the banquet given in honour of the three Labour members of Parliament by the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League and the Pesti Hirlap, Mr. Rhys J. Davies pointed out that of all the tragedies that befell the nations after the world war, none was so disastrous as that suffered by Hungary in consequence of the Trianon Treaty. The world has been divided into the groups of the "have's" and "have nots" and it is the duty of Statesmen to bridge this gulf without violence. No lasting peace can be established in Central Europe so long as a nation is suffering under the weight of justified grievances. Mr. Rhys J. Davies paid a warm tribute to Hungary's moderation in stating her case. The result of this moderation is that the number of those people who fully share the sympathy of the three members of Parliament with the Hungarian case is steadily increasing in Great Britain.

Messrs Ben Riley and David J. K. Quibell entirely associated themselves with the views expressed by the Hon. Member for Lancashire.

Pleading the Hungarian point of view, Mr. Tibor Eckhardt, the leader of the Opposition in the Hungarian Parliament, made it clear that *only through upholding the hopes of the Hungarian nation in peaceful revision can the danger of an armed conflict be averted in the Danube basin. The people of this country are grateful to the three British Members of Parliament for having come to Hungary and confirmed the nation's hope in the possibility of peaceful change. "The policy of revision is the only possible policy of peace" — Mr. Eckhardt said in conclusion.*

LONDON CHIEF RABBI DENIES STATEMENT MADE BY  
RUMANIAN PATRIARCH, MIRON CHRISTEA

The "*Curentul*" published a statement made by Patriarch *Christea*, the head of the Rumanian Orthodox Church, in which, with a degree of discourtesy unusual in a church dignitary, Patriarch *Christea* called the Jews *leeches* and declared that when he was in England last year and was visited by a Jewish delegation consisting of three members, he made no secret of his opinion of the Jews. It is true that this statement was drafted by the Patriarch's private secretary, a man called *Dudu*, who gave it to the above mentioned Rumanian newspaper of the extreme Right; but even so it is no wonder that the statement caused a great sensation, the more so as the censor forbade any criticism of it and only permitted the publication of such comments as were favourable to the Patriarch. This, in other words, means that through the censor the *Tatarescu* Government identifies itself with the statement. For this reason the leader of the Radical Peasant Party, *M. Junian*, has brought the matter up, and another member of his party, *Col. Petrescu*, has addressed a letter to Premier *Tatarescu*, while *M. André*, former State Secretary and member of the National Peasants' Party, is preparing to question the Minister of Religion. On the top of this comes the statement made by *Mr. Herz*, the Chief Rabbi of London. *Mr. Herz*, expressing his indignation at Patriarch *Christea's* statement, declares that what the latter said about his stay in London is not true. Not three but only two Jews visited the Rumanian Patriarch. They were himself and *M. Montefiore*, and had *Christea* dared to speak of the Jews before them as he professes to have done, they would have immediately left him. The fact was that the Patriarch, in answer to their question (or rather request) as to how the situation of the Jews in Rumania might be improved, gave them an evasive answer. — y —

THE REV. MR. J. H. LATHROP, AMERICAN MINISTER,  
HONORARY DOCTOR OF SZEGED UNIVERSITY

The Szeged Francis Joseph University of Sciences has conferred the degree of Hon. D. Phil. on the Rev. John Howland *Lathrop*, Unitarian Minister of Brooklyn, who, with a few American friends, formed the "American Committee of Religious Rights and Minorities". The aim of this society is to collect religious and minority complaints, examine them and make them known to the American public. Twice a delegation sent out by the Committee has investigated minority and religious grievances on the spot in Rumania, and the conclusions arrived at were published by *Mr. Lathrop* in his book "Ten Years After".

At the banquet given in his honour Mr. Lathrop declared that Hungary's task was again to be the bulwark of civilization.

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## THE PRESBYTERIAN WORLD ALLIANCE AND THE REFORMED CHURCH IN RUMANIA

The *Presbyterian World Alliance* held its Synod in Montreal on June 23. Much interest was shown in the report of the Committee sent out to examine the position of the Hungarian Reformed Church in *Transylvania*. The Synod, which was interested mainly in the cultural and religious aspects of the case, has assured the Hungarian Calvinists in Rumania of its sympathy and recommended the Eastern Branch of the World Alliance to continue its work of assistance on the basis of the following leading principles:

1. There being a great shortage of modern works on theology in the Reformed Church Theological College in Kolozsvár and no possibility of supplying the lack owing to the poverty of the institute, the Committee has requested the members of the Synod to help with gifts of English, French and German theological works.

2. The member churches of the Presbyterian World Alliance have been asked to render regular financial aid yearly to the Reformed Church of Transylvania.

3. A strong desire is manifest in Transylvania that one or more English-speaking students of theology should study annually at the Kolozsvár Theological College. Bishop Vásárhelyi had offered board and lodging to one such student in his own residence.

4. The Committee recommended the World Alliance to maintain much closer contacts than hitherto with their brethren in Rumania, not only by way of correspondence, but also by frequently sending visitors to that part.

5. The Alliance was asked to give its serious consideration to the question of sending out a special committee the chief aim of which would be to intervene with the Rumanian authorities and obtain from the Bucharest Government the legal redress desired.

The steps to be taken in connection with the Calvinists in Rumania had been discussed by the Executive Committee of the European "Zentral Stelle" (Geneva) and the opinion finally arrived at was that at a suitable date, previously determined, representations in the interests of the Calvinists in Rumania should be made simultaneously to the Foreign Ministers of all the countries participating in the work of the "Zentral Stelle".

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"IMAGINE THAT BRITTANY, BURGUNDY AND PROVENCE  
WERE TORN FROM FRANCE"

In the Parisian paper "*Petit Bleu*" for September 21st appears the following article by M. A. de Montgón:

"Anyone who has visited Hungary can readily convince himself how great her sufferings are, but that the Hungarians do not submit to their undeserved misfortune. Hungary was ever the bulwark of Europe. Michelet, of whose value as a historian there can be no doubt, long ago asked: "*When shall we repay all that we owe to the splendid Hungarian nation, the saviours of the West?*" It is true that Wilson had probably never read Michelet's book.

"We do not believe that the public has any idea how Hungary has been dismembered. Imagine that Brittany, Burgundy and Provence were torn from France! From an economic point of view also the treaty has been disastrous for Hungary, in addition to which she has been robbed of the natural protection afforded by the chain of mountains on her boundaries. *This impossible situation cannot long endure. No stable edifice can be founded on waste-paper, nor equity on injustice.* It would be ridiculous to assert that Hungary should bear the blame for the World War. *The Allied Powers, when drawing up the treaty, mainly cited the notorious principle of nationality, but were utterly ignorant of geography or of history.* The peoples labelled as foreign elements formed one historic unity with Hungary. Nor were these peoples in haste to be divided from her. This the Powers well knew, and for this reason did not organise a plebiscite. *Hungary never oppressed her subject nationalities.*"

THE CONCORDAT CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA

The struggle over the Concordat continues with unabated fury. The Opposition, sheltering under the wings of the Pravoslav Church, has been circulating hundreds of thousands of inflammatory pamphlets in which, amongst other things, the masses are told that as an outcome of the Concordat Catholic priests will be appointed in the Serb parishes alongside of the Pravoslav priests with a view to converting the Pravoslavs to the Catholic faith; that the Slavs will not be allowed to keep their "Slava" (the feast-day of the patron saint of families) and that they will be forced to recognize the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope. In several places the effects of this unbridled agitation

have manifested themselves in serious outbreaks of disturbances which in Valjevo culminated in a pitched battle between the excited mob and the guardians of public order in which a number of people were severely wounded.

This combined action of the Opposition and the *Pravoslav Church* circles, which is endangering public order, is forcing the Government to increasingly energetic counter-measures. In Sremski-Karlovci 25 different propaganda pamphlets against the Concordat and the Government have been confiscated by the authorities in the printing-offices belonging to the Serb Pravoslav Patriarchate, while the Chief of Police in Belgrade has suspended the Central Board and Controlling Committee of the Narodna Odbrana, an extreme nationalist, pan-Serb organization with ramifications all over the country, appointing in their place a Government Commissioner in the person of an ex-officer, General Mihailovitch, who has already taken over the control of the organization. The reason given for this striking measure was that in more than one instance the management of the Narodna Odbrana had overstepped the sphere of authority laid down in its statutes and that, especially of late, its activity had been at variance with the aims of the organization. It is patent, however, that in face of this diplomatic official explanation the chief reason why measures were taken against the Narodna Odbrana was that it had proclaimed and carried on a keen struggle against the Government bent on effecting a ratification of the Concordat, and that together with the Serb Cultural Club, the Chetnik organization and the rest of the Serb nationalist societies, it had been working to form an anti-Government, pan-Serb front. In this endeavour it was supported by M. Voya Yanyitch, ex-president of the Skupshtina Concordat Committee, who will have to appear before the Defence of the Realm Court to answer for a speech against the Government delivered at *Kragujevac* on 5th September. The Metropolitan of Montenegro (Cetinje), M. Gavriilo Dozhitch, does not share M. Yanyitch's views and most sharply condemns the action which is fanning the flames of religious strife. In particular he turns against those who profess to be the defenders of the Pravoslav Church, when in fact they have no connection with ecclesiastical life.

Otherwise the Government camp is in good spirits, a circumstance which, according to the "*Samouprava*" and the "*Vreme*" (IX/8), is accounted for by the fact that the negotiations opened between the Government and the College of Bishops of the Pravoslav Church promise favourable results. It is but natural — writes the semi-official "*Samouprava*" — that the differences between the Government and the College of Bishops will cease at once the moment the political element is eliminated. Let public opinion leave matters entirely to the Government and the

Bishops, who together are sure to find a means of compromise. This optimistic mood also found expression at the three days' meeting of the Government Party Parliamentary Club (September 8—10), particularly in the unanimously adopted resolution in which the Club assured the Government of its loyalty and confidence and its conviction that Premier Stoyadinovitch would respect the rights of the Pravoslav Church, but at the same time would above all preserve the dignity of the State and ensure without fail equal rights for all denominations. — y —

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár