

POLITICAL MOSAIC

HUNGARY'S EXCEPTIONALLY WARM AND RESPECTFUL RECEPTION OF LORD ROTHERMERE

In our last issue we reported that in response to the invitation of the Hungarian Regent and the Hungarian Government Lord Rothermere visited Hungary in November. He stayed with us from the 6th till the 12th and his reception by official Hungary and the people was a manifestation of the well-deserved affection and respect entertained by the Hungarians for their great friend, who was the first to champion Hungary's just cause, the first to give a directive to the Hungarian movement for revision. It was felt by all that our joy would not have been full had he not been with us to share the first triumph for revision, had he not been at the side of the Regent when, amidst the hosannas of the crowds, the latter made his entrance into the largest of the liberated Hungarian towns. An account of the celebrations has already been given. Here we merely wish to supplement that report with two speeches made by Lord Rothermere.

In reply to the toast proposed by the Mayor of Kassa at the banquet given in that city on 11th November Lord Rothermere said:

"Words fail me to express the pleasure with which, at the kind invitation of the Hungarian Government, I came today to Kassa to take part in these celebrations, for which Hungary, conscious of the justice of her cause, has waited patiently for many years. These happy hours are a recompense to Hungary and the Hungarians of Kassa for twenty years of suffering. The Hungarian colours are flying again on the walls of this ancient Hungarian city. I can assure the Hungarians of Kassa that their British friends are with them in spirit this great day. With the aid of her two great friends, Germany and Italy, Hungary has regained possession of Kassa, the pearl of Upper Hungary, and I am sure that you will never lose it again.

"For many years I worked in my own country to obtain justice for Hungary, fully convinced that this day was bound to come.

"Thanks to the kind invitation of His Highness the Regent

and the Hungarian Government, I am able to be here now, and I beg liberated Kassa to accept this flag from me as a token of my friendly feelings. It is my conviction that with the aid of my powerful foreign friends and the self-sacrificing labours of her own people, Hungary may regard the future with new hope. Today, my dear friends, the whole world rejoices with you and celebrates with you the happy day of your deliverance."

At the banquet given in his honour on 12th November by the town of Budapest Lord Rothermere said:

"It is strange thing to make a funeral a day of rejoicing. And yet, yesterday, I had the honour to rejoice with tens of thousands over the death of Trianon. That treaty was the work of malevolent men, who wished to bury Hungary. Now Hungary has buried Trianon. Yesterday, in Kassa, I was a spectator of the magnificent celebrations which showed that not even the arms of the whole world were able to crush this noble nation or trample down this sacred land. The crown of St. Stephen cannot be broken to pieces. The Hungarian spirit and heroism inherited from your ancestors cannot be exterminated.

"This evening you recalled that twenty years ago I carried the cause of downtrodden Hungary before the conscience of the nations. It is true that when first I raised my voice Hungary was practically without a friend in the world; but in a short time others — and very important people — also began to listen to you. Now an instalment of justice has been paid. I say an instalment, for I firmly believe that the restoration of the northern territories is merely a beginning.

"Mr. Mayor, today you are the head of the capital of a country of ten million inhabitants. Heaven grant that their number soon increase. Budapest was not called upon to share the hard lot of Kassa and the rest of the exiled towns. Nevertheless Budapest has had much to suffer since the crime of Trianon was committed. I am well aware that the problems of the Hungarian question and especially those of the capital, Budapest, are still very great. These problems will be solved in time — and they will be solved by the same virtues which in good and bad fortune made your people so great in the past.

"For my own part, I shall continue to do my utmost to be of service to your nation with the same readiness as heretofore. After the touching welcome I received last week and your cordial greetings tonight, I really feel that the ties linking me with Hungary are very strong. Had anybody asked me at the time what induced me to raise my voice on behalf of Hungary, I should have replied: a love of justice. But were the same question put to me today, my answer would be: love of justice and of Hungary. Since Budapest, with its great natural and artistic beauties and its historical interest is a symbol of the beauties and traditions of the whole country, I send a message through

you to the entire Hungarian nation. I thank you all for your affection and pray God to bless you in the happier future which now opens out before you." — y —

REGENT OF HUNGARY ADDRESSES THE SLOVAKS IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE.

When Admiral *Horthy*, Regent of Hungary, entered Kassa on 11th November he was welcomed on behalf of the Slovaks by Bishop *Charsky*. The latter's address, delivered in Slovak, ran as follows:

"Your Highness, Graciously permit me to convey to you the homage of your Slovak subjects. I am here to express the esteem and affection they feel for Your Highness, whom they regard as their father who has led them back to their mother-country. On behalf of my Slovak brethren I promise that we will be loyal to the country to which Divine Providence has again attached us. We wish to work for the good of our common land, for the prosperity of the Hungarian State. I humbly beg Your Highness to take your Slovak subjects to your fatherly heart and to ensure them the free exercise of their cultural and lingual rights in their new homeland. I beg Her Highness, Madame *Horthy*, to receive the new subjects of the Hungarian State with gracious kindness and to extend her good-will to them. May this country be happy and prosperous!"

In his reply to the various speeches Admiral *Horthy* addressed the Slovaks in their own language.

"Although my knowledge of Slovak is slight," said the Regent in his deep voice, "I learned to speak Croatian during the happy years I spent in the Navy, and so the Slav languages are not quite unfamiliar. I greet you with warm affection, who this day have returned to your thousand-year-old homeland. In the past you not only co-operated with us to till its soil, you also helped us to defend it. You may rest assured that the sympathy and affection of the whole Hungarian nation will guarantee a higher standard of life as well as the free development of Slovak culture and the Slovak language." — y —

HUNGARIAN ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES IN THE RESTORED AREAS

Social Measures.

As soon as the Hungarian troops crossed the frontier, measures were inaugurated by the Hungarian Government to further the social welfare of the inhabitants of the restored territories, and steps were immediately taken to provide a supply of all the neces-

sities of life. In a short time lists of those necessities were made out and articles of primary importance were despatched to the new Hungarian areas. The most important commodities were sugar, salt, flour, pulse, rice, bacon, potatoes, firewood, coal, petroleum and matches. Tickets were issued by the district military authorities to the indigent, who were the first to receive supplies of those important necessities. Hitherto about 100 wagonloads have been distributed, thanks to the thoughtfulness of the Hungarian Government. In order to prevent any hitch in production steps were taken without delay to provide the farmers in the regained territory with seed grain and hireable tractors to do the work of the farm-horses requisitioned by the Czechs, and to eliminate the difficulties arising in connection with cattle-breeding and dairy-farming. The Trans-Tisza Chamber of Agriculture has already organized branches, which are doing what is necessary in this respect on the spot.

Administration.

Special attention is being devoted by the Government to public hygiene and child-welfare. No one is to lose his or her claim to a pension, and the unanimous standpoint of the Government is that the inhabitants of the restored areas are entitled to the vacant posts in the civil service of those parts. In general teachers belonging to the autochthonous population have been left in their posts, and vacancies will be filled primarily with people who were dismissed by the Czechs because of their national feelings, or were forced to emigrate for political reasons. Having been employed during the Czech era will not count against anybody, and only those who abused their authority and dealt cruelly with the autochthonous inhabitants have reason to fear reprisals.

Land Reform.

Nothing will be done to alter the results of the Land Reform. The Hungarian, Slovak and Ruthenian peasants who received land will continue to own it after the restoration, no matter to whom it belonged formerly. On the other hand the villages of Czech settlers established in purely Hungarian areas by the Czech Government provide possibilities of giving land to those of the autochthonous inhabitants who were prevented from enjoying the benefits of the Land Reform because of their political opinions.

Judicature.

The edict issued stresses the point that the measures inaugurating Hungarian jurisprudence must respect the provisions of the law insuring the use of minority languages in public offices. In the sphere of civil law the order is that the laws in force in the restored territories will continue to be valid in the civil courts,

naturally with the exception of those which in the nature of things can no longer be applied owing to the change of State. For these will be substituted the corresponding laws in force in Hungarian judicature. All sentences will be pronounced in the name of the Holy Crown of Hungary.

Public Education.

The Hungarian Minister of Education has issued, as a general guiding principle, an order that the curriculum used before the restoration shall be adhered to in all grades and kinds of schools until the end of the present school-year. During this period no change may take place in the ownership of schools, that is to say, the Hungarian schools maintained by the Czech Government will become Hungarian State schools and the bodies maintaining non-state schools will remain in possession of them. No change will take place in the subjects taught either, but a patriotic Hungarian spirit must be introduced without delay into the teaching of national subjects such as Hungarian reading, literature, history, geography and political science. The teaching of Slovak and Ruthenian in schools attended by Slovak and Ruthenian children will naturally continue.

School-books Gratis.

The school-books introduced by the Czechs will — if the subjects are not national ones — continue to be used, but the books dealing with national subjects will — if on examination they prove unsuitable — be exchanged for those used in the mother-country. To facilitate this exchange the Minister of Education will present the schools in the regained areas with 50 per cent of the books required free and gratis.

Elementary Education.

Immediate steps were taken to close the State schools in purely Hungarian districts, if the language of tuition was not Hungarian. In mixed villages instruction will continue in the schools as heretofore, but provision will be made for separate instruction in Hungarian for pupils who speak that language — possibly with the co-operation of the teacher employed, should he prove suitable. In such villages, though the language of tuition, providing it was not Hungarian, will remain unchanged in the schools, Hungarian must immediately be introduced as a subject. In purely non-Hungarian places the language of instruction will remain unchanged, but here too Hungarian must be taught as a subject. Teaching in secondary and technical schools will follow the usual curriculum in the language hitherto used. Should Hungarian not have been taught in them, it must now be introduced. Special care must be taken that the pupils of those schools should suffer no disadvantages in connection with their studies even if forced to attend other schools in consequence of the restoration of Upper

Hungary. This applies in particular to students who were attending non-Hungarian schools — possibly in places that were not given back to Hungary — and who now would like to continue their studies in schools situated in Hungary. The Hungarian State will maintain an adequate number of non-Hungarian schools in the restored areas and the vacant places caused in them by a probable exchange of the population will make it possible for the non-Hungarian students who have hitherto attended non-Hungarian schools to pursue their studies without interruption.

If in consequence of the restoration of the Hungarian areas certain students are obliged to change schools, and therefore apply for admission to schools of a similar grade in other places, the headmaster of the school to which application has been made shall, if there is room enough, admit pupils over and above the regular number allowed. It is only if there is no possibility of providing room for them that the applications of students who, whether they had formerly attended a Hungarian or a non-Hungarian school, now desire to attend one nearer to their homes and situated in a district that before the restoration belonged to Dismembered Hungary, may be refused. The Minister of Education is prepared to deal with special cases separately and in such instances students are advised to submit their applications with the necessary data and documents direct to the Minister himself. — y —

KASSA THE CITY OF MAGYAR-SLOVAK FRIENDSHIP

The Czech press has repeatedly published reports accusing Hungary and the Hungarian authorities of oppressing the Slovak national minority living in the re-incorporated territories. The said reports have alleged that the Hungarian authorities do not respect the promises contained in the Slovak speech made by the Hungarian Regent in Kassa. In order to prove the unfounded character of these charges and to give them an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the real situation, the Chief of the Hungarian National Defence General Staff, in his capacity as supreme head of the military administration of the re-incorporated territories, invited representatives of the Hungarian and foreign press to visit the villages and towns situated in the re-incorporated areas of Upper Hungary and to personally convince themselves of the unfounded character of the charges made by the Czech press.

The Hungarian journalists, accompanied by forty representatives of foreign journals, arrived in Kassa at noon on November 25th. They were received at the station by the Mayor, M. Ladislav Tost. First of all they were taken to see the cultural institutions of the city. The first of these institutions to be visited was the reformatory — as institute similar to that at Aszód. The sight that met the visitors when they entered this institute equipped for the

accommodation of 700 juvenile offenders was unforgettable, — Cossack vandalism at its worst! The Czechs had dispersed the inmates and had carried off the furniture and equipment, leaving only the bare walls and — dirt everywhere. The State printing works showed signs of similar vandalism. The Czechs had scattered the type at random and crushed it under foot. They had removed the machinery of the most up-to-date printing works in Upper Hungary — carrying off four type-setters, seven (printing) presses and four envelope-cutting machines, as well as all the other valuable articles of equipment. Apparently the Czechs had no time to dismantle and carry off the equipment of the tobacco factory. Consequently, the latter has resumed operations. The factory employs 297 hands — 224 women and 73 men. When the Czechs evacuated Kassa only 11 men and 1 woman left the factory. The workers in this factory are all without exception Slovaks.

The journalists were then taken to see the industrial high school, in which the work of teaching has already been resumed. This is due to the Magyar and Slovak teachers remaining in Kassa having concluded an agreement with the Czech authorities in terms of which the latter were entitled to remove only those articles which had been purchased subsequently to 1918. The school contains a Hungarian and a Slovak section. The journalists visited the Slovak classes in succession and by direct conversation with the Slovak boys were able to ascertain beyond a doubt that the pupils could choose freely and without constraint in which language they desired to be taught. It is worth noting that the Slovak boys almost all speak Hungarian fluently, while a Magyar boy of the name of Andrew Kiss is learning in the Slovak section.

In the postmen's (sorting) room in the General Post Office the journalists talked with the rank and file of the post office employees. The Hungarian Post Office Administration has taken over all the employees remaining in Kassa (altogether 133 officials and 89 postmen), although the staff of employees actually required by the Hungarian postal service in Kassa is only 88 officials and 79 postmen. The persons thus taken over include Slovaks who do not know a single word of Hungarian. There is a Czech employee too — a woman of the name of Mary Smrekovska, who is employed in the despatch department and, though she only knows a few words of Hungarian, is anxious to remain in Kassa. The employees who do not know Hungarian have taken the oath of allegiance too in Slovak.

The journalists then visited the broadcasting office. The Hungarian broadcasting corporation has taken over the only male and the two female employees remaining in Kassa. The manager of the office told the journalists of the terrible havoc wrought in the studio by the Czechs, who had removed everything, even the wave length, the Kassa Czech broadcasting station now removed to Eperjes having in spite of all the customary agreements begun to

broadcast from Eperjes on the Kassa wave length. On Saturday the journalists continued their work of inspection, visiting the settlements in the environs of Kassa, the Kassa schools, judicial institutions and industrial establishments.

RUTHENIAN STATESMEN ON QUESTION OF RUTHENIA'S UNION WITH HUNGARY

Dr. Stephen Fencik, who quite recently was one of Ruthenia's ministers, on 19th November broadcast an address in Ruthenian from the Budapest Studio to the Ruthenians living in America. Among other things he said: —

"The Ruthenians of America entrusted me with the task of representing them and making their resolutions known both in Europe and in the whole area of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, including the Czecho-Slovak Parliament. I declare that I have fulfilled this charge and that, with my confrères, I have done my utmost for Ruthenian liberty and Ruthenian autonomy.

"The Ruthenians of America have steadfastly adhered to their principles and have besieged the League of Nations with memorandums demanding Ruthenian autonomy. And we at home, languishing in the Czech dungeon, reacted to the efforts of our kindred in America to deliver us. When Mr. Chamberlain and Herr Hitler, in co-operation with Mr. Roosevelt, the great President of the United States of America, accepted the Wilsonian principles as the basis of new arrangements in Europe, when, that is to say, the peaceful method of self-determination was adopted, we Ruthenians at home also began to take steps in keeping with those principles. And when, on 2nd November, the Vienna award decided the fate of Ungvár and Munkács, it also decided the fate of the whole of Sub-Carpathia. Cultural, economic and psychological factors clearly show that the Ruthenians of Sub-Carpathia belong to Ungvár and Munkács, so much so that, cut off from those towns, their future existence is inconceivable. It was therefore but natural that all the cultural, economic and ecclesiastical representatives of the Ruthenian people should meet, with myself in the chair, in Ungvár on 3rd November and should pass a resolution in terms of which the whole Carpatho-Russian people (85% of which were represented at this meeting), invoking the right of self-determination guaranteed on 10th September, 1919, announced its wish to join Hungary, provided the most extensive autonomy was guaranteed and the national, cultural and administrative rights of the Carpatho-Russian people were recognized.

"You have entrusted me with a mission, and I beg you to inform, not only President Roosevelt, but also the heads of all the European Great Powers, that the Ruthenian people, from the Poprád to the Tisza, invoking the principle of self-determination,

signify their desire to join Hungary, provided full autonomy is guaranteed them. With full rights of self-government guaranteed us, I hope that the future of Carpatho-Russia will be assured under the Crown of St. Stephen. I believe in the independence and resurrection of our country. May God's blessing rest on your labourst *Nam nogaja e blahaja lyeta!*"

Michael Demkő, former Member of the Ruthenian Provincial Diet and acting-president of the Autonomous Ruthenian Farmers' Alliance, on November 20 broadcast the following address:

"Hungarian Brethren. Today, when after twenty years of struggle and hardship I am able to address you in a free country, on free Hungarian soil, on behalf of the Autonomous Ruthenian Farmers' Alliance representing 60.000 Ruthenian peasant votes, allow me first of all to pay tribute to the memory of one of the greatest of Ruthenia's sons, Ivan Kurtyák, a leader of our people and a courageous protagonist of friendship with Hungary, who died a martyr's death and to whom it was therefore not given to see the reunion of Ruthenia and Hungary. I take this opportunity of thanking the Hungarian people and the Hungarian Government for providig his widow and orphans with a home on Hungarian soil.

"In the second place my thoughts turn to another martyr, to Andrew Brödy, ex-Premier of Ruthenia, who has been rewarded by the Czech Government for his brave fight for Ruthenian self-determination with a bed in the hospital of the Pankrác prison in Prague. That I myself am able to speak to you today is solely due to the fact that though eighty detectives and policemen searched for me feverishly for a fortnight, they were not able to execute the warrant for my arrest."

„Ruthenian peasants once carried messages hidden in hollow walking-sticks to Francis Rákóczi II, who was exiled in Poland. They carried them by dead of night over the snow-capped Carpathians by forest paths known only to themselves. And today their descendants come flocking by the same paths to re-unite what God Himself had joined together, that which had been one for a thousand years and for which so much Ruthenian and Hungarian blood was shed — a common Ruthenian and Hungarian State.

"Along those same paths Ruthenian officers and soldiers, the sons of the men who served in the 9th and 11th National Defence regiments, are coming in masses in the chilly November nights. Weighed down with guns, machine-guns and ammunition, they come at the risk of their lives to join the Hungarian army.

"And when the great day arrives, and we Ruthenians are the first of the national groups of pre-war Hungary to find a home again on its blood-drenched soil, we shall have one re-

quest to make to the Hungarian nation: the new era the foundations of which are being laid with our co-operation and support and cemented with our blood, must not be a continuation of the state of matters obtaining in 1918. The old mistakes must not be repeated; and a new spirit must fill our new and independent life. We must join forces in a spirit of real brotherhood, never again to separate, never again to allow anything to divide us. In the outposts on the ridges of the South-Eastern Carpathians and in thousands of tiny cottages from the Poprád to the Tisza the Ruthenian people are waiting, dreaming and keeping watch." —y—

THE SLOVAKS IN AMERICA FOR SLOVAKIA'S RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

M. Béla Imrédy, the Hungarian Premier has received a cable from the Slovaks living in the USA. The cable was signed by the following Slovak leaders: Andrew *Pirhala*, President of the first Catholic Slovak League, John *Vargo*, Michael *Smarzik*, Secretary, Andrew *Smajda*, John *Seman*, John *Siroki*, Joseph *Torkos*, *Ádám Gaudos*, Andrew *Gavlik*, Joseph *Lajczák*, local delegate, Alexander *Zugeber*, Joseph *Rosenfeld*, Paul *Vargo*, Louis *Imre*, Andrew *Bellovits*, treasures. The cable runs as follows:

"In 1918 we, Slovaks living in the USA, accepted the Czech offer to form together with them the Czechoslovak State, in which the Czechs and the Slovaks were to enjoy the same rights under the principle of self-determination. This agreement of Czechs and Slovaks formed the very basis of Czechoslovakia, and it was accepted as such in the peace treaties following the Great War. The Czech leaders promised us equal rights in the Czechoslovak State. For twenty years the Czechs refused to grant their Slovak brethren those rights which they had guaranteed in 1918 with their own signatures. The Czechs are two or three times more numerous and economically more powerful than the Slovaks, and are in a much more advantageous financial situation, which they employ as a means of oppressing the Slovak people.

"This state of affairs compelled the Slovaks to emigrate from Czechoslovakia — while it was possible to do so — in much larger numbers than ever before. The Czechs have deprived our Slovak brethren of all their political rights in these twenty years; we need only refer to the thousands of newspaper articles which the Czech censors have suppressed and to the countless Slovak meetings dispersed by the Czechs. Hundreds of Slovaks have been thrown into prison during these years of Czech despotism. The same danger threatens our very Slovak name

and our Slovak culture, which the Czech Government would fain adulterate. Whenever it was impossible to silence the Slovaks by the intimidation of their leaders, the Czechs always resorted to their promises of home-rule, but they have never kept their promise.

"Now that twenty-year-old Czechoslovakia has got into serious trouble, the Czech Government has at last granted the Slovaks one portion of their lawful rights. Now, in its critical situation, the Czech Government has — as it has often done in the past twenty years — consented to the autonomy of Slovakia; but the question is this: will a judge believe the protestations of a relapsed criminal that he will change after the trial?

"We, Slovaks, do not believe this, nor do we believe that this homerule which was conceded under such critical circumstances will make any difference to the tendencies of the Czech Government. We, whose signature is attached to this cable, together with those Slovaks who are not guided by Czech interests, know and firmly believe that the Czechoslovak Government will not be able to change its guiding principles, which aim primarily at the destruction of Slovakia. We therefore beseech Your Excellency to use your powerful influence to secure for our Slovak brethren the enjoyment of the right of self-determination. Our request is that they may be allowed to decide freely and under neutral control whether they wish to remain and live their national life within the Czechoslovak Republic, or whether they would like to belong to some other State?

"We have simultaneously sent a similar request to the French Premier, to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to the Chancellor of Germany, to the Premier of Italy and to the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs." — y —

"CARPATHO-RUSSIANS" (RUTHENIANS) APPEAL FOR THE INCORPORATION OF RUTHENIA IN HUNGARY

On November 26th. M. Béla Imrédy, Prime Minister of Hungary, received the following cablegram from Newark in the State of New Jersey:

"To His Excellency Béla Imrédy, Prime Minister of Hungary,
B u d a p e s t.

Thousands of our Ruthenian brethren are being compelled to flee from Ruthenia by the cruel treatment of the Czech police. We beg Your Excellency to find means to enable our brethren in the old country to separate from Czecho-Slovakia and join the southern part of Carpatho-Russia, which has once more become Hungarian territory. We appeal to Your Excellency to assist the

Carpatho-Russian people while still subject to Czech rule to secure the right to decide its future destiny by plebiscite to be held under neutral control, thus relieving the sufferings and preventing the destruction of our Carpatho-Russian brethren with which the fresh partition of Ruthenia threatens them. In the name of the representatives of all the Ruthenians living at Cartaret, New Jersey, and in the vicinity: *Alec Medweczky*, Pastor of the Ruthenian Church of St. Elijah, and *Michael Stenko*."

HUNGARIAN TROOPS WELCOMED WITH WILD ENTHUSIASM AND A SHOWER OF FLOWERS BY POPULATION OF LIBERATED TERRITORIES.

For years Czech propaganda told the world that revision was unnecessary, because the inhabitants of the disputed regions, even the Hungarians, were not at all anxious to return to Hungary. This mendacious — and at the same time naive — argument was amply refuted by the unprecedented scenes of enthusiastic welcome with which the Hungarian troops were met in the restored areas.

Particularly touching were the frantic outbursts of joy among the simple peasant people of the villages. When the first Hungarian soldiers made their appearance joy-bells were rung, the streets were strewn with flowers, and with tears of happiness in their eyes the peasants rushed to kiss even the hem of the soldiers' uniforms. In some places the inhabitants, led by their priests, knelt in the street to pray as the Hungarian troops marched in. Where the horses of the peasants had not been requisitioned by the Czechs, mounted bands went out to meet the liberating troops. It would be impossible to describe in detail all the minor but nevertheless extremely characteristic scenes that were enacted. Each of them was a revelation of the Hungarian spirit which for twenty years could not find expression except in secret within four walls. Even in the poorest villages the Hungarian troops were welcomed with triumphal arches and masses of Hungarian national flags. And at what sacrifices were these preparations made! Only an hour or two before the arrival of the Hungarians did the Czechs withdraw; and till the last minute any attempt to prepare for the reception of the Hungarian troops was severely punished. Many a man lost his life through hanging out the Hungarian flag half an hour too soon. The population will never forget the last hours of the Czech régime, when machine-guns dealt death from the tanks parading the street, and Czech soldiers threw hand-grenades into the houses and courtyards. And yet, when the Hungarians made their appearance a few hours later, they were received by crowds in Hungarian national costumes with

flowers and triumphal arches. Copious reports of these events were published in the international Press. They were so affecting that even indifferent foreign spectators were greatly moved and mingled their tears with those of the liberated and liberators.

Special mention must be made of the great celebrations in the towns. The delirious enthusiasm with which the Regent, Admiral Horthy, was received when he entered Komárom and Kassa on his white charger, will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The ecstasy of the hundreds of thousands who watched his entrance from crowded balconies, windows, the roofs of houses and wayside trees or lined the streets in dense masses, and their shouts of welcome, were surely proof enough of the strength of the arguments urged for twenty years by the Hungarian revisionist movement. — y —

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA'S FRONTIERS NOT TO BE GUARANTEED

In connection with the question of the guaranteeing of Czecho-Slovakia's new frontiers the Polish press is unanimous in emphasizing the fact that this question will not come up for decision until that of Ruthenia has been settled. The "Express Poranny" establishes the fact that for the present there can be no question of guaranteeing Czecho-Slovakia's frontiers.

The "Express Poranny" stresses further that the Czech authorities are employing methods of a brutality exceeding even the cruelties which the Poles living in Czecho-Slovakia have been subjected to. The Czech gendarmes expel their victims without written warrants and allow them only a few hours to prepare for their departure. Those Polish residents of Czecho-Slovakia who are unable to get ready at such short notice, are immediately thrown into prison, fined very heavily and then conveyed to the frontier by armed "escorts." The Czech authorities have issued orders to the effect that all institutions and undertakings must immediately dismiss their Polish employees and have added a strict prohibition forbidding the said institutions and undertakings to engage any Poles in the future. Persons guilty of a breach of these orders are fined very heavily.

FOREIGN PRESS CORRESPONDENTS IN RUTHENIA

In the early days of December a large group of the foreign press correspondents stationed in Budapest left for the parts of Ruthenia restored to Hungary. First they went to Ungvár, where they saw a torchlight procession of Ruthenian and Magyar natives demanding the liberation of the Ruthenians still in Czech

bondage. They also visited Ruthenian cultural institutions and a camp of refugees, who had been driven over the frontiers in scanty clothing by the Czechs.

The next place they visited was Munkács. Here the new frontier is exceptionally absurd. The Czech frontier line runs just outside the cemetery and only the very nearest relations of the dead can attend funerals, no others being allowed into the cemetery by the Czech soldiers. The pressmen witnessed a funeral crossing the frontier. The few mourners were allowed to pass, but the carriages conveying them had to turn back at the frontier.

Another frontier section visited by the press correspondents was the one at Várkulcsa, where some of the houses of the village are in Hungarian and some in Czech territory.

In the course of their inspection of the new frontier they were told that on Saturday last the Czech frontier guards gave an inhabitant of Munkács a so-called "talk permit", but when he began to speak with a man who came over from Czech territory to the neutral zone, two Czech policemen tried to drag him across the frontier, and it was only the energetic intervention of the frontier guards that made them let the Hungarian go.

In the Munkács churchyard the Czech outposts use the nicest headboards as fuel.

The pressmen spoke with the people who crowded round them, and asked them many questions. They were struck by the hatred with which the population spoke of the Ukrainian terrorists and their policy. These Ukrainians, who were called in by the Czechs, are a foreign element far removed from the native inhabitants in spirit and language. — y —

MINORITY STATUTE NOT YET PUT INTO EFFECT BY RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT

The Correspondent of the "Daily Express" interviewed King Charles prior to his visit to England and *inter alia* asked His Majesty his opinion of the question of a revision of the frontiers. The Rumanian King replied to this question as follows:

"Rumania has always made her attitude in this matter quite clear; and there has not been any change in her policy on that point. Two months ago we gave the minorities of Rumania a new Statute (*Charter*), — not as the result of pressure from without or at home. The reason why we passed this Statute was that we believed it to be a *good and proper measure*. And I see no reason why our minorities should complain respecting this measure." — It is a fact that the royal dictatorship now ruling in Rumania, — which is not hampered at all by the political parties that have been dissolved —, has yielded to the pressure

of the political conditions prevailing in Europe generally and by Edict (*decret lege*) published in No. 101 (May 4th. 1938.) of the Official Gazette organised a commissariat-general for the control of minorities (*comisariat general pentru monoritati*) for the administration of the affairs of the national minorities (which even according to the Rumanian official statistics represent 28% of the total population) and then, on August 4th., 1938, issued another royal Edict (*decret regal*) containing instructions and determining the fundamental principles of the activity of that commissariat, and in the form of an Order in Council formulating the rules governing the work of the minority commissariat.

As regards this Minority Statute — which was published as Order in Council (*junale ale consiliului de ministri*) No. 1750/b. in No. (August 4th., 1938) of the Rumanian Official Gazette (*Monitorul Oficial*) — the fact must be established that it was drafted exclusively for the use of foreign countries, and that it has never been dealt with by the Rumanian (inland) press, simply because the Consorship has refused to allow it to be mentioned.

Another reason why the importance of this Minority Statute must not be overestimated is that extremely few of its provisions have been carried into effect. But even if the Statute had been carried into effect in full, it would represent only a mere fraction of the measures comprised in the Gyulafehervár Resolution of December 1st., 1918, which have also never been put into force. It is however just as indubitable that the Rumanian minorities are perfectly entitled to submit to the public opinion of the world their complaints against the strikingly deficient Minority Statute; for the Rumanian Government is in practice continuing the policy pursued by its predecessors and waging a war of extermination against the minorities' material and intellectual welfare.

Four months have passed since the measures contained in the Order in Council dated August 4th. were promulgated; but the Rumanian Government still refuses to respect the right of the Hungarian minority (guaranteed by Article I. of the Statute) "to establish, direct and administer under State control schools and denominational cultural institutions employing the minority language." To give examples, Government has not yet approved the establishment of Roman Catholic boys' and girls' apprentice schools employing Magyar as the language of instruction at *Temesvár* (where the application was made by the Roman Catholic Bishop) and at *Arad* (where the application was filed by the Roman Catholic community).

The Budget of the Rumanian State does not yet include a single bani under the head of grants to the bodies maintaining Hungarian denominational schools (Article II.) With very rare

exceptions Hungarian denominational schools do not receive any share of the 14% tax paid by townships and villages (Article III.) No answer has been given to applications for the right to figure as public schools (e. g. in the case of the Roman Catholic boys' lyceum at Arad which employs Hungarian as the language of instruction, of the Roman Catholic infant schools at Arad and of the 26 elementary schools maintained by the Gyulafehérvár Roman Catholic Chapter). (Article IV.) Nor has the provision relating to the ethnic distribution of the schoolchildren been carried into effect; for the directors (head teachers: headmasters) of the State schools — in defiance of the wishes of the parents — employ the "name analysis" procedure for the purpose of depriving the Hungarian children of the right to attend Hungarian schools. (Article V.) Even today measures taken by the authorities very seriously restrict the activity of minority Sunday schools and of the associations of the younger generations of both sexes (Article VI.) Even today administrative organs interfere in matters relating to divine service (Article X.) There is no improvement in evidence in respect of grants to the clergy (Article XI.) Since August 4th., 1938, — apart from a few sporadic cases of the appointment of mayors and deputy mayors — not a single Hungarian has been appointed to the civil service or given work in other branches of the public service. In Arad, for instance, the officials appointed since that date (about 40 in all) do not include a single Hungarian (Magyar). Ethnic origin is here an obstacle to persons anxious to obtain appointments (Article XII). There being no elected parish councils, the right to employ minority languages is merely illusory (Article XIII). Article XVI. of the Statute is also not yet in force; for — with but very few exceptions — the officials functioning in minority townships and villages do not know Hungarian: and the school-teachers in particular are unable to speak Hungarian. In the official premises we still find notices telling us that "*aici se vorbeste numai romaneste*" (only Rumanian is spoken here). The parish clerks appointed to function in purely Magyar villages (e. g. in Dorobanti in Arad County) do not know a word of Hungarian. The police continue to forbid the use of shopsigns with Hungarian inscriptions printed in letters as large as those of the Rumanian inscriptions (Article XXV.).

To sum up what has been said above, the fact must once more be established that — apart from the use of Hungarian place-names in the inside pages of papers and from the permission to function more freely granted to the Transylvanian Agrarian Society — no change of importance has ensued to benefit the Hungarian minority, and that the Government still continues to pursue an anti-minority policy against which the Hungarian minority is perfectly entitled to protest.

WHAT YUGOSLAV "EQUALITY" REALLY MEANS

While the electioneering campaign was in progress, the members of the Cabinet made statements about the minority question at various public meetings. In essentials these statements were merely a repetition of others made by the same politicians either at public meetings or to the representatives of the minorities — promises that were never kept. Below we publish three of them to give our readers an idea of the rest. M. Chiritch who was Speaker of the now dissolved Skupshtina, and is the Government's candidate in the Danube Banate, speaking at a Party meeting held in Ujvidék (Novisad) on 7th November, declared that "the various nationalities in the Voivodina are living in the most complete harmony. Have they, I wonder, any reason to feel that they have no fatherland? No, for we do not wish to oppress the nationalities. On the contrary, we wish them to enjoy the same treatment as the rest of our peoples, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. We do not want to humiliate them, we who ourselves have suffered so much humiliation." And M. Stankovitch, Minister of Agriculture, told a Hungarian delegation which appeared before him in Óbecse (Staribecej), town with a relative majority of Hungarian inhabitants on 9th November that "the Government is well-disposed towards the Hungarian minority."

But much more important than those two statements was that made at a big public meeting in Ujvidék (Novisad) on 13th November by Premier Stoyadinovitch. What he said was: "The fundamental principle of my policy is equality for all nationalities and denominations. This nation cannot adopt any other attitude where the minority question is concerned, and this attitude is in keeping with its past and its sense of justice. Our nation's inborn sense of justice is the best safeguard of minority development, a guarantee that their languages, religions and cultures will always find adequate support on our part."

Now let us see how the theoretically unimpeachable principles laid down in these statements are being applied to the national minorities in the course of the electioneering campaign, especially as regards the Government Party's list of candidates.

The Hungarians in Yugoslavia number over half a million souls, and the Germans slightly more. Together the two minorities form one-fourteenth of the total population, and on this basis they would be entitled to 26 or 27 of the 371 seats (the Hungarians to 13 and the Germans to 13 or 14.) However, according to the data of the 1921 and 1931 Censuses the Hungarians are in an absolute majority of from 66 to 95 per cent only in two towns, Zenta (86.73%) and Magyarkanizsa (Stara-Kanjiza: 94.81%) and three constituencies, Bácsopolya (77.70%), Zenta (81.96%) and Törökkanizsa (Nova-Kanjiza: 59.24%) and in a relative majority in three constituencies, 49.9% in the Óbecse constituency and 39.6%

in Dárda and Batina, two constituencies in Baranya; but even then the Hungarian minority would, in accordance with the most elementary demands of equity and fair play, be entitled to at least six seats — not counting the compensation they might claim for the Hungarian votes cast in other constituencies. In view of this it is particularly edifying to learn that the negotiations conducted with the Premier and other Ministers concerning the nomination of candidates have proved fruitless, for even the extremely modest demand made by the leaders of the Hungarian minority that the Government Party should put at least three Hungarian candidates on its list was not accepted. From a statement made by M. Stankovitch, Minister of Agriculture, at Óbecse on 9th November, it may be gathered that the Government intends to allow the Hungarian minority of over half a million souls only one single seat in the Skupshtina and proposes to appoint one Hungarian senator, instead of the three to which the Hungarian minority would, on a proportional basis, be entitled.

As things stand today, therefore, among all the 746 candidates on the Premier's general list there is only one of Hungarian nationality and one Hungarian deputy candidate. And these two are men who have been nominated without the assent of the Hungarian minority being obtained. Another moment that is particularly characteristic and makes the situation more difficult is that scarcely any men of Hungarian nationality are to be found among the officers in charge of the premises where the balloting is to take place.

This is how that Yugoslav equality looks in reality of which the members of the Government boast every now and then, but which actually is nothing but the complete political disability of all the national minorities, the Hungarians as well as more than half a million Germans, about the same number of Albanians, 800.000 Macedo-Bulgarians and 150.000 Rumanians, none of which nationalities are properly represented in the Yugoslav Parliament.

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VILLAGES OF ALSOMECENZÉF, FELSŐMECENZÉF AND STÓSZ APPEAL TO HERR HITLER ASKING TO BE ATTACHED TO HUNGARY

After the Vienna award, a number of delegations from neighbouring villages went to the Hungarian National Council in Kassa to plead desperately against having to remain in Czecho-Slovakia. The most energetic in their protests were the villages of Alsomecenzéf, Felsőmecenzéf and Stósz, particularly as they had certain knowledge that the last Czecho-Slovak Note prior to the Vienna decision had offered those villages to Hungary. Not content with merely stating their protest, the three villages, the inhabitants

of which are predominantly German, started a definite movement in the interest of their restoration to Hungary.

On the day after the Vienna award, the inhabitants of the three villages arranged a great demonstration. The people attending the mass meeting signed a memorandum in which it was set forth that, if they have to remain in Czecho-Slovakia, their ancient industries will be ruined and their means of livelihood destroyed. Trade will stop, for they will have no railway line, and communication with the rest of Slovakia will be possible only across the hills at Stósz, where in the depth of winter the roads are impassable for cars for months at a time. This memorandum was signed by 3310 people, — by everybody present at the mass meeting. As the total number of the inhabitants of the three villages is only 5320 souls, it is obvious that the only persons who did not sign it were the children and the aged.

The inhabitants of the three villages decided to send this memorandum to Herr Hitler. This will be done shortly. Dr. Ernst Kundt, Reader in the Budapest University of Technical Sciences, formerly a Premonstratensian teacher in Kassa, has been asked to undertake this mission.

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BACHINSKY NOW CONSIDERED UNRELIABLE

The November 26 issue of the "Uj Hírek," a newspaper published in Pozsony, contains a report received by telephone from its Prague correspondent about that day's negotiations between the leading Czech, Slovak and Ruthenian parties.

"Negotiations with the Slovaks" — says the newspaper — "are proceeding slowly and with every prospect of a compromise, but a very awkward situation has arisen in Ruthenian politics. In Sub-Carpathia the Ukrainian policy has gained the upper hand, and it is acutely opposed to the Ruthenian trend. The Prague Government is being besieged with Ruthenian complaints. Even the Ruthenian Government are not in full agreement. Bachinsky is considered to be an adherent of the Ruthenian policy, and yesterday, at a meeting of the Prague Government parties at which both Bachinsky and Révay were present a telegram arrived from Premier Volosin, protesting against Bachinsky's nomination as minister on the grounds that Révay alone had been authorized to represent the Ruthenian Government. This telegram gave rise to a very awkward situation, because Bachinsky had received a general commission to act as a liaison officer for the Ruthenian Ministry and maintain connections between the latter and the Prague Government.

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SLOVAK SECONDARY SCHOOL IN HUNGARIAN
NAGYSURANY

In a report, dated November 26, the Slovak Telegraphic Bureau noted with appreciation that the military commander of Érsekujvár, acting as temporary head of the administration there, had ordered the removal of the Érsekujvár Slovak *gymnasium* to Nagysurány, the largest Slovak village of that district. The *gymnasium* will be housed in the Nagysurány Board School, which, in turn, will be transferred to Nagykompját. The teaching staff of the Slovak *gymnasium* will consist of the four teachers of the Érsekujvár Slovak school retained by the Hungarian Ministry of Education and others from the Nyitra Slovak *gymnasium* who through the restoration of Upper Hungary have now become Hungarian citizens. — y —

ESTERHAZY'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH TISO IN RE THE
HUNGARIAN MINORITY

On 2nd December, Count John Esterházy, leader of the United Hungarian Party, had a long conversation with Dr. Tiso, Slovak Prime Minister. The subjects under discussion were the question of the Magyar minority in Slovakia and the problem of the equality of the Magyars living in Pozsony. — y —

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár