POLITICAL MOSAIC

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON'S PRO-HUNGARIAN BROADCAST

A very interesting address was broadcast from London by Mr. Arthur Henderson, a well-known member of the Opposition who has visited this country more than once and was one of the first to recognize the justice of Hungary's cause.

Though over the age of compulsory military service, this distinguished politician reported to his old regiment and was given an important position on the General Staff. Twice a week Mr. Henderson goes up to London to work in Parliament or in the Ministry of Information. In his wireless message to the Hungarian nation broadcast from London on 28th October he said, amongst other things, that *both the British Parliament and the Hungarian legislature were founded on noble traditions.* Both Parliaments jealously guarded the right of free speech, and this was one explanation of the friendship and sympathy existing between the two nations. *In both countries Parliament was a symbol of national independence and liberty.* The British Parliament — said Mr. Henderson — was not an assembly of nodding puppets and therefore could not do without an Opposition; it needed to have the right of free criticism. *Every time he had been in Hungary Mr. Henderson had been deeply impressed by the free and independent bearing of the Hungarian public officials. In times of war Parliament played a particularly important role. It was called upon to protect and represent the rights of the nation and the citizens.* This attitude characterized the British Parliament, and its work was so successful that today its influence and authority were greater than they had ever been before. *The Parliamentary system in Great Britain and Hungary had been handed down from generation to generation and both countries carefully cherished that legacy. Mr. Henderson wished both countries long life and prosperity under the protection of their Parliaments.*

POLISH REFUGEES IN HUNGARY: HUNGARIAN SYMPATHY AND HOSPITALITY

On 18th October the Minister of National Defence reported to the Hungarian Parliament that about 5000 Polish officers and 38.000 non-commissioned officers and men had arrived in Hungary. The officers had been lodged in the rest-homes reserved for the use of Hungarian officers, the men and non-

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commissioned officers in 60 camps situated in different parts of the country. Besides these, naturally, many civilian refugees have arrived, for whom provision has been made by the Polish-Hungarian Association, while the Red Cross has taken charge of the children. *About 3000 refugees are on the register of the Polish-Hungarian Association,* but a much larger number are enjoying the hospitality of private families. Many Polish children have been adopted by kind families on the understanding that should their parents claim them later on, they shall be restored to them; failing this their foster-parents will bring them up as members of their own families. On 22nd October a Commission from the International *Red Cross Headquarters* headed by *Messrs. Swift* and *Taylor Wyde* arrived in Hungary. This Commission expressed the greatest appreciation of the warm-hearted hospitality extended by the Hungarian people to the Polish refugees.

According to a report issued by the Committee of the Polish-Hungarian Association, most of the refugees crossed the Hungarian frontier with nothing but the clothes they were wearing and in such a state of exhaustion that it took them days to recover. They lacked the barest necessaries, so that private people and shopkeepers had to provide them with gifts of such articles as toothbrushes, soap and linen. With astonishing rapidity and without any appeal having been made in the newspapers or public collections being organised, the refugees were supplied by kind people with a sufficiency of boots, clothes and even pocket-money. Most of the civilian refugees at first took shelter in hotels, and it was touching to see how people of small means flocked to them with presents. Barbers' assistants brought them cigarettes and biscuits, the owners of small butcher's shops meat, and chemists medicine. At country railway stations the peasants and villageers welcomed the refugee trains with refreshments and hot food, so that many of the refugees arrived at their final destinations with large packages of eatables.

During the first fortnight of their stay in Hungary voluntary contributions to the amount of 200.000 pengő were received without any appeal having been made. This sum, considerable though it is, was only a fraction of the value of the gifts of necessaries contributed by the population. The refugees were greatly touched by the tactful way in which these acts of charity were performed. The Hungarians realized that at home most of these wretched people must have lived in circumstances in which they were the givers and not the recipients of charity. It turned out, for instance, that one of the ragged refugees was a distinguished banker, another had held a high public post. The majority of the Polish refugees did not want to accept anything gratis; men of culture offered to do labourers' work in order to earn their living. Appreciation of the warm-hearted sympathy

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extended by the Hungarians to the refugees was expressed in Rome to the correspondent of the *"Középeurópai Katholikus Kurir" (Central European Catholic Courier)* by the *Polish Cardinal-Primate, Mons. Hlond,* on 20th October. The Cardinal-Primate said:

"We are now beginning to receive tidings of our refugees. I feel touched by the hospitality and sympathy extended to them in Hungary, and I wish to express my deepest gratitude to that country for the exemplary kindness with which the Hungarians are making provision for the Polish refugees."

NEW SLOVAK PRESIDENT AVOWS DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SYMBIOSIS OF MAGYAR AND SLOVAK NATIONS

On 14th March 1939 the ardent desire of the Slovaks to establish an independent State of their own was fulfilled. On 21st July the Parliament of the independent Slovak Republic passed the new Constitution, which was promulgated on the 31st of that same month. In terms thereof the President of the new State was to be elected within three months of the date of promulgation. The Magyars of Slovakia had loyally supported the Slovaks all through their struggle to achieve independence, while the Hungarian Government and Hungarian public opinion watched with the greatest sympathy and understanding the historical development of this neighbouring people with whom the Hungarians had lived in symbiosis for a thousand years, and for whom the friendship of the Hungarian nation is of importance because of the geo-political aspects out of which historical traditions are evolved. A striking proof of that sympathy was afforded by the circumstance that *Hungary was the first to recognize the independent Slovak Republic, with which she hastened to establish diplomatic relations, and also by the fact that she has entered into economic negotiations with Slovakia, negotiations which have also important political implications and which are expected to reach a successful conclusion.* For the rest, on 20th October M. *Carnogursky,* speaking of Hungary in the Slovak Parliament, said: "Only close co-operation will be able to to save the nations of Central Europe . . ."

On 26th October *M. Joseph Tiso was unanimously elected President of the Slovak Republic* by the 61 members present in the Slovak Parliament. After his election the President gave an audience to several delegations, amongst others to the representatives of the United Hungarian Party, on behalf of which Count John Esterházy expressed his pleasure at the result of the election. He said that the Magyars of Slovakia approached their new President with feelings of respect and confidence and

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prayed the Almighty to give him wisdom to lead the country and nation along the path of peaceful evolution. Count Esterházy stressed the point that the Magyars were fully aware of the duties devolving upon them as citizens of the Slovak Republic, none of which they had any thought of evading. *In the person of the President they hoped to have access to a supreme forum of justice which would ensure full equality of rights to the Slovak citizens of Magyar nationality within the frontiers of the State.*

President Tiso replied in Hungarian. He said that the Slovak nation appreciated the expression given by its Magyar brethren to their pleasure at his election. He hoped that this solemn manifestation of reciprocal sympathy would be a pledge of peaceful symbiosis, which he, for his own part, would always strive to promote. *His principle was justice. That was what he desired in every field, and that was what he would strive to foster and practice.*

ANTI-MINORITY PROVISIONS OF THE RUMANIAN GUILD BILL

In July the Rumanian Government prepared the Bill containing a draft of the new Guild law, which was discussed recently by the Parliamentary Drafting Committee. This Bill describes the task of the Guilds as being to afford increasing protection to the interests of the various branches of industry. Considering that the new Rumanian Constitution is based on a corporate system of proportional representation, the Guild law will not merely regulate the branches of occupation and organize private life into professions, but will also be *a most important instrument of public law.* It is to be understood that the Magyar national minority, like the German ethnic group, desires to keep its own century-old organizations and ensure its members being able to remain within the framework of their own racial bodies. But the new Guild Bill made imperative by the changed Constitution contains a number of provisions constituting minority grievances. When the Bill was being discussed by the Drafting Committee this was pointed out by the representatives of the Magyar minority, who demanded an amendment of the injurious paragraphs. These are as follows:

Paragraph 4 of Article I says that *"Guilds may pursue their activities solely on a national basis and with due respect for the supreme interests of the nation"*. One of the Magyar M. P.'s was fully justified in saying to the Drafting Committee that the question was what was meant by the word "nation". If it was taken to mean the majority and their racial ambitions, what fate was in store for the minorities?, and how were they to participate

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in the life of the Guilds when they themselves also constituted nations? Later on this M. P. cited the agreement concluded on 17th January 1939, paragraph 2 of which expressly states that the Magyars are to be included in the existing Guilds and those to be created hereafter as corporate bodies and not as single individuals. In terms of this paragraph the Magyars cannot join the Guilds, or rather take part in their formation, except as corporate bodies. According to a statement made during the course of the debate by Minister Ralea, the expression "nation" does not mean the majority race, but all the citizens of the State irrespective of their ethnic origin.

Another proposed measure constituting a minority grievance is that the sole right to organize would be ensured to a comparatively small — one-tenth — minority of the members of the respective branches of occupation. In practice this means that it would be possible for a one-tenth minority of any branch of occupation — that is to say the Rumanians, who are poorly represented in industry — to overrule the national minorities forming the majority and secure through the right of initiative a special, privileged position. The Bill does not grant the national minorities proportionate representation in the management of the Guilds, their central organizations and local branches, nor does it ensure them the right to use their mothertongues, although that right was granted *expressis verbis* in the Minority Statute of 4th August 1938 and in the agreement concluded on 17th January 1939.

Lastly, Article CXIX — if not amended — deprives all the existing minority organizations of corporative representation of their vested rights and confiscates their assets. The attitude adopted by the Magyar national minority is that the Guild law must recognize all the existing Magyar trade organizations (their unions, societies, etc.), respect their legal status and their assets, and guarantee their present spheres of activity. This applies in particular to the Hungarian Economic Society of Transylvania, the Transylvanian Museum Society, the present industrial and commercial unions, homes and societies, and an alliance of Magyar workmen to be formed hereafter. The representatives of the Magyar minority suggested that Article CXIX of the Guild Bill should be amended and supplemented along these lines.

MEMORANDUM OF MAGYAR WISHES AND GRIEVANCES

A conference of the Parliamentary Group representing the two million Magyars of Rumania was held in Bucharest on 19th and 20th September. According to the *communiqué* issued by the Central Bureau of the Magyar Ethnic Community in Rumania, this meeting of the Magyar Parliamentary Group discussed in

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detail the Minority Statute of 4th August 1938 and the methods by which the obligations undertaken by the Rumanian Government under the agreement of 17th January 1939 were being carried out. The fact was established that *the greater part of those obligations had not yet been fulfilled and that no serious steps had been taken yet by the Government to fulfil its promises.* For this reason the Magyar Parliamentary Group considered that its chief task was to lay before the Government a clear statement of the actual situation in he form of a memorandum containing data. The leaders of the Magyar minority have since then handed this memorandum to M. Dragomir Silviu, Minister of Minorities. The memorandum — which is about 100 pages long — contains, according to information issued by the Central Bureau of the Magyar Ethnic Community in Rumania ("Magyar Lapok", Oct. 17), *over fifty questions.* This information makes special mention of the question dealing with the behaviour of minor administrative authorities which is at variance with the Government's instructions re the minorities, and of those dealing with the problems of citizenship, the army, requisitioning and the Csik Private Property case. One of the requests made by the leaders of the Magyar minority is that a member of the Government who is able to speak Hungarian should listen to the wishes of the Magyar minority populations on the spot, as was done recently in the case of the German minority. ("Népujság", Sept. 30 and "Magyar Lapok", Oct. 17).

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Among the old grievances of the Magyar denominations in Rumania are *the questions of State grants to clergymen (so-called "congrua") and to the teachers of the minority denominational schools, and of the status as public schools of the denominational schools.* As was stated by the "Estilap" (Oct. 28) of Kolozsvár, the representatives of the Reformed Church of Transylvania went up to Bucharest to discuss these matters in the Ministries competent to deal with them, since beyond promising the most liberal support the Government has never moved a finger to settle these questions. This delegation mentioned that in distributing the State Grants the Government had not taken the number of minority clergymen into account. They begged that the clergymen of the Magyar minority denominations should be given a fair share of those State grants. Another question of major importance was the status of the minority schools. In recent years, on one pretext or another, numerous Magyar denominational schools had been deprived of their status as public schools, and the situation that had arisen in consequence seriously affected, not only the schools in question but also

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the Magyar children of schooling age. The Government was requested to find a speedy and satisfactory solution of this problem.

"NAME-ANALYSIS" CONTINUED IN RUMANIA

For two decades name-analysis, or the question of ethnic origin, has proved an efective means of depopulating the Magyar minority schools and filling the Rumanian State ones. For twenty years neither parents nor guardians have been allowed to decide to which ethnic group the children belong. If a child's name did not sould Magyar the directors and school-inspectors refused to classify that child as Magyar at the time of school registration. Even though its ancestors had professed to be Magyars for centuries and Magyar had always been their mother-tongue, the child was not allowed to register in a Magyar denominational school, but was forced to attend a Rumanian State one.

The Magyar minority in Rumania strove in vain to change this system. When the Rumanian Government consistently turned a deaf ear to all their petitions, they appealed, on 25th May 1930, to the League of Nations Council, but so far that petition has not been dealt with. Matters were at his stage when the Minority Statute was framed on 4th August 1938. Article 5 of the resolution passed by the Cabinet Council (the so-called Minority Statute) stipulated that "the persons legally responsible for the education of the child (mother, father, or guardian) alone shall be authorized to determine to which ethnic group the child belongs and may register him (her) in any denominational or State school."

But at the beginning of the present school-year the directors and teachers of the State schools adhered to their old tactics, despite the indignant protests of the children's parents. *In the purely Magyar village of Uzon, County Háromszék, 37 Magyar children who had been attending the Rumanian State school last year were enrolled by their parents, in terms of the measure, in the Reformed Church denominational school in the village. They were, however, only allowed to attend that school for a few weeks, for the school-inspector at Sepsiszentgyörgy ordered that the 37 children should be transferred without delay to the State school.* The parents complained, but it was only after lengthy proceedings that the Prefect of County Háromszék gave the school-inspector instructions to withdraw his order.

This is merely one case among hundreds in which all the efforts of the Magyar parents have been futile because the old system of name-analysis is still being practised in Rumania. ("Hirlap", Oct. 4).

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AIMS OF RUMANIAN MINORITY POLICY

According to the Rumanian Census, the Magyar population of Transylvania, which was detached from Hungary and assigned to Rumania by the peace edict of Trianon, numbers 1.660.448 souls, of whom one-third live in the so-called Szeklerland (Counties of Csik, Háromszék, Udvarhely and Maros-Torda.) The Hungarian census of 1910 puts the number of Magyars in the Szeklerland at 502.030. The Rumanian census taken in 1930 fixes their number at 472.476, that is to say, even according to official Rumanian statistics they amount to 67.4% of the total population of that region.

The aims of Rumanian minority policy so far as this compact block of Magyars is concerned stand revealed in an article published in a Rumanian newspaper written at the time when a central State Monopoly Office was set up in the purely Szekler capital town of County Háromszék, Sepsiszentgyörgy. On this occasion the "Curentul" of Bucharest wrote as follows: "Without holding history responsible, we must admit the fact, as one inherent in the present situation, that the Szekler region is unique of its kind in the heart of Rumania, and therefore cannot fail to affect future historical development. Viewed in the mirror of history fatalism does not prove a valuable asset; it is the lot of nations to struggle, and each, no matter which, must be prepared for its share. The situation of the *Lebensraum* of the Szeklers in the heart of the country presents a weighty regional problem which must be solved, but the steps that have been inaugurated with a view to solving it do not imply the necessity of oppressing the Szekler minority. There can be no question of spiriting that minority away, *but it is absolutely imperative that the natural lines of expansion, the weaker points of resistance in the Szeklerland, should be occupied by as large a number of Rumanians as possible.* The first two stages of expansion must be 1. *to Rumanianize, with the aid of the Church, schools, etc. and the Szeklerized villages,* and 2. to strengthen the Rumanian population of the towns, which as such pursue the policy of an open door towards urban elements. Anybody is allowed to settle in the towns. *Without delay the Szekler towns must be made to lose their Szekler character once for all.* So long as that character remains it is a sign that the situation is unfavourable to Rumanian national life. If it is true that the village is an organic cell into which a foreign element cannot be introduced without often disturbing the construction of the whole, and if the State cannot, because it will not, pursue a policy of Rumanianization in the Szekler villages — except, of course, in those which are Szeklerized Rumanian places — it is no less true that in the towns, on the

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contrary, it is the urgent duty of the State to pursue that policy, for which it has a perfectly free hand there.

"This is the reason why we lay stress on the importance of establishing a Rumanian quarter in the town of Sepsiszentgyörgy. This is a work on which much money has been spent, but not in vain.

"In order to facilitate this process investigation must be made into the objects of the many joint tenancies which have hitherto served as a screen behind which the rights of "aliens" have been able to develop immoderately. We shall return to this subject at a later date."

THE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND HUNGARY AND THE FUTURE OF THE MAGYAR MINORITY IN YUGOSLAVIA

The following statement on the *rapprochement* between Yugoslavia and Hungary was made to the "Napló" of Szabadka on 23rd October by M. Emery Várady, ex-Senator and one of the leaders of the Magyars of Yugoslavia:

To begin with, M. Várady said that the time had arrived for the Magyars of Yugoslavia to adopt new aims and a new programme. Great events were taking place at home and abroad, and any of them might influence the future of the Magyar minority. The Magyars of Yugoslavia had been interested chiefly in two events of recent months. They had followed with particular attention the developments of the Serbo-Croat agreement and quite naturally were keenly interested in every phase of the friendly *rapprochement* between Yugoslavia and Hungary.

Co-operation between those two countries — continued M. Várady — could only be beneficial to the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia. He was not thinking of sentimental, emotional aspects — of their common historical past or of the similar traits of character to be found in both nations — *but only of their interdependence as dictated by sober commonsense and of the imperative necessity of economic and political co-operation.*

M. Várady then referred to Yugoslavia's decision to remain neutral in the present war and said that her neutrality might be regarded as safe in every respect. On this point Yugoslavia's attitude was in accordance with the policy of her Balkan neighbours and of Hungary. This common attitude had made the evolution of harmony between the Balkan and the Danube States possible.

In connection with the approaching Yugoslav Parliamentary

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elections M. Várady emphasized the point that it was the elementary duty of the Magyars to be prepared. One of the great aims of the Magyars of Yugoslavia today was to induce the Government to permit them to form an independent Magyar Party, so that within the framework of that Party they should be able to find a possibility of co-operating with Premier Tsvetkovitch and Deputy-Premier Maček for the good of the whole country as well as of the Magyar minority.

"CROATIAN SCHOOL BOOKS PRINTED IN HUNGARY"

Under the above title the Zagreb daily *"Hrvatski Narod"* (September 29th) informs its readers that — by order of the Hungarian Government — Croatian books are now being printed in Hungary for the use of 15—20.000 Croatian children of schooling age. The first books to be printed are spelling books and readers for the first and second forms of the elementary schools. The Hungarian Government is subsidising the publication of these books with a sum of 60.000 pengő. In all those villages where the parents have declared that they wish their children to be educated in Croatian, the Government is establishing Croatian schools or, if the number of children should not be sufficient, special Croatian sections within the State schools.

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