

# POLITICAL MOSAIC

## LORD ROTHERMERE IN HUNGARY

Viscount Rothermere, Hungary's great English friend, arrived in Budapest on 8th November. Lord Rothermere to whom the Hungarian revisionist movement is so deeply indebted was invited by the Hungarian Government to take part in Hungary's celebrations for the restoration of Upper Hungary. The noble Lord was welcomed by the Hungarian people and official Hungary with impressive ceremony and all the warm affection of which this grateful nation is capable and the respect due to our loyal friend. Hungary will never forget Lord Rothermere's momentous article entitled "Hungary's place in the Sun", which appeared in the "Daily Mail" of 21st June, 1927, or that from that time on he never ceased, with unflagging zeal, to draw the attention of public opinion to the question of Hungarian revision and keep that problem in the foreground of international politics. And now that the first chapter of our revisionist programme has been realized the whole Hungarian nation feels that our joy would not have been complete had Lord Rothermere not been with us in these days. Lord Rothermere saw the Regent and the Premier and was entertained to lunch by Admiral and Mme. Horthy. He also took part in the historical re-occupation of Kassa. Before that event the people of Budapest demonstrated their undying gratitude to him at a mass meeting of dimensions scarcely ever seen before in the capital of Hungary.

## THE FOUR POWERS HAVE RECOGNIZED THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUNGARY'S REVISIONIST POLICY

The result of the Munich Pact signed at the close of September, in that it prevented an outbreak of war, solved to a certain extent the Czech problem, which for months had kept the whole world in a ferment of excitement, and paved the way to a lasting reconciliation of the western Great Powers, was welcomed by the whole Hungarian nation with rejoicings.

Desire for revision is shared by every decent Hungarian, and Hungarian public opinion was gratified to see that certain fundamental principles for which our paper has fought ever since it was founded were accepted by the Great Powers. These fundamental principles are:

1. *The right of the peoples to self-determination.* This principle was first proclaimed at the time of the French Revolution and was adopted in his famous 14 points by President Wilson, but was denied by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919/1920. How much suffering and bitterness the world would have been spared, had every nation of Europe been allowed to exercise this right after the world war, instead of so many nationalities having been handed over to alien rule.

The decision of the Munich Conference to force Czecho-Slovakia to evacuate without delay the Sudeten German areas, order a plebiscite in the disputed areas and recognize the legitimacy of the demands, similar to those of Germany, made by Hungary and Poland, definitely and unequivocally commits the four Powers to the principle of self-determination. This is a source of great satisfaction to the Hungarian nation, which already at the time of the Peace Conference fought for the principle of self-determination and which now desires to effect a final settlement of the Czecho-Hungarian problem in accordance with that principle.

2. *Territorial revision without war.* It was proved in Munich that territorial questions can be settled without war. In terms of Article XIX of the League Covenant, it would have been the duty of the League of Nations to inaugurate a peaceful revision of the unsettled territorial questions, but the institution in Geneva, in this respect as in many others, proved a complete failure. In his dramatic speech in the House of Commons on 28th September Mr. Chamberlain said that if Article XIX of the League Covenant, which provided the possibility of treaty revision, had been applied in the way its drafters intended, instead of waiting until the situation was so acute that revision by negotiation could no longer be postponed, we should have been spared this crisis. For this neglect of duty all the members of the League were to blame.

This is a truth which for years we have proclaimed, and yet there were people who called us peace-breakers. Now the British Premier has established the fact that the peace-breakers were those who prevented an application of Article XIX. In Munich the idea of peaceful revision without war triumphed after all. This fact is not altered by the circumstance that the mighty military power of the German Reich was the force behind this revision. For it cannot be questioned that had France and Great Britain wished to do so, they could have given a turn to events that would have prevented Germany from liberating the Sudeten Germans except at the cost of bloodshed.

Gratitude for this result is due in equal measure to Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier: to Hitler because he refrained from mobilizing, to Mussolini because at the last minute he undertook the delicate mission of a mediator, to Chamberlain who on three occasions spared no effort to save peace and to

Daladier who at the risk of unpopularity saved France from sacrificing millions of her sons for an unjust cause.

3. *Co-operation between the four Great Powers of Western Europe.* This is another thing that we have been urging for years. We were always convinced that nothing else than the co-operation of the four Great Powers of Western Europe would be able to establish order in a Europe unable to find rest, and that those Powers alone would be capable of bringing the minor States, flattering themselves on their imperialistic role, to their senses. We were always firmly convinced that the four Great Powers would find a way out of the impasse if only their leaders would sit down together without the possibility of those well-known masters of intrigue whose interest it was to play off one Power against the other and unscrupulously drive Europe into another world war worming themselves in among them. This was one reason why we welcomed so gladly at the time the Four Power Pact concluded in Rome on 7th June, 1933, and it was also one reason why we were so disappointed that this agreement was not ratified and that the four great European Powers were again at loggerheads in a year. It is with satisfaction we see that those Powers were able to come to an understanding in Munich and we hope that this new concert of the Great Powers will create order in Europe in the place of the present chaos and restore the equilibrium which this old continent has so much need of after twenty years of bitter trials.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

## THE NATIONALITIES OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA INSIST ON SELF-DETERMINATION

### *The Hungarians.*

As a guide to the Hungarians of Czecho-Slovakia in these hours of bitter struggle and in order to draw the world's attention to the importance of solving the problem of Upper Hungary, the United Hungarian Party of Czecho-Slovakia issued the following appeal, dated Pozsony, 17th September, to the Hungarian people and to international public opinion in general.

The Hungarian ethnic group in Czecho-Slovakia, which in terms of the Treaty of St. Germain, concluded on 10th September 1919, has for the past twenty years been living in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, has never allowed any doubt to arise of their desire to enjoy the rights to which every nation or national group is, by the moral laws of God and man, entitled, — which laws alone are calculated to enable the nations of the earth to live in peace instead of seeking to insure their own vital interests at the expense of their neighbours.

This ethnic group was not allowed to exercise the fundamental principles so nobly espoused by President Wilson, prin-

ciples which are the basis of all democracies and which include the idea of self-determination; nor was it given the chance of asserting its own special interests at the time when the constitution of the new State was being framed. And yet, for twenty years the Hungarians of Czecho-Slovakia, though never ceasing to proclaim their rights, but taking the existing circumstances into consideration, performed their difficult duties as citizens of the Republic with an honest respect for its laws. They were one of the best disciplined peoples in the State, for they were convinced that if the wounds caused by the world war were to be healed, peace above all was necessary.

Now, after twenty years, we are again forced to conclude that the holders of the executive power never accorded due consideration to the interests of the different ethnic groups, including the Hungarians; on the contrary all their measures were aimed at serving the idea of a Czech national State. This was a mistaken policy, the result of which, today, is that the internal affairs of the Czecho-Slovak Republic have ceased to be of domestic concern and have shifted over to a plane where they have become a question of European politics and international peace.

A great effort was inaugurated, chiefly through British initiative, to find a peaceful solution of the whole complexus of the Czecho-Slovak problem — a means of determining and insuring subjective and objective conditions, based on new foundations, of a peaceful symbiosis of the Central European nations and their States. The responsibility we owe to our own people and our responsibility towards the State to which at present we belong render it imperative for us to state our point of view frankly, openly, and straightforwardly. The Hungarian ethnic group in Czecho-Slovakia desires to take the shaping of its own destiny in its own hands. To do so it must be granted the right which in 1919 only certain nations were allowed to exercise: the right of self-determination.

The Hungarians are firmly convinced that the question at issue is of so vital a nature that it cannot be solved except by ideal, absolutely democratic methods, which would lay the foundation of a new and peaceful Europe, in which the future would be built up on the pillars of real equality and a community of interests, instead of on an unequal reparation of the injustices of the world war.

We Hungarians are opposed to any solution which involves the use of violence as a means of establishing the foundations of a new and decent life, for we are convinced that there exist other, peaceful methods of promoting understanding between nation and nation.

Such, we are certain, are self-determination and plebiscites.

Our resolution is dictated by a firm belief in the power of justice and we desire to enforce it in a spirit of peace.

*The Slovaks.*

The manifesto of the Slovak nation which was issued at a meeting of the Executive Committee of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, the legitimate political representative of the Slovak nation, on 6th October, 1938, runs as follows:

The pact concluded by the four Great Powers in Munich has effected an important change in the political situation in Central Europe. We Slovaks, as an independent Slovak nation, which for centuries has lived in the territory of Slovakia, now enforce our right to self-determination and therefore demand an international guarantee of Slovak national unity and the indivisibility of the country inhabited by us. We want to be free to regulate all the circumstances of our future existence according to our own will, including our political constitution, in terms of friendship with all our neighbours, and thus contribute in a Christian spirit to a settlement of conditions in Central Europe.

We shall remain on the side of the nations which are fighting against the Marxist-Jewish ideology of upheaval and violence.

We desire to settle all disputed question in terms of the Munich Pact.

We emphatically protest against the frontiers of Slovakia being fixed without the assent of the legitimate representatives of the Slovak Nation. We insist on international protection for the Slovak minority in other lands.

We demand immediate demobilization.

On the principle of self-determination we insist that the executive and administrative authority in Slovakia shall be in the hands of the Slovaks. The triumph of the principle of self-determination means for the Slovak nation the end of a struggle waged for many years.

Long live Slovak national liberty!

Long live the Slovak Government of Slovakia.

*The Ruthenes.*

At a joint meeting, held on 20th September, of the Presidency of the Central Ruthenian National Council and the Presidential Council of the Autonomist Ruthenian Farmer's Alliance the following resolution was adopted:

In view of the fact that in the course of eighteen years the Czecho-Slovak Government has not established the autonomy of Ruthenia and has thus neglected to fulfil the obligations undertaken by the Republic in the Treaty of St. Germain and the Czecho-Slovak Constitution, the Central Ruthenian National Council — which was instrumental in attaching Ruthenia to the Czecho-Slovak Republic — feels constrained in these critical hours to enter the lists with all its energy for the rights and liberties of

Ruthenia and the Ruthenian people. On the basis of the Wilsonian principles the Central Ruthenian National Council insists on self-determination and demands by means of a plebiscite the unification in one body of all Ruthenians living in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, a final delimitation of Ruthenia's western frontiers and a guarantee in every respect of the future of our people on the most democratic lines.

### *The Germans.*

At the beginning of October an extremely significant article appeared in the "Karpathen Post," the organ of the German Party of Szepes (Zipser Partei). This article stated that the right of self-determination would continue to be the slogan of the Zipser Germans. The newspaper, which is published in Késmárk, cites the resolutions adopted in that town in 1918 on 13th November and 9th December by the Zipser Germans and the Germans of Upper Hungary respectively, and declares that the Zipser Party refuses to withdraw a single one of the demands contained therein, which are their demands today as much as they were twenty years ago. The text of those resolutions is as follows.

At a mass meeting held at Késmárk on 13th November, 1918, the representatives of the Germans of Szepes made the following declaration:

"For 800 years our ancestors were loyal to Hungary, in whose joys and sorrows they shared. Side by side with the Hungarians, they fought against Mongol and Czech; they fought for the independence of Hungary, to which they adhered with heart and soul. They never considered themselves, and we do not consider ourselves, to be anything but Hungarians. We never experienced any disadvantage from our German origin and German tongue; we were neither slighted nor disparaged. In church and communal life we always used our mother-tongue without let or hindrance and we suffered no detriment in the courts of justice because of our language. Despite their German tongue our forebears always regarded themselves as Hungarians and we, though clinging fast to our mother-tongue, are also Hungarians heart and soul, and Hungarians we wish to remain for ever. We therefore deny all Czecho-Slovak claims to our native land, as contrary to human and divine right and unreasonable both from an historical and a cultural point of view, and we declare that we shall remain loyal to our Hungarian fatherland, to which we desire to continue to belong."

On 9th December, 1918, the Germans of Upper Hungary also held a mass meeting, at which the following resolution was adopted:

"From the Kings of Hungary our ancestors received such privileges as for centuries insured their independence and

guaranteed them complete autonomy. Hungary became our fatherland, which provided for us, in whose joys and sorrows we shared, and of which we were citizens, enjoying the same rights as the Hungarians, to whom we felt we belonged and with whom we wish to remain for ever."

The attitude adopted by the organ of the Zipser Party of Szepes proves that in these historical days the Germans of Szepes re-affirm the resolutions adopted twenty years ago immediately before the occupation of Slovakia by the Czechs.

### DETERMINED ACTION OF SLOVAK EMIGRANTS FOR THE LIBERATION OF SLOVAKIA

The recent decisive events which took place in relation to the Czech question have spurred all the emigrant Slovaks to urgent action. All their organisations are roused and energetically demand the liberation of the Slovak country from under Czech rule.

The "Slovak Council" — which was founded at Geneva under the leadership of Francis Jehlicka and Victor Dvorchak in 1933 — addressed a proclamation on September 25th of this year to the civilized peoples of the world. Herein the Slovak Council states that the decisive moment has come when the ruling nations of Europe have set about correcting the mistakes made at the Paris Peace Conference in connection with the establishment of Czecho-Slovakia.

The Slovak Council refers to the statement made recently by Benito Mussolini, viz. that the right of self-determination must be granted not only to the Sudeten Germans but to all the other non-Czech peoples as well. Of such are the Slovaks, who never were Czechs.

Benito Mussolini declared furthermore that all those groups of people which were allotted without plebiscites to the Czech state should be consulted now. The Slovak people had not been asked for their opinion at the time.

The Italian Premier also declared that the problem has to be solved totally. A total solution is, however, impossible unless the Slovaks are also consulted.

In consequence of this the Slovak Council declares that the Czecho-Slovak problem cannot be solved properly except on the basis and in the spirit of justice.

The motto of justice is the following: *Suum cuique*. To every man his own. The Czechs should therefore have Bohemia and not Czecho-Slovakia!

The Czechs should be guaranteed that part of the country which is their own by ethnographic right — no less and no more.

Should justice be disregarded and Slovakia left and guaranteed to the Czechs, it would be the death sentence of the Slovak nation. But the Slovaks do not want to die — they want to live!

We therefore, — continues the Slovak proclamation, — appeal for a fair sentence in the name of justice and in the interest of world-peace!

The "Preparatory Committee of the Slovak Free State", which is the executive organ of the "Slovenska Revisia" (Slovak Revision League) founded in Pasiac (U. S. A.) in 1934, addressed, on October 4, the following declaration to the Prague Government, by way of the Czecho-Slovak legation at Warsaw.

"Authorised by the Committee formed for the establishment of the Slovak Free State, as the representative of the Committee abroad, I invite you to hand over the political power exerted over territories inhabited by Slovaks to us, namely to the chairman of the Committee, Mr. Lewis Koren, in the course of the next twenty-four hours. Should you not satisfy our demand we will take the government of our country in our own hands without the consent and without the co-operation of the Prague Government, this being necessary in the interest of a smooth liquidation of Czecho-Slovak political relations. Ladislav Globusicki."

After the agreement at Zsolna (Oct. 6 1938) by virtue of which Slovakia was granted autonomy on paper, the Preparatory Committee of the Slovak Free State addressed a note to Dr. Tiso, the Slovak Prime Minister, in which their demands were summed up in three points:

1. Immediate amnesty for Slovak political emigrants and the issue of a Government decree annulling in Slovak territory the law framed for the defence of the Czech republic. This condition was made necessary by the changed circumstances.

2. In the territory of Slovensko a plebiscite should be decreed in order to decide whether the Slovak nation wants self-government within the boundaries of the Czech State — or whether it wishes the Czechs to be driven out and the Free State of the Slovaks to be founded.

3. The portfolios of war and of public safety in the transitional Government should be guaranteed to the Slovak revisionists. Due regard must be given to the fact that the Slovak revisionists had so far no opportunity of legal political action in their own country.



## THE HUNGARIAN NATION WILL NOT BE SATISFIED WITH THE MUNICH PACT UNTIL JUSTICE IS FULLY DONE TO HUNGARY

On Saturday, 1st October, Dr. Béla Imrédy, Hungarian Premier, speaking from the Budapest studio, broadcast an address to the Hungarian nation.

Speaking of the Munich Agreement he declared the following:

Was the decision arrived at in Munich fruitful? Yes, it was — very fruitful indeed. The fruit it bore was that, with their signatures, four European Great Powers established the fact that Hungary had a just claim to be considered when the lot of the nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia was being readjusted, a claim that must be satisfied, and that the injustice done twenty years ago when that State was being created, for which ignorance misled by guileful propaganda was responsible, must be repaired.

This result, which we would scarcely have dared to hope for a few months ago, must not be underrated, and — regarded as an initial step — we have every reason to rejoice in it.

This is not the time to ask to whom within our own borders is due — and in what measure — the credit for this result. One thing is certain: the foreign policy which has won for the country two powerful friends and which has promoted an approachment between them has not proved futile.

The harmonious support of those two powerful friendly nations — support upon which we may safely rely in the future — has been instrumental in securing for us this very important result. Every Hungarian owes a debt of sincere gratitude to the leaders of those nations, to the two unyielding men whose determination, steely strength of will and dynamic force directed the stagnant waters of European politics into a new and life-giving channel.

And what is our answer to the second question: Are we Hungarians satisfied with this result?

The answer is unequivocal: we are not. Hungary cannot be satisfied until that justice, in the spirit of which the lot of the nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia must be readjusted and which was inaugurated in Munich, has been fully applied to Hungary.

Hungary's attitude towards the Czecho-Slovak problem has from the outset been based on one clear, elementary and incontrovertible principle, namely, that a readjustment of the lot of the nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia must be accomplished on the principle of self-determination and equal treatment.

We cannot resign ourselves to any discrimination which would be to our disadvantage. We have always kept this guiding principle in view and shall continue to do so until the question has been settled. Everybody must be given to understand that no difficulty can make us desist in our efforts to assert this standpoint of ours.

## THE SLOVAKS OF HUNGARY PROTEST AGAINST THE CALUMNIES OF THE POZSONY RADIO STATION AT A MASS MEETING IN BÉKÉSCSABA.

The Slovak citizens of the town of Békéscsaba assembled on October 15-th to protest against the allegation of the Pozsony (Bratislava) radio station that they (the Slovaks in Hungary) suffered from Hungarian oppression and wished, therefore, to break away from Hungary.

The Slovaks settled in the County of Békés after the Turkish wars, when the Hungarian population of this formerly populous county had become so sparse in consequence of the century-old strife that only nine villages with 2520 inhabitants were left. Three poor Slovak settlers came into the county in 1717; soon they were followed by many thousand Slovak families. They were endowed with privileges, and by and by they became the wealthiest people in this most fertile part of Hungary. All the lands adjoining the wealthy cities — Szarvas and Békéscsaba and the similarly rich village of Tótkomlós — belong to them. There are no large estates in this area; on the contrary, the descendants of the poor Slovak settlers have bought up the neighbouring estates, such as Count Apponyi's estate in Gerendás. Sámuel Tessedik, the great scholar of Slovak origin and a native of Szarvas, describes the feelings of the Slovaks in the following words: "Our ancestors came here like beggars, yet we have become the happiest people of our beloved country, Hungary."

## HUNGARIAN AND POLISH DEMONSTRATIONS IN FAVOUR OF A COMMON FRONTIER

The impetus of historical events has caused, both in Poland and in Hungary, spontaneous outbursts, impressively unanimous, enthusiastic and vigorous, of public opinion in favour of the traditional, and by the logic of history legitimate demand that the two countries should acquire a common frontier; this to be effected by means of a plebiscite, based on the principle of self-determination, in Ruthenia, the outcome of which is unquestionable.

During the month of September Hungarian social organizations, youth societies and institutions, one by one, made a stand for this. Particularly impressive was the mass meeting which on 21st September demanded a common Polish-Hungarian frontier. On this occasion an enthusiastic and energetic crowd of three hundred thousand, in which every important Hungarian organization was represented, signified their willingness to enter the lists for Hungary's cause. In response to this the whole country replied with demonstrations in almost every town and village. Special mention must be made of the standpoint adopted on 24th Sep-

tember by the Society of Upper Hungary, and the meetings on 4th and 9th October respectively of the Budapest university students and the Ruthenians residing in Hungary. After the mass meeting on 21st September a procession of youths bearing torches marched to the Polish Legation, where they enthusiastically cheered the Polish Minister. Telegrams were sent from most of the meetings to Mussolini, Hitler and the Polish Premier.

Similarly enthusiastic and energetic were the manifestations of public opinion in Poland. A monster meeting of all the Polish social organizations and political parties was held on 22nd September in Warsaw at Pilsudski Square. At this meeting about two hundred thousand people demanded the restoration of the Polish territory in Czecho-Slovakia, after which they marched to the Hungarian Legation, where scenes of wild enthusiasm took place.

"Give us a common frontier with Hungary," — cried the loudly cheering crowd — "Long live Regent Horthy! Long live the brave Hungarian army!"

One after another, spontaneous demonstrations demanding a common Polish-Hungarian frontier took place in the various towns and villages of Poland. Two of the biggest demonstrations were those held on 23rd September in Cracow and on 24th September in Vilno. But the most moving of all was certainly the demonstration made in Teschen on 4th October, when the population of the newly liberated Polish town expressed the wish that, now that Poland had freed them of their fetters, she should add the crowning touch to her historical mission by regaining the common frontier with Hungary to which by historical right and justice she had a claim.

On 17th October the representatives of the Polish Reservists' organization, which numbers two hundred thousand members, held a meeting at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "In the interest of peace, the maintainance of which in this part of Europe is closely connected with the vital interests of the Polish Power, the representatives of the Polish Reservists' Association, together with the whole Polish nation, demand a common frontier with the noble Hungarian nation."

On the same day a delegation from the university students' organizations in Warsaw paid a visit of respect to Andrew Hory, Hungary's Minister in Poland and stated to him that they demanded a common Polish-Hungarian frontier. They also asked him to forward a telegram from the Polish youth to the Regent of Hungary.

A few extracts from the daily press will serve to reveal the prevailing mood of the Polish people. Particularly illustrative is an article, published in the "Express Poranny" on 15th October, which explains that Ruthenia must undoubtedly be attached to Hungary, to which it in every respect belongs. The whole world knows why the Czechs needed Ruthenia. They needed it as a

corridor to Russia. Through that province the Czechs can insure the danger of Red contagion. And they also need it because the railway communicating with Russia runs through the Hungarian ethnic areas of Ruthenia. Two solutions are possible. Either the artificial construction which serves as a bridge towards the east for Czecho-Slovakia's interests will be maintained, or Ruthenia must be restored to Hungary. The second solution is advocated not only by justice and the historical past, but also by the geographical situation, and it would conform with Europe's interests as well. The "Wieczor Warszawski" writes that on the problem of Ruthenia hangs the question of European reconciliation. Those who wish to prevent this reconciliation must be shown up.

The "Czas" of 16th October states that a common Polish-Hungarian frontier is justified not only by historically acquired rights, but also by its necessity, if trade between Poland and Hungary is to proceed normally and develop satisfactorily.

The organ of the Polish army, the "Polska Zbrojna", in its issue of October 17, energetically demands a common Polish-Hungarian frontier, as does the same issue of the "Kurjer Warszawski."

The "Gazetta Polska" of 17th October sets forth that Czecho-Slovakia's appetite for Ruthenia has three explanations. First, the possession of Ruthenia enables the Czechs to clasp hands with Russia. Secondly it provides the Czechs with a corridor towards Rumania and thirdly Ruthenia is a barrier between Poland and Hungary. Ruthenia was the cradle of the disturbances in East Galicia. It may be impartially stated, — continues the newspaper, — that the inhabitants of Ruthenia were closely connected with Hungarian civilization and this connection was but strengthened by the economic fact that Ruthenia cannot exist without the Great Plain of Hungary.

### EVEN RUMANIA RAISES TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST THE CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE

The "Express Poranny" states that of late Rumania has begun to raise territorial claims against the Czecho-Slovak State and now demands the most eastern corner of Ruthenia. Rumania's claim is based on the 50.000 Rumanian nationals living in Czecho-Slovakia. In the part demanded, — says the "Express Poranny," — there are important strategic lines and lines of communication.

Our only comment is that according to the figures of the Czech official census the number of Rumanians in Czecho-Slovakia in 1930 was only 13.004. This does not mean that the number is correct, for as everybody knows the Czechs falsified the nationality figures. It is typical of the Czechs that — friendship here

or there — Prague oppressed the Rumanians too. This is proved by a statement contained in the "Buna Vestire" of 25th March which says that "under Hungarian rule the Rumanians on the Czecho-Slovak side of the Tisza were better treated than they are today."

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### THE HUNGARIAN PREMIER ANNOUNCES HIS PROGRAMME.

As a rule during the parliamentary vacation the Hungarian Government as well as the leaders of the opposition make their most important announcements in the provinces. This is what happened at Kaposvár on September 4th when M. Béla Imrédy stated the Government's programme in the matter of both home and foreign policy. But while it contained no new information concerning the Government's foreign policy and was confined to a simple statement of Hungary's traditional principles, in dealing with his home policy the Premier struck the note of a courageous and straightforward spirit of reforms, which was received with warm sympathy both at home and abroad.

"I do not wish to dictate," declared the Premier, "but so long as I feel the confidence and support of the constitutional factors of this country behind me I shall lead and point the way."

This is the leading idea of his magnificent speech, and it is this leading idea that defines its political value and importance.

The first and foremost task of the Government after the reassembling of Parliament, the Premier declared, will be the introduction of the bill dealing with compulsory military service; the bill will also determine the period of military service and the period for the organisation of compulsory physical training as a systematic preparation for military service. The law to be passed on these lines will be a striking manifestation and mainstay of Hungary's national sovereignty.

The Premier then proceeded to announce a series of social measures which the legislation is to consider, some of which may no doubt attract also the attention of other countries. Such, for instance, will be compulsory medical examination before marriage and the appointment of "social secretaries" to assist parish clerks and county lieutenants in the guidance and performance of the work of social welfare. The same purpose will be served by the creation of a social and family protection fund, which is to be based on the principle of a more progressive taxation in respect of death (inheritance) duty. Another reform of outstanding importance will be the introduction of a family wage and a children's education

premium; opportunities will also be found for the physical and mental recreation of the working classes in their spare time.

The Premier also mentioned the *land reform* which is just now being elaborated. The principle underlying this reform is that one third of every entailed estate over 300 acres and one fourth of every free state over 500 acres may be requisitioned by a special Government department for the purpose of forming small leases. Many thousands of acres will thus be employed to enable a large number of poor people to start a normal life.

M. Imrédy also referred to the Jewish problem:

Four edicts have recently been published containing instructions for the enforcement of the "law concerning a more effective assurance of the balance of social and economic life." These four edicts deal with the establishment of the chambers of stage actors, film actors and journalists. *The publication of these edicts marks the conclusion of that process of legislative regulation which was inaugurated with the above mentioned bill.*

The Premier then gave a description of the international situation. In another part of this issue we publish the Premier's statement concerning the resolution of the Bled Conference. The relations of Hungary to Italy and the German Empire, the Premier summed up as follows:

In the course of the last few weeks I succeeded in strengthening those ties which the Cabinets of my predecessors established between ourselves and two friendly powers: Italy and Germany. In July I went to Rome in the company of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and I am glad to say that I was able to accomplish the object of my journey. We may safely state that the friendship between the two States has completely fulfilled the expectations attached to it, that the Rome Protocols have lost nothing of their validity in the relations between the two countries, and that Italy's warm interest in the development and recovery of our country has remained unchanged.

His Highness the Regent of Hungary, accompanied by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Home Defence, and myself, has recently visited the other country of the Rome-Berlin axis, Germany. This visit of the head of the State was an event of such eminent importance that it is impossible to overestimate its significance.

Nevertheless, the cultivation of these friendly relations is — as we have repeatedly pointed out — not directed against any other State. It is meant to do its share in the joint work for the material, spiritual and moral welfare of the nations.

The Premier laid great stress on the fact that *the fundamental principles of Hungary's foreign policy have remained unchanged.* Ever since Hungary has been responsible for her

own independent foreign policy her shield has always borne the motto: "Justice and Peace".

## DEMONSTRATIONS IN BULGARIA

A message from Reuter's states that the population of Sophia are arranging street demonstrations against Rumania. The present spirit of national enthusiasm — which is now sweeping all over Europe — has also stirred up Bulgaria's feelings, especially in respect of those territories — such as Dobrudja — which have been annexed by Rumania. It is believed in Bucharest — says Reuter's message — that these demonstrations might ultimately lead to hostilities between the two countries, causing an even more serious crisis than the problems of the German and Hungarian minorities in Rumania may cause.

## THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF HUNGARIANS LIVING ABROAD

In 1929 the Hungarians living abroad held a congress in Budapest at which it was decided to organize a world alliance of the Hungarians in foreign countries. The committee entrusted with the task of organization now considers the time has arrived to submit a report of the work done and, in view of the results achieved, to propose the formation of the alliance. For this purpose the second world conference of the Hungarians was convened in Budapest on 16th August.

1151 societies and unions from 65 foreign countries were represented by 686 delegates. 106 of the societies and unions represented are in the U. S. A. A considerable number of the delegates represented the Hungarians in Germany, France, Brazil, Argentina, Belgium and Italy. The guiding principle of the congress was that *every Hungarian must be a loyal subject of the country which has adopted him, must not only obey its laws, but also cling to its traditions, become imbued with its spirit and make its aims and aspirations his own.* At the same time he must be proud of his origin, hold fast to the cultural and sentimental ties that bind him to Hungary and, while bringing up the next generation to be absolutely loyal citizens of the new country and to adopt its language and civilisation, spare no effort to give them a knowledge of Hungary's history and civilization and if possible teach them to speak Hungarian. The Hungarians of the Succession States are not members of this world alliance, so that the resolutions adopted by the congress do not apply to them.

After the members of the congress had laid wreaths on the statues of Francis Rákóczi II, Louis Kossuth, George Washington and the American General Bandholtz and on the tomb of the unknown warrior, the congress was opened by Baron Sigismund Perényi, Keeper of the Regalia, who said: —

"You Hungarians who have wandered far abroad are the citizens of foreign countries to which you owe allegiance, whose laws and conventions you must respect, but you are indelibly marked with the stamp of the old country, the birth-mark we all bear."

Count Paul Teleki, Minister of Education, said that Hungarians were united not by definitions, but by the national consciousness, will and traditions of generations. Dr. Hóman, former Minister of Education, requested the Hungarians living abroad to be the spokesmen and champions of the Hungarian cause and to be proud of their origin, since the Hungarians had always been and would remain a civilized nation.

The delegates of the world congress were received by the Regent, who in reply to their address among other things said: —

"You have come from far-off countries to witness to your firm faith in the future and vocation of Hungary. Return home confirmed in that faith and with the assurance that the blows of fate have been powerless to destroy the vital energy of the Hungarian race, that amidst trials and vicissitudes this nation has merely become hardened and that it is busy at work building up a happier country on the ruins of its former greatness and adding to those values that will be of benefit to the whole human race."

The delegates then saw the Prime Minister, who in his reply to their address said: —

"You have obligations and duties towards your new countries and we know and appreciate the fact that you are discharging them faithfully. But I am also firmly convinced that you will always be the loyal supporters of the honourable ambitions which guide this nation on its historical path. You will be the representatives, exponents, on foreign soil, under a foreign sky, of Hungarian intelligence, perseverance and honesty."

A number of resolutions were adopted by the congress. One of the most important of these was that a larger number of the second generation of the Hungarians living abroad should visit Hungary for the purpose of study. Another was that a home should be built in Budapest to provide accomodation for them, where they could engage in their studies under supervision and where a bureau to attend to their legal interests and supply them with advice and information would be established. It was also resolved to popularize in America the fact that the first statue of George Washington on the Continent was erected in Buda-



pest, the money for which was collected by the Hungarians in America, and that there is also a statue of the American General Bandholtz in the Hungarian capital.

At its close, the congress was addressed by M. Nicholas Kozma, former Minister, on the subject of emigration. M. Andrew Lázár, former Minister of Justice, established the fact that the dismemberment of Hungary decreed by the Peace Treaties had been as powerless to destroy the sentimental and cultural unity of the Hungarians living in the Basin of the Carpathians as had been the Mongol invasion of the XIII century or the long years of the Turkish conquest. Dr. Julius Kornis, Speaker of the House of Commons, appealed to the Hungarians abroad to be the most loyal and reliable citizens of their new countries.

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