

POLITICAL MOSAIC

M. ANDREW NAGY DE TASNÁD'S LECTURE. SPEAKER OF HUNGARIAN LOWER HOUSE ON HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTION

M. Andrew Nagy de Tasnád delivered a lecture in the assembly hall of the Berlin University on "The spirit of the Hungarian Constitution." In his introductory remarks M. Nagy de Tasnád stressed the point that the new legal order in Europe could not fail to affect the internal legal systems of the free nations composing the great community of European peoples. *Healthy development, however, was conceivable only if each of the several peoples, while preserving its own valuable traits, found its niche in that community.* He referred to the lecture delivered in Budapest by State Secretary Freisler, who, too, declared that the characteristics of the various nations should be preserved and that they must endeavour to develop them. This by implication meant that the development should not be mechanical and standardized, for that would kill the spiritual individuality of the nations concerned.

M. Nagy de Tasnád then went on to speak of the Hungarian Constitution. "I do not mean to say" — he declared — "that we must cling to every detail of our Constitution as to some inviolable Sacrament, but it would also be a mistake to make changes that are contrary to the centuries-old spirit of that Constitution and deny its fundamental principles. Our Constitution is a historical Constitution which has grown in the soil of legal continuity and which, besides regulating the State's exercise of executive power, has also always protected the rights of the citizens and, somehow or other, ensured them a share in the management of the country's affairs. In the past nothing of importance affecting the nation could take place unless the nation willed it, nor is it to be supposed that there will be any change in this respect in the future."

Speaking of historical aspects M. Nagy de Tasnád pointed out that *the principle of national liberty* runs like a thread through the whole course of Hungary's history from the time the Magyars occupied the country to the present day. It is present in the code embodying the laws framed during the past nine hundred years. The same note is struck over and over again: *"we insist on our ancient rights, on our liberties; we insist on our voice being heard on every matter, and we demand that the nation's will be done."*

"Too much freedom for the individual" — continued M. Nagy de Tasnád — "is a disintegrating force harmful to the community, and were there no central authority to prevent its destructive influence, the nation would suffer. When the equilibrium between liberty and order was perfect, we were strong. Unfortunately it sometimes happened that this equilibrium was disturbed, and it was just when there was the most need for strength and self-disciplined co-operation that the liberty of the individual was greatest and the power of the central authorities weakest. Sometimes this was a source of trouble and led to the country's finding itself in a dangerous position. But after all we were able to hold fast because we were capable of regeneration. What was of real national value we have preserved and shall preserve, but we shall not close our eyes to the needs of the moment. We cling to our traditions, but we are not tradition-bound. The Hungarian Constitution is not merely a historical Constitution, it is also one that is capable of adapting itself to the requirements of the times."

GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER IN HUNGARY

On 5th January Herr Joachim von Ribbentrop arrived in Budapest, on the invitation of the Regent and the Hungarian Government, for a four days' visit. This visit was another eloquent demonstration of the friendship and alliance between Germany and Hungary. The teachings of history show that Hungary is imperatively linked to the German Reich by her geographical and economic position, and this co-operation, born of historical necessity, has been strengthened by long and turbulent centuries of warfare. *Together with Germany, Hungary languished under the terrible sufferings inflicted by the Paris Peace Treaties, and a common sense of the injustices borne merely served to throw into relief the community of interests of those comrades-in-arms.* Hungary was the first to raise her voice against the injustices of the Peace Edicts and to preach revision and an unshakable belief in the revival of the downtrodden countries. Neither nation ever despaired; and when the new National Socialist Germany set out on the path of rational and equitable reparation, she found a natural ally, not only in Mussolini's Italy, but also in Hungary.

After spending two days in the country as the guest of the Regent, the German Foreign Minister returned to Budapest on 8th January. He was welcomed with special ceremony at the railway station, which was gaily decorated for the occasion, by the Members of the Hungarian Government, civilian and military persons of high rank, and the diplomatic representatives of the countries that joined the Anti-Comintern Pact — headed by the Members of the German diplomatic corps. The inhabitants of the Hungarian capital turned out in impressive numbers to give

a warm and enthusiastic welcome to the distinguished visitor. From the station to the 'Dunapalota' Hotel the streets were lined with cheering masses of people.

The German Minister sent his card to the Regent, paid a visit to the Hungarian Prime Minister, was received in private audience by the Regent and dined with him and Madame de Horthy. The Hungarian Premier returned his visit, the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament arranged a reception in his honour and the Premier and Madame de Bárdossy gave a dinner at which speeches were made. Herr von Ribbentrop placed a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, visited the graves of German soldiers killed in the last Great War in the Rákoskeresztur cemetery, visited the Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts, and gave a lunch at the German Legation. On the occasion of his departure the leave-taking was extremely warm and cordial.

The following toasts were proposed at the dinner given by the Premier and Madame de Bárdossy.

"It is with heartfelt pleasure that I welcome Your Excellency on the occasion of your first visit to Budapest. I greet you, the eminent collaborator of the Führer and Chancellor of the great German Reich, who have always been able, with wisdom, prudence and deliberation, in your task of shaping Germany's foreign policy, to find ways and means of raising Germany to her present position of might and greatness. I also greet in Your Excellency's person the just arbiter who with the Vienna Award helped to right the wrongs done to Hungary. For that we shall always owe Your Excellency a debt of gratitude.

"I consider it a special honour that you have found time to pay this visit at a period when the German people are fighting the greatest and most heroic battle of their history. A struggle waged in unity by the German people for the position to which their ancient culture, vital and constructive economic life, just social order and surpassing military prowess entitle them, always ensuring them a dominant rôle in the history of European development. The attitude of the German people towards European development is rooted in far-off centuries. Germany's virtues and energies were a decisive factor in the ages when the idea of a European community of interests began to emerge.

"Ever since the establishment of the Hungarian State we Magyars have always recognized and rightly estimated the rôle of the German people in the European family of nations. The friendly links between our people and the Germans are therefore nothing new; they are as old as our history itself. Our great State-building King St. Stephen took the step which once and for all decided whether we were to choose the Christianity of Eastern Byzantium or that of Western Rome, a choice between the East constantly trying to encroach on Europe and the stable forms of life of the Germans who had settled in the West. It was

St. Stephen who wellnigh a thousand years ago guided the eyes of the Magyars away from the East and fixed them upon the West.

"It was not by accident, but thanks to the wise, deliberate and consistent policy of the great King's successors, that we always fought to defend the West against the encroachment of the East. The same idea, the same aim, inspires us now when together with the German people, our comrades-in-arms in the Great War of 1914—1918, we have taken up arms and are fighting shoulder to shoulder with them against the menace of Bolshevism and for a just reorganization of Europe.

"The Magyars have always been fully aware of their historical mission in Central Europe. In its fulfilment they undertook tasks that demanded sacrifices of blood, almost self-sacrifice, in order to ensure peace, tranquillity and order here. Their racial strength and national independence made them capable of accomplishing those tasks.

"This spirit and these sentiments are what inspire the Magyars today and nourish in us the belief that Hungary will continue to play her traditional rôle in the community of European nations. Relying on our national strength and our independence, we are ready for the duties that a new and just order in Europe demands of us. We are fighting for the Europe which, in the memorable words addressed to me by the Führer and Chancellor of the great German Reich, will be a friendly and peaceful co-operation of free nations.

"It is a special privilege for me to be able, here in the capital of Hungary, to extend a warm and hearty welcome to Your Excellency, as to one of the most ardent advocates of the new European order and the idea of European solidarity. It is a good omen for the year 1942 that the first visit of the German Foreign Minister was paid to Hungary, and we are all happy to greet in Your Excellency's person a real friend of this nation. I firmly believe that the Almighty will not fail to bless our struggle for a just cause.

"In this belief I propose the health of the Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich and drink to the prosperity of the German nation and Your Excellency's own happiness."

M. RIBBENTROP'S REPLY:

"I cordially thank Your Excellency for the extremely warm words of welcome addressed to me, and the people of Budapest for the unforgettable reception accorded to me as the Führer's Foreign Minister this morning in your beautiful capital.

"It has indeed been a great pleasure for me to be given the opportunity, thanks to His Highness the Regent's invitation, of returning the visits. Your Excellency have paid to Germany since

taking office, visits which enabled me to establish a contact of a most confidential nature with Your Excellency. I have long wished to make the ties of friendship that have developed from those meetings closer by a personal visit to your country. To my deepest regret the events of the war prevented me from carrying out this intention earlier; the more gratifying is it therefore that I can now be here in Hungary, which is linked to Germany with strong and traditional ties of friendship. *As the Regent's guest I have gathered the most favourable impressions during the past few days.*

"The confidential relations between our nations have taken on a new and added significance of late. The war forced upon Germany and her allies has reached a decisive stage. The world is divided into two camps: the young nations who are fighting for their rights are confronted by the old, selfish Powers, who for two decades have opposed any rational and peaceful revision, and who now wish to deny those younger nations the right of mere existence.

"Britain and the United States of North America, in their unparalleled conceit, which is at variance with all the sober judgment expected of statesmen, and conscious that their own unaided strength is inadequate, made an alliance with Russian Bolshevism, the greatest enemy of the human race, in order to force their destructive laws upon the rest of the world. It is said that in their blind recklessness the men in power today in Britain and America have gone so far as to promise Bolshevism a free hand in Europe, in order to persuade the Soviet to make fresh sacrifices for the maintenance of their own capitalistic interests.

"But the community of interests, the unity and the determination of the States allied in the Three Power Pact will utterly frustrate every plan and attempt of that nature. The courage of our soldiers has worked wonders already. Soviet Russia has suffered crushing blows which no power on earth can ever undo. Europe rallies increasingly round the Axis and its friends. In Eastern Asia our brave Japanese allies are proceeding from victory to victory, and this has caused an important shifting of international policy in favour of our present coalition. This is how we begin the year 1942. It will confront us with new and important tasks, for our aim is still the same: to seize and beat the enemy wherever we find him and force him to understand that he has no business in the sphere of interests of the countries belonging to the Three Power Pact.

"In this struggle which Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler is waging together with her allies and upon which the fate of Europe hangs, the old comradeship-in-arms that existed between the German and Hungarian peoples in the last war has stood the test again. *The common action of which I*

spoke to Your Excellency on the occasion of your visit to Munich has materialized. In the fight against Bolshevism the Hungarian detachments fighting along with the German troops have won a good many victories. And as it was in the past, so it will be in the future. Germany and her allies will not lay down their arms until the dreadful menace threatening Europe from the East has been averted and until we have deprived Britain and America of the power to incite peaceful nations to war.

"Gentlemen, we have hard war tasks to perform; but it is the conviction of us all that the present struggle will end in victory for the countries allied in the Three Power Pact.

"I drink to the health of His Highness the Regent of Hungary, to the prosperity of the Hungarian nation and to Your Excellency's and Madame de Bãrdossy's private welfare."

COUNT CIANO WELCOMED WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM AND OFFICIAL POMP BY HUNGARY

This was the second time that Count Ciano, Italy's Foreign Minister visited Hungary. His present visit marks another important stage in the friendship of more than a thousand years' duration between Hungary and Italy. Today the Hungarian and Italian nations are linked together, not only by a friendship, but also by an armed alliance. Italian and Hungarian soldiers are again fighting side by side, as they so often fought in the course of history.

The friendship between Hungary and Italy is coupled chiefly with the name of Hunyadi. *King Matthias not only threw open the doors of his splendid palace to admit the Italian Renaissance; he also turned the branches of the tree of Hungarian civilization towards the rays of the Italian sun.* Italian culture, the Latin education of the Hungarian nobility and the attraction of *Roma aeterna* spun indestructible ties between *Pannonia* and *Italia*. The Italian *risorgimento* political ideas, too, struck root deep down in our soil. Nowhere in Europe were the ideas of *Mazzini*, *Garibaldi* and *Cavour* so eagerly accepted as in Hungary. The names of *Garibaldi*, *Kossuth*, *Tùrr*, *Tùkùry*, *Mazzini*, *Monti* and *Ihász* were like one flame that inspired and filled with longing the souls of the two nations thirsting for liberty. *Monti's legion left 500 dead on the field of the battle fought for Hungarian Independence.* The memory treasured in legend of the battles fought by *Garibaldi*, *Tùrr*, *Tùkùry* and the Magyar legion in Italy thrills the hearts of the Magyars even today. Along with *Kossuth's* name the name of *Garibaldi* has found a place in the heart of the Magyar people, which shows that above all else they admire the heroes who fight for freedom and that *more fanatically than anything else they love liberty and independence.* This was why the whole Hungarian nation

enthusiastically welcomed Count Ciano, the representative of the nation that gave the world a Cavour, a Mazzini, a Garibaldi and a Victor Emanuel II, the representative of that Fascist Italy that first among *the Great Powers adopted Hungarian revision as part of its official programme when the great Duce, speaking of the Trianon Edict, said: — "Un trattato non più sarà una tomba."*

When on 15th January Count Ciano arrived in Budapest by invitation of the Regent and the Hungarian Government, he was met at the railway station, gaily decorated for the occasion, by the members of the Hungarian Government, civilians and officers of high rank, the diplomatic representatives of the countries allied with or friendly towards the Axis and the entire staffs of the Italian Legation and Consulate-General. M. de Bárdossy, Premier and Foreign Minister, welcomed the distinguished visitor, who, after passing through the ranks of a guard of honour, drove to his hotel along streets lined with crowds of cheering spectators. Count Ciano sent cards to the Regent and Mme Horthy, had a conversation with M. de Bárdossy, was received in audience by the Regent, and attended a reception given in the Houses of Parliament. He placed a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and as the guest of the Regent took part in a shooting party at Mezőhegyes. His departure on 18th January took place with appropriate ceremony.

At the dinner given by the Premier and Madame de Bárdossy in honour of Count Ciano the Premier proposed the following toast.

"I am particularly delighted to have the pleasure of warmly welcoming Your Excellency as the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Italy. I welcome you as one who has returned to us, for this is not the first time Your Excellency has visited Budapest. You know our country and its people well, and have had more than one opportunity of judging the sincere friendship towards, and great appreciation of, Your Excellency's person entertained by all Magyars. This sincere friendship and respect are tributes to the loyal and distinguished collaborator of the great statesman who for twenty years has shaped Italy's course.

"Your Excellency's present visit recalls memories of the historical links between Italy and Hungary. It was priests from Italy who first brought the Christian faith to Hungary, thereby drawing our people into the sphere of western Christian civilization. It was Italy that gave us the Angevin kings, worthy successors to the Arpadian dynasty. The blood of the Hungarian queen, Maria, flowed in their veins and in the XIV. century their rule forged numerous cultural links between the two countries. The Quattrocento was particularly rich in ties of that nature. Italian scholars, artists and masters visited Hungary, who

in collaboration with Magyar scholars, artists and masters created that specially Magyar variety of humanistic culture which *though typically Magyar bore so many Latin characteristics*. That this humanistic spirit lived on is best proved by the fact that until the middle of the XIX. century Latin was used as the official language in Hungarian public life.

"But it was not cultural ties alone that for centuries had an inspiring influence on the two nations; in their ardent love of national liberty and independence Italy and Hungary also found points of contact.

"When Buda was stormed and relieved numerous Italians were among the heroes who set Hungary free from the Turkish yoke, Italians shed their blood for us, and later on Italians took an active part in the arduous work of reconstruction. Thus in 1848, when the Magyars took up arms to fight for independence and in defence of the sacred soil of their fatherland and their ancient rights, the Italian nation took sides with them. Italian legionaries under Alessandro Monti fought the good fight for a common ideal shoulder to shoulder with the Magyars. And when in the glorious era of the *Risorgimento* the eternal Italian spirit achieved the ideal of a united Italy, the Magyars offered their help, and we can proudly say that they were not lacking among the ranks of the "Marsala Thousand".

"To this very day the ties between the two countries bear the stamp of a love of liberty. It was this spirit that induced the great leader of Fascism, the Duce, to proclaim his immortal thesis: — "A peace treaty cannot be a tomb". These words of historical import were heard with deep emotion and gratitude by the Magyars, who will always cherish them in their hearts.

"This spirit has helped us to obtain redress by means of the decisions arrived at by the Vienna Court of Arbitration which have restored to Hungary a great part of the alienated areas that for a thousand years had always been Hungarian territory.

"Your Excellency took part in those Vienna discussions, and *your sure judgment and loyal attitude have imposed a debt of eternal gratitude on the Hungarian nation which I should now like to acknowledge*.

"The traditional, centuries-old friendship between our countries is at the same time the pledge of a happier future, and we are strong in the firm conviction that *nothing can ever adversely affect the intimate friendly relations between Italy and Hungary*.

"Hungary has taken up arms again and entered into the fray. She is fighting side by side with her great allies Italy and Germany in defence of European civilization and to oppose — as she so often did in the course of our history — the forces of destruction and Godlessness threatening Europe from the east. Today we are again fighting with our old military valour for a

common victory. We are fighting a defensive campaign of historical importance, confident that the Almighty will crown our standards with victory, and that as a symbol of that victory we shall be able to create a new world — a world of peaceful co-operation among the free nations — in the establishment of which we firmly believe God will not refuse His aid, but will bless our effort to achieve this lofty aim.

"In this belief I again greet Your Excellency and drink to the health of His Glorious and Imperial Majesty King Victor Emmanuel III, to the health of the Duce, the prosperity of the friendly Italian nation and to Your Excellency's own health."

The Italian Foreign Minister replied as follows:

"Your Excellency, I sincerely thank you for the cordial words addressed to me and the evidence of friendly feelings they contain. Needless to say, I value these sentiments highly and sincerely reciprocate them. It has been a great pleasure to meet Your Excellency here in Hungary, where once before I enjoyed so spontaneous and touching a welcome that I shall never forget the impression it made on me. In particular I should like to express my gratitude for what Your Excellency has said about Italy and the Duce. *Your words will find a sincere echo in the hearts of the Italian people.* The Italians know how faithfully those words reflect the sentiments of the generous Hungarian nation and *how completely they are in keeping with the old and tried friendship between our countries.*

"Your Excellency know that *this friendship has always been a corner-stone of Italy's foreign policy.* Years and events merely serve to strengthen that friendship, to make it closer, a proof that it has taken deep root in the souls of our peoples and that *the policy pursued by our two Governments is one that is in accordance with the fundamental historical needs both of Italy and Hungary.*

"Your Excellency has eloquently recalled to mind the long history of the links between Hungary and Italy, and you have laid emphasis on the point that our friendship has arisen from ties that were close at the dawn of modern civilization, a civilization that is so permeated with the immortal spirit of Italian tradition. It was not the interests of the moment, *it was the force of an ideal that for centuries repeatedly united the Magyars and the Italians, a force that is born only of work and struggle for the highest ideals.*

"It is for these ideals that we have taken up arms again. The war which we are fighting together with our great ally Germany recalls to mind the battles in which for centuries Hungary also took an active part. Those battles were fought to save our countries from the menacing pressure of destructive forces that were trying to attack and ruin the edifice of European ethics.

"Now we are again at war to defend our liberty, save our traditions and restore the spiritual unity of Europe which was badly threatened when the sinister and evil elements of Bolshevism found their way into the bourgeoisie community of the western nations.

"As regards its extent and virulence the war we are now waging has no precedent in the world's history. Nor has there ever been a war fought for such high and important aims. We are fighting in order to avert the sinister menace of a Red Army which has been ready for years on the watch to pounce upon Europe, and we are also fighting the Democracies and making preparation to destroy them. To further their own selfish interests the Democracies denied us the right to our ideals, closed all paths before the young nations of Europe, and thus inevitably brought about the present war.

"This war, in which Magyars and Italians are comrades-in-arms and brethren in self-sacrifice, we shall continue to fight with unshakable determination, in order to perform the historical mission which together with Germany, Japan and the rest of our allies we have undertaken to accomplish. *I am certain that the courage of our armies and the genius of their commanders will bring victory to us and a just peace to the world.*

"Confident in this hope and with feelings of the most profound friendship towards Hungary, I drink to His Highness, the Regent of Hungary, to the prosperity of the Hungarian nation and to Your Excellency's and Madame de Bárdossy's health."

FIRST INAUGURATION OF LORD LIEUTENANT IN SOUTHERN HUNGARY SINCE RE-INCORPORATION TAKES PLACE AMID SCENES OF ENTHUSIASM AND IN SPIRIT OF NATIONAL UNITY

The inauguration of the first lord lieutenant taking office since the re-incorporation of the liberated regions of Southern Hungary has taken place amid scenes of enthusiasm, accompanied with ceremonies of ancient brilliance and splendour. The shouts of gladness of the people of those regions accompanied M. Leo Deák when, in the presence of an enormous crowd, he took office as Lord Lieutenant of the restored County of *Bácsbodrog* and of the municipal town of *Zombor*.

After taking the solemn oath of office, *M. Leo Deák* made a long speech in his new capacity as Lord Lieutenant of County *Bácsbodrog*. In this speech he recalled the heroic struggles of the Magyars of Southern Hungary in the days of Yugoslav oppression. He expressed his thanks to those to whose efforts the restoration was due, — who had made it possible for the Hungarian flag to wave once more in this ancient Hungarian land. *In respect to the nationality question M. Deák stressed*

that that question must be adjusted with the aid of sober reason and calm deliberation. He greeted with affection the German and Slav inhabitants of the county, and expressed the wish that they should use the friendly understanding of the Magyars to their advantage. He expressed his satisfaction at the fact that the Government, while on the one hand adopting as basis of its policy the equality of all nationalities, on the other hand demanded that all alike should fulfil their duties as citizens honestly and without fail. Today too, as he had done in the days of oppression, he could not stress sufficiently that during the days of Hungarian rule prior to the Treaty of Trianon the non-Magyar nationalities had also enjoyed equality; for, had that not been the case, the German and Slav ethnic groups would not today be any more in possession of their own languages and traditions.

The new lord lieutenant referred to the fact that the German ethnic group was entitled, in terms of an international agreement, to the exercise of rights over and above those specified in the general legal provisions. During the days of Yugoslav rule they — the Germans — had been deprived of the power of exercising even their most elementary rights; now they were in full possession of those rights; they had obtained a representation on the municipal committee in keeping with their quota of the inhabitants; they had themselves taken over the administration of the villages (parishes) inhabited by Germans; the officials of the said villages were appointed on the recommendation of their ethnic organisation; they were able freely to live their own national and cultural life; and their ethnic organisation was in direct official contact with the administrative forums. *They should therefore document their loyalty to the State and acknowledge that they were living in the possession of ethnic privileges of which they had not even dared to dream in the days of Yugoslav rule.*

The Serbians must surely have been agreeably surprised — said M. Deák — by the enormous difference in evidence between the treatment of the non-Serbian nationalities by the former Yugoslav Governments and the rational measures taken by the Hungarian Government. *There would not have been any infringement of rights if the Hungarian Government had maintained the Yugoslav legal usage: the Hungarian Government had however preferred to adopt the attitude of equality and legal security in its treatment of the Serbians, carrying this principle into effect also in connection with public appointments. Instead of showing vindictiveness, that Government had offered the Serbians the right hand of friendship and forgiveness.* In the past too the Hungarian State-idea had refused to sanction the application of arbitrary means in the field of nationality policy, and still insisted upon the practice which had been in force

for a thousand years. However, should there be any signs of disloyalty or dissension, it would be impossible to tolerate such conduct; for, while on the one hand the Hungarian Government ensured equality of rights, on the other hand *that Government demanded a fulfilment of the duties incumbent upon loyal citizens of the State It would not tolerate excesses, from whatever quarter those excesses might come:* but it also refused to tolerate any menace to the unity of the State, from whatever quarter such menace might originate, whether with the support of foreign assistance or not. The lord lieutenant then dealt with questions of internal policy and other matters.

Similar scenes of solemn rejoicing accompanied the inauguration of M. Leo Deák also as Chairman of the Municipal Committee (Assembly) of the town of Zombor. At both installations alike many official addresses were presented, — e. g. *that presented, on behalf of the Hungarian Frontier Re-adjustment League, by M. Imre Prokopy, former lord lieutenant.* The leaders of the non-Magyar nationalities also expressed their loyalty in words of enthusiasm. M. Gregory Vukovitch, for instance, speaking in the name of the Bunyevatz people, stressed that *that people had in the course of two centuries and a half become completely welded into one with the Magyars, and that even the 23 years which had intervened had failed to make the Bunyevatz people swerve from its loyalty to Magyardom.* Speaking on behalf of the Serbians, M. Simon Tapavitch conveyed the good wishes of the Serbian bourgeoisie.

COUNT STEPHEN BETHLEN ON TRANSYLVANIA

Statements by Count Stephen Bethlen appeared in the New Year's issues of several newspapers. In one of these statements, amongst other things he said:

"The restoration of certain parts of Eastern Hungary and Transylvania has healed an open and painful wound that for two decades had been draining our life-blood. At the same time, the partition of Transylvania opened a new wound, created difficulties for both countries, and in our judgment of the situation, in all our political schemes and measures, this fundamental fact must always be kept in view.

"If any member of a living organism (the limb of a man, for instance) is broken, nature itself usually performs the work of healing, except when the organism no longer possesses regenerative power, or when the broken bones are either badly set or set so late after the accident that the severed parts have had time to grow accustomed to being separated, and the callus that serves to start the process of healing no longer forms on the broken surfaces when they are brought into contact again.

When Northern Transylvania was restored to the mother-country, nature's healing processes immediately set in and have continued without interruption ever since; that being evidence that the constitution of the nation is strong and capable of regeneration, also that neither part of the severed body had reconciled itself to the conditions forced upon it...

"The minorities in the restored part of Transylvania have been much slower to adapt themselves to the new situation, and do so with much greater difficulty. It might almost be said that they have scarcely recovered from the stunning effects of the unexpected change of régime. In this respect a distinction must be made between the Saxons and the Rumanians. The Hungarian State has granted both racial groups every privilege to which as minorities they are entitled. It has granted these privileges to the Saxons, who today are chiefly inspired by a desire to develop their own minority life, and we hope that they, who for centuries had been a constituent element of our political life, will soon realize again the great advantage to themselves that a deliberate, harmonious co-operation (I deliberately avoid using the word union) with the Magyars, a co-operation untinged by any mental reservations, would signify. It would naturally also be of great advantage to the country whose sons for eight centuries they were and from which they have only been separated for some twenty years.

"Although they are striving to build up the bastions of their own culture and are taking advantage of the help of the Hungarian State for this purpose, the Rumanians on the whole behave passively. Where no inflammatory propaganda from the other side of the frontier stirs up unrest, the masses of the Rumanian peasantry, whose economic difficulties are neither greater nor less than those that have to be faced by the Magyar peasants of Transylvania, accept the new situation quietly. In point of fact, they seem to be pleased with the order established by the honest Hungarian administration and the just Magyar judges, who mete out the same measure to all alike, be they Magyars or Rumanians...

"Having thrown a veil over the past twenty sad years, the Hungarian State and its Government are absolutely correct, humane and considerate in their dealings with the Rumanian minority. There has been no sign of any desire for revenge,—signal evidence of the tolerant nature of the Magyar race...

"The division of Transylvania into two parts has given rise to difficulties both in Hungary and in Rumania. These difficulties cannot be eliminated until a better understanding between the two States is reached. This would be to the interest of both. Conditions for the Magyars of Northern Transylvania, especially in Szeklerland, have been made more difficult for the time being by the fact that the railway line has been cut by the new frontier.

In many places Magyar town have lost their hinterland and the working classes their labour markets.

"The Hungarian State is doing what it can to solve these problems. Railway communication will soon be restored, and the substantial financial support granted by the Government to Transylvania will undoubtedly help to soon ameliorate conditions.

"Rumania, too, feels the disadvantages caused by the partition of Transylvania. Brassó and its environs and, more or less, Szeben, too, suffer from a dearth of industrial workers and a lack of the internal markets that previously made industry, trade and mining profitable. In many places there is a scarcity of the raw materials that were produced in Transylvania. It cannot be denied that the Hungarian State and its Government are doing all in their power to eliminate these difficulties and to come to an agreement with the Rumanian Government. The correct attitude displayed by the Hungarian Government, its strict observance of the provisions of the Vienna Award, and the way it has granted every facility in cultural and other spheres to Hungary's Rumanian minority in Transylvania, *witness to its willingness to find a modus vivendi that would make it possible for the two nations to live side by side in peace.*

It would be possible, even in the present difficult circumstances, to find a modus vivendi satisfactory to both parties if only the Rumanian Government would give proof of similar good intentions. All that is needed is the will to find it."

YOUNG MAGYARS OF BOTH SEXES ARRESTED

A report received from Eperjes announces the arrest of young Magyars of Slovakia. According to this report *Charlotte Lülei*, the daughter of *George Lülei*, a bank manager of Lőcse, has been arrested and conveyed to the gaol in Lőcse. She is accused of having been a member of an unauthorised Magyar youth society. *Ellen Szegő*, a 17-year-old-girl of Késmárk, has also been arrested because, it is said, she recited a Hungarian poem in public. *Francis Horváth*, a leader of the Magyar youth in Késmárk, who was let out of gaol not long ago, has again been arrested.

HUNGARIAN EDUCATION IN SLOVAKIA

Count John Esterházy, leader of the Magyars of Slovakia, recently made a speech in the Slovak Parliament. In it he described the education of the Magyars there as follows: The Education Act passed not long ago has taken the election of teachers out of the sphere of authority of the school-boards and transferred it to a new organization, the so-called "Personnel

Committee" (*personálna komisia*). The members of this Committee have been appointed by the Ministry, and *there is not a single Magyar among them*. Seeing that the Magyar elementary schools are in a difficult position in any case and that the Magyars themselves are best acquainted with their own educational problems, they would have been entitled to expect that *one Magyar member at least should be appointed on the Committee*. An Ordinance containing instructions re the establishment of school councils (*školský výbor*) has also been issued. These councils are to function in co-operation with the various schools. As there are several Magyar elementary schools that are parallel sections of the Slovak elementary schools, it would be reasonable to expect the Government to see that the former were adequately represented on these councils. Another ordinance issued provides for the supply of auxiliary equipment for the schools. More than once the minority Magyars asked the Government to make the same careful provision for the equipment of the Magyar as of the other schools. In the Magyar grammar-schools much is lacking in the way of laboratory equipment, and the premises used for storing them are also inadequate. *The Magyars have been obliged to supply the greater part of these articles themselves*. Under the new Elementary Education Act the schools are being reorganized. In future the State is to pay all the expenses connected with the personnel, and the parishes are to bear the material expenses. In more than one place the school budgets have been arbitrarily determined by the Government Commissioners, as, for instance, at *Püspöki, Verecknye and Szunyogdi*, Magyar villages in the Csallóköz area. At *Püspöki* the budget of the Roman Catholic school, which has 100 teachers, was 83.000 Slovak crowns. The Government Commissioner, who as member of the school-board approved this budget, later on cut it down to 23.000 crowns. At *Verecknye* the Government Commissioner passed a budget of 7000 crowns for the Slovak school (1 teacher) but only allowed one of 6000 for the Magyar school (3 teachers).

Count Esterházy also spoke of the lack of classrooms. *In many places the Magyar classes are overcrowded and incapable of seating all the Magyar school-children*. The dearth of classrooms may result in pupils applying for registration being turned away from the Magyar schools. In this respect the danger is greatest in the case of the Magyar girls' grammar-school, the Magyar Commercial Academy and the Magyar boys' grammar-school.

So far there is no Magyar elementary school at Nyitra, although over 100 Magyar children have presented themselves for registration. Another grievance is that *the children wishing to attend a Magyar school have to pass a preliminary examination in that language*. The law says that it is the sovereign

right of parents to choose which school their children are to attend, but at this preliminary examination questions are put to them — such, for instance, as “of what and how is paper made?” — which the children are unable to answer fluently, whereupon the examiners declare that they are not Magyars. § 3 of the Elementary Education Act stipulates that every racial group is entitled to establish a school in places where the number of pupils belonging to that group is at least 15, provided that it will cost the State nothing; but despite this no Magyar school has been allowed to be opened at Nyitra. In Eperjes a Magyar school with 1 teacher maintained by the Lutheran Church was closed on the pretext that it was attended also by children of other denominations. The pretext was unjustified, because the title “Lutheran” school is not meant to signify that its pupils are all Lutherans, but that it is a school maintained by the Lutheran Church. Although denationalization is prohibited by the Slovak Constitution, the practice of transferring Magyar children to Slovak schools on the basis of name-analysis still continues. At Alsóbodok 15 children have been transferred from the Magyar to the Slovak schools, despite the fact that, although their names had a Slovak sound, neither they nor their parents could speak a word of Slovak and that hitherto they had always attended the Magyar school. Similar cases occurred at *Királyi*, *Vicsákapáti* and *Nyitraegerzeg*. The Magyar children who live around *Mocsonok* are not allowed to attend the Magyar school at Királyi, which is quite near, but must go to the Slovak school at Mocsonok.

The Magyar Teachers' Training College has been closed and the filling of vacancies in the Magyar teaching staffs has become a problem. Pupils are lamentably ill-provided with school-books. The use of all the school-books licensed before Slovakia became independent has been forbidden by the Ministry. As none of the Magyar schools had licensed school-books of a later date, the pupils of those schools could not use any books at all.

This summer Magyar university students were not allowed to visit Hungary. They were obliged to do compulsory labour service. The Magyars applied to the Central Labour Bureau, stating that Magyar farmers wished to have the services of the Magyar university students. Despite this the Magyar students were sent to Slovak areas.

The number of pupils attending the Magyar Apprentice School in Pozsony is 250, but the number of Magyar apprentices in the town is much larger. Yet only one single teacher of Magyar nationality has been appointed to teach them. Broadcasts in Hungarian have been considerably reduced in number, and there is none at all for Magyar school-children.

In conclusion Count Esterházy spoke of grievances con-

nected with the care of orphans. In 1941, a new law (No. 243) was framed which promises the appointment of a separate guardian for orphans belonging to a national minority. Hitherto there have been instances of the Magyars having had to provide for orphan Magyar children themselves, either because the official apparatus was so slow to move, or because those orphans were of an age that removed them from its sphere of authority. *In such cases the Magyar minority feels keenly the lack of an orphanage or a home.* So far the Slovak authorities have not sanctioned the opening of the episcopal home for orphans.

COUNT JOHN ESTERHÁZY ON PEACEFUL ENDEAVOURS OF MAGYARS OF SLOVAKIA

With impressive solemnity the Hungarian House at Nyitra was opened on 14th January. At the opening ceremony were present very many members of the Hungarian Party, led by the Chairman, Count John Esterházy, delegations from thirty organizations in the Nyitra district, the Magyars of the town and a large number of Magyars from the surrounding villages.

First mass was celebrated, then an enormous crowd of people marched to 15 Káptalan-utca. The consecration of the building was done by the Rev. Gabriel Gerhardt, Prior of the Franciscan monastery at Nyitra. Following this a speech was made by M. Acusius, president of the Nyitra district. When he had finished Count Esterházy spoke to the assembled crowd.

"This House" — said Count Esterházy *inter alia* — "must be respected by every Magyar, *for the work that will be done here will never be destructive; will always be law-abiding, always self-respecting, always Christian and Magyar.* This Magyar work will be Christian and will be performed in the spirit of St. Stephen. We must respect the people living in the same country with us and seek to approach them in a friendly spirit. We must respect their language and cultural characteristics, *but at the same time we shall expect them to respect our language and cultural characteristics.* Only thus will it be possible for us to respect them.

"In this House we desire to foster this understanding and co-operation. Now, when a world war is raging all around us, we must be more careful than ever that every act of ours, every word we speak, be such as will promote internal peace."