



POLITICAL MOSAIC

"GREATER HUNGARY" SOLUTION OF NATIONALITY PROBLEM

At a meeting held recently at Szeged under the auspices of the Cultural Association of Southern Hungary an interesting lecture was given by *Dr. Ernest Flachbarth*, university professor, Director of the Debrecen University Minorities Institute, on a question which is so much in the limelight today — the problem of the non-Magyar nationalities of Hungary.

The lecturer — whose work on minority rights (written in German) throws striking light on the political life of the minorities — began his discussion of the nationality problem by a description of the development of the Hungarian State. The lecturer referred to the theory put forward by Professor *Elemér Mályusz* asserting that in the days of the kings of the House of Árpád — in the eleventh and twelfth centuries — the governing classes of the country pursued a policy of absorption in dealings with the non-Magyar nationalities, this political system remaining in force until it was superseded by the changes resulting on the development of a feudal constitution or indeed much later by the establishment of a parliamentary constitution based upon the Estates *This view has been rejected and refuted by the school of historiography ruling in Hungary today. The untenable character of Mályusz's theory has been proved most convincingly by Professor Gyula Székfű.* The view which conceives of an endeavour towards assimilation is most pregnantly refuted by the *Golden Bull of 1222* (the Magna Carta of Hungary), Article 19 of which expressly stipulates that "*the liberties of the hospites* (strangers from other countries settling in Hungary) *shall be maintained intact*". This shows indisputably that even prior to the reign of Andrew II. persons belonging to foreign (non-Magyar) nationalities already enjoyed freedom and certain privileges.

As far back as the fourteenth century the non-Magyar minorities living in Hungary already enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. Professor Flachbarth referred above all to the so-called "*Andreanum*", the Patent issued by Andrew II. in 1224 which unified the rights enjoyed by the Saxons living in the environs of Nagyszében. It was at this time that the Széklers were removed (or to use a modern term "transferred"), from Királyföld (King's Land) and the Saxons subjected to the jurisdiction of a *comes*. By virtue of the privilege enjoyed by them the Saxons were entitled to elect their own judges.

King Matthias extended this privilege also to the Saxons residing in the rape of Selyp and the "Bárcaság" (region

surrounding Brassó). Later on the right of electing their own magistrates was conferred also upon the Saxons of the Szepes (Zips) district in Northern Hungary. The magistrates or judges of the Szepes Saxons chosen out of their own ranks administered justice in collaboration with the Szepes town reeve stationed at Lőcse, on the basis of the established system of equity or common law.

The Wallachians (Rumanians) who filtered into Hungary in the centuries following the development of the political State system instituted by St. Stephen, also obtained privileges. For the Rumanians living in the eight Wallachian rapes situated within the territory of Karán and Sebes Counties and in the rape of Hátszeg were granted "*causae minoris*" certain privileges in the field of the administration of justice. In the fifteenth century the Ruthenians of Bereg County also possessed a form of self-government, with a waywode at its head. These embryo-autonomies were absorbed at the close of the Middle Ages in the county system; nevertheless the privileges of the Saxon of Transylvania and of the Szepes district were still in force in the nineteenth century. In the fifteenth century 85—87% of the inhabitants of the country were Magyar by race and by language.

The Turkish occupation of Hungary did not bring about any change either in the official attitude or in the situation of the non-Magyar nationalities. In Transylvania there developed the so-called "three-nation" system — *the three nations, the Magyars Széklers and Saxons, constituting the Transylvanian Parliament and holding the political power*. Seeing that the Széklers were Magyars both ethnically and in language, the three-nation system did not in any way detract from the Magyar character of the principality.

The "Rescriptio" issued in 1769 by Maria Theresa subjected the Serbians also to the jurisdiction of the Magyar authorities. The symbiosis with the non-Magyar nationalities may be described as having been practically undisturbed in this period. *Nicholas Zrinyi, for instance, was glorified as a national hero alike by the Magyars and by the Croatians. The Mary Hymn is a prayer for the prosperity of Hungary* In one of his writings dating from 1661 *David Fröhlich* — German-born Rector of the Késmárk Lyceum — professes to be a "*German with Magyar feelings*". And *Urban Czeller* died a martyr's death in the marketplace of Kassa for his loyalty to Prince Francis Rákóczi II.

All these historical facts prove that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries too *the relations between the Magyars and the non-Magyar nationalities were of the most intimate character possible, their symbiosis not having been disturbed by any antagonisms of importance. The Laws of the years 1601/08 prescribed rotation as between the Magyar, German and Slav nationalities as the principle upon which the chief magistrates*

and councillors of the towns were to be elected. *To show how absolutely this procedure differed from the general practice of the period, we need only refer by way of contrast to the Bohemian Law of 1165 which stipulated that no person unfamiliar with the Czech language was entitled to obtain rights of citizenship.*

This peaceful symbiosis was only interrupted by modern "nationality movement". This movement was a fruit of the French Revolution. During the 1791/92 session of the Hungarian Parliament Act XVI. of 1791 was passed — an Act which *under the influence of the French Revolution ordained the propagation and improvement of the Hungarian language*; but the assembly of the Serbians held at Temesvár in 1790 had already demanded the demarcation of a separate Serbian language area, while at the same time the Greek Catholic (Uniate) bishops of Transylvania demanded that the Wallachians (Rumanians) should be acknowledged as the fourth "nation" of Transylvania. Among the Croats too the first separatistic endeavours made their appearance at this period.

In 1791 Antony Bernolák — the *intensively Magyarophile Slovak parish priest of Érsekújvár* — edited his *first Slovak grammar, thereby laying the foundations of a Slovak literary language*, that language in its turn becoming the basis of Slovak national self-consciousness.

In 1848 the bulk of the non-Magyar nationalities joined the ranks of the enemies of the Magyars. *It is indeed true that the Swabians and Saxons living in Hungary, as well as practically all the Ruthenians, joined Louis, Kossuth's colours*; a section of the Slovaks, however, led by Hodja and Hurbán, at a meeting held at Liptószentmiklós on May 10th., 1848, had already demanded political independence. *Nevertheless, the bulk of the Slovak people then too remained loyal to the Hungarian State idea and supported the Magyars in their fight for liberty.* The mother tongue of more than 25% of the members of the National Guard and of almost 25% of the soldiers of the National Defence Army, was Slovak. *The story of the Battle of Branyisko bears eloquent testimony to this circumstance.*

The Vends, the Bunyevaci and Croats of Trans-Danubia remained loyal to the Magyars also during the fight for independence. Kossuth's political genius prevailed upon that statesman to change his attitude in the national question during the struggle for independence; and on July 21st., 1849, the Parliament held at Szeged passed the resolution respecting the non-Magyar nationalities presented by Bartholomew Szemere. When in exile Kossuth showed even greater compliance in his attitude towards the non-Magyar nationalities.

After the reconciliation with the dynasty the nationality question was adjusted by Act XLIV. of 1866 in conformity with the spirit of liberalism then prevailing. The said Act *guaranteed*

equality of rights, not to the several collective units, but to the individual citizens belonging to the non-Magyar minoritties.

All who are thoroughly familiar with and take a serious view of Hungarian nationality policy cannot but admit that *we did not treat our non-Magyar nationalities in a spirit of inequality even in economic respects, but that on the contrary the development of industry in "nationality" regions was effected at the cost of the purely Magyar Lowlands.* Our laws fully safeguarded the lives, the personal liberty and the security of the property of our non-Magyar nationalities.

There were faults, certainly; but these were due to the centralistic and nationalistic spirit of the age; and these faults have at all times been counterpoised by *the humanism and nobility characteristic of every gesture of the Magyar nation; for we have never had recourse to the methods employed by the Succession States. All we have desired has been to defend the Magyar people; and we have never endeavoured to oppress anyone; whereas the policy of the Succession States was a systematic attempt upon the life and subsistence of the Magyars.*

The provisions of Acts IX. and XXX. of 1868 were carried into effect to the letter by the Hungarian Governments, which, *not content whit merely enforcing the cold formal terms of the agreemnt with the non-Magyar nationalities, reflected in their measures also the spirit of the legislation.* In the dispute that arose in connection whit the establishment of a Serbian gymnasium (grammer-school) at Újvidék Francis Deák — the great Hungarian statesman of the Compromise period — adopted the attitude that *the Hungarian Government, in addition to furthering the cause of Magyar schools, was in duty bound to support also the educational interests of the non-Magyar nationalities.* The same attitude was stressed also in connection with the establishment of a Serbia theatre.

All objective observers must fain admit that a solution of the nationality question satisfactory to all parties *was very considerably impeded also by the circumstance that the non-Magyar nationalities gradually adopted an anti-Magyar attitude which constantly increased in intensity.*

After the Russo-Turkish war of 1877/78 *the Rumanians living in Hungary came completely under the influence and direction of Bucharest.* The Hungarian Government could not help being alarmed by these phenomena, particulary in view of the fact that *at this period the Pan-Slav movement dirceted from Russia began to make its appearance all over Europe.*

The Hungarian Government was warned of the danger also by the aspirations of the Czechs. And it was at this period that the "trialist" endeavours of the Croatians first began to make important headway.

The existence of these endeavours explains why Hungarian

public opinion was mistrustful of every nationality aspiration. *There were loyal nationalities then too, — e. g. the Saxons of the Szepes region and the Swabians; — and the Ruthenians also clung faithfully to the idea of a Magyar State. And the majority of the Slovaks too displayed an attitude of loyalty at this juncture.*

The view that the catastrophe resulting on the Treaty of Trianon was due to the misguided nationality policy of the Hungarian Governments, *is absolutely untenable; for that view is a deliberate falsification of history.* What really led to the catastrophe of Trianon was a lost war and the breaking to pieces of the inner front.

The Treaty of Trianon failed to solve the problem of the peoples, the problem of the Basin of the Carpathians; on the contrary, it merely aggravated that problem.

Little Hungary versus Greater Hungary Solution.

There were two possibilities; and a choice had to be made between the "Greater Hungary" and the "Little Hungary" solution. *The latter means the creation of a national State inhabited exclusively by Magyars; the former means the materialization of the Hungarian kingdom as conceived by St. Stephen.*

The choice has been made — in favor of the "Greater Hungary" solution. This is inevitable, seeing that this is the only solution capable of satisfying the nation — the only solution worthy of our traditions and our mission, of the historical role devolving upon us in this region of Europe.

The nationality problem today assumes an aspect very different from that in evidence prior to the outbreak of the war. Of the 8,700,000 inhabitants of the Dismembered Hungary created by Trianon 8,000,000 (90%) were Magyars. Concerning the present situation we have no accurate statistical data; but, taking as the basis of our calculations the 1910 Census, *we may estimate the number of Magyars living within the framework of the present-day Hungarian State at a figure representing 74.5% of the total population. That means that even under present circumstances the Hungarian State will continue to be an absolutely national State.*

A good politician has a warm heart and a cool head. The warm heart is the affection for our homeland; the cool head is a sober judgment of the situation. *The leading position of the Magyar nation in this country must under all circumstances be ensured; but we must take into account the postulates of a common destiny and must bear in mind the postulates of a long historical development.*

CONSOLIDATION OF INDEPENDENT CROATIAN STATE MAKES HEADWAY

In our June number we dealt briefly with certain more important measures taken by the Croatian Government in the

fields of economics, social policy, finance and communications for the purpose of organizing the State life of the country, as also with the results so far achieved in this connection. On the present occasion we propose to deal in rough outline with the activity of the Government in connection with the regulation of educational matters, with certain nationality problems and with the liquidation of the insurgent movement which has been agitating the country already for a year.

The number of children of schooling age in Croatia is 700.000; of these only about 550.000 are attending school. This means that more than 20% of the children of schooling age are to remain illiterate. According to statistics dating from 1931 the number of illiterates within the territory of present-day Croatia represented 42% of the population. This is due primarily to the general lack of schools and of teachers. To put an end to this state of affairs it is imperatively necessary to build 1500 elementary schools. This object the Government proposes to achieve by means of a large loan. If an adequate number of schools are built within a short period, the authorities propose to abolish the system of "overflow" schools, a type of school which has failed to meet the desired requirements. Today there are still 338 "overflow" schools of the kind functioning in the country.

In addition to the elementary schools the establishment of a large number of "city" schools is required. It has been proposed also to attach small farms to the "city" schools of an agrarian character and workshops to those of an industrial character. *In Croatia today there are 94 State and 17 private "city" schools engaged in teaching. The number of secondary schools is 77, — 60 State and 17 private; the number of pupils being altogether 38.000. Some of the secondary schools were only opened after April 10th., 1941, — i. e. after the establishment of the new State. The supply of fresh teachers is for the present in the hands of only a small number of teachers' training colleges — 17 in all. The teaching staff of the university organized after the exchange of its members effected simultaneously with the declaration of the independence of Croatia includes 127 ordinary and 43 extraordinary professors, 48 readers (Privatdozent), 143 "chargés de cours" and 162 professors' assistants. The number of university students is 6742. University education is being re-organized to make it serve primarily the training of students for practical professions. Very soon a separate faculty of pharmaceutics is to be established. Professional schools are not subject to the control of the Ministry of Education. The schools subject to the supervision of the Ministry for Commerce are: 13 commercial academies, 1 commercial school comprising two classes, 1 mercantile marine academy, 3 technical secondary schools, 14 boys' industrial schools, 117*

continuation technical schools, 1 professional training college for women teachers, 1 girls' hotel industry college, 107 girls' technical schools, 1 lower-grade hotel industry school for girls, 2 domestic economy schools, 2 lace-making training schools, — i. e. altogether 263 technical schools of various kinds. (cf. „Kisebbségi Stud.” April 18th., 1942, Pécs Univ. Minority Institute).

Of the national minorities living within the territory of the new Croatian State so far only the German minority or rather ethnic group has had its legal status and its educational system adjusted. The most formidable obstacle impeding the development of the German school organization is the serious shortage of teachers due in part also to the fact that the German ethnic group is not able to take over from the Croatian State (which itself is suffering from a lack of teachers) the Croatian teachers who know German too. And nevertheless, during the barely six months at their disposal the leaders of the German nationality or ethnic group have succeeded in creating out of practically nothing a splendid school organization in keeping with the numerical strength of the Germans living in Croatia. *Today there are already 270 German schools functioning in Croatia; these schools comprise altogether 533 classes, the number of teachers being 330 and that of pupils 21.000 Of the 330 teachers only 210 possess certificates as fully qualified teachers (diplomas), the rest being assistant teachers, itinerant (visiting) teachers or auxiliary teachers.* In addition to the 270 regular German schools 24 “overflow” schools have been established; though in some of the latter there are no teachers. In February last the German ethnic group organized a course for the training of teachers to function in the “overflow” schools. Young persons who have completed less than onehalf of the secondary school course of studies, as well as grown-up men and women, have been trained to take part in the work of elementary education. And notwithstanding there are still 31 schools without teachers. The principal task to be undertaken by the auxiliary teachers is the teaching of the language; for the majority of the pupils attending the schools already in existence either know no German at all or speak a very bad German.

All German schools are subject to the supervision of the German school sub-section of the Ministry of Education. This sub-section has under its control eight district inspectorates administered by German school inspectors. The German district inspectorates are divided into “hundreds” as required by local conditions. These inspectorates are subject to the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and are independent of all other State authorities. *The German schools of Zagreb and environs are under the direct control of the German school sub-section.* Most of the German elementary schools are schools of

one class with a single teacher. There are only very few schools of four, five or six classes with German as the language of instruction. Apart from the shortage of teachers there is a very sensible lack of schoolbuildings and of school equipment too. In very many places the German and the Croatian chools are located in the same building, the teaching being carried on alternately.

Not much more favourable is the situation of the German secondary schools. Since the autumn of last year a German teachers' training college has been functioning at Osjek, there being 191 male and female pupils distributed over 4 years. At *Osjek* there is also a "real-gymnasium" (combined modern and classical school) with eight classes, the number of pupils being 890. At *Ruma* there is a school of a similar type with 500 pupils; at *Zemun* a "city" school with 355 pupils, besides schools of the same type at *India* (262 pupils), *Vinkovce* (323 pupils), *Verőce* (142 pupils) and *Gyakovo* (161 pupils). The shortage of teachers in these schools is even more disastrous in character; for here it is practically impossible to supply the deficiency. In the 22 classes of the *Osjek* "real-gymnasium", for instance, there are only 21 teachers, and five of these teachers have no certificates (diplomas). The "city" schools are staffed exclusively with elementary school teachers. Here too, as in the case of the elementary schools, the greatest obstacle to teaching is the circumstance that a very large percentage of the pupils either speak no German at all or only a very broken German, though they are all without exception of German origin. In the case of the secondary schools too we find the same difficulties and deficiencies in respect of premises. And there is still a complete lack of the most necessary appliances. The number of teachers required for the secondary schools is 120; the number of German teachers actually available is only 60; and these are compelled — in addition to their regular school work — to undertake an active part in the management and direction of the various popular ethnic organizations. To help in the maintenance of its schools the German ethnic group receives a considerable grant from the Croatian Ministry of Education, the sums required in addition being obtained by public collection (cf. "*Kisebbségi Stud.*", June 6th., 1942. *Pécs Univ. Minority Institute*).

As contrasted with the comparatively well-developed character of the educational affairs of the Germans of Croatia, the position of the Magyar minority in this field of public life is still absolutely chaotic. All that has so far been done by the Croatian Government has been to approve the Statutes of the Magyar Cultural Community established in March, 1940. Previously this Magyar cultural organization had been functioning on the basis of the Statutes approved on April 2nd., 1940, by the department for home affairs of the Ban's Office

of the former Croatian Banate. The Statutes contain 57 clauses. *The title of the Community with its headquarters at Zagreb is "Madjarska Kulturna Zajednica u Nezavianoj Drzavi Hrvatskoj" = Magyar Cultural Community in the Independent Croatian State.* The object of the Community is to cultivate and develop the intellectual, moral and social culture of the Magyar minority in Croatia and to further the improvement of that minority's material and social situation. The sphere of authority of the Community extends to the whole of Croatia. In intercourse with the local organizations and with its members it is to use the Hungarian language and in dealings with the Croatian authorities the official (Croatian) language. Every Croatian citizen belonging by race to the Magyar minority who is resident within the territory of Croatia may be member of the Community irrespective of age or sex. The material resources of the Community are the membership fees, voluntary donations, and the revenue accruing from bequests, endowments and sundry benefactions. Now that the Statutes of the Cultural Community have been approved the Magyars of Croatia are beginning to hope that there will be no more obstacles in respect of educational, economic or political matters either to the enforcement and realization of the rights due to them (cf. *"Donauzeitung"*, May 31st., 1942).

HUNGARIAN STUDENTS, "BEEHIVE" ORGANIZATION.

M. Stephen Lossonczy, Minister of Public Supplies, is president of the Student's "Beehive" organization, which has done so much good work in connection with this year's harvesting. The Students' Beehive is a very interesting and useful institution. This community of youth, with members of all ages from the first class to students preparing to take their leaving certificate examination, engages in every sort of occupation. Its members buy and sell, work with their hands, engage in various undertakings and earn money, which they invest and thus help to increase the national wealth. In the meantime they acquire a firsthand knowledge of every branch of economy, of commerce and industry as well as agriculture. Young people who at a tender age learn to appreciate the value of accomplished work cannot fail to prove useful members of society, and having a firsthand knowledge of the hard life of the working-classes, instead of adhering rigidly to the letter of the law in their dealings with them when the time comes to take their places in public offices and the administration, will feel sympathy for them and do their best to help them. Only thus can the nation expect to reach the level of prosperity so earnestly desired by all.

There are local branches of the Beehive in ninety-one towns, and about fifty thousand of their members are engaged in factory work. When the school examinations were over, the zealous students, instead of rejoicing to have two month's holidays, scattered in every direction and found employment in about one thousand villages. They worked at harvesting and threshing either as day-labourers or for payment in kind, and many of them also undertook to hoe the maize crop. Younger students found employment tying up the vines. Very many of them got jobs in shops as messenger boys or assistants, and not a few became insurance agents. Every single Beehive student keeps a diary of his daily duties, so that it will be possible at the end of the summer to control what they have accomplished; there can, however, be no doubt that wherever they go, whatever work they undertake will be well done. Ho great their enthusiasm for work and their zeal for saving money is, may be gathered from the fact that now when the harvest is over and their work as harvesters has ceased, they go out into the fields to glean any ears of wheat still to be found, and crushing them between their hands, collect the grain thus obtained and sell it to buy pigs which they will fatten with their share of the maize crop. With the money earned as day-labourers they are setting up as fatteners of ducks and geese. This is the time to buy lean ducks and geese which, when they are fattened, will be sold in the markets or supplied to students' colleges. Before long their activities will reach a stage where all the colleges will be self-supplying, not only as regards meat supplies, but also as regards vegetables, for the students grow their own vegetables and thus save the colleges the trouble and worry of providing food for them.

But the Beehive students, not content merely with achieving self-sufficiency, also take part — and a very important part — in providing public supplies. Now that summer work is over, the Beehive has decided to pick horse-chestnuts, which can be profitably used in the manufacture of starch and artificial fodder. The work of picking them has been organized entirely by students: they made all the necessary arrangements with the local authorities and private landowners, asking and obtaining permission to pick the chestnuts, and they also spoke with the stationmasters about their transport. This work of organization has now been going for weeks. The first step was to divide the villages among themselves and take an inventory of the number of chestnut trees in each. The actual work of picking will be done by elementary school-children, who will receive a fixed price for the quantity delivered. The chestnuts will then be forwarded by Beehive students to their appointed destination. This is how the Hungarian Student's Beehive organization is working and prospering.