

POLITICAL MOSAIC

OFFICIAL JOURNAL, PARTY ORGANISATIONS AND CULTURAL SOCIETIES OF MAGYARS OF SLOVAKIA PLACED UNDER AN EMBARGO

A report dated Pozsony, April 11th, informed us that — referring to instructions received from Premier Tiso — the Pozsony Police Headquarters had notified the editorial offices of the "Uj Hirek", the daily journal of the Hungarian Party of Slovakia published in Pozsony, that the appearance of the paper had been suspended for an indefinite period. The Police Headquarters offered no explanation whatsoever of the action taken to prohibit the appearance of the journal.

The Magyar and German Parties of Slovakia Dissolved.

Another report dated Pozsony, April 11th, informed us that M. Sanyo Mach, Slovak Propaganda Minister, had made a statement — published in the Easter issues of the Hungarian and German papers — to the effect that the Magyar und German Parties of Slovakia could not continue to maintain their independence, but must join the Slovak State Party, within the framework of which they would be able to function as sub-sections. On April 12th the leaders of the German Party of Slovakia declared that they could not consent to the carrying into effect of the scheme put forward by M. Mach, seeing that the absorption of the German Party would be a breach of the promises given by Premier Tiso last November to the German ethnic group. And the Slovak Government has promised to withdraw the measure prohibiting the independent activity of the German Party, the result being that the grave injustice now affects the Magyars only.

Slovak Ministry of Interior Prohibits Activity of Magyar Cultural Society and then also of the Other Magyar Cultural Associations.

A report dated Pozsony, April 20th, informed us that the Slovak Ministry of the Interior had prohibited the activity and struck off the list of societies the most important of the Magyar cultural associations — the Cultural Society of the Magyars of Slovakia.

The explanation of the measure of prohibition was to the effect that the headquarters of the Society were in Komárom — i. e. within the territory of a foreign State. It is common knowledge, however, that after the re-incorporation in Hungary of a part of the Hungarian Highlands the Cultural Society of the Magyars of Slovakia amended its Statutes to the effect that the seat of the Society had been transferred to Pozsony. The Slovak Ministry of the Interior has not yet approved the amended Statutes. The action taken to prohibit the activity of the Society is an exceptionally serious blow to the Magyars of Slovakia. And on April 21st the activity of the other Magyar cultural associations was also prohibited.

*Appeal Addressed to the Magyars of Slovakia by
Count John Esterházy, Leader of the Magyar Party.*

A report dated Pozsony, April 21st, said that Count John Esterházy, leader of the Magyars of Slovakia, had issued the following manifesto:

"Magyar Brethren! The Slovak Government has once more dealt us a blow. Without giving any objective or satisfactory reason for its action, it has placed an embargo on the activity of the Cultural Society of the Magyars of Slovakia and has decreed the dissolution of its organisation. I immediately addressed to the Slovak Government a protest against this fresh act of disablement in which I demanded that the embargo should be removed without delay and the continued undisturbed activity of the Cultural Society ensured.

"The responsibility for this arbitrary measure must rest exclusively with the Slovak Government, which would appear to regard as the chief item of its programme the endeavour to drive the Magyars of this country by an ever-increasing system of oppression into an extremity of despair leading eventually to excesses which it might exploit for the purpose of definitively "subjecting" the Magyars.

"When our patience is exhausted, though we shall not do anything that runs counter to our respect for law and equity, our unbroken national self-consciousness will nevertheless tell us that the cup is full! So far we have not been listened to when we asked for a redress of our grievances and the fulfilment of our demands, nor have we been given a hearing when we offered to collaborate in a brotherly spirit in the work of construction.

"You must continue in the future too to fulfil all your duties as citizens of the country and must avail yourselves of the legitimate rights available in any branch of our public life; but you must protest before all forums alike with every legal means at your disposal against disablement and other grievances. In token of our protest I instruct you to refrain from arranging any cultural events and also from taking part in events initiated by

others. You have been deprived of your press too: for a time we shall be doomed to silence in the field of Hungarian culture, but our silence will proclaim louder than words the justice of our cause and will call the attention of the world to the lot of Magyars in this country."

Open Letter Addressed by Count Esterházy to Premier Tiso.

Count John Esterházy at the same time addressed to Premier Tiso an Open Letter in which he protested against the embargo placed upon the activity of the Magyar Cultural Society and against the other injurious measures. He pointed out that the motive put forward in justification of the embargo was groundless and arbitrary, seeing that the Society in question had two months previously amended its Statutes and designated Pozsony as its seat, that amendment having been submitted for the approval of Government. And, in the event of Government finding some other pretext for the civil disablement involved, he (Count Esterházy) declared that the Magyars had vested rights entitling them both to maintain their organisations and their cultural associations and to defend and develop their ethnic individuality in all fields alike. These rights had been accorded the Magyars during the previous régime too; the Magyars were therefore not asking for anything new, merely the enforcement of those rights which they had enjoyed under Czecho-Slovak rule. The Magyars had not given Government any cause for such measures; and in proof of that statement Esterházy referred to the manifesto addressed by him to the Magyars after the Vienna Award in which he had stressed the desire of the Magyars to contribute actively towards the re-construction of Slovakia, having done so in the hope that this gesture would be received by the Slovak people in a spirit of understanding.

Esterházy pointed out also that those responsible for the Vienna Award had taken measures to ensure the protection of the rights of the Magyars of Slovakia and to ensure the complete equality of the Pozsony Magyar ethnic group. The Open Letter then proceeds as follows:

"We Magyars came forward unselfishly to take part in the work of construction, — even though we were made to feel that official circles were continuously sowing the seeds of hatred of us — doing so more and more intensively — until today they have converted this procedure into a veritable system. I must confess frankly that the task before me was exceptionally arduous; I was being ground between two millstones: but I undertook the responsibility because I believed unswervingly that the Magyarphobe attitude of the Slovak Government would very soon change.

"That no such change has ensued, is not my fault or our

fault — not the fault of the Magyars of Slovakia. The responsibility for this state of things lies exclusively with the Slovak Government and with those leaders of the Slovak people who churlishly refused to accept the proffered hand of friendship and in addition went so far as to treat with brutal savagery everything that was dear to our souls and to our Magyar hearts — as if they would have us believe that we Magyars of Slovakia were some inferior kind of mongrel people only fit to serve as tests upon which to try out the worst instruments of their policy of oppression."

Esterházy establishes the fact that the measure suspending the activity of the Magyar Cultural Society is a fitting link in a long chain of similar measures of oppression. He therefore protests against these measures, not only as leader of the Magyars of Slovakia, but also as the only Deputy in the Slovak Diet representing the Magyar people. And the responsibility was devolved upon him by the Slovak Government itself when it placed his name on their official list of candidates.

THE ROME POURPARLERS.

Count Paul Teleki, Prime Minister of Hungary, and Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Foreign Minister, were received in Rome on April 17th. — amid the enthusiastic cheers of the people and with a splendour in externals displaying a brilliant and pompous pageantry — by the chief dignitaries of Italy, with Signor Mussolini at their head. This visit was not a mere act of courtesy; besides documenting an alliance of two peoples deepened by the complete harmony of their feelings, it was an event of prime importance in international politics too the significance of which was acknowledged also by the international press. It afforded an opportunity for the discussion of questions raised by recent international developments which were of interest to both Parties alike — a discussion far exceeding the limits of a mere friendly visit. Hungary took part in the discussion as a factor whose importance had been considerably enhanced by the acquisition of a strip of Upper Hungary and of Ruthenia and by the possession of a splendid new army — the object of that discussion being to contribute towards the consolidation of a peace founded on a spirit of justice, an issue in the induction of which Hungary plays a decisive role, there being indeed no possibility of a settlement of the problem without her agreement or against her will.

This circumstance was stressed most emphatically in the speech made by Signor Mussolini after the dinner given in honour of the Hungarian Ministers on April 18th., — a speech in which the Italian Premier, dwelling on the close and firm friendship uniting the two nations, emphasised that Italy had

been delighted to see that fundamental principles of justice which Italy had so long and so consistently demanded had been restored for Hungary's benefit and that Hungary had recovered territories and populations which ought never to have been wrested from her. Echoing the leading motif of Signor Mussolini's speech — that part stressing the importance of the fundamental principles of justice — Count Teleki declared that the events of recent months had opened the gate of justice to the Hungarians and that for the historical assistance and help granted in this connection even the humblest Hungarian cottage echoed with gratitude to Italy. "We know" — he continued — that Italy is determinedly anxious to see Hungary strong; and on the other hand it is our interest that the power of the Italian Empire should increase rapidly and rise to the greatest possible height."

Diplomatic circles were deeply impressed by the fact that the negotiations became daily longer and longer. In contrast to the usual practice the first day's *pourparler* — which lasted for an exceptionally long time — was followed in the evening by a second discussion, there being a third discussion too on the following day. Not only the Italian, but the whole international, press stressed that negotiations of considerable importance had been started for the purpose of settling in a spirit of justice the relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary and between Hungary and Rumania respectively; indeed, a section of the press was actually of the opinion that very shortly the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and non-aggression between Hungary and Yugoslavia was to be expected, the international press having unanimously established the fact that the Rome *pourparlers* relating to a settlement of the relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary were to be the starting-point of the negotiations to be held in Venice between the Italian and the Yugoslav Foreign Minister. Diplomatic circles thought it opportune to recall the fact that on the occasion of the visit of Count Ciano to Budapest last December the Hungarian Foreign Minister — in his speech at the dinner in honour of the Italian Foreign Minister — had declared that "our friends' friends are our friends", a remark generally regarded as an allusion to Yugoslavia. And Hungary has recently in any case repeatedly expressed her readiness to adjust the relations with Yugoslavia in the spirit of justice and in a manner satisfactory to both Parties, the Hungarian Premier having indeed, in the speech made by him on April 18th., referred to the fact that the connections between Hungary and Yugoslavia were becoming more and more satisfactory.

In diplomatic circles the fact was also established that Rumania was impelled to break with the one-sided policy previously pursued by her, having become a point at which the interests of the two Axes meet; and that both groups of Great Powers would welcome Rumania adjusting her relations with

that Hungary which the Trianon Peace Edict had compelled to forfeit to Rumania a greater area of territory and a larger quota of population than to any other of the so-called "Succession States". And it should not be forgotten that it was during the visit to Rome of the Hungarian Ministers that Signor Mussolini answered President Roosevelt in terms decidedly emphasising the objects of justice and peace.

During the visit to Rome — a visit marked by an unusual cordiality and an exceptionally brilliant pageantry — the Hungarian statesmen were received by the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia, who gave a lunch in their honour; Signor Mussolini arranged a dinner in their honour; and the Fascist Youth passed in review before the distinguished guests of the country. An event of outstanding importance was the reception by the Pope on April 20th, the audience being a particularly lengthy one marked by exceptional cordiality, His Holiness's guests — the Hungarian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister — being personally known to Him. His Holiness sent Hungary and the Hungarian people His blessing.

The following official communiqué was issued in connection with the visit to Rome:

"Rome, April 20th. Tonight, at midnight, the following official statement was issued respecting the Italian-Hungarian discussions:

"During their visit to Rome Count Paul Teleki, Prime Minister of Hungary, and Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Foreign Minister, had several discussions with the Duce and Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister. These discussions were carried on in that atmosphere of cordiality and mutual confidence which characterises the close friendly connections existing between the two countries. An exhaustive investigation was made of the most important questions, in particular of the problems of Central Europe and the Danube Basin, due consideration being had also for recent events and for the situation at present prevailing. Satisfaction was expressed at the results achieved by the two Governments in both the political and the economic field for the purpose of obtaining the greatest possible degree of consolidation; and expression was given to the joint intention of both Parties to place their activities at the service of those objects of peace and justice which have been adopted by the Berlin-Rome Axis. To that end the Parties have agreed in particular to further develop the policy of co-operation with friendly States."

VISIT TO BERLIN OF HUNGARIAN PREMIER AND
HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

The visit to Berlin of the Hungarian Premier and Hungarian Foreign Minister was an event of considerable importance in respect of the development of international relations in Central Europe. The importance of the event was due, not only to the fact that it followed immediately after the visit of the Hungarian statesmen to Rome (a visit with which it was in organic connection, being its natural complement and consequence), but also because this friendly act of courtesy on the part of the Hungarian Ministers — an act documenting the profound feelings of friendship for Germany of Hungary and her concurrence with the trend of the policy pursued by the Axis Powers — followed immediately after the historical date on which the German Leader and Chancellor so emphatically and vigorously expressed the desire for peace of the German Empire.

The spirit permeating this declaration made by the German Leader and Chancellor was in complete conformity with the declaration made previously by Signor Mussolini; and the insistent and consistent endeavours of Hungary to bring about a peaceful evolution are in perfect harmony with the unwaveringly firm tendency followed by the Axis Powers. Moreover, the absolute agreement in principle between the German Chancellor and the Italian Premier manifested in their desire to achieve peace on the basis of justice and equity was endorsed by the visit to Berlin immediately after their visit to Rome, that visit serving as a demonstration of Hungary's determination to support the same principle of peace by justice and equity.

This agreement was manifested also in the brilliant magnificence of the cordial and friendly reception accorded to the Hungarian statesmen on their arrival in Berlin on April 29th, and during their stay in the German Capital, — a reception in which the leading role was played by Herr von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister —, and in the round of festivities which included dinners arranged in their honour by Herr Hitler, Leader and Chancellor of the German Empire, and Herr von Ribbentrop, as also during the important discussions carried on between the Hungarian statesmen and Chancellor Hitler himself, the German Foreign Minister and Herr Frick, German Minister of the Interior. At the dinner given by the German Foreign Minister the Hungarian Premier — referring to the friendship between the two peoples dating centuries back which had struck such deep roots in both countries — stressed the importance of the words spoken by Minister von Ribbentrop when he outlined the significance of the re-incorporation in Hungary of those Hungarian territories which had been wrested from Hungary in defiance of right and justice.

From what has been said above we see, therefore, that the visit to Berlin was an international event far exceeding in importance the character of a simple act of courtesy or a mere demonstration of friendly loyalty.

On May 2nd. the following official communiqué was issued in connection with the Berlin visit:

"The official visit of the Hungarian statesmen today came to an end. During the discussions carried on between Count Paul Teleki, Hungarian Premier, and Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Foreign Minister, of the one part, and the Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Ribbentrop, Imperial Foreign Minister, Marshal Göring and Herr Rudolph Hess, Imperial Minister and Deputy Leader, of the other part, the Parties frankly and openly discussed all questions of the moment at present of interest alike to Germany and Hungary. In addition, during an investigation of the general European situation, it was ascertained that there was perfect agreement between the views held by the two Parties. The festivities arranged during the official visit also contributed in a valuable measure to further strengthen the German-Hungarian friendship."

From the above communiqué the fact may therefore be established that during the pourparlers not only the questions of immediate interest to the two States, but also the general political situation in Europe and in particular the Central European problems of common interest to Hungary and the Axis Powers, were treated of, the complete agreement of views being thereby ascertained.

HERR HITLER AND REVISION

The speech made by Herr Hitler, Leader and Chancellor of the German Empire, on April 28th made a deep impression on Hungarian public opinion. The whole of Hungary was stirred to the depths by the words of Herr Hitler, inspired by a sense of historical realities, in which the German Chancellor emphatically reminded the world of the silly injustice with which the Paris treaties of peace had cut up coherent national units and annihilated economic, commercial and industrial units of production which had stood the test of centuries, subjecting, masses of people against their will and without their consent to foreign rule, instituting inhuman differences between victorious and defeated peoples and widening the gap already separating those peoples by saturating the former group with all worldly goods and condemning the latter group to misery and destitution. The public opinion of Hungary felt the thrill of its own sense of injustice suffered when it heard the German Leader and Chancellor summon to appear before the tribunal of history in the character of accused that narrow-minded

policy, inspired by a spirit of vindictiveness which, defying economic and geographical laws, created an untenable situation, plunged the world into economic crises of measureless extent and into utter misery and distress haunted by the infernal shadows of the unceasing unrest resulting — the world affected including, not only the conquered peoples which had been thrust into a state of destitution, but also the so-called "victors" and satisfied peoples.

Hungarian public opinion also shares the opinion of Chancellor Hitler to the effect that all States need "spheres of life", which are just as essential to their existence as is water to fish and air to the individual man. M. Réclus himself spoke of Hungary as a country which "God Himself had created as an indivisible unit." Consequently, when this geopolitically and geographically coherent country — this State welded into a firm unit by ten centuries of history — was dismembered and mutilated to a far greater extent than any other of the States defeated in the Great War, it was deprived of its "Lebensraum" and robbed of its vital conditions of existence. Before Hungary was dismembered at Trianon she formed a perfect geographical unit in combination with Slovakia and Transylvania, — a unit encircled by the ring of the Carpathians serving as a natural frontier, with a coherent water-system and network of roads, the interdependent economic circulation of which (based upon a reciprocal exchange of products between the mountainous regions and the plain) cannot be interrupted with impunity. Dismembered Hungary is just as little able to dispense with the minerals, salt and wood of Slovakia and Transylvania as those provinces are able to dispense with the agrarian products of Dismembered Hungary. Consequently, the brutal elimination of the interdependence of market and product at one blow deprived both post-Trianon Hungary and the territories wrested from her by force of their respective "spheres of life" and their vital conditions of existence.

The geographical and economic laws are in this connection supported also by the historical right to which Chancellor Hitler so aptly referred; for historical development is never the result of the working of chance, but is always based upon unalterable laws. And we would ask whether there is any nation in the world better entitled to appeal to historical continuity as basis of its legal claim than the Hungarian, whose country for more than ten centuries — from the days of the conquest of Hungary by the Magyars to the enforcement of the Trianon Peace Edict — formed an undisputed unit into which the several parts fitted as naturally as the limbs fit into the human trunk, constituting elements as interdependent as the lungs and the heart or as the nerves and the muscles.

The sentence of death passed on the Treaty of Versailles

must be followed logically and necessarily by a similar sentence on the Treaty of Trianon. — y —

THE BULGARIAN PREMIER'S EXPOSÉ

On 20th April, in the forenoon, the Bulgarian Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Kiosseivanov, spoke before the Foreign Affairs Committee on the international situation. He established the fact that Bulgaria had made no pact with any other country and was determined to adhere strictly to a policy of neutrality. Speaking of the economic connections between Bulgaria and Germany, he stressed the point that the close co-operation between the two countries was due to the fact that none of the Western Powers had shown any interest in the Bulgarian markets. As regards their relations with their neighbours, the Premier declared that the Government was striving to re-establish the Bulgarian frontiers of 1919 by means of peaceful compromise. This was the only condition on which Bulgaria would be willing to join the Balkan Alliance. The members of the Foreign Affairs Committee declared that the Premier's exposé had completely satisfied them. — y —