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HOPEFUL OUTLOOK FOR WORLD PEACE

Is the year 1935 going to bring us the real peace for which the world has now been clamouring for fully 15 years? This question, or rather sincere hope, is in the minds of millions of people who have the fate of our civilisation at heart.

The last month of 1934 certainly augured well, because the Council of the League of Nations apparently settled two grave problems, which threatened to plunge Europe in a new war. Monsieur Laval's visit to Signor Mussolini in the first days of January was a further most important step in the good direction, since it paved the way for a cooperation between those two great Powers and former allies upon whom the final settlement of European entanglement greatly depends. The understanding between Italy and France seemed to us to be an absolute necessity to save our civilization, to restore just and adequately peaceful conditions in Europe: the only other alternative being a reversion to the system of alliances which proved so dangerous in pre-war Europe.

A more hopeful outlook for 1935 is thus entirely justified, because it is this cooperation between Rome and Paris which can, if fearlessly carried to an end, guarantee the total liquidation of all difficulties, which the peace treaties by no means solved, but rather left in further embitterment since the end of the war.

It is now up to the statesmen of Europe to concentrate all their efforts upon the practical and final solution of all problems, not to be satisfied with piecemeal work, not to attempt to gain laurels with the extremists of their own country, but to do some real good for the whole civilization. We must insist upon the solution of *all problems*, because it is only too well known that a solution by instalments, reluctantly granted and belated concessions, always leave a venomous thorn on both sides.

It is not our desire to deal in these lines with the Versailles Treaty, but we cannot help pointing

out that for instance the financial clauses of that Treaty had to be altered time after time, that the military evacuation of the Rhine before the date fixed by the Treaty, the Locarno Treaty, the Kellogg Pact, were in fact partial alterations of the Versailles Treaty, as well as on the other hand the wanton occupation of the Ruhr. And yet all these part issues, however important they may have been, have always left, on both sides, the impression of not voluntary, but enforced actions or concessions, and could thus not bring forth that peaceful atmosphere of mutual confidence which is the only guarantee of a genuine and honest peace.

Are the nations of Europe now ready to follow a path which leads to an honest and just solution of the European problems, is the great question; and are the leading statesmen of Europe already able and willing to fight down, in their own lands, that very small minority which would prefer to continue on that dangerous road which up to now has proved to be so fateful to all of us?

The Saar vote, which gave Germany the satisfaction of more than ninety per cent of the population of the Saar, entitled to vote, desiring the return to Germany, should be a strong memento to those who believe that Versailles was an honest peace treaty or that the policy carried on since then in Europe, has been a policy conducive to the establishment of real peace? Where are the 150,000 Frenchmen of the Saar, one of the arguments of Clemenceau, and where are the blessings of 15 years of French influence on this territory? And yet what do we see again? Signs that France desires to put conditions, military and other, to the evacuation of the Saar and to a loyal acceptance of Hitler's offer of friendly cooperation.

Why does France insist upon forcing Germany into Eastern pacts including Russia and even the Balkan States, together with Turkey? Why? if Poland was able to come to very satisfactory terms with Hitler's Germany. And surely neither are the

Russian bolsheviks nor Turkey likely to safeguard Austrian independence if Austria, supported by England, France and Italy could not herself achieve this aim. France cannot be surprised if her policy is regarded with misgivings in those quarters which considered France's attitude since Versailles, — but not Hitlers coming to power — as the greatest hindrance to the establishment of a peaceful atmosphere in Central Europe. Can anyone believe that if Briand had been allowed to carry on his policy of reaching an equitable understanding with Germany, Hitler could ever have received the support of more than four fifths of the German people?

Let us hope that the good will of Laval will overcome all difficulties which are put into his way by shortsighted extremists in his own country, that he will follow the lead of the majority of the French people and of the French ex-soldiers of the great war, rather than to listen to Little Entente insinuations or to the flattery of Moscow, and thus facilitate the return of Germany to the League of Nations and pave the way to an equitable solution of the Danubian problem.

This latter problem is probably even more serious than the Franco German difference. Taking everything into consideration and admitting that France could completely isolate Germany, the fact remains that the Germans, a compact mass of 65 million people, capable to endure, for sheer patriotic reasons, the greatest privations, would survive and would abide their time, and they would certainly not think of war as a means of breaking their political isolation. The problem is entirely different in the Danubian valley, as recent events have shown.

In fact it was the Danubian problem which brought Europe, late in 1934, to the verge of a new war and one ramification of which was, only in the last moment, peacefully settled in Geneva: the Hungarian-Jugoslav dispute over the Marseilles murder. This dispute has been extensively dealt with in previous numbers of this review, so that it seems hardly necessary to reiterate in full the arguments against the unjustified charges made against Hungary in concerted and always reiterated attacks of the Little Entente. The fact, however, that the Little Entente, supported by France, refused to agree to a final and formal closing of this dispute

at the January session of the Council, justifies the belief that these powers want to avail themselves, for political reasons, of the weapon of an unsettled controversy. This, of course, would detract from the value of their profession that they desire a sincere cooperation of all European countries on an equitable and fair basis and with the ultimate aim of solving all difficulties, which still separate the nations of Europe in two dangerously inimical camps.

If the Rome agreement between Mussolini and Laval is to bring not only good results, but also far-reaching ones, it would be essential that Monsieur Laval should make the Little Entente statesmen clearly understand that France's and Italy's aim is the real pacification of Europe, the restoration of political and economic stability in the Danubian Valley, against which the selfish interests of a few statesmen and the little group of their close political friends and their satellites would have to stand back. They would have to disappear if they only preach, but not practice, European cooperation on the basis of equal rights to all.

Should Mussolini and Laval succeed in their high aims, they will surely find Hungary willing to cooperate for the good of the world, our civilization and the welfare of the people of the Danubian Valley. The only conditions of Hungary are, that she be accorded equal rights in all fields of sovereignty and in dealing with her neighbours, that the Hungarian minorities in the Little Entente States should at last be given those rights which international treaties guaranteed them, and last, but not least, that she should not always be treated as a peace breaker if she desires, by peaceful means and with the help of the League of Nations, to have those wrongs rectified under which she believes that she has a very just grievance.

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The raison d'être of forms of government depends upon that human substance which is ultimately the criterion of human creations. Such a creation — or institution — is Monarchy too, the most eminent type of which is undoubtedly the Kingdom of Great Britain.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE FAILURE OF THE MINORITY PROTECTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

by

Imre Prokopy,

former High Sheriff

The Tenth Minority Congress held in Berne early in September and the General Assembly of the League of Nations which immediately followed succeeded — notwithstanding all the big questions of international politics — in drawing the attention of public opinion to the constantly deteriorating situation of the forty millions belonging to the European minorities, and therewith to the evident failure of the minority protection afforded by the League of Nations.

There can be no doubt that the impossibility of solving the minority problem is a serious dead-weight impeding the course of European politics; and it is equally beyond dispute that the chief source of this unsolvability and of the consequent aggravation of the relations between the States interested in the minority questions, lies in the startling inefficiency of the measures for the protection of minorities taken by the League of Nations. One of the greatest defects of these measures is the method employed — in defiance of all reason and of all known rules of procedure — in accordance with which the "observations" of the defendant Governments respecting the grievances filed by the plaintiff minorities are not communicated to the plaintiffs, who are thus not in a position to answer these "observations" duly for the purpose of informing the commissions of three or five entrusted with the investigation of the cases, who are entirely unfamiliar with the local conditions. This absurd and absolutely preposterous state of things is naturally exploited by the Governments concerned — who have the last word, which of course is also the deciding factor — and utilised by them for the purpose of simply categorically denying all the statements of the plaintiff minorities, however well supported those statements may be by authentic evidence, the lack of contradictory procedure enabling them to do so with immunity. This method of defence and counter-action — which is certainly very convenient — on the other hand serves the commissions delegated by the Council as pretext and ground for accepting this official denial of facts, the truth of which could quite easily be proved by an investigation on the spot, as fully and completely refuting

the complaints filed with the League, and for ignoring the essential points of the petitions.

This has been the fate of the 20 petitions filed on behalf of the Magyar minority living in Yugoslavia; three of them were simply rejected by the Secretariat of the League without any reason being given (this being already a stereotype procedure), the other 17 being referred to commissions of three and after the usual discussion "buried" among the papers of the Secretariat without any of the grave grievances complained of being redressed at all.

To illustrate the extent to which the Yugoslav Governments have availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered them to deny the facts proved against them and familiar to the whole world, or to distort the same and thus to consciously and systematically mislead the League of Nations' authorities, we shall deal below with a few peculiarly characteristic cases the facts and data of which I have obtained from the respective petitions and from the "observations" on the same drafted by the Yugoslav Government and placed at my disposal by friends of mine in Geneva — i. e. from the most authentic sources.

One of the petitions submitted on November 5th., 1931, to the Council of the League of Nations in re the restriction of the use of the Magyar tongue in defiance of the provision of Article 7 of the Minority Protection Treaty, among other grievances complains that the Yugoslav Governments fail to respect the right of minorities, secured under the Treaty, to use their own languages in word and *in writing* before the courts of law. According to the Government reply dated April 8th., 1932, the fact "that the State language is the language of the administration of justice is not in the least detrimental to the interests of Yugoslav nationals not acquainted with the official language, seeing that the use of their native tongues before courts of law is permitted both in word and *in writing*". As against the "observations" of the Government the fact must be established that *minority applications in writing may be handed in solely and exclusively in the State language, irrespective of whether they are submitted by the parties themselves or by their legal advisers. Appli-*

cations drafted in minority languages are not accepted at all by the courts, their procedure in this respect being so rigorous that they will not accept as evidence original Hungarian documents annexed to applications unless accompanied by legalised translations in the State language. These facts can be ascertained easily enough by anyone who takes the trouble to investigate the matter on the spot.

MAGYAR PARISHES HAVE NO OFFICIALS OF MAGYAR NATIONALITY

Another grievance adduced by the same petition was to the effect that practically all minority — particularly Magyar — State employees and civil servants have been removed from service in State departments and offices (though this is true more especially of the parish (town) administrations) whereas the Magyars are entitled to a quota (some 9000 posts out of a total of about 250.000 in the State and Banat services) in proportion to the relative strength of the Magyar minority. In answer to this complaint the Government — without the slightest ground — asserted that "there are a large number of Magyars among the parish (town) officials, and that in particular in the pure Magyar parishes the bulk of the officials are of Magyar nationality the Government did not however dare to deny that, apart from some 3—400 railway and post office employees and elementary school teachers, the Magyars have been absolutely excluded from the other branches of the public services State and Banat"! In proof of its statement the Government enumerates the following 32 parishes situate in the Danube Banat as such in which — it asserts — officials of Magyar nationality are at the head of the local administration: Banski Dvor (Törzsudvarnok), Gornja Mužlja (Felső Muzslla), Mihajlovo (Magyarszentmihály), Novi Itebej (Magyar Ittebe), Telečka (Bácsgyulafalva), Debeljača (Torontál-vásárhely), Torda, Bačka Topola (Bács-topolya), Cantavir (Csantavér), Svilojevo (Szilágyi), Doroslovo (Doroszló), Zmajevac (Vörösmart), Suza (Czuza), Kotlina (Sepse), Rabe (Rábé), Majdan (Magyarmajdan), Vrbica (Egyházaskér), Banski Monoštor (Kanizsamonostor), Jazovo (Hódegyháza), Nova Crnja (Magyar Csernye), Kopačevo (Kopács), Vardarac (Várdaróc), Novi Bezdán (Uj Bezdán), Temerin, Mali Idjoš (Kishegyes), Feketić (Bácsfeketehegy), Stara Moravica (Bácskossuthfalva), Bogojevo (Gombos), Kupusina (Bácskertes), Jermenovci (Ürményháza), Toba and Lug (Laskó). As against this statement, accurate and exact researches and duly certified investigations made on the spot have established the fact that of the 36 parish officials¹

enumerated below as officiating in the first 24 parishes in the above list only one — a deputy parish clerk — is of Magyar nationality, while all the other officials — with the exception of 2 German parish clerks and 3 German deputy parish clerks — were of Serbian or Slav nationality respectively, — and in all probability (though there may have been changes in the persons employed) are today also all of Slav nationality. The situation is the same in the other 8 parishes enumerated above, as also in all the parishes inhabited by Magyars, as may be seen by anyone making investigations on the spot.

In the "observations" submitted by it, the Government makes a bold statement to the effect that "where officials of *Yugoslav nationality* (!!!) are at the head of the administration in parishes with a Magyar majority, they are almost all such as know the Magyar tongue". As against this statement, made at random, without any attempt to offer evidence in support, the truth is that of the 36 parish officials whose names are given in the foot-note, in addition to the 1 Magyar and 5 German functionaries, there are only 15 of Slav nationality who know Magyar well, 13 knowing no Magyar at all and 2 possessing only a slight knowledge of that language!!

LINGUISTIC GRIEVANCES

Another equally crying perversion of the real facts is the statement of the Government — made in reply to the same petition and intended to mislead the commission of three deputed to investigate that petition — to the effect that in terms of Ordinance No. I. B. 19,201 ex 1926, in all parishes with a mixed (Yugoslav-Magyar) population the language of the text explanatory of a film is given in Serbo-Croatian and Magyar; though in real fact for years past — and more particularly since the issue of the Order in Council No. 5391 dealing with the censorship of films dated February 22nd., 1932 — texts of films *must be written exclusively in the language of the State*. Further, the Government not having shrunk from informing the Council of the League of Nations to the effect that "everyone is at liberty to provide shop-signs and advertisements with inscriptions in Magyar", that "frequently the Magyar shop-signs may be seen side by side with such in Serbo-Croatian", and that "the Yugoslav authorities have never issued any ordinance at all relating to the use of shop-signs and advertising boards", — we are driven to refute this official perversion and to establish the fact (very well known all over Yugoslavia) that the Magyar and German firms in the territories of the Banate, Bácska and Baranya districts incorporated in the Danube Banate were forced already in the years immediately following the change of suzerainty to remove all Magyar and German shop-signs, and that moreover, in terms of the Ordinance issued by Department VIII. of the Office of the Ban of the Danube Banate under § 128 of the new Industry Act dated November 5th., 1931, only inscriptions in the language of the State may be employed on shop-signs and advertisement boards. Therefore, the incorrectness of the statements made by the Government can be proved by ordinances and laws of its own drafting.

¹ Andrija Nešković, Simo Vrećević, Milutin Jovančić, Ferdo Schwarz (*German*), Mihajlo Bolozores, Božidar Stefanović, Branko Vukajlin, Božidar Gorčik, Božidar Valtrović, Géza Simsay (*Magyar*), Milos Dukin, Aron Jakovljević, Nema Cokković, Stanko Tandarović, Iovan Medaković, Gruja Izberadić, Milenko Popović, Johann Siller (*German*), Georg Penz (*German*), Vinko Nedić, Milan Borojević, Sreta Vakanać, Milan Živanović, Petar Lepojević, Janko Mrjanović, Stevan Iljin, Danilo Mirkov, Franjo Smodaj, Ilija Iovanović, Karlo Topalović, Stavko Manojlović, Josef Mayer (*German*), Dusan Milosavljević, Rada Nikić, Jovan Lambie, Josef Eckhardt (*German*).

EDUCATIONAL GRIEVANCES

We meet with an equally daring denial of the facts in the answers given by the Government to the petitions dealing with the educational grievances. In the reply dated January 21st., 1932, given by the Government to the petition dated June 18th., 1931, submitted by the Magyar minority in re the grievances in respect of secondary school education, we are told that "in every case in which in their applications parents have been able to show that there is a sufficient number of minority pupils, the Yugoslav authorities have ordained the establishment of parallel classes using the minority language as the language of instruction"; this statement is supplemented by the "observations" presented in answer to the petition of the Albanians submitted on May 5th., 1930, and not discussed by the commission of three until the spring of 1933, which declare that "in compliance with the provisions of the treaties the Government has consented to the opening of classes with a minority language of instruction in all cases where a minority has applied for the opening of a minority class and has been able to certify the existence of the prescribed number (25—30) of pupils belonging to that minority (!!!)" (see the May, 1933, issue of the Journal Officiel, Geneva): but by anyone familiar with prevailing conditions and with the facts, this declaration — apart from the concessions granted to the German minority — cannot be described as anything but a mere invention. The Magyar minority, which receives the harshest treatment, in view of its peculiarly grave situation, has only on two single occasions — on behalf of the children of the Magyar inhabitants of the villages of Mokrin and Bocsár in the Banate — attempted to obtain permission to open elementary classes with Magyar as the language of instruction — their endeavour being however on both occasions all in vain. During the proceedings connected herewith the parents of the children of schooling age were summoned separately to the office of the parish clerk, where they were most emphatically warned that each of the parents must apply separately for the admission of his child to a section with Magyar as the language of instruction, must sign the application with his own hand and provide the same with a 5-dinar stamp. At the same time they were told — not in the politest of terms — that it would be good for them not to force matters; the result being that the parents, not wishing to come into conflict with the authorities, withdrew their applications, so that the children of schooling age who are Magyars by birth and language in these two villages — nearly 100 in Mokrin and 70—75 in Bocsár — are still driven to attend the Serbian section of the school.

We would note by the way that this very strange procedure is not only a direct refutation of the statement of the Government relating to the establishment of separate classes, but also a flagrant breach of the provision of § 9 of the Saint-Germain Treaty according to which "in places where nationals of the Yugoslav State with a mother tongue differing from that of the State are living in considerable numbers, the Government will grant adequate facilities in the field of education for the purpose of enabling such nationals to have their

children educated in the elementary schools in their own tongue". This binding provision does not postulate that the interested minority parents shall apply *separately and individually* for the opening of minority classes and directly precludes the possibility of the parents making such applications being subjected to such chicanery.

An equally startling colouring of the truth is contained also in that passage of the Government's answer to the petition relating to secondary school grievances which declares that "the language of instruction of the minority sections of secondary schools is the mother tongue of the pupils belonging to the respective minority". As a matter of fact, in the classes of these parallel sections (4 German and 12 Magyar) instruction has been given from the very outset in two languages, the State language being exclusively used for instruction, not only in Serbian language and literature, but also in history and geography, as may be ascertained by anyone consulting the school reports.

In the "Observations" submitted by it the Government dismisses the grievances in connection with name-analysis by saying that the school authorities have never employed name-analysis in respect of pupils who are Magyars racially and by origin, that method being resorted to exceptionally "*only for the purpose of re-slavising the children of magyarised Slav parents*". Now, apart from the fact that this lame attempt to explain the method is in reality an open admission of the abuses committed to the detriment of the Magyars by the aid of name-analysis and a repudiation of the principle which postulates that every individual shall himself decide to which race he belongs, in the interest of justice we must stress that name-analysis has from the very outset been ruthlessly employed as against Magyar pupils and their parents — that being done by inquiries into race and origin reaching back to the fourth or even the fifth generation, by the arbitrary appointment of mother tongue by the authorities, and by an equally arbitrary decision of the authorities in re nationality based upon the sound or even the meaning of family names —, as may be seen from the innumerable pertinent ministerial ordinances and from an exceptionally characteristic note issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Consequently, the statement of the Government — given in reply to the memorandum dealing with secondary school grievances already discussed — to the effect that „the schooling of the children is at all times carried out on the basis of the mother tongue of the minority pupils and in conformity with the wishes of the parents”, cannot be regarded as anything but deliberate mystification.

Under Article IX. of the Minorities Protection Treaty — as also under § 45 of the Yugoslav Elementary School Act dated December 5th., 1929 — in all classes of the minority sections of elementary schools all subjects — except only the State language — should be taught in the language of the respective minority. However, in the Magyar sections of the elementary schools the "national" subjects (viz. Yugoslav history and geography) and indeed other subjects too have from the very outset been taught in the State language. Now, when

this illegal procedure was objected to by one of the memorandums, on April 3rd., 1933, Stanković, former Minister of Education, issued an ordinance instructing the school authorities to strictly observe the provision of the Elementary School Act relating to the language of instruction, that being an indirect admission of the illegal state of things complained of in the respective memorandum. The answer submitted by the Government adopts a tone almost of boasting when referring to this ministerial ordinance; though at the same time it passes over in silence the important fact that — in connection with the ordinance of his Minister and in all probability with the previous cognizance and approval of his superiors — the head of the Zombor School Inspectorate on the other hand instructed the head teachers of the primary schools subject to his control "to cultivate most seriously all national subjects in the language of the State and to devote particular attention to the matter, especially on the occasion of visits by inspectors". That is all the importance and value attaching to a ministerial "sham ordinance" and indeed to the pertinent Act itself when it is a question of enforcing minority rights!!

The most distressing injury in educational matters so far inflicted upon the national minorities of Yugoslavia — an injury simply fatal in its consequences — was the nationalisation of all denominational, parish and other private schools ordained in the month of August, 1920. This measure has since been organically supplemented by the new and uniform school Acts — viz. the Secondary School Act dated September 17th., 1929, the Teachers Training Institutes Act dated September 27th., 1929, the Elementary School Act dated December 5th., 1929, and the „City Schools” (Board Schools) Act dated December 5th., 1931 —, the pertinent clauses of which (§§ 5, 2, 164 and 64 respectively) forbid the establishment of private schools, and that in defiance of the decided tone of the provision of Article VIII. of the Minorities Protection Treaty, which stipulates that the "nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein."

The Government answer given on January 21st., 1932, to the memorandums complaining of this absolutely arbitrary provision of the Yugoslav School Acts, endeavours to take the edge off this gravamen by producing an idle explanation and to divert the whole matter into the wrong channel by saying that "on the day on which the Act comes into force all the private and denominational secondary schools in the country may continue their activity *just as before*, provided they accommodate themselves to the prescribed order of teaching, while the Act makes no difference whatsoever between these schools in the several districts".

The absolute futility of the procedure for the protection of minorities is revealed by the fact that the committee of three was satisfied with this

empty explanation, which so carefully evades the essential part of the question, and did not consider it necessary to submit the pertinent memorandums to the Council for further consideration. The committee of three simply ignored the decisive circumstance that there was no legal basis for the measure prohibiting the establishment of private schools — a measure invalidating Article VIII. of the Minorities Treaty, though under Article I. of the said Treaty the Yugoslav State undertook an obligation, that "the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognised as fundamental law and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail to them". Nor did the committee take into consideration that the suspension of private schools ordained in 1920 was not carried into effect everywhere, as should have been done in keeping with the principle of equal treatment for all. An exception was made with some of the private schools in the territories inhabited by Croats and Slovenes, which are still active and have never been interfered with. According to a statement published on November 23rd., 1931, by the "Avala" (the Serbian official press agency), in Bosnia, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Slovenia there are 8 Roman Catholic private secondary schools, and in South Serbia and Bosnia 1 Mohammadan private secondary school each. These private schools — still in full activity — are to be found in the towns of Visoko, Zagreb, Travnik, Široki Brijeg, Otok, Zengg, Split (Spalato), St. Vid, Skoplje (Usküb), and Sarajevo. As far as the private "city" schools allowed to remain active are concerned, at the National Congress of City School Teachers held at Banjaluka on August 21st., 1932, Mita Georgević, former headmaster (retired) of the Ujvidék Girls' Grammar School (Gymnasium), showed in the light of official data that in the territory of the country there were 50 private city schools using the Serb-Croat-Slovene tongue as the language of instruction, in addition to the 175 State city schools. These facts show that, as against the statement made by the Government, differences have been made in favour of the Slavs and to the prejudice of the national minorities. The private schools of the minorities were all abolished early in the school-year 1920-21, so that there is a considerable admixture of cynicism in the statement made by Government to the effect that "all the private and denominational secondary schools may continue their activity *just as before*, provided they accommodate themselves to the prescribed order of teaching".

Nor was the committee of three affected at all by the startling fact that the nationalisation of the schools in the Vojvodina district resulted in the suspension of no fewer than 379 private elementary schools using Magyar as the language of instruction (viz. 224 Roman Catholic, 26 Reformed, 25 Evangelical, 25 Jewish, 67 parish and 9 proprietary schools), and that in connection with the work of nationalisation not only the school buildings and equipment, but also all the movable and immovable assets serving for the maintenance of the schools and for the payment of the emoluments of the teachers, were confiscated *without the slightest*

compensation or indemnification being offered. The Government filed its usual "observations" on the memorandums relating to this confiscation of the school property on December 15th., 1930, declaring that "the appropriation (sic!) of the buildings of denominational and private schools was on all occasions effected with the consent of the owners, either against payment of rent or without such payment, as circumstances required". The Government very modestly refers only to the sequestration of the school buildings, discreetly remaining silent regarding the confiscation of the other assets (endowments, funds, securities, school equipment, agricultural property). However, the fact that even the sequestration of the school buildings and the other immovables was not effected with the previous consent of the owners, and that no rent whatsoever was ever paid for the use of the same, is proved by the memorandum submitted to Government as far back as 1924 — though the matter is still awaiting a settlement — by the Roman Catholic Bishop Budanović and all the Roman Catholic Bishops of Yugoslavia, which memorandum complained of the confiscation without compensation or indemnification of (among other things) 20 convent buildings, 212 class-rooms, 70 teachers' and choirmasters' dwellings and 920 cadastral yokes of Church land — this latter within the boundaries of a single town (Szabadka = Subotica). But the "terminological inexactitude" of the statement made by Government is proved also by the report of the Yugoslav Reformed Church complaining of the confiscation of 50 class-rooms, 30 teachers' and choirmasters' dwellings and 274 cadastral yokes of prime arable land, which report estimates the loss sustained by the Reformed Church by the sequestration of real estate and the non-payment of house and ground rents, at the amount of 17,717.000 dinars. During the four years that have elapsed since the publication of this report the above loss has been increased by a further sum of 4 million dinars. The deliberately misleading character of the Government's answer is also shown by the fact that in the case brought against the town of Zenta by the Greek Oriental Church — a test case to enforce a restitution — the competent court of law in December, 1931, passed a judgment to the effect that a political community (parish) is not entitled even when instructed to do so by a Minister to appropriate any property belonging to third parties (that referring also to property belonging to a Church) without a legal claim thereto or without paying rent therefor. Basing their action on this and other similar findings of the courts, a large number of religious communities (parishes) have recently demanded a restitution of the school buildings requisitioned from them and have applied for the payment of the rent due for the period of confiscation. After what has gone before it is almost superfluous to add that the committee of three entrusted with the work of investigating the complaints put forward in these memorandums, in this case too — despite the very evident facts — accepted the point of view of the Government and failed to pass any definite resolution.

Of particular interest is also the procedure of the Government in respect of the application by

which the Hungarian Roman Catholics of Zenta (27.800 of the 31.000 inhabitants of the town being Magyars) requested the Council of the League of Nations to intervene for the purpose of eliminating the obstacles thrown by the authorities in the way of a completion of the building of the church, which has been going on since 1918. In its "observations" Government — among other things — argues that the town of Zenta is not patron of the Roman Catholic church community there (though it is so in real fact) and declares that an agreement approved both by the Archbishop of Kalocsa and by the Minister of the Interior was concluded in 1923 between the Roman Catholic parish priest and the town in re the removal to another site of the church then being built, — a statement which, to put it mildly, is quite at variance with the truth, if only because the Archbishop of Kalocsa (who resides in Dismembered Hungary) has no cognizance whatsoever of any such agreement and because the parish priest would not have been authorised to conclude an agreement on so essential a point without the previous cognizance and approval of the church council (vestry) and of the superior church authorities. And to crown all, the Government also asserts that the town council offered to contribute the sum of 6,500.000 dinars in the event of the church building being removed or rather erected on another site. As to the date of this offer and the person to whom it was made, the "observations" maintain silence — for very good reasons. It is evident, therefore, that this assertion of the Government intended to mislead the committee of three, is also a wild invention of the imagination, — first, because so large a contribution would be far in excess of the capacity of the town, and secondly because the town council never passed any such resolution and would indeed not have been entitled to make any such offer without the approval of the town representative assembly and the superior authorities (Governor's Office, Minister of the Interior).

After having described a few characteristic cases taken at random which are peculiarly illustrative of the methods employed by the Yugoslav Government, we would now ask whether this denial of the facts and this perversion of the truth is in keeping with the moral, legal and political responsibility of a Government, — whether it is permissible to deliberately and consciously mislead the factors of the League of Nations in order to close their eyes to the oppression and legal disablement of the minorities and by offering false information to frustrate any redress of the serious grievances complained of by those minorities? But we must also ask whether the Council of the League of Nations is entitled after having these machinations revealed to it to insist on a rigid adherence to a minority protection procedure which instead of affording effectual safeguards to the minorities whose very national existence is threatened, merely serve the political interests and denationalising efforts of the States whose breaches of their treaty obligations are being complained of.

Where the unchanged maintenance in force of this antiquated and inadequate minority procedure

is bound to lead, may be seen at once from the fact that of the 345 minority memorandums submitted down to the summer of 1932 only 143 were accepted at all by the Secretariat of the League as complying — according to the absolute judgment of that Secretariat, against which there is no appeal — with all the formal and other requirements, and that even of these only 18 were submitted to the Council, which in 10 cases declined to enter into any definitive settlement of the complaints, in 8 cases suggesting a compromise disadvantageous to the plaintiffs and in only 2 cases passing resolutions admitting the justice of the cause of the respective minority. But the already startlingly evident incapacity of the League of Nations in respect of the protection of minorities is shown also by the

fact that as a result of the protests filed by the delegates of the States of the Little Entente — and for purely formal reasons — it proved impossible to get the Sixth (Political) Committee to pass even the motion submitted on September 24th. by Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, the Hungarian Delegate, which motion proposed that the Council of the League be requested to delegate a special commission to investigate on the spot the situation of the Magyar minorities in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia and of the non-Magyar nationalities living in Hungary respectively. To every unbiassed person who respects law and is a lover of justice it is therefore quite clear that, if this state of things is allowed to become definitive, the protection of minorities is bound ultimately to prove an utter fiasco.

SOLUTION OF THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

CONCLUSIONS OF "MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA" ISSUED BY THE HUNGARIAN FRONTIER RE-ADJUSTMENT LEAGUE

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers made the recognition of the Czecho-Slovak State conditional upon the signing of the Saint Germain minority treaty. To quote the preamble to the treaty, "The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Czecho-Slovak State as a sovereign and independent member of the Family of Nations within the boundaries which have been or may be determined in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Austria of even date . . . etc." This shows that the Principal Allied and Associated Powers were anxious to renew and "confirm" in a solemn manner their recognition of the Czecho-Slovak Republic as a sovereign and independent member of the Family of Nations, in the preamble of the Minority Treaty, in order to emphasise the importance of this treaty as a link in the international legal process effecting the constitution of the Czecho-Slovak State.

That the recognition of greatly enlarged States like Czecho-Slovakia created after the world war was conditional upon their signing the minority treaty, was even more clearly expressed in M. Clemenceau's famous Note covering the Polish minority treaty sent by him, in his capacity as Chairman of the Supreme Council, for signature to M. Paderewski, then Prime Minister of Poland. According to the opening lines of that Note the Supreme Council demanded the signature of the treaty "à l'occasion de la confirmation de la reconnaissance de la Pologne comme État indépendant, et du transfert qui lui est fait des territoires compris dans l'ancien empire allemand, qui lui sont assignés par le dit traité." M. Clemenceau's note went on to say that the minority treaty was no novelty in the history of international law, and quoted the statements made

in connection with the recognition of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania by the representatives of the Great Powers at the Berlin Conference, in support of the following postulate: — "C'est une procédure depuis longtemps établie en droit public européen que lorsqu'un État est créé, ou même lorsqu'un État déjà existant reçoit des accroissements territoriaux considérables, sa reconnaissance collective et formelle des grandes puissances doit être accompagnée de l'assurance que cet État s'engagera, sous forme d'une convention internationale, à observer certains principes de gouvernement." These statements naturally applied not only to Poland, but also to all the States which were created or considerably enlarged after the war — thus to Czecho-Slovakia too. The collective and formal recognition of that State by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers presupposed that the Government of Czecho-Slovakia would observe certain principles; in the first place that it would safeguard minority rights.

Since the Czecho-Slovak State has not performed the obligations undertaken in the Saint Germain minority treaty, the condition to which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers attached their recognition of the Czecho-Slovak Republic has not been materially fulfilled to this day, and it follows — perhaps not in law, but certainly from a moral point of view — that the foundation upon which the Czecho-Slovak Republic was erected has collapsed.

As to Hungary, special mention should be made of the fact that M. Alexandre Millerand, Chairman of the Council of Ambassadors, addressed a letter, covering the final text of the Treaty of Trianon, to the Hungarian Peace Delegation on May 6th, 1920, containing the following passage concerning the inhabitants of the territories to be taken from

Hungary: — "Quant aux îlots de population qui passeront sous une autre souveraineté, les Traités pour la protection des minorités déjà signés par la Roumanie et l'État serbe-croate-slovène et ratifiés par la Tchéco-Slovaquie garantissent leur entière sauvegarde." The Council of Ambassadors was the victim either of an error or of misrepresentation when it described the Hungarian territories placed under alien rule by the Peace Treaty of Trianon as "islets". Considerable sections of the Hungarian minority in Roumania and Yugoslavia live in ethnically homogeneous territories; and this is also true of the majority of the Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia, who live along the borders between that country and Hungary on a wide strip of territory which geographically most closely connects them with Dismembered Hungary and with the main body of the Hungarian nation. But that mistake makes no difference to the fact that M. Millerand's letter tried to induce Hungary to sign the Peace Treaty of Trianon by expressly laying stress upon the security contained in the treaty signed by the Czecho-Slovak Republic in Saint Germain that the rights of the Hungarian minorities living in territories torn away from Hungary would be safeguarded. The Hungarian Government, as is proved by the Note sent by the Hungarian Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs on May 17th 1920, signed the peace treaty only on the strength of, and invoking, the promises contained in M. Millerand's letter, that is to say on the supposition that the rights of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia would be safeguarded by the minority treaty. In this way a supplementary agreement to the Treaty of Trianon was concluded between Hungary and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the binding nature of which cannot be legally disputed.

In spite of this legal situation the Principal Allied and Associated Powers have hitherto done nothing towards constraining Czecho-Slovakia to fulfil the obligations undertaken in the interests of the Hungarian minority. Although the leaders of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia have lodged numerous petitions with the League of Nations regarding the infraction of the treaty rights of their people, the Council of the League of Nations has taken no notice, so far, of one single petition. This is because not one of its members has ever seen fit to lay them before the Council, notwithstanding the fact that, according to Article 14 of the Minority Treaty, it is not merely the right, but also, in terms of the resolution passed on June 21st, 1921, the duty of the members of the Council to call attention to any infraction or danger of infraction of minority rights; in which case the Council is empowered to

take such action and give such direction as in the circumstances may seem proper and effective. The failure of the League of Nations' Council to do so has, in a great measure, contributed towards the loss of authority it has suffered with the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia; not to mention that the League of Nations' neglect to exercise the right to protect the minorities, with which the minority treaties have invested it, has certainly contributed to bring about the political and moral crisis in which we are labouring. The indifference manifested by the League of Nations' Council towards the complaints of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia is the more striking in view of the fact that the oppression of the minorities is among the outstanding causes tending to disturb the peace of the nations, or at least the good understanding upon which peace depends. (See Article 11, clause 2 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.)

Since the experience of the past fourteen years has taught us that no effective protection of the rights guaranteed to the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia by the Treaty of Saint Germain is to be expected from the Council of the League of Nations, it follows that the solution of the problem must be sought elsewhere. The protection of the national minorities — that substitute for the nationality principle — has not proved of any use to the Hungarians in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, so the nationality principle itself must be applied and all territories where the majority of the inhabitants are Hungarians must be restored to Hungary. It is certain that even were the nationality principle put into force, Czecho-Slovakia would still have a strong Hungarian minority, which like the other non-Czech races in the territories torn from Hungary — the Slovaks, Ruthenes and Germans — would continue to be at the mercy of the political, cultural and economic oppression exercised by an alien political power. These problems, however, which only the self-determination of the peoples could solve, belong to another chapter and would need to be dealt with separately. Therefore all we ask public opinion to do is, after examining carefully the facts presented above, to find ways and means of rescuing from Czech oppression and restoring to their Fatherland first of all those members of the Hungarian minority numbering over a million souls, who are living in purely Hungarian districts lying along the Czecho-Slovak-Hungarian frontiers.

In Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations we have the means of achieving this aim in a peaceable manner and upon its provisions is based this our appeal to the civilized world for help to end the sufferings of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia.

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TWO INTERESTING REFERENCES TO HUNGARY IN EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE

I.

HUNGARY IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY POLITICAL POEMS

The "*Libel of English Policy*" is an early illustration of England's commercial relations with Hungary and other foreign countries. This remarkable political poem was written about 1436 by an anonymous writer, who evidently recognised the fact that the greatness of England depended on her commerce. Therefore he begins the poem by "exhortynge alle Englande to kepe the see environ" and proceeds to enumerate the various nations which keep coming to England to purchase goods, bringing in return their own "commoditytees".

In a list of curious imports such as "the comodijs stokfysse" brought by Icelandic sailors, Hungary figures too. We are told that the silver and wedges Prussian merchants bring to England have been bought in Hungary:

*"Also Pruse mene make here aventure
Of plate of sylvere, of wegges gode and sure
In grete plente whiche they bringe and bye
Oute of londes of Bealme and HUNGRYE
Which is encrease ful grete unto thys londe."*¹

"*On England's Commercial Policy*", another poem written in the time of Edward IV., speaking of the countries which export wool from England, mentions Hungary too. This poem is an interesting example of rational English self-consciousness, the poet thinking that the supremacy of his country over other nations of the world is due to its commercial wealth. Therefore he chooses the motto: "Anglia, propter tuas naves et lanas, omnia regna te salutare debent." Then he gives a long list of nations which come to England to buy wool:

*"Ffor the marchauntes comme oure wollys for to bye,
Ore elles the cloth that is made theroff syklyly,
Oute of dyverse londes fer byyond the see,
To have thyse merchaundyss into theyr countré.
. . . Castyle, Cesyle, Coleyn, and Swethyn,
Pruse-londe, Florence, Venyse, and Jene,
Melane, Catelony, and alle Itally,
Bewme, HUNGRY, Greke, and gret Turkey."*²

That the poem is not only the poetic expression of patriotic exultation, we know from the fact that England's commercial wealth really depended for a long time on her wool-exports. Already in the ninth century the wool of England was conveyed

to distant Italy. And from the end of the thirteenth century English raw wool was recognised as a regular currency, by means of which even papal taxation was collected. From the year 1315 papal agents were engaged in a regular wool export trade for the papal treasury. (See: W. Cunningham: "*The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*", Cambridge, 1922, pp. 422—26.) Bearing that in mind, we cannot wonder that Hungarian merchants also procured wool and wool products direct from England.

It is a difficult question to decide whether Hungary was put into the above poems in order to increase the list of exotic countries, or because it was known to the poets that Hungarian merchants had really come to England. The above poems however are definite evidences of the existence of *some* commercial relations between England and Hungary as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century. The historical and literary connections between these two countries had been very frequent already in the previous centuries. This is, however, the first mention in literature of Hungary's commercial connection with England.

How do we account then for the existence of a *real* Hungary in literature? When we examine the date of composition of the poems we find that they were written in the last years of the reign of the Emperor Sigismund, the first Hungarian king who went to England (1416) for diplomatic reasons. As the most powerful monarch of the day he went to Henry V. to intervene on behalf of France. (See Shakespeare: "*Henry V.*" Act V. Chorus: "As yet the lamentation of the French Invites the King of England's stay at home; The Emperor's coming in behalf of France, To order peace between them...") He was very "honourably" received by Henry, as we learn from Capgrave, and created Knight of the Order of the Garter. He and his followers took such a fancy to England that they were sorely grieved when the time came to leave the country. The emperor himself said good-bye to the king in the following words:

*"Farewel, with glorious victory,
Blessid Ingland, ful of melody
Thou may be cleped of Angel nature;
Thou servist God so with bysy cure!
We leve with the this praising,
Which we schul ever say and sing."*³

¹ Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History. ed by Th. Wright, 2 vols. London, 1861. II, p. 171.

² Op. cit. II, pp. 282—87.

³ John Capgrave: "*The Chronicle of England*", London, 1868. pp. 313—14.

It is not impossible that it is owing to Sigismund's initiation that the channel for serious relations between the two countries was opened. And it has

often happened in history that political visits have brought about commercial connections too.

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Eva Róna, *Phil. D.*

II.

HUNGARY AND A GREAT ELIZABETHAN LINGUIST

In medieval English literature the word "Hungary" has two distinctly different meanings. Alongside of the definite, historical Hungary of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and of Matthew Paris there is another Hungary, vague, indefinite, a kind of symbolic name for a remote country where strange men live and strange things happen. It is this non-descript Hungary, a very fit peg for fanciful descriptions and narratives, that occurs in Mandeville, in Gower's "Trump of Death", in "The Squire of Low Degree", and in Malory, who mentions a certain Sir Urre, knight of Hungary (Le Morte Arthur, Bk XIX, ch. 10). In the writings of John Florio we have a remarkably late echo of this medieval usage.

John Florio (1625), son of a Protestant preacher who had to leave Florence and flee to England, Italian lecturer at Magdalen College, Oxford, later Italian teacher of the Royal family and of a large number of aristocrats, owes most of his fame to his translation of Montaigne (1603), to his bold linguistic innovations and to his probable influence on Shakespeare. His life has been written by two distinguished scholars: Longworth Chambrun ("Giovanni Florio, un apôtre de la Renaissance en Angleterre à l'époque de Shakespeare", Paris, 1921) and V. Spampanato ("Giovanni Florio. Un amico del Bruno in Inghilterra", La Critica XXI—XXII, 1923—24); and his translation of the "Essais" has been dealt with exhaustively by P. Villey ("Montaigne en Angleterre", Revue des Deux Mondes VI, 17, 1913), by A. Koszul ("L'offrande d'un traducteur. Notes sur l'anglais de John Florio, traducteur de Montaigne"; Revue Anglo-Américaine 1932), and by Marcel May ("Une influence possible de Montaigne sur Shakespeare, dans Henri V, acte IV, scène I"; Revue Anglo-Américaine 1932).

Moreover, he is the author of two series of bilingual (English and Italian) translation exercises, highly interesting because of the terse and vivid pictures he draws of contemporary manners and customs (cf. G. Orsini: "L'Inghilterra di Shakespeare descritta di Giovanni Florio", *Civiltà Moderna*, IV, 1, 1932) It is in these social treatises that we come across the name of our country. For instance L. Chambrun (op. cit. pp. 67—68) quotes the following passage of "Second Fruits" (1591): "Thou standest all daye with thy hands under thy girdle; thou hast a Heteroclite and unrulie wit; thou art more slovenly than an *Hungarian* scollian." And Spampanato tells us (op. cit., *La Critica* XXI, Marzo 1923, pp. 122—23) that "nel sesto dialogo dei "Secondi Frutti" Pietro, avendo bisogno di consigli per viaggiare, si rivolge a Stefano . . . P.: "Con chi volete ch'io mi accompagni?" — S.: "Con i migliori e con i virtuosi, perché con tali si guadagna e non si perde . . . ma avvertite che "i don di Spagna, i conti d'Alemagna, i monsieur di Francia, i vescovi d'Italia, i cavaglieri di Napoli, i lord di Scozia, gli hidalghi di Portogallo,

i frati minori d'Inghilterra e i nobili d'Ungheria fanno una povera compagnia".

It is obvious that these allusions are still rather vague and unsubstantial; yet the proverbial enumeration in which Florio mentions Hungary alongside of the greatest countries of Europe is not without significance.

How are we to account for Florio's interest in our country? We must, of course, reckon with the survival of the medieval conception of Fairyland-Hungary in Elizabethan times. (We have an interesting trace of the pejorative development of the medieval meaning in Shakespeare: "Merry Wives" I, 3: Pistol: "O base Hungarian wight! wilt thou the spigot wield?") Florio's interest seems, however, to have been keener than usual, for in the bibliographical list of the second edition of his Italian-English dictionary ("Queen Anna's New World of Words", 1611) he mentions as one of his sources a book on Hungary: Bizzarri: "Istorie delle Guerre in Ungheria". (Quoted by Spampanato: op. cit., *La Critica* XXII, gennaio, 1924, p. 57.)

Is it too bold to assume that this special interest in Hungary is partly due to the influence of Sidney? Florio was the most eminent representative of Italian culture at the English court and the staunchest defender of his country against the attacks of Ascham (cf. Orsini: op. cit., pp. 77—78; for the anti-Italian current see in particular Lewis Einstein: "The Italian Renaissance in England", New-York, 1902, pp. 164—68, and G. S. Gargano: "Scapigliatura italiana a Londra sotto Elisabetta e Giacomo I", Firenze, 1923, 17—19); and Sidney was one of the most fervent admirers of Italy, spent there several months (1573—74), had his portrait painted by Veronese, and spoke Italian fluently (cf. M. W. Wallace: "The Life of Sir Philip Sidney", Cambridge, 1915, pp. 128—40, and Mona Wilson: "Sir Philip Sidney", London, 1931, pp. 55—57). But there were even more personal links, for Florio was the protégé of the Earl of Leicester, Sidney's friend and relative, and the friend of Giordano Bruno, Sidney's protégé (cf. M. W. Wallace: op. cit. pp. 298—302, and Oliver Elton: "Giordano Bruno in England". *Modern Studies* I, London, 1907, pp. 1—24). On the other hand, Sidney knew a good deal about our country, for in 1573 he had stayed here for three weeks; and he seems to have taken a special interest in Hungarian literature, as he speaks in such commendatory terms of the "songs of the ancestors vature" which "that right souldierlike nation" used to sing "at all Feastes, and other such like meetings" in order to "kindle their brave courage". ("The Defence of Poesie", ed. by A. Feuillerat in the "Cambridge English Classics": "The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney", 1923, vol. III. p. 24).

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Stephen Ullmann.

P O L I T I C A L M O S A I C

HUNGARY AND THE ITALIAN-FRENCH AGREEMENT

In its progress along the thorny path bristling with obstacles which it has had to follow since 1920 Hungarian foreign policy has never deviated a hairbreadth from its original course — never for a moment lost sight of its original object of inducing the public opinion of the world, by means of convincing information and peaceful enlightenment, to understand that when the treaties of peace were drafted a grave injustice was done to Hungary and that the maintenance in force of this injustice is not in the interests either of the States immediately concerned or of Europe generally.

It is not in the interests of the States immediately concerned, which under the name of Little Entente have concluded a defensive and offensive alliance against Hungary, that the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Trianon should be maintained in force unchanged, because during the past fifteen years it has been repeatedly proved that *political frontiers demarcated artificially on the basis of exaggerated nationalism and historical bias can never serve as lasting foundations of peace or of an economic and cultural revival*. The decennium and a half which has passed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Trianon has proved the justice of the Hungarian cause and documented times without number that no distinction can possibly be made between conqueror and conquered where it is a question on the one hand of an artificial restriction of the free assertion of natural, economic and historical forces or on the other hand of a logical and rational removal of the restrictions. The genius of history knows nothing of parties or of conquerors and conquered; it distributes justice to all alike and makes no distinction in respect of consequences when preparing the way for the ultimate manifestation of the spirit of an age.

Now it is evident that the spirit and fundamental idea of the present age is solidarity — a fruitful co-operation of the peoples and the collaboration of the big economic territories. How can this all be realised by a policy of a particularistic, exclusive, malicious and excessively selfish character — in a word, just the opposite of all that is needed to ensure the materialisation of the great idea of the age?

It is impossible that the States immediately concerned should themselves not have realised this fact; for the endeavour — repeated continually for years past — to bring about an economic union of the Little Entente States has so far proved an abortive experiment; nor will that endeavour lead to any results until the fundamental conditions essential to such an issue — of which the most essential is *the liberation of Hungary from the economic and political fetters impeding her freedom of action* — are complied with.

How essential to the interests of Europe it is that the peoples of the Danube basin — recognising the importance of the interests latent in a political and economic solidarity — should at last meet and exchange ideas, is shown most strikingly by the agreement between Italy and France just concluded in Rome and by the coercive force — the practically irresistible pressure of French public opinion — which impelled the French Foreign Minister Laval to go to Rome to sign the agreement. The waves of the general crisis have swept over France just as they have over all the other States of Europe except Great Britain; and the lessons taught by that crisis, though for the moment not inducing a full acknowledgment of the justice of the Hungarian cause, have at any rate led the public opinion of France to realise that *it is imperatively urgent that a new political and economic order should be created in the valley of the Danube*. That an agreement of that tenor should have been concluded in

respect of the leading principles — despite the enormous difficulties which the parties to the negotiations had reciprocally to overcome — is certainly a most gratifying result. And for us Hungarians it is of peculiar interest that *in his speech of welcome addressed to Laval Mussolini emphasised pointedly that neither party had abandoned — or would in the future abandon — its friends*. Mussolini however pointed out also that the nations living in the Danube basin must reconcile their own interests and vital necessities to the considerations of universal significance essential to the establishment of European peace; and that means only that he regards as necessary a restoration within the shortest time possible of the political and economic balance between the peoples living in the valley of the Danube which has been disturbed. For that is a *sine qua non* of Austria being induced to prefer adherence to the historical community of the Danube basin to inclusion in the German Empire, continuing to look for and to find her prosperity and future best ensured by the historical connections of former days.

The Rome agreement is certainly one of the most important events in the political life of post-War Europe; but for the moment it is not the end, only *the starting-point — a possibility holding out the prospect of a noteworthy political change*. We may perhaps also express the hope that this agreement will to a certain extent bring about a change in the relations hitherto existing between France and her Danubian allies, — a change leading to *the French nation in the future not blindly following the advice given it primarily by Prague, though also by Belgrade and Bucharest*, but to adopt the ideas prevailing everywhere in Europe (ideas fully in evidence during the Rome pour-parlers) and to serve the universal interests of Europe far more decidedly and freely.

In a *communiqué* drafted in a hurry at the station of Laibach the Little Entente States have stated their attitude towards the agreement between Laval and Mussolini. The official text itself speaks in terms of the greatest courtesy — and indeed in flattering words — of the Rome covenant, which they regard as one of the most serious guarantees of the peaceful development of Europe; but if on the other hand we compare this manifesto with the statements made by the Yugoslav Foreign Minister Yefitch to representatives of the Belgrade press, we must conclude that *there is by no means absolute agreement between the foreign ministers of the Little Entente in their respective views of the political value of the covenant, and that Yugoslavia must have an opinion of her own and ideas differing from those of the other two States*. But in any case the immediate future will show where these separate ideas are likely to lead?

In their statements to the press the foreign ministers of the Little Entente spoke of the possibility of direct negotiations with Hungary; and we have no reason at all to adopt an attitude of excessive pessimism in advance in respect of these statements. It is true that the lessons of the past *warn us to be cautious*, for during previous negotiations it has happened more than once that the States of the Little Entente have found some pretext for withdrawal at the very last moment — when the agreement was practically ready —, naturally throwing the responsibility for the illsuccess on Hungary; but on the present occasion it would nevertheless seem as if there were more prospect of the intentions being serious and of the foreign ministers really believing the time ripe for the conclusion of at least a *modus vivendi* between Hungary and her neighbours. However, we must at once establish the fact that *this is subject to three conditions. The first*

is the possibility of a peaceful revision; the second is the ensurance of the rights of the minorities in the territories of the Succession States; and the third the recognition of the absolute equality of Hungary. Should we succeed in coming to an agreement in respect of these conditions, Hungary

will prove the most loyal of parties; and we may assure the Little Entente States that in that case Hungary will be the first to sincerely welcome any agreements calculated to open a new gateway for the materialisation of the brotherly solidarity and prosperity of the peoples.

HUNGARY COMPLIES LOYALLY WITH RESOLUTION OF COUNCIL OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS TAKEN ON DECEMBER 10TH

In compliance with the terms of the Resolution passed by the Council of the League of Nations on December 10th. last in re the Yugoslav-Hungarian conflict, the Hungarian Government continued or rather resumed the work of investigation initiated by the Hungarian authorities immediately after the attempt at Marseilles for the purpose of clearing up as fully as possible the background of the attempt. The results of the investigation are summarised as follows in the Note handed to the Secretariat of the League of Nations on January 12th.:

1. As a result of the exhaustive examination carried out by the Hungarian Government the fact must be established that neither the Hungarian Government nor any of the Hungarian authorities subordinate to that Government can be connected either directly or indirectly with the Marseilles regicide; nor are they in any way even in the slightest degree responsible for the attempt.

2. Certain organs of subordinate Hungarian authorities — chiefly as a consequence of the defective character of the existing measures, which take no account of abnormal cases — did not watch the Croatian emigrés so intensively as was desirable or as in such abnormal cases is also necessary; and for that reason, where certain omissions have been ascertained, the Hungarian Government has taken adequately severe punitive measures.

3. The Hungarian Government has deemed it necessary to increase the severity of the measures relating to the control of foreigners and to the system by which passports are issued, this being done as a consequence of the events at Marseilles and in deference to the resolution of the Council of the League of Nations.

The punitive measures referred to sub 2. above are as follows: — *Imre Gajdan*, deputy inspector of police attached to the Nagykanizsa detachment of the Royal Hungarian Police, and *Dr. Louis Bokor*, deputy inspector of police attached to the Central Office for the Control

of Foreigners, have been declared guilty of committing the disciplinary offence of infringing their official duties as prescribed and have therefor been dismissed the service. The Superintendent of the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie as competent authority has punished *Alexander Deseb*, Major of Gendarmes, by confinement in barracks and at the same time has proposed that he should be transferred to the district of some other gendarmerie command; in addition he has sentenced to 30 days' confinement each *John Ferencz* and *John Czinka*, gendarmerie cadets, and has transferred them to another station at a greater distance from the frontier. Further, *Dezso Vilmányi*, deputy chief of the passport section of the Budapest Police Headquarters, has been transferred to the country (that being disciplinary punishment of the second grade) for having failed to call the attention of his superiors to the technical difficulties not ensuring adequately the prevention of abuses.

The measure referred to sub 3. above is contained in the Ordinance of the Hungarian Minister of the Interior dated January 2nd., 1935, in re the increased control of political exiles (emigrés).

The Hungarian Government is therefore of the opinion that by the measures described above it has fully complied with the demand of the Council.

At the meeting held on January 16th., Mr. Eden, Lord Privy Seal, in his capacity as rapporteur — in view of the fact that some Members of the Council who might have observations to make in connection with the report were not yet in a position to present those observations — stated that he would be grateful if the observations were handed to him in writing as soon as possible, so as to enable him to present his proposals.

During the course of the action undeservedly taken against her in connection with the Marseilles attempt Hungary has done all in her power to further the full clearing up of the matter; and it was no fault of hers that the Council of the League of Nations was unable to take a definitive and final decision.

THE SAAR PLEBISCITE. ITS IMPORTANCE IN POINT OF PRINCIPLE IN THE DANUBE VALLEY

The result of the plebiscite taken in the Saar District on January 13th. surprised no one in Hungary, for to the Hungarian nation, a considerable proportion of which was incorporated in other countries by the Treaty of Trianon, it was from the very outset quite clear that the almost purely German population of the district would desire to be re-annexed to the country in which the bulk of their racial brethren live. And yet after the announcement of the result the hearts of many millions of Hungarians too beat faster; for both the Hungarians living in Dismembered Hungary and those compelled to submit to a foreign rule asked themselves why they had been denied the privilege just accorded to the German inhabitants of the Saar District — the privilege of deciding by virtue of the right of self-determination their own destiny and the glorious feeling of being able to return to their own country? At the same time the public opinion of Hungary once more bows in homage before the League of Nations too, the prestige of which has been enormously enhanced by the exemplary object-

ivity and the discipline with which the plebiscite was carried out.

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This result of the plebiscite is of interest to us Hungarians, not so much for its bearing upon the political situation as for its significance in the matter of principle. We regard it as the realisation in fact of that right of self-determination of the peoples for which the Hungarian Peace Delegation fought under the leadership of Count Albert Apponyi as far back as the days of the Peace Conference, — though unfortunately the sons of the Hungarian nation allotted to other States were denied the exercise of that right under the treaties of peace.

As is well known, the Treaty of Versailles accorded Germany in several places the privilege of a plebiscite, — e. g., apart from the Saar District, in Schleswig, in Upper Silesia, and in the united districts of East and West Prussia. And the idea of a plebiscite was carried into effect — even though in an imperfect form — in Eupen

and Malmédy too. The Treaty of Saint Germain accorded Austria the privilege of a plebiscite in Carinthia. On the other hand, however, nowhere in the territories severed from Hungary representing two-thirds of the total area of that country in pre-War days was it considered necessary to consult the wishes of the inhabitants. It was only later, at the end of 1921, that a plebiscite ordained to be held — in terms of the Venice Protocol due to the intervention of Italy — in the town and immediate environs of Sopron afforded a tiny fraction of the population which it was proposed to sever from Hungary an opportunity to freely express their wishes and declare whether they desired to remain incorporated in their ancient country Hungary or to be allotted to Austria.

The inhabitants of Sopron and its environs remained true to Hungary, a large majority voting in favour of that country. This plebiscite was peculiarly instructive in view of the fact that, though Germans by tongue, the majority of the population thus consulted proved to be Hungarian in feeling. From this we may safely conclude that the Conference was too hasty in presuming that the other nationalities — in particular the Slovaks, Ruthenians, Saxons of Upper Hungary (Zipser), Swabians of the "Bácska" district, Vends of the "Muraköz" district and "Bunyevác" people in the South of Hungary — were desirous of being incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia or Rumania respectively.

That a person uses a particular language as his native idiom does not necessarily mean that he regards himself as belonging to the nation speaking that idiom. In Carinthia very many persons who are Slovenes by tongue voted not for Yugoslavia but for Austria; in the Saar District many persons who are German by tongue have voted for France; in Sopron and environs the majority of the Germans voted, not for Austria, but for Hungary; and it is equally certain that a considerable proportion of the persons belonging to the races enumerated above would have voted, not for the States using languages similar to their own, but for Hungary. The only moot point is whether the majority of those persons would have decided in favour of Hungary or not. The treaty-makers were guilty of a very serious omission when they refused to put the inhabitants of the territories severed from Hungary to the vote: for Hungary declared already in advance that she would bow before the decision taken by the plebiscite, so that, whatever the result of that plebiscite, all frontier disputes would have ceased in the Danube valley fifteen years ago.

Omissions may however always be made good. If it has proved possible to consult the wishes of the inhabitants of the Saar District sixteen years after the signing of the Treaty of Peace, it is surely equally possible still to accord the peoples separated from Hungary in the valley of the Danube an opportunity to decide freely and unimpeded whether they desire a maintenance of the present régime or re-incorporation in Hungary, — or to be granted self-government? This expression of their will is accepted in advance by the Hungarian nation as definitive and decisive. This would be the best way to secure lasting peace in the Danube valley and thereby to safeguard also the peace of Europe. The States of the Little Entente are always proclaiming that it was on the basis of the right of self-determination and of the principle of "nationality" that they acquired the territories severed from Hungary, declaring that the non-Magyar inhabitants of those territories voluntarily adhered to them. If this were really the case, these States would have no cause whatever for rejecting the idea of a plebiscite; on the contrary, they should be the first to demand most decidedly that a plebiscite should be held as a means of ridding them of the incubus which gives them no peace.

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We were delighted to learn from reports received just as we were going to press that the above idea has found favour and approval also in British political circles. At a debate before the City of London College Colonel Moore, M. P., pointed out that the best way to solve the Hungarian question had been shown by the Saar plebiscite. In his opinion the inhabitants of the territories severed from Hungary should be asked to answer the following questions:

1. Do you wish to remain under the present régime? or
2. Do you wish to return to Hungary? or
3. Do you wish to live in a new and independent State?

In Colonel Moore's opinion, if the conscience of the Governments of the Succession States is clear, they cannot oppose a plebiscite, seeing that during the fifteen years of their rule they have had opportunity enough by wise and just government to win over their new subjects. The resolution referred to above was passed by 63 votes to 3.

We shall return to this action in a later issue.

HUNGARIAN PREMIER DISCUSSES QUESTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY

The Assembly of the County of Szolnok and the Corporation of the Town of Szolnok having conferred the freedom of the County and Town respectively upon Premier Gömbös, at a meeting of the Szolnok County Assembly held on January 24th. the Hungarian Prime Minister delivered a speech in which he expressed his thanks for this expression of confidence, taking advantage of the occasion to make political declarations in the course of which he referred also to certain questions of foreign policy.

After ascertaining that the Italian-Hungarian-Austrian protocols signed last spring had exercised a beneficial effect upon the economic life of Hungary, the Premier proceeded to deal with the Marseilles affair, in this connection making the following statements:

"I have not much to say of the Marseilles affair. The rules of international chivalry are identical with our own. Let us refrain from talking about the affair until it has been finally and definitively adjusted. There is only one thing I should like to say, — *an attempt has been made to make our country — which has never admitted the methods of political assassination — the victim of political back-biting.* Whatever page of our history we may turn up,

we find that this nation never — even in days of utter humiliation and oppression — resorted to weapons of the kind; for *its religious feeling and its moral sense have always stood in the way of such action, and it has always believed in the triumph of justice.* Its oriental character makes this nation peculiarly capable of embitterment, though it can bear its embitterment in patience. This fact must be realised by everyone desirous of judging Hungarian life either from an international or from a Hungarian national point of view. *We have the gift of waiting and of trusting in God.* We know that this nation's mission is one that will live for ever. As history shows, a few decenniums of bitterness in the life of our nation are of no account. When the Mongols drove us to take refuge in marshes and bogs, — when our great king was driven to flee for his life —, then too we knew that *the star of Hungary would rise again;* and today too we know that no machinations whatsoever will ever be able to prevail on our nation to abandon its real historical mission. Neither Vienna nor the Turk nor the Mongol ever succeeded in doing that. *We live our daily life with the names of God and Jesus on our lips;* and we continue on the path of history always ready for sacrifices —

unselfishly, for other nations and for our view of life too. And we deserve to have this unselfishness at last rewarded with justice."

The Premier then proceeded to deal with the Italian-French agreement and explained its importance from the Hungarian point of view as follows:

"We were gratified to see our great friend *Italy* and *France*, the great friend of the Little Entente, meet to discuss important questions — questions still pending a settlement —, raising the question also of the possibility of attempting some new solution here, in the valley of the Danube and the basin of the Carpathians.

"We shall not obstruct such a scheme. *What we want is peace, — though peace based upon justice and equality. We have always employed peaceful means; and we shall continue to do so in the future too.* But no one can expect us to accept the role of a nonaged nation — whereas we are really entitled more than any other nation to consider ourselves of age here, in the basin of the Carpathians —, and to sit down to discussion at the round table in our present character of a nation torn asunder and afflicted by an unjust peace. If peace is really wanted — and there certainly is need of peace —, *then it is the duty of those who are responsible for the treaties of peace to create an atmosphere, as well as the physical possibilities, enabling us to sit down with a quiet conscience to discuss all the evils to which our peoples are subject.*

"The "screech-owls" — or other croakers — who have told us that we have renounced our revisionist endeavours are very much in the wrong. I would tell them that *our revision policy may be defined as follows: — we maintain our claim to a territorial revision by peaceful*

STATEMENTS BY BUDAPEST CZECHO-SLOVAK MINISTER

In the two statements recently made by him M. Nicholas Kobr, Minister of Czecho-Slovakia in Budapest, referred in an extremely interesting manner also to the revision endeavours of Hungary.

In its Christmas number the "Prager Tagblatt" published a statement by the Budapest Czecho-Slovak Minister which contains the following passage:

"We do not wish to force Hungary to abandon her political aims; nor is the adjustment of the economic questions in any way dependent upon such an abandonment".

In reply to a question on this point addressed to him by a representative of "Az Est", M. Kobr said:

"I would repeat: no one demands that Hungary should renounce her national aims. The Covenant of the League of Nations also contains that certain Article — 19 — which we do not propose to take away from the Hungarians".

When the representative of the Hungarian journal asked for a more concrete explanation, the Czech diplomat replied as follows:

"I interpret Article 19 as it is written. Should Hungary regard the existing treaty of peace as inapplicable or as endangering the peace of Europe, this Article enables her to apply to the League of Nations. I repeat, therefore: we do not demand that Hungary should renounce the rights assured her under Article 19. For what Article 19 says is undoubtedly in force".

This statement made by Beneš's representative in Budapest — a statement correct alike from the international and from the political point of view — resumes the revision question at the point where it was dropped by Beneš (after 1928) and by Masaryk (after 1930). No better justification for the revision endeavours of Hungary could possibly be found than that contained in the remarks of the Czecho-Slovak Minister quoted above. M. Nicholas Kobr has always shown great diplomatic ability; and it was probably for that reason that he was placed at the

means, and we trust that a period of tranquillity will bring about such a result. We desire that Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia should recognise the *Hungarian minorities* as parties of equal standing alike in cultural and in economic and in political respects, affording them every possibility of continuing to live the life of their ancient culture for the benefit of mankind.

"In the third place, we ask for equality of rights *in respect of disarmament or rather armaments.* We regard it as impossible that we should not be entitled to freely control one of the branches of our national sovereignty. We regard it as impossible that *a defenceless Hungary should be surrounded by a Little Entente army 500.000 strong,* while all it is proposed to grant to us is *the Trianon army.* We are entitled to equality of rights in respect of self-defence — a right to which every civilised people has a claim, and which is a *sine qua non* of our sitting down at the round table. *It is the business of the diplomats to formulate the conditions roughly drafted — though frankly expressed and sincerely felt-by me in a manner enabling us to find an agreement. For fifteen years we have borne patiently with this state of inequality in international life.* If peace is desired, an effort must be made to eliminate one-sidedness; for we have shown — despite the agony of the struggle involved by our dismemberment — *an ability to remain true Europeans.* We have shown *virility,* — for neither social troubles nor subversive ideas have proved able to strike root in our country. The ordeal is a serious one; but we are standing the test, and are facing the difficulties like men. We do not lament, but go our way along the thorny path of every day life without complaining, for we know that *this way must end in the resurrection of Hungary."*

head of the Budapest Czecho-Slovak Legation — a post which from the Czecho-Slovak point of view is one of considerable importance —, so that we may take it for granted that his views are not in any way opposed to those of Czech official and non-official quarters. If there is any country in the Danube valley whose economic interests imperatively require it to try to come to an agreement with Hungary, surely there is none so badly in need of such an agreement as Czecho-Slovakia, whose grave domestic problems (in particular the question of the nationalities which are numerically superior to the ruling Czech nation) and geographical isolation too are a continuous warning of the necessity of endeavouring to become reconciled with her Hungarian neighbours. People in Prague are well aware that the psychical *sine qua non* of such a reconciliation is that the Hungary so horribly dismembered by the Treaty of Trianon should be enabled to breathe freely by an amendment by agreement of the frontiers demarcated by the treaties of peace. The statements made by the Minister would seem to prove that — though for the moment only in a guarded form — the appreciation of this truth is once more gaining ground in Prague. Fine words in themselves of course are of but little value; for the siren songs heard so often just after the bitterest attacks against Hungary which have never been followed by corresponding action, have made Hungarian public opinion sceptical.

LORD ROTHERMERE ENERGETICALLY DEMANDS REVISION

To a representative of the Berlin "*Morgen*" Lord Rothermere's son, Edmond Harmsworth, has made the following statement: — "Both my Father and I are still as determined as ever in favour of a revision of the treaties of peace. The struggle is more strenuous than ever; and we shall avail ourselves of all the means at our disposal to continue the fight. Neither my Father nor I will yield a jot on this point. We consider the treaties of peace unjust; that is why we are fighting for a revision".

FALL OF UZUNOVITCH AND PREMIERSHIP OF YEFTITCH

The appointment of the Yeftitch Government was received with confidence by the international press, which considered that appointment to mean the beginning of a new internal political development and to indicate the liquidation of the dictatorship and of the pseudo-constitutionalism and mock parliamentarism previously prevailing, as also a serious endeavour to bring about conciliation at home. The negotiations respecting the formation of the Cabinet, the pourparlers between Yeftitch and the leaders of the older parties which since 1929 had been ostracised from the political life of the country, the dismissal of Lazarevitch, the dreaded Belgrade commissioner of police, — who is said to have been ultimately responsible for the expulsions *en masse* effected in December —, as also the pardon granted to Maček, the Croatian leader, and the removal of Peritch, director of the semi-official news agency "Avala", are undoubtedly all moments and facts which as promising tokens of new methods would seem to justify the confidence reposed in advance in the Yeftitch Government. This favourable view of the situation is for the moment not in the least prejudiced

even by the official declaration read by Yeftitch in the Skupstina and in the Senate which, taking into account the present composition of the Parliament and the relative strength of parties, accepted as the basis of government the Constitution introduced by edict in the year 1931. This attitude adopted by compulsion and evidently out of purely tactical motives does not justify our drawing too far-reaching conclusions. No steps can be taken to draft a sweeping programme of reform possibly including the re-adjustment of the State on a federal basis — still less to carry that programme into effect — until the expiration of the term of office of the present Parliament, which will ensue during the current year, opens the way for such a procedure and until, with the co-operation of real representatives of the Croatian, Slovene and Bosnian peoples elected by the free will of their constituents, it proves possible to attempt a satisfactory solution of the most difficult internal problem of Yugoslavia. Whether Yeftitch will prove capable of successfully solving this exceptionally difficult and delicate problem is a question to which the immediate future will supply the answer.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE CENSORSHIP

The Public Prosecutor ordained the confiscation of the "Národní Listy", the organ of M. Kramarž, former Prime Minister, because in its December 13th. issue it published a cartoon entitled "Long Live The Conqueror!" depicting Foreign Minister Benes after his return from the League of Nations session which discussed the Yugoslav-Hungarian conflict. This incident too shows that Beneš's statement to the effect that the Geneva decision meant the victory of the Little Entente and the defeat of Hungarian revisionism, was not generally believed even by the public opinion of Czecho-Slovakia. The December 17th. issue of the "Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap" — the organ of the Magyars of Ruthenia — was confiscated for having reproduced a report published in "The Times" protesting against the expulsion of the Hungarians living in Yugoslavia. And the "Magyar Néplap", the organ of the Christian Socialist Party, was confiscated at Christmas owing to the publication in its columns of statements by Géza Szüllő, President of the Joint Parliamentary Club of Hungarian Deputies and Senators, and by Count John Esterházy, President of the National Christian Socialist Party, and of an article by Deputy Nicholas Fedor (the two latter being representatives of the Christian Socialist Party in Parliament). All these cases of confiscation show clearly that the vaunted democracy of Czecho-Slovakia exists only on paper, not in reality.

EIGHTEEN CHARGES AGAINST THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE „SLOVÁK“

As a consequence of the anti-Czech demonstration on the occasion of the "Pribina" festival at Nyitra in August, 1932, a whole avalanche of suits have been brought against the Slovaks, — as we have repeatedly explained in the columns of our review. Against Charles Sidor, Editor-in-Chief of the "Slovák", organ of the Slovak People's Party, the Public Prosecutor has filed a bill of indictment containing no fewer than eighteen charges based upon articles which have appeared in the said paper in connection with the events at Nyitra. At the proceedings held on January 9th. the commission of the Pozsony District Court sitting to investigate the indictment rejected the objections put forward by the defendant and ordered him to be sent to trial on eighteen counts being breaches of the Act relating to the Defence of the Republic. Sidor is therefore in danger of being sentenced to several years' imprisonment.

RUMANIAN MINORITY EMIGRATION FROM CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

A process of re-emigration to Rumania — in which very many are taking part — has begun among the 12.000 Rumanians living in Ruthenia. In the villages of Alsó-apsa, Középpapsa, Tiszafehéregyháza, Faluszlatina and Aknaszlatina situated in that part of the county of Marmaros which was assigned to Czechoslovakia by the peace treaties, the Rumanian population, for the most part lumbermen, have lost their means of livelihood owing to the crisis in the timber trade. The barren soil and the climate are responsible for the population being in dire distress and on the verge of starvation. Their lot has

grown much worse since Rumania placed an embargo on the exportation of maize. This embargo has deprived the Rumanians in Ruthenia of their staple food. As a way out of this straitened and hopeless situation the Rumanians in Ruthenia propose emigrating *en masse* to Transylvania. So far over 3000 Rumanian families have decided to leave Ruthenia.

R U M A N I A

THE SPIRITUALISATION OF FRONTIERS

The statement of the Rumanian Foreign Minister Titulescu relating to the "spiritualisation of frontiers" addressed in reality to Hungary has been answered also by the Hungarian (Magyar) minority living in Transylvania. One of the leaders of that minority has shown that from the point of view of understanding and peace as between the peoples of Rumania *the words spoken by Titulescu must remain mere empty catchphrases until the situation of minorities has been adjusted and ways and means found to bring about a friendly co-operation.* There can be no sincerity or truth in Titulescu's words unless an endeavour is made to carry them into effect in respect of the Hungarian minority too. This same leader of the Hungarian minority — Count George Bethlen — last October declared that *the Hungarian minority had to contend with a fever of chauvinism of such violence that no one could tell where it would end.*

And indeed in Rumania today we find the Rumanian statesmen making statements displaying the utmost intolerance, while the Bucharest press is carrying on a veritable campaign of agitation against the Hungarian minority. This unceasing systematic agitation and incitement finds its foremost mouthpiece in the "Curentul", which in a special column bearing the title "plebiseite" keeps pouring forth a veritable flood of hatred against the Hungarians. A former deputy of the name of Lothar Raduceanu has pointed out that *a veritable crusade is being carried on against the minorities in the form of chauvinistic incitement to hatred and agitation.* ("Aradi Közöny", No. 225, October 9th., 1934.)

The oppressive situation of the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania last December impelled the leaders of the Magyar Party to resolve to submit to Parliament — with the object of adjusting the minority question — a motion requesting that a parliamentary committee including the leaders of all the Rumanian parties should be delegated to bring about a settlement of the minority question by keeping it apart from the political contentions of the day. All the Government did in answer to this motion was to make a statement through the Ministers Lapodatu and Iamandi to the effect that *it did not consider the delegation of a parliamentary committee necessary.* To all appearances the Rumanian Government does not attach any great importance to the solution of the minority question, seeing that *neither the speech from the throne with which the autumn session was opened nor the address submitted in answer by Parliament considered it necessary even to mention the minorities.* The work of investigating the grievances of the Hungarian minority was entrusted to Minister Lapodatu: that is the only result achieved by the parliamentary representations of the Magyar Party.

However, special mention is due to the governmental statement made by Minister Iamandi in connection with those parliamentary representations. "We must not forget" — said the Minister — *"that there are more than four million minority citizens living in Rumania, or that in certain parts of the country the minorities represent historical continuity and are in every respect entitled to claim the same civil rights as we ourselves. To pursue an official State policy directed against four million persons the vast*

majority of whom cannot possibly be accused of a want of loyalty — would not be a decent procedure." In the further course of his speech Minister Iamandi noted that *"people talk rather readily of the nationalisation of towns, but it should not be forgotten that the towns of Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia did not belong to us for a very long time; and it is impossible in 15 years to carry out a policy able to convert into absolutely pure Rumanians the populations of towns which are 90% foreigners (that being the original proportion of non-Rumanians in our towns)."*

Minister Iamandi's fearless statement concerning the Hungarian (Magyar) character of the towns of Transylvania — a statement adhered to by him later in an interview given to the press — provoked a violent dispute. The Bucharest "Universul" (December 19th., 1934) attacked Iamandi, declaring that his statements and assertions were treasonable. A further attack against Iamandi appeared in the same paper (December 22nd.) from the pen of the Editor-in-Chief Stelian Popescu, whose article was entitled "Out With Him!" The leaders of the Rumanian parties keep assailing Iamandi in the bitterest manner. According to Maniu the speech made by Iamandi was "national heresy"; while Alexander Vaida-Voivod considers it very sad that a Rumanian Minister should make such a speech in the Rumanian Parliament. Premier Tatarescu himself found it necessary — in the speech delivered by him on the occasion of his recent visit to Kolozsvár — to declare that *"the towns of Transylvania have always been Rumanian towns and have never for a moment ceased to be Rumanian in character"* ("Brassói Lapok", December 30th., 1934).

This statement of Premier Tatarescu has been thoroughly refuted — in an essay recently published — by Aloysius Kovács, Director of the Hungarian Statistical Bureau. He refers to a work by a Greek Catholic priest named Nicholas Togon — "Romani din Transylvania la 1733" — published in 1898 in Nagyszeben, which contains the data of the church census prepared in 1733 by the Rumanian bishop Klein — the figures being given by villages and townships — and shows how many persons of other tongues were living in the respective village or township. The work did not even mention the villages or township where at that time no Rumanians were living. To illustrate the "Rumanian" character of the Transylvania towns at that time, Aloysius Kovács cites a few sporadic cases. It appears therefore that in 1733 there were 10 Rumanian families in Kolozsvár, 60 in Marosvásárhely, 70 at Torda, 34 at Nagyenyed, and 26 at Szilágysomlyó. Taking a family to contain 5 persons, we find the number of Rumanians living at that time in the towns referred to to have been as follows: in Kolozsvár, 50; in Marosvásárhely, 300; at Torda, 350; at Nagyenyed, 170; at Szilágysomlyó, 130. The situation was the same in the other Hungarian towns too. Nor must we forget to mention that the census refers to "suburbia" in connection with the Rumanian populations, that showing that the small number of Rumanians found in these towns lived in the outskirts — this in its turn being a proof that they were settlers of a subsequent date who belonged to the lower classes. So this was the Rumanian population which according to Premier Tatarescu gave the towns of Transylvania their Rumanian character.

Tatarescu said further in his speech at Kolozsvár that what had happened was that in course of time the Hungarians had driven the Rumanians out of the towns, which they had then magyarised. As may be seen from what has been said above, the Hungarians could not have driven the Rumanians out of the towns for the simple reason that those towns had practically no Rumanian populations at all. And that these towns were not magyarised, is documented by the fact that at a later period during the Hungarian régime the number of Rumanians in the towns of Transylvania actually showed a constant

increase. The development of population in the 29 towns of Transylvania between 1880 and 1910 was as follows:

	1880 (absolute figures)	1910	1880	1910
Magyars	105,824	205,728	48.6%	58.7%
Germans	51,839	56,347	23.8%	16.1%
Rumanians	52,374	81,931	24.0%	23.4%
Others	7,889	6,254	3.6%	1.8%
Total	217,926	350,268	100.0%	100.0%

So during the last forty years of the Magyar (Hungarian) régime the number of Rumanians living in the towns increased by thirty thousand, their quota of the aggregate population remaining practically unchanged. And between 1900 and 1910 there was an increase also of their quotas in 16 out of the 29 towns. How can it be asserted that the Rumanian populations of the towns of Transylvania were magyarised? This assertion is refuted also by the fact that at all Censuses the number of members of the Greek Oriental and the Greek Catholic Churches has almost invariably been the same as that of the persons of Rumanian nationality. According to Aloysius Kovács, all these convincing data were included in the documents submitted to the Peace Conference and have been published in the volumes dealing with the peace negotiations issued in the languages of the West. Premier Tatarescu too must have had an opportunity to consult these data.

Can there be any talk of a spiritualisation of frontiers until the grave grievances of the Hungarians of Transylvania have been redressed? These grievances were dealt with quite recently at the mass meeting of the Magyar Party at Gyergyószentmiklós attended by the parliamentary representatives of the Hungarians. Deputy Gabriel Pál declared that it was impossible to pass over in silence the mismanagement of educational questions and protested against the expropriation by the Rumanians — on the basis of "name analysis" of a hyper-medieval character — of the descendants of a people (the Széklers) with a past history reaching back ten centuries. And this is all being aggravated by a violent and blustering press agitation. Under the plebiscite arranged by the "Curentul" Rumanians of all classes and professions (priests, judges, teachers, craftsmen, merchants and tradesmen, farmers) alike propose the removal of the minorities; and indeed people are found actually suggesting the sterilisation of Magyar (Hungarian) mothers as a means of preventing the increase of the Hungarians.

Titulescu's theory of "spiritualisation" is at utter variance with the real state of things. We shall be unable to believe in the reality and sincerity of this theory until the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania is accorded a treatment putting an end to the inequality at present in force.

TWO NEW HUNGARIAN PETITIONS SUBMITTED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dr. Gustavus Kóvér, the Vice-President of the Magyar Party of Rumania who has been deported from that country, has in the name of the Geneva "Bureau Central des Minorités" submitted to the League of Nations two complaints against the Rumanian Government. In the first Dr. Kóvér explains that since the murder of Premier Duca there has been a veritable state of war in Rumania which frequently outrages minority feelings and infringes the provisions of the minority treaties. One of the largest towns in Transylvania, Temesvár, is being administered unlawfully by a "provisional committee" appointed by Government. This committee has confiscated the church, house and appurtenant institutions belonging to the Piarist Order, which it has made over to the town. The

Committee also gave orders for the removal from the front of the Piarist church of the statues of the Hungarian kings St. Stephen and St. Ladislas; but as this "cultural work" would have taken 1—2 days to execute, orders were given that the statues were to be broken in pieces. This is a grave outrage on the feelings of the Catholic inhabitants. The petition begs the Council of the League of Nations to procure satisfaction for the outrage; for the representative of Rumania is continually telling the League of Nations that in Rumania no difference is made between Rumanians and persons belonging to the ethnic minorities. Incidents of the kind are not at all calculated to further that "spiritualisation" of frontiers of which Titulescu is so fond of talking. In the second petition Dr. Kóvér complains that the Rumanian Government has placed an embargo on the Nagyvárad "Magyar Hirlap" for the third time in the course of a few months.

EMBARGO ON HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS

The biggest Hungarian daily of the Banate — the „*Temesvári Hirlap*” — was placed under an embargo for three days for having in its New Year number published an article by Senator Elemér Gyárfás which was allowed to appear word for word in several other papers. The article was sent in good time to the Censor's office, which found much to object to in the text and only sent it back after the usual time for the paper to appear. Consequently the paper had no time left to re-cast the first page, simply leaving out the passages which had been objected to. The Censor took exception to the blank spaces; and the prefect for that reason ordered that the paper should not appear for three days.

An embargo was also placed by the military commander on the "Magyar Hirlap", a paper appearing in Nagyvárad, the pretext given being that it had infringed the provisions incidental to the state of siege. ("Magyar Hirlap", January 6th., 1935.)

YUGOSLAVIA

63,000 HUNGARIANS DEPORTED SINCE 1918

The expulsions *en masse* carried into effect last month (December, 1934) by the Yugoslav Government involving the deportation of more than 3000 victims, most of whom were Hungarians, remind us forcibly of the expulsions on a far larger scale effected between the middle of November, 1918, and the end of 1924. The dimensions of the loss in numbers caused by the expulsion during that period by the Yugoslav Government, in defiance of the international obligations undertaken under §§ 3—6 of the Minority Protection Treaty and of §§ 61—66 of the Trianon Peace Edict, of Hungarians living in the territories severed from the mother country, may be ascertained by a glance at the authentic figures given below. During the period between 1918 and 1924 no fewer than 44,939 persons of Hungarian (Magyar) nationality were either deported beyond the frontiers or compelled to flee, — 5,495 in 1918, during a brief period of barely a month and a half, 19,239 in 1919, 10,551 in 1920, 4,023 in 1921, 4,705 in 1922, 541 in 1923, and 385 in 1924. The deportees included 8,511 public employees and their families. The illegality of the

procedure of the Yugoslav Government is shown by the fact that the vast majority of the deportees had settled in the Southern District (Voivodina) allotted to Yugoslavia long before January 1st., 1910, and therefore complied in every respect with the stipulations relating to nationality contained in § 62 of the Trianon Peace Edict.

However, the large number of expulsions in defiance of law are not the only cause of the decline in the numerical strength of the Hungarians living in Yugoslavia, who have suffered also from the forced emigration which between 1920 and 1930 inflicted upon them a further loss of 15,074 souls. The main causes of this emigration were the persecution and overtaxation resorted to by the authorities, though an equally important role was played undoubtedly by the agrarian reform effected on the basis of purely nationalist principles in the course of which the Hungarians of the Southern District — nearly 400,000 strong — were so completely ignored that of the total area of 285,592 hectares of land (495,216 cadastral yokes) expropriated out of latifundia 90% of which were the property of Hungarians and then distributed, *not a single inch was allotted to any of the claimants of Hungarian (Magyar) nationality.*

If we add up the figures given above, we see that the total number of Hungarians expelled or constrained to migrate from Yugoslavia amounts to 60,013. However, if we add also those persons who during the 1921 and 1931 Censuses were separated from the main body of Hungarians by the application of the notorious "name analysis" and other arbitrary measures initiated by the authorities (e. g. by the declaration as a distinct nationality of the 19,000 Jews who when the change of rulers came were Hungarians to the backbone; and the recent expulsion of more than 3000 persons) we may estimate the aggregate decline in the strength of the Hungarians of Yugoslavia down to the present (i. e. during a period of barely fifteen years) at least at 90,000 souls — that being no less than 18% of the total number of Hungarians living as a minority in that country.

BLOODY STUDENT TUMULT IN ZAGREB

On November 22nd. the Zagreb University was the scene of a big student tumult. The Serb Nationalist students made a violent demonstration against Dr. Stipetić, the Rector of the University, who was also a signatory of the Memorandum submitted to the Regency early in November by more than 200 prominent members of the public life of Croatia in which the signatories requested, among other things, that Maček should be set at liberty and that the State Protection Act should be annulled and the State Protection Tribunal abolished. The extremist Serb students came to blows with the Croatian students who approved the action of the Rector. During the scuffle that ensued several of the students were seriously wounded by revolver bullets. The fighting, which assumed formidable dimensions, was put a stop to only by the interference of the police.

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO SPEAK HUNGARIAN IN THE STREETS

At Ujvidék (Novisad), the capital of the Danube Banate, of late Hungarian has been banned even from the streets. Persons speaking Hungarian in the streets or other public places are immediately called to account by irresponsible blusterers acting under the protection of the authorities. These persons carry slips of paper with the words "*Cu vajmo Jugoslaviju! Govori drzavnim jazikom!*" (Yugoslavia for ever! Speak the State language!) on them in Cyrillic characters and thrust them into the hands of passers-by with gestures of a by no means friendly nature. Human rights, minority protection, League of Nations?! Who cares about these things in Yugoslavia?

ABSURD SITUATION IN FIELD OF MINORITY RELIGIOUS TRAINING AND TRAINING OF CLERGY

In the territories severed from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and annexed to Yugoslavia the appointment, transfer and dismissal of religious teachers was originally within the sphere of authority of the several Churches. According to the Yugoslav laws regulating the legal status of the Churches this right is enjoyed by the Ministry of Public Education. But the manner in which this right is exercised by the Minister of Education when appointing non-Serb (non-Orthodox) teachers of religion may be seen from the fact that for the past two years there has been no Roman Catholic religious teaching at all in the boys' "city school" at Subotica (Szabadka), although more than 90,000 out of a total population of 100,000 souls are Roman Catholics. The most extraordinary procedure adopted by the Government when appointing the non-Serb (non-Orthodox) teachers of religion is illustrated in a remarkable manner also by the edifying cases referred to below. As prescribed, the Office of the Ban of the Danube Banate transmitted to the competent hundred magistrates — for the purpose of expressing an opinion and of certifying nationality and knowledge of the State language — the papers of the candidates for the posts of teachers of religion nominated for appointment by the Reformed Church. Hereupon one of the magistrates inquired of the Church authorities concerning the *height* of the minister nominated for the post of teacher of religion by the Church, while a second instructed the candidate to have his *height* and his knowledge of Serbian ascertained by the clerk of the political community (parish), and a third demanded that the candidate should pass an examination in the Serbian language in the *elementary school* of the parish in question.

The inequality of treatment is seriously affecting also the Roman Catholics of Magyar and German nationality, seeing that in the seminaries the second language of instruction — in addition to Latin — is the State language. This is taken so seriously that the seminarists are forbidden to use their mother tongues also in their personal intercourse with one another. This is how the training of the clergy is being converted into an instrument of denationalisation and of slavisation; though this is not so much the fault of the State as rather of the Yugoslav Roman Catholic Church standing under the direction of Slav bishops, which is thus guilty of a grave omission.

THEATRE • LITERATURE • ART

NEW HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL NOVELS

Hungarian literature is unusually rich in historical novels. This is the species in which our great writers have shown their eminence and their power. And their successors readily allow themselves to be tempted by the example of their great forbears. The present popularity of this species in Hungary is comprehensible both psychologically and from an aesthetic point of view. Psychologically, — we are only too ready to escape from our bleak and barren present to the past, even the dim and bloody periods of which were superior to the misery and wretchedness of our world today; and we begin to recall the heroes, founders of States, generals and throned diplomats, the generous patrons of the arts and the sciences who made our nation wealthy and glorious. Aesthetically, — all over Europe the *biographie romancée* is living its heyday, — romantic stories of the careers of the great figures of history, playful combinations of reality and imagination. It looks for all the world like a rekindling of that romanticism which just a hundred years ago inspired and fructified the great literatures of the West and trained the public to new conceptions, to a reevaluation, and to an appreciation and understanding of a new world.

*

Let us take first the leading writer, *Francis Herczeg*. His novel "*Ádám, hol vagy?*" ("Adam, Where Are You?") takes us back to the tenth century, to the bloody and stormy age of Hungarian wanderings in search of adventure. The illustrious writer himself has said that he did not intend this work of his to be a historical novel, — did not desire to paint an age or claim the glory of great historical studies. "Play for Play's sake" is what he has called his latest novel. He may be right. But when Titans play, they play titanically. They do not play with tiny dolls or hobby-horses or miniature bricks; but they roll rocks and pile Ossa on Pelion. "*Ádám, hol vagy?*" is a game played with chronicles, with the thrilling adventures of a lovely German virgin, and with the deeds of daring done by the Hungarian forces invading Germany. But the stakes are high. Two nations — two different worlds — are here in conflict. Eastern barbarism fighting with Western barbarism. Simple, straightforward, self-conscious pristine force with calculating, cunning, complicated cruelty. The German virgin falls into the hands of the Hungarians; though not to be condemned to sad slavery, but to be wedded. In the souls of the Magyars — whose name the German mothers use as a bugbear to frighten their infants, and of whom the chronicle of St. Gallen has told posterity such horrible and yet humorous tales — there already lives and rules the noblest of all manly virtues — chivalry.

*

In a monumental trilogy *Sigismund Móricz* conjures up before us the most interesting section of Transylvanian history — that covering the period between the reign of Gabriel Báthory, the foolishly tyrannical and licentious prodigal, and the decline of the great prince Gabriel Bethlen. The book has a comprehensive title — "*Erdély*" ("Transylvania"). It is divided into three parts — "*Tündérbkert*" ("Fairy Garden"), "*A nagy fejedelem*" ("The Great Prince"), and "*A nap árnyéka*" ("The Sun's Shadow"). This mighty poetic genius possesses a robust hungarianism, a powerful style, a capacity of creation and characterisation, and plastic ability; but his artistic conscience is anything but robust. He has investigated with the utmost precision the historical data; he inquires into the interdependence of historical facts; he takes into account every obser-

vation on the hero handed down to us by his contemporaries, — he fully masters the age, the men, the ruling ideas, outward fashions and inner life, and makes them his own. And where study and research and the collection of data ends, intuition steps in and begins to work. Sigismund Móricz has entered admirably into the world of ideas and feelings of Gabriel Bethlen. He understands the vacillation of the prince between the loves of two women just as well as he does Bethlen's policy of compromises taking realities into account which endeavoured to hold the balance between German and Turk. And he makes us ultimately understand that the golden age of Transylvania was only a "function" — dependent upon the statesman's sagacity, the generalship and the diplomatic shrewdness of Gabriel Bethlen.

The picture that shines forth from Sigismund's triptych is that of a Transylvania — brilliant and mighty — acting as a factor of authority internationally too. The modern Hungarian reader sighs aloud when he sees the picture, and wipes mute tears from his face . . .

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Roland Hegedüs has written a historical novel — "*Kossuth Lajos, legendák hőse*" ("Louis Kossuth the Legendary Hero"). A novel which is at the same time authentic history. A story more brilliantly dazzling than those of the best imaginative romances. What fascinates the Hungarian reader most are the chapters of the book full of worship of a new Kossuth, stripped of all the glittering paraphernalia of myth and shown in the mirror of truth. And it appears that the real Kossuth, whose figure has never been shelved either by the naive fantasy of the people or by the embellishments of obsequious flatterers or by the timid cautiousness of court historians, is far greater, far more glorious and far more romantic even than the legendary hero so far known to us.

To foreign readers the most interesting chapters will be those which tell of Kossuth's doings in England and America, — a story told also with the honesty and accuracy of the historian, but painted with the glowing colours of a poet, with the vivacity of a visionary and with the mighty rhetorical swing of a born orator. From this story British and American readers will learn of the profound and even mystic effect produced on the Anglo-Saxon peoples by the mere appearance of Kossuth, — of the wonderful eloquence of his words and of the mystical spell of his being which took possession of those two nations the members of which are so often spoken of as cold and calculating, their objectivity as purely material, by foolish and hasty generalisations.

Lorand Hegedüs's book shows that the Louis Kossuth whose voice was silenced for ever forty-four years ago is still the most efficient advocate of the Hungarian cause in foreign countries, in particular in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

*

Farthest removed from our living interest is the novel in two volumes entitled "*A sárga vihar*" ("The Yellow Tempest") written by the scholarly Reformed Bishop of Transylvania, *Alexander Makkai*, about the Mongol (Tartar) invader King Béla IV., the passive hero of that period. This is a historical novel in the manner introduced into Hungarian literature by the imitators of Walter Scott. It is a picture of manners, a monumental fresco painted with a historical background, accurate in all things both great and small. In the pages of this book so utterly modern and actual in character the royal majesty incorporated in the person of Béla IV. becomes veritably refined into a metaphysical conception and an object of superstitious awe. When speaking of Alexander Makkai it is really superfluous to emphasise that his novel is a masterpiece of composition and style, of force of language and power of characterisation. It is worthy of its gifted author. *Charles Sebestyén.*

P O L I T I C A L E C O N O M Y

B U L G A R I A

FIVE YEARS' PLAN IN BULGARIA

According to a report from Sofia, the new Bulgarian Economic Ministry is preparing a five years' scheme calculated to partly change the foundations upon which the economic life of the country rests. One object of this scheme is the reduction of the area sown with wheat and a corresponding furtherance of the more lucrative cultivation of industrial plants. The scheme lays especial stress on the furtherance of the manufacture of cotton on a scale enabling the yield of that manufacture to secure the raw materials imports required by the inland industry. The scheme further considers it necessary also to develop on a very large scale the production of early Bulgarian vegetables and fruit, mainly in view of the fact that recently Bulgaria's export trade in these commodities has been continually advancing, being already one of the most important items in the foreign trade of the country. This is particularly true of Bulgarian dessert grapes, of which article no fewer than 3600 wagonloads were exported to foreign countries during the course of the year 1934. The scheme aims further at adequately exploiting the natural resources of Bulgaria (especially of the silver and lead ore deposits found near Lakavitza and of the thermal springs and medicinal waters of the country), proposing in this connection the construction of a network of roads 5000 kilometres in length. A beginning is to be made already this year by including in the Estimates the amounts required for the realisation of the scheme.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE 1913 AUSTRIAN ESTIMATES AND THE CZECHO-SLOVAK ESTIMATES FOR 1932

An interesting comparison between the Austrian Estimates for 1913 and the Czecho-Slovak Estimates for 1932 respectively has been published by the "Slovak", the organ of Monsignor Hlinka's Slovak People's Party issued in Pozsony. The Slovak journal converted the items of the Austrian Estimates into values in Czech crowns, taking 1 gold crown as equivalent to 6.60 Czech crowns. The comparison shows the following relative figures:

	Austria, 1913	Czecho-Slovakia, 1932
Imperial (President's) Household	18,856.817	18,877.300
Popular Representation (Parliament)	6,736.428	43,203.500
Prime Ministry	8,086.831	57,215.100
National Defence Ministry (Army).	162,858.267	1,309,500.000
Ministry of the Interior	86,757.511	697,603.900
Ministry of Finance	1,350,289.267	2,672,625.300
Ministry of Education	169,952.593	1,014,199.000
Ministry of Justice	142,540.195	325,111.648
Ministry of Agriculture	96,941.011	231,300.000
Ministry of Public Works	172,664.936	762,490.000

Although Austria contributed 208,123.343 crowns to the expenses of the "common" (Austro-Hungarian) departments, nevertheless her Estimates aggregated only

4.279,000.000 as against the 9.318 millions included in the Czech Estimates. And even the latter amount itself proved insufficient, the Minister of Finance having contracted debts amounting to 3—4.000,000.000 crowns. The "Slovak" attributes this anomaly to the facts contained in the following comparative statement:

In 1914, in Austria — with 30 million inhabitants — there were —	In 1932, in Czecho-Slovakia — with 15 million inhabitants — there were —
10 ministers	16 ministers
51 "heads of department" (Secretaries of State)	89 "heads of department"
116 ministerial councillors	318 ministerial councillors
121 heads of section	424 heads of section
440 foreign office officials	1198 foreign office officials.

STRIKING DECLINE IN EARNINGS OF STATE TOBACCO RÉGIE

In 1934 the receipts of the Czecho-Slovak State Tobacco Régie amounted to 1.727,700.000 Czech crowns, as against the amount of 1.808,200.000 Czech crowns recorded for the year 1933, — that being a decline of earnings to the extent of 80,500.000 Czech crowns. The Régie handed to the Treasury the sum of 1.275,000.000 Czech crowns — 162 millions less than the amount foreseen in the Estimates. The net earnings for the year 1925 have been estimated by the Minister of Finance at 1.320,000.000 crowns; though in the light of the above figures there would seem to be very little ground for such optimism. In any case, the decline in the earnings of the Tobacco Régie shows that the economic situation in Czecho-Slovakia in 1934 too showed a tendency to deteriorate.

R U M A N I A

RESIGNATION OF MINISTER OF FINANCE

Slavescu, Minister of Finance, has handed in his resignation. The decision of the Minister is connected with two questions affecting his department, — *the Estimates and the foreign trade policy of Government.* The problem of the Estimates is practically unsolvable. The fiscal year closing on March 31st. next will show a deficit of roughly 3,000,000.000 lei. But the above question in itself would not be immediate ground enough to compel the Minister of Finance to resign at the present juncture. The real motive is undoubtedly the foreign trade policy of the Government. The Minister of Commerce, Manolescu-Strunga, has been endeavouring to bring about an effectual support of export trade by proposing to secure exporters a compensation premium payable by importers amounting to 60% of the foreign exchanges of the exporters. Slavescu opposed this scheme, for he was afraid that the new system would undermine the stability of the leu. Today — at the end of January — foreign currencies are being bought on'Change at a premium of 55%. Export trade, on the other hand, is at a standstill, for the exporters receive only the official rates of exchange for the foreign exchanges surrendered by them.

YUGOSLAVIA

ALARMING SITUATION OF ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE BANATE ANNEXED TO YUGOSLAVIA

At a plenary session of the Beeskerek Chamber of Commerce and Industry depressing data were made public respecting the economic situation in the Banate. There is a stagnation in the manufacturing industry, the undertakings being able to utilise only 20—30% of their capacity; while the whole country is haunted by prospects of closing down establishments. Owing to the lack of credit and the decline in custom the commercial turn-over has materially decreased, whereas on the other hand there has been an advance in the scale of public taxation. The foreign trade balance, active in character for the country generally, is not in the very least encouraging to the Banate. Although the value of the wheat exported from the territory covered by the Chamber was 17 million dinars in excess of that recorded for the previous year, on the other hand the value of the maize exports was 380 millions and that of the wine exports 22 millions less than in 1933. The biggest decline is that in the export trade in poultry — from 86 to 5 million dinars. The quota of the loss on exports falling to the share of the Banate is 110 dinars a head, while the charges imposed under the head of public imposts show an advance of 40%. And the system of taxation is in any case an unjust one. Whereas the assessable property of Laibach is estimated, at 12 million, that of the much smaller and poorer town of Beeskerek has been fixed at 27 million dinars. The Govern-

ment takes no notice whatever of the representations made by the Chambers; for — as the former Minister of Commerce Demetrovitch has declared — the Chambers complain also when there is no reason for them to do so: they complained just as bitterly in the days of the "conjuncture" as they do now, consequently their complaints cannot be taken seriously.

FRANK STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF FINANCE

Since the dictatorship was established six years ago no politician has spoken so frankly about the financial difficulties with which Yugoslavia has to contend as the Minister of Finance, Stojadinovitch, at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. The Minister of Finance of the Yefitch Government began by saying that when he retired from office as Minister of Finance in April, 1926, the dinar had been stabilised in Switzerland at the rate of 9.12 centimes. In 1931 a stabilisation loan of 2,000,000,000 dinars had been taken up; nevertheless, the quotation of the dinar began to decline, the result being that the rate of exchange in Switzerland was 100 dinars = 7 francs. To cover the requirements in foreign exchanges the National Bank had in 1931 taken up a revolving credit of 314 million French francs; and for the purpose of bringing the official rate into harmony with the private market quotations, a premium was introduced, the latter now amounting to 28.5%. Stojadinovitch is determined to stabilise the dinar at its present valuation; though he admits that the economic organisation of Yugoslavia is unsound and suffering from numerous evils which must not be aggravated by an inflation.

S P O R T S

In Hungary January is the great season for winter sports. This year, unfortunately, the snowfall has been so slight that skiing has not yet been set going in full earnest, so that our winter sporting is so far restricted to skating and ice hockey.

ICE HOCKEY

During recent years Hungarian ice hockey has developed in a noteworthy manner and today occupies an eminent place in the European order of precedence. A splendid opportunity to display this advance was afforded by the visit to Budapest of the "Winnipeg Monarchs", of Canada, the "uncrowned kings" of ice hockey. Although their opponents were classes above them, the Hungarian team put up a splendid fight and actually succeeded in obtaining the lead in the first third. Ultimately the Canadians won by 4 goals to 1, — a result which, in view of the other achievements of the Canadians in Europe, may be described as an excellent one, seeing that elsewhere they won by 6,9 and even 12 goals.

FOOTBALL

A large number of Hungarian teams have been touring foreign countries, with results of a very varied and ambiguous character. Public opinion in Hungary objects very seriously to these winter "adventures", for the teams, exhausted as they are by the hard autumn season, are quite unable to do justice to themselves and as a consequence cannot represent Hungarian football in a manner in keeping with its high reputation. Last year the Hungarian footballers played 16 international matches: of these 10 were won, 1 drawn, and 5 lost, the number of goals scored being in favour of Hungary — 48 to 37.

ATHLETICS

The leading Swedish athletic organ, the "Idrottsbladet", has drafted an order of precedence based upon the ten best results of last year. This list gives the following order of precedence: — 1. Finland, 213 points; 2. Germany, 172.5 points; 3. Sweden, 167 points; 4. Hungary, 98.5 points; 5. France, 54 points; 6. Great Britain, 52 points. According to the point system employed by the Swedish journal, Italy — which in the European Championships was fourth — figures only as eighth on the list.