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"MAGYARISATION BY FORCE"*

by

Francis Herczeg

Dr. Demeter Kirilovitch, professor in the University of Belgrade, has published — at Ujvidék — a book entitled "Magyarisation in Pre-War Hungary". The writer admits that he was inspired to write the book by the revisionist movement in Hungary. He would like to challenge the movement himself — he says — and therefore undertakes to prove the thesis that the Hungarian Governments of pre-War days "suppressed and rendered impossible the culture of the non-Magyar nationalities to an extent so far without a parallel in any civilised State in the world".

Though we consider it futile today — when an epidemic of political cholera is devastating the Danube Valley — to treat of the pimple alleged to have disfigured the nose of a long-departed acquaintance, nevertheless, seeing that from his thesis Dr. Kirilovitch draws certain conclusions relative to the idea of revision, we cannot afford to pass the book over in silence.

The proofs submitted to the tribunal of public opinion by the writer are by no means re-assuring in character, for they are the speeches of politicians of Serb nationality delivered long ago in the Hungarian Houses of Deputies and the articles of journalists of Serb nationality living in Hungary. The witnesses cannot be described as being unbiassed, — not even Oscar Jászi, also cited by the book, seeing that he has ceased to be a Hungarian and has been disowned by his former compatriots. It is not quite clear what effects the writer expects these bits of "evidence" to produce; but when we read them we could not help saying with a sigh of relief: — "Heavens, how freely people in pre-War Hungary must have been able to express their opinions if it was possible to speak and say such things!!"

For, had Polit and Miletitch been Croatians and had spoken in that spirit in the Belgrade Skupstina, most likely they would have met the fate of Radic and his fellows. And what about their papers, the "Zastava" and the "Branik"?! When Magyar infant schools were set up in South Hungary, this

is what the "Zastava" wrote: — "During fairs the parents are compelled to protect their children against wandering gypsies; now they have to protect them against the authorities. Far better that they should play in the dust and remain ignorant than that they should acquire fundamental knowledge in Magyar!!" It is true, indeed, that for writing this article the author was sentenced to eight days' confinement (a penalty still touching the heart of Dr. Kirilovitch); but the "Zastava" was able to continue writing and agitating undisturbed: and it is probably still alive. But I wonder whether the Belgrade professor has ever thought what would be the fate of the Magyar journalist and Magyar paper in the Vojvodina that presumed to criticise the educational policy of the Yugoslav Government in such a tone?

The book numbering 150 pages has only one really palpable charge to bring against the educational policy of the Hungary of pre-War days, — viz. that the teaching of Magyar was made compulsory in the "nationality" schools. Let there be no mistake about it: not that the Hungarians magyarised these schools; only that a place was claimed also for the State language in the syllabus drafted in a foreign tongue. The writer bitterly complains that "under the 1879 Education Act the Magyar language was made an obligatory subject also in those schools in which it had previously not been taught, while no one could be a teacher in those schools who had not qualified as teacher of the Magyar language". And with a posthumous complaint of the kind the writer would fain arouse the conscience of humanity in a period when every State in Europe with a medley of tongues most energetically insists upon the teaching of the State language.

The writer is exasperated by the tone in which Kálmán Tisza, then Prime Minister of Hungary, spoke in justification of this measure as against the attacks of Polit, a Deputy of Serb nationality. What Tisza said was: — "Since we are living in Hungary, whether the honourable Member likes it or not, — and since in Hungary there can only be one official language, the Magyar —, every citizen must be afforded an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of that language already in the elementary school". — And, in God's name, what else could he have said?!

Dr. Kirilovitch establishes the fact that at the period in question there were 3343 schools in the country in which the language of instruction was

* Foreign Minister Titulescu of Roumania, when he arrived in Pozsony in order to confer with Foreign Minister Benes of Czecho-Slovakia, on March 27th replied to one of the greetings about the "suppression he was subject to in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy". The above article which was written by Francis Herczeg, the great Hungarian writer and Associate President of the Hungarian Academy of Science, before the Titulescu interview, bears of special significance on the matter.

not Magyar. And he admits that in the Serbian denominational schools — "which were saved at the cost of great sacrifices" — the children were brought up in a "national" spirit (i. e. in a Serbian national and anti-Magyar spirit). So this is the oppression so far unparalleled in any civilised State in the world!!

Strange must be the structure of the brain of a professor of history who when writing such things down does not for a single moment think of the war of extermination waged by the Belgrade Government against the Magyar schools and other cultural institutions in the South. How true of him what the Saviour said to the Pharisees: — "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel!" Our writer would swallow even the biggest dromedary without blinking, provided it were only bred by the Yugoslav Ministry of Education.

While engaged in "showing up" the injustices committed by the Hungarian Government, he says: — "It was the conviction of the Serbs that no people can preserve its national consciousness unless it lives in an independent political and administrative territory where it controls its own destiny. That is why they desired that Hungary should be a federative State, or — if that was not feasible — that sheriffships should be created in the districts inhabited by minorities and be ordered to suit the wishes of the non-Magyar nationalities".

That the conservative Hungarian Kingdom was not in any hurry to effect so far-reaching a transformation of its ancient Constitution merely to

please the Serbian immigrants, is quite comprehensible in the light of folk-psychology. But in any case the problem has long been out-of-date. On the other hand, however, there is nothing out-of-date about asking Dr. Kirilovitch what he has to say to the new Yugoslav State fighting against the idea of a federative State by the employment of a dictatorship, of State Protection Acts and of summary tribunals, — though a federative State would surely be so logical and so beneficial an arrangement in the case of a country composed of nine different nationalities? Would not Dr. Kirilovitch be merely doing his duty as a patriot if he were to write another book to propagate the idea of the establishment of Magyar and Swabian sheriffships in the South (in the districts of what was formerly Southern Hungary) to be ordered to suit the wishes of the respective minorities?

We do not expect any answer; for we know that peoples possessing a superheated national feeling are liable to see themselves only and are not inclined to take cognizance of the existence of other peoples. We know also that even professors of history who abandon themselves to politics forget the lessons of history. We should however be delighted if Dr. Kirilovitch's book achieved universal popularity, for its data — collected by the author at the cost of enormous labour and displaying at least as much malice-serve as a veritable certificate of good conduct on the part of pre-War Hungary, — a circumstance of which we might well be proud if we were inclined to be vain.

THE BROKEN CHESSBOARD

by

Ladislav Lakatos

No treaties are valid for ever. They come into being, and in time are discarded. Take, for instance, the Treaty of Westphalia, perhaps the greatest masterpiece of diplomacy known in modern times, which in 1648 concluded the Thirty Years' War and which is generally considered to have laid the foundation upon which Europe's new diplomatic configuration was erected. This treaty bore the brilliant stamp of Cardinal Mazarin, a man of no mean genius, who in it secured the triumph of all that his dead master, Richelieu, had fought and struggled for (better said, got others to fight and struggle for) in the Thirty Years' War. And yet, where are the boundaries of that period? With the exception of a few historians where is the well-educated man or woman who, at a moment's notice, could draw a map of the Europe created by the Peace of Westphalia? Nothing is left of it. As nothing

is left of the Europe created by the Peace of Utrecht which concluded the war of the Spanish Succession.

Treaties are not valid for ever. On the contrary, peace treaties are usually very short-lived. Take, for instance the Peace of Frankfurt, which was concluded in 1871 between the Germany of Bismarck and the third French Republic, and which tore away the whole of Alsace and half of Lotharing from France. The generations before the world war were accustomed to think of that peace treaty as something immutable and fixed like the laws governing the liquidity of water and the speed at which light and sound travel. And yet, forty-three years saw the end of it. — of something so firmly rooted in people's consciousness. The treaty was honoured only for forty-three years, and, let it be said, even at that, it was one of the most durable treaties known in the world's history.

All the peace treaties concluded in Paris and its environs — not only the Treaty of Versailles — have outlived their natural term of existence. And when those who are anxious about them talk of their immutability they are, in fact, labouring under a great historical mistake. Those treaties have already undergone a change where their financial provisions are concerned. The financial services stipulated were so absurd, so impossible to fulfil that this side of the treaties had to be infringed in the very first ten years. In their totality the peace treaties of Paris and its environs did not last even a decade. Treaties are not valid for ever. Life goes on in spite of them. Life cannot be bound by stipulations and imprisoned in paragraphs. Treaties must change with the changes in the forces that create — in most cases dictate — them. The world is not everlasting. *Panta rei* — as Heracleitos of Ephesus said, who condensed in one immortal sentence his undying astonishment over the fact that everything on earth is subject to change: — "No river is ever twice the same". Everything is in a state of flux. Everything is subject to change. Everything is in a state of perpetual motion.

There are treaties — but the Treaty of Trianon is not one of them — which at the moment they were signed met the requirements of a certain situation. But even such treaties cannot be permanent; for the economic, cultural and hegemonic forces of which, at the time they were concluded, the treaties may have been a faithful mirror become, in the nature of things, changed, modified and transformed. And then the treaties must be altered to meet altered circumstances. There are other treaties — and the Treaty of Trianon heads the list of them — which even at the time of their birth were unjust, and must therefore break down. These are the treaties that bring revolution in their wake. Since 1918 Europe has actually been in a constant state of revolution, the sole cause of which is the unsound nature of the Paris peace treaties. Theirs were the dictates that tore asunder natural economic units, proclaimed war against honest labour, created unemployment, and put the beggar's staff into the hands of legions among the victors, as well as in the defeated countries. These treaties have made work, supply and demand, the markets, production, consumption, and even money uncertain quantities. But if they have made everything else so unstable, why should they remain immutable themselves?

Treaties are not valid for ever. Treaties born of wars may be altered either by other wars or by way of amicable compromise. The former, unfortunately, is usually the case. But, one way or another, altered they must be. This is why we keep on declaring what we emphasised long before the recent events in Germany, namely that revision is the way to peace; that in fact the only way to peace is through revision. We reiterate this unceasingly, and shall continue to do so, no matter how trying it must be to the nerves of Little Entente politicians. The only possible road to peace in the Danube Basin, and throughout the whole of Europe, is the path that leads through

revision. That does not mean that there is the slightest inclination in Hungary for anything but peace; but it must be remembered that peace or war does not depend on any one country. Circumstances involuntarily provoke events, provoke and produce them subconsciously, even automatically. Hungary's enemies must realize that Hungary's problems have overstepped the frame of Hungarian interests. The Hungarian question is no longer solely a Hungarian problem; it is a European question of primary importance. The oppressed condition of millions of alienated Hungarians, the impossible territorial construction of the Little Entente states, their absurd economic conditions, the cultural tension, the misery, suffering, injustices obtaining in them are all explosive forces, the dynamic power of which spontaneously makes itself evident and will spontaneously come into operation. Today the Danube Valley is a valley of unrest — not because of Hungary, whose internal life, intentions and aims are of the most peaceful nature, but because of the state of matters in the countries beyond her borders. There is not only a Trianon Hungary, there is also a Trianon Czecho-Slovakia, a Trianon Roumania, and a Trianon Yugoslavia. And these Trianon "victors" have not known a moment's peace since Trianon. They have no faith themselves in their new territorial construction. To safeguard it they are obliged, almost daily, to invent the most diverse systems of compulsion. These systems, violent and wily in turn, but always cruel, are a source of constant disquietude to themselves as well as to those who, against their will, were forcibly attached to new states devoid of historical traditions and forms, and utterly lacking in spirituality — the inner law of man. They are formations dependent for their existence upon violence. It is impossible to sit happily on the point of a bayonet, or to bake bread in the bore of a cannon. Those who were forced under alien rule by the Peace of Trianon will never acquiesce in their misfortune, and those whose power was greatly augmented by that treaty cannot believe in their own "good fortune". The result is permanent uncertainty and flurry.

The past week has certainly been the most exciting seven days since the close of the war, and telegrams and reports from the various capitals pragmatically enumerate all the agreements and pacts which are said to be in danger. In danger now? Why, these agreements and pacts have been in danger for a very long time. They were never out of danger. The whole diplomatic chessboard was broken many years ago; the house of cards built up of pact upon pact has been tottering for a long time back. Everything was so vague, so complicated, so mutually destructive, like chemicals that neutralize each other, that even experts in diplomacy could not tell how matters actually stood. The situation is grave, but did it become so now? When a man drops dead of nicotine poisoning the uninitiated may think it was the last cigarette that did it. But the doctor knows better. He knows it was not the last one, but the fifty thousand that went before it that killed the poor man. Mistakes reach far back into the past. Death is not the work of a moment. Death may take place in a moment of time, but it has been at work for years, for decades, in the doomed organism. —y—

FRANCIS RÁKÓCZI II. AND ENGLAND *

by

Professor Eugene Horváth, Phil. D.

The two-hundredth anniversary of Rákóczi's death affords a capital opportunity to deal with the European connections of his War of Independence. To the English reader it is of peculiar interest that the whole course of this War of Independence coincides with that of the War of the Spanish Succession in which the British nation also took part. Although the British fought on the Emperor's side, the British Government espoused the Hungarian cause so fervently and warmly that Hungarian historians have always treated the question with sincere gratitude and appreciation.

So far, however, the War of the Spanish Succession has not found its real interpreter among British historians, for since the appearance of the work of A. Parnell (*"The War of the Succession in Spain"*, London, 1888) — a work now out of date — not a single comprehensive treatment of the subject has been published in England. Even the big History of England which is just being published by the University of Oxford only speaks of it as Marlborough's war; that meaning practically what would be meant if people in Hungary were to call the great European war known familiarly as the War of the Spanish Succession "Eugene of Savoy's War". Seeing that this was only the concluding chapter of the gigantic struggle carried on by the Continental Powers after the Peace of 1648 to settle the question of the balance of power in Europe, we may perhaps be permitted to deal briefly with the Danubian connections of this struggle.

Having in 1648 lost their possessions on the banks of the Rhine, the Habsburgs endeavoured to establish a new empire on the shores of the Danube. After the overthrow of the Ottoman power Prince Eugene of Savoy gave the Emperor Leopold in Austria new territory which was a Great Power and thus rendered him independent of the votes of the German princes. He was not however so completely carried away by his victories as to fail to see clearly that the focus of the new Power was Hungary — a country of which Leopold was king by virtue of the Coronation Oath which bound him to respect its ancient Constitution. Eugene fully appreciated the fact that in the

event of the strengthening of the position of France and of the princes of the German Empire removing the Habsburgs from the imperial throne (there being just a possibility of these princes making an alliance with France against the Habsburgs), the Emperor would have to transfer the centre of gravity of his new empire to Hungary. It was Eugene who first broached this idea; and it was from him that the idea was taken over by Napoleon and Bismarck, who endeavoured to drive the Habsburgs from the German Empire.

The Hungarian nation in every respect showed its gratitude for his having liberated it from the Turkish yoke at the head of the Emperor's German troops, whose victory was furthered also by the armed forces of the King of Hungary and by the assistance of the inhabitants of that country. The Parliament of 1687 made the succession hereditary in the male line of the Habsburg dynasty and by way of showing its gratitude revoked the right of armed resistance (*jus resistendi*) guaranteed to the nation by the Golden Bull (Act XXXI. of 1222). There can be no doubt whatsoever that this great sacrifice was made by the nation because it presumed that there would be no infringement of the sovereignty of the State of the King of Hungary and that the independence of the constitutional Government would be restored. Nor had the sovereign any intentions to the contrary; for then he would not have appealed to the Hungarian Parliament to vest the hereditary succession in the House of Habsburg. Consequently the laws of 1687 were — as their character shows — based upon reciprocal agreement.

However, when the country had been liberated from the Turkish yoke and its whole territory was occupied by imperial troops, the Hungarian forces were disbanded and the triennial parliament postulated by law became a dead letter; while, in the belief that the Hungarian State had in 1687 passed into the hereditary possession of the Emperor, and was therefore not entitled to take up arms against its oppressor the Vienna Government deprived the nation of its ancient Constitution and its liberties and the lives and property of the inhabitants of Hungary of the protection of the law.

Such was the state of things when the War of the Spanish Succession broke out, — a war in which Louis XIV. claimed the Spanish Empire for himself. He was opposed by England and Holland, — the command of the armies being taken over by Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy respectively. Three

* On April 8th it will be 200 years that Francis Rákóczi II, whose war of independence against the Habsburgs during the years 1703—1711 belongs to the most romantic chapters of Hungarian History, finished his earthly career in Rodosto, along the banks of the Marmor-Sea. We deem it very worthwhile to publish the above essay of Professor Eugene Horváth on the occasion of the anniversary, since he is one of the most prominent authorities on Anglo-Hungarian relations.

years later, in 1703, the revolution in Hungary broke out, the Emperor being thus compelled to fight simultaneously on two fronts. For years the most important question which Vienna had to answer was whether the major portion of the armed forces should be sent to the shores of the Rhine or to Hungary. The maritime Powers insisted that the imperial troops should evacuate Hungary, — a course which Vienna informed the world was impossible in view of the fact that in that country the malcontents had taken up arms against the settled order previously existing. This prevailed upon the English Government to instruct its Vienna Legate, (George Stepney: 1701—05), on February 8th., 1704, to mediate between the Vienna Government and the leaders of the Hungarian revolution.

Stepney noticed at once that the revolution had not been organised by malcontents — and not against the settled order —, but that the whole Hungarian nation had taken up arms and that the War of Independence was being carried on under the direction of Francis Rákóczi, who was the leader of his nation. He was of opinion that the insurgents had to be treated, not as malcontents, but as "a people no longer" inclined to tolerate subjection; he immediately applied for fresh instructions, which should be addressed to the leaders and to the people: and he was soon in possession of the "other full powers" he desired.¹

Stepney soon convinced himself that the whole nation was united — "both chiefs and people were cemented like a wall and seemed resolved to stand or fall together"; that the Vienna Government on the other hand was depending upon brute force and oppression ("the true maxim on which they base their present claim is Hobbes's principle, that all right is founded in power"); that their sole aim was the oppression and despoilment of a free nation ("our generals are for spinning out the war as long as they can in hopes of plunder, . . . some of our German ministers are willing to extend an arbitrary power over a few nation." "The Chamber or Treasury is for having the revenue increased by confiscations, wherein several private persons join with them in hopes of having some share in the spoil and are seconded by others who are in possession of grants made contrary to right and law which must be reserved if ever any peaceable settlement comes to be made, for their title cannot be good but by conquest". As a consequence the Vienna Ministers endeavoured "rather to widen than heal the breach", — that circumstance in any case lessening the responsibility laid on the shoulders of the Hungarian nation for the imperial troops having been unable to march to the Rhine. The English Government therefore urged the necessity of an agreement ("the Queen as a Principal Ally, considering the great expense she is at to support the Confederacy, thinks she has a right to press the Emperor with all earnestness not to lose any opportunity of coming to an accommodation with his subjects"). The

Emperor's Ministers accused Stepney of showing partiality towards the Hungarians; but his Government gave him full satisfaction for the charge. In order to prevent the agreement being concluded, the terms already practically accepted were one-sidedly changed, as was reported by Stepney ("the Hungarians were not the only cause of your late disappointment . . ., the true and evident cause was that your Imperialists produced at Schemnitz a new project of truce much different from the overtures which had been tendered in August and with which the Hungarians seemed in a manner to acquiesce").

Despite prolonged negotiations the work of mediation was frustrated. For years Stepney travelled night and day being for weeks deprived of that rest which his office as Ambassador in Vienna should have assured him. After having ascertained the real character of the situation and having convinced himself of the justice of the Hungarians' grievances and demands, he continued the struggle, not only for the purpose of enabling larger numbers of imperial troops to march to the Rhine, but also to enable the deeply injured Hungarian nation to obtain satisfaction and to recover the possession of the rights which had been replaced by servitude.

It was all in vain: after years of futile efforts, in July, 1706, the English and Dutch Ambassadors received from the Vienna Government a definitive refusal. After that had happened, Stepney did less than ever to disguise his conviction, throwing the whole responsibility on the Vienna Ministers ("This is laying the axe to the root of the tree, and any man who has had the happiness of living under a free Government cannot but be a little concerned to see a poor people deprived of their liberties at one blow, and given up to servitude and future persecutions notwithstanding a lowerful mediation, of the same profession as themselves, has been pleased to appear in their behalf". — Report dated July 20th.). The failure of his efforts so completely discouraged him that he begged to be transferred: — "I shall be glad to make my retreat whenever His Grace shall think it convenient that I may be relieved"). When on August 1st. he appeared in the company of the Dutch Ministers before the Emperor Joseph, Stepney said openly that he would have presented the sovereign with a happier Hungary and Transylvania if the machinations of the Emperor's Ministers had not prevented him doing so.² Stepney was recalled; but in addition to her letter informing the Emperor Joseph of his recall, Queen Anne addressed a note to Rákóczi in which she expressed her regret that the mediation had failed ("Mon Cousin, . . . chagrin que nous avoit causé la rupture subite et imprévue des Négociations de Paix en Hongrie").

Stepney has been given a place of affectionate

¹ "Sire, nous osons même assurer Votre Majesté Impériale, que moyennant une petite prolongation et quelques expédients modérés, Votre Majesté Impériale auroit eu le royaume de Hongrie et le principauté de Transylvanie dans une plus grande félicité et autorité plus ample que jamais ce royaume et cette province n'ont été possédés par aucun de vos ancêtres. Mais, Sire, les représentants des généraux et des ministres nous ont ravi de cette affaire si importante et présentement il ne nous reste autre chose qu'à faire desvoeux que les armes de Votre Majesté soient plus heureuses que nos soigens n'ont été."

¹ The malcontents "deserve both from the Emperor and the Mediators to be treated with as a people no longer under subjection but a nation entirely at liberty to dispose of them selves as they think fit". — "If it may not be convenient to send me other full powers wherein all expressions may be avoided which can in any way disoblige the Hungarians on a point whereon they seem to be so tender."

gratitude by Hungarian historians. He was succeeded by Sir Philip Meadows, who was given a cool reception in the Vienna Court. Queen Anne continued to show her goodwill towards Rákóczi. On December 20th., 1706, the Hungarian Prince thanked her for her letter; while on October 17th., 1708, he applied to the English Queen and sent two confidential representatives to London to be present at the English-French negotiations. These representatives — John Klement and Daniel Jablonsky — appeared before the English Cabinet on April 1st., 1710, being assured of the Queen's goodwill by the Duke of Marlborough and Godolphin, Lord Treasurer.³ This assurance was repeated by Marlborough on April 18th., — a circumstance which showed that the attitude of the British Government towards Hungary had not changed. It was this goodwill that prevailed upon Francis Rákóczi, on August 30th., 1710, to address a letter to Queen Anne in which he painted a touching picture of the sufferings of the Hungarian nation and begged the Queen for protection and goodwill.⁴ Queen Anne instructed her Vienna Ministers, Francis Palmes (1709—11), to enter with energy into the work of mediation. This may be seen from the note of instruction addressed to Palmes (on January 30th., 1711) by St. John, later Lord Bolingbroke: — "Press the Imperial Court with the utmost earnestness. The Queen thinks it impossible by force alone to put an end to the troubles in Hungary. Being a people used to liberty, violence and oppression will never subdue them to be quiet under the Austrian Government, but they may easily be won by indulgence and

rendered faithful subjects by restoring them to their just privileges".

Similar instructions were given to Lord Peterborough, Extraordinary Plenipotentiary, who arrived in Vienna towards the end of February, 1711, and left Austria at the end of April after the death of the Emperor Joseph. On May 1st., on the basis of a promise to restore the ancient Hungarian Constitution the Peace of Szatmár was concluded between the representative of the Vienna Court and the leaders of the revolutionary movement. But Rákóczi was sacrificed for the sake of the agreement; for on the basis of a promise made by Louis XIV. of France he had had himself elected sovereign Prince of Hungary and Transylvania and refused to renounce his sovereign rights. On February 22nd., 1712, Rákóczi left Hungary, for he did not wish to stand in the way of the agreement; and he did not even appear at the session of Parliament (1712—15) which by its discussions rendered possible the establishment of the Danube Empire of the Habsburgs.

Rákóczi was omitted from the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714). He lost his sovereignty; but the mediation of Great Britain contributed largely to restore the historical Constitution of Hungary. Charles of Habsburg ceded Spain to the French prince Philip of Anjou, but received in exchange a new Empire on the shores of the Danube in which the Act of 1715 by the oath of the King ensured the constitutional liberty of the Hungarian State and the independence of its Government.

Great Britain contributed considerably to achieve this result.

guerriers qui ont si genereusement sacrifié leurs vie en combattant pour la mesme cause, ne servira-t-elle qu'autoriser les preparatifs que l'on fait deja pour exposer aux suplices sur des echafauts, et sur des theatres publics tant rant de personnes de la mesme Religion? Non, Madame, l'opinion que nous avons de votre justice nous combatte, et la renommée de votre Clemence s'estant repandue jusque chez nous, nous sommes bien éloignés de croire, qu'elle nous refuse sa protection, d'autant plus, que nous ne demandons ny armes, ny troupes, ny forces, ny prolongation de la guerre, d'ailleurs si presente a vos sujets pour soutenir la justice de notre cause; nous ne souhaitons de Hauts Alliés qu'une charité chretienne et mutuelle que l'on doit avoir selon les loix divines et humains pour tous ceux qui sont persecutés par l'ambition, la cruauté et l'avarice d'une force superieure. La personne sus nommée aura l'honneur de vous représenter, Madame, mes prieres, et celles d'une nation autrefois si renommée et aujourd'hui si abatus par une suite de malheurs de plusieurs siecls; nous paroissions, Madame, devant le flambeau ardent de la liberté de votre heureux Royaume avec une chandelle exteinte, mais encore fumante; nous souhaitons de participer a son bonheur et a sa lueur sans luy nuire, ny le corrompre; sera-t-il possible qu'une Reine et une nation aujourd'hui aussi elevée, que la notre est abaute, ne veuille allumer cette chandelle au flambeau de sa liberté; et qu'elle ne se reflexisse sur la vicissitude et les changements de la gloire des mortels? ne trouvera-t-elle pas plus utile de conserver plutot la liberté meme des nations les plus éloignées que de les abandonner a la proie des Souverains dont il y en a si peu qui bornent leurs ambitions? La confiance que nous avons, Madame, dans la personne de Votre majeste nous persuade aisement de croire des moyens bien fortes de votre protection pendent le cours de la negotiation de la Paix Generale; je souhaite que vos peuples soient aussi heureux apres sa conclusion que vos armes ont esté glorieuses et victorieuses pendant cette guerre, et que vos sujets redevables de leurs bonheurs a votre Majeste jouissent pendent plusieurs generations de ce don du Ciel sous le Regne d'une si grand Reine qui scait les defendre et les Gouverner. — Je suis, avec toute la Veneration, et avec tout le respect due, Madame, de Votre Majeste Royale le tres humble, tres obeissant et tres devoue serviteur, Francois Prince. — A Szerencs le 30 d'aoust 1710."

³ "Tandem prima mensis Aprilis in Palatium Consiliarium deducti, donec Senatus congregaretur in Anti-Camera, expectabamus, unde Dux de Marlborough ad nos exeundo perquam benigne et sane Paternae nos admonuit ut in tam illustri Consessu libere et sincere loquamur, se et Serenissimam Reginam Quietam Gentis summe vovere, et ad eandem stabiliendam cooperare velle. Mox post undecimam horam intromissi sumus, ubi praesentibus ut vocantur Cabinet-Consilariis (Tit.) Praeside Sommers, Duce de Marlborough, Magno Regni Cancellario, Comite Cuper, Magno Admirali Comite Pembroch, Magno Thesaurario Mylord Godolphin Status Principalibus Secretariis Duce Queensburg, Comite Sunderland ac Dno Boyle, Dominus Jablonski sequentem fecit sermonem . . . Mylord Godolffin, Magnus Regni Thesaurarius in haec verba prorupit, ut Serenitas Vestra assecurata sit: 1. Reginam pro Serenitate Vestra ac Hungariae Regno optime intentionatam. 2. Suam Majestatem Sincero corde, quae ad stabiliendam Serenitatem Vestram visa fuerint, et fieri potuerint, omnino praestitutum."

⁴ "Madame, — Depuis le temps de son glorieux gouvernement Votre Majeste Royale a si fortement appuyé la cause de Nations et de peuples opprimés, que l'esperance meme que ma Patrie Conjointement avec moy avons conceues dans sa generosité ne sons pas devenues infructueuses depuis l'acceptation de sa mediation qu'elle nous avoit si benignement offert. — C'est, Madame, a la magnanimité de Votre Majeste Royale que nous devons attribuer les assurances qu'elle nous a souvent reiterées de vouloir contribuer au retablissement de la tranquillité de ce Royaume, et de nous garantir du joug pesant dont les armes de l'Empereur nous menacent. Plus je considere Madame les victoires de vos armes que l'Europe admire, plus je conviens que le Ciel ne vous les a données que pour vous mettre en estat d'appuyer les opprimés, et si vous avez fait répandre tant de sang de vos sujets sur des champs semés de glories pour la conversation de la liberté de l'Europe, votre pieté naturelle souffrirait-elle que le meme sang repandu en orgueilisse l'Empereur votre allié jusques au point de nous refuser la justice meme? cette pieté dis je permettra-t-elle, que cette victime de la liberté de l'Europe efface nos lix et nos privileges, que nous avons herité de nos ancestres; et enfin la mort d'un si grand nombre de

LITTLE ENTENTE ALLIES "AT HOME"

The Greek revolution which is now a thing of the past, together with a few phenomena connected therewith, has once more shown that the Balkan Peninsula is still what it was, — the storm-centre and danger spot of Europe.

evidence previously too. As far back as the middle of February the Chief of the Greek General Staff stressed the necessity of the development on a large scale of the Greek army and of the strengthening of the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, giving as his reason



This map is an illustration taken from the Yugoslav Colonel Kostitch's "Military Manual" and shows Yugoslavia's insatiable territorial aspirations. According to this map Yugoslav imperialism claims 1. parts of the Counties of Baranya, Bács-Bodrog and Csanád belonging to *present-day Hungary*, 2. the Banat annexed to the *Rumania* which is the ally of Yugoslavia, 3. the western frontier di strict of *Bulgaria*, together with the right bank of the Danube, roughly from Lompalanka on thenorth to Krivapalanka on the south, 4. the part of *Albania* to the north of the river Drim, 5. from *Italy* the whole of Istria, with Trieste, and the Island of Cherso, and 6. from *Austria*, Carinthia and the southern frontierregion of Styria.

This fact has not been neutralised even by the Balkan Pact, which is at best an opportune means of disguising the expansive covetousness of the Balkan States and of provisionally checking — but certainly not of preventing — the desire for conquest which looks so like breaking into flame at the earliest possible opportunity. Disquieting phenomena of the kind were in evidence during the Greek revolution of barely two weeks' duration; indeed they were in

the fact that Bulgaria had decided to build a few roads and railway lines leading to the common frontier. Consequently the Greek Government took this early opportunity to utilise a road-building programme of a purely economic character to disguise the initiation of a scheme of armaments involving the outlay of nearly two thousand million drachmas. On its part the Turkish Government explained its measures for the concentration of troops in East

Thracia early in March as being due to the Bulgarian Government having taken certain military measures on the southern frontier of the country immediately after the outbreak of the revolution — a procedure which in the given situation Bulgaria was perfectly entitled to undertake and which it was her absolute duty to carry into effect in order to protect her southern frontier. That in effecting these preventive

unjust and ruthless provisions of the treaties of peace were doomed to figure continuously as scapegoats and to have even their legitimate actions regarded with suspicion and immediately checked. However, other dangers too are latent in this intolerable state of defencelessness. The change ensuing as a result of the peace edicts in respect of power and of the balance of power continually instigates the public



This map has been taken from the January 18th., 1935, issue of the Rumanian paper "Vestul" appearing in Temesvár (Timi soara). The dotted territories are those claimed by Yugoslavia. This map differs from that above in that it does not show Yugoslavia claiming the western frontier district of Bulgaria, though on the other hand it claims for Yugoslavia the northern apex of Greece, while it would cut off from Italy, Rumania and Austria far larger areas of territory, and finally — this being the most characteristic point — once more puts forward the idea of a "corridor" to connect Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia which — as is well known — the two Slav allies failed to carry into effect at the Peace Conference, — ascheme aiming at the "expropriation" of territories of the western part of *Dismembered Hungary* stretching almost to the Danube.

measures Bulgaria was not inspired by any warlike intentions or any desire to obtain booty, was evident — even if the Bulgarian Premier, Zlatov, had not made his decided statement nor Titulescu had not uttered his menacing warning — to every one familiar with the situation of this disarmed country faced with a grave economic crisis which has not yet attained complete consolidation even in political respects.

It would seem as if the smaller States which have been dismembered and rendered defenceless by the

opinion and the politicians of the Little Entente States in particular to dream of further territorial expansion, as was shown in our January and February issues.

And, as documented by the annexed maps, the "appetite" of the Rumanians and Serbians is already so enormous that these peoples would demand additional territories; not only from Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, Italy and Albania, but also from one another. However, we do not believe that Europe will permit their tress to become skyscrapers.

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

HUNGARY IS TO CARRY THE QUESTION OF MILITARY EQUALITY BEFORE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Although the Berlin Government's announcement that the strength of the German army was to be increased to 12 army corps and 36 divisions, did not come as a surprise to the European Powers, it caused a wave of great excitement, chiefly in France, Russia, and the Little Entente states. Italy and Great Britain judged the situation more calmly and, thanks to this attitude, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, *Sir John Simon*, and the Keeper of the Seal, *Mr. Anthony Eden*, were not obliged to cancel their proposed visit to Berlin. The British statesmen had lengthy and promising conversations with *Herr Hitler* and other leading statesmen during the few days they spent in the German capital.

The attitude of the British Government in sending its representatives to Berlin in spite of recent developments may well be described as historical in its import. The decision to do so was undoubtedly based upon three things. Firstly, the step taken by Germany was no more than the open avowal of a fact known already to the whole world and tacitly tolerated by the Powers; secondly, resort to reprisals in any form whatsoever was not to be thought of; and thirdly, England had no intention, of even in the face of recent events, of abating her efforts to achieve peaceable agreement in Europe. Indeed she was ready to continue them with increased energy.

The British press did its best to judge things as they really were. The *Morning Post* stated the opinion that the German Government had now at least discarded all subterfuge, and matters must be faced with sober commonsense. To tell the truth, the whole of Europe was arming, and *H. Hitler's* important announcement had been preceded by events that made the step taken by Germany understandable. Such events, for instance, were the publication of the *White Book*, the resolution of the French Chamber to introduce a two years' military service, and, above all else, the fact that Soviet Russia had increased the size of her army on a peace footing from 400,000 to 960,000 men. — The *Morning Post* was not the only paper to write in this tenor. Even the most liberal newspapers contained similar statements. They wrote that every one of the nations was arming, and if Germany did so too, it was no novelty. Germany's disarmament 15 years ago was based upon the condition that the rest of the Powers would follow suit. As they had failed to do so, it was they themselves who first infringed the Treaty of Versailles.

Besides the British Government and the press, the House of Commons, too, adopted a quiet and sympathetic attitude. The first member to give his opinion on the question was *Mr Lansbury*, the leader of the Labour Party. *President Wilson* — he said — when peace was being negotiated, declared that the authors of the treaties must satisfy the nations of the world and create peace and security. Sixteen years after the conclusion of the war the nations of the world were not at all satisfied with their lot. Nations did not arm themselves for amusement, nor did armies march towards peace. The hour had come when England must make new efforts to save the peace of the world and civilization. A new world conference should be convened to debate unsettled international problems. The world must not be allowed to become involved in another war. — *Sir Herbert Samuel*, leader of the Liberal opposition, pointed out that the French standpoint, strong though it might be formally, had been undermined by the shortcomings of the past, chiefly by the fact that in sixteen years' time the Allied Powers had not accomplished disarmament. But Ger-

many must not misunderstand the British point of view. Equality for Germany? Yes! German military supremacy? No! Germany had achieved the liquidation of the impossible situation created by the Treaty of Versailles, but she must rejoin the League of Nations, there to work for peace in co-operation with the rest of the nations.

Sir John Simon, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, spoke to similar effect before he left for Berlin with *Mr. Eden*. It is too early yet, even judging by the semi-official communiqué issued, to form any opinion concerning the results of the Berlin conversations. So much, however, seems clear, namely, that they were conducted with the utmost frankness and sincerity. This is shown by *Sir John Simon's* statement to the representatives of the press:

"It was wise to come to Berlin."

One thing is sure. The situation has been essentially cleared up; for Germany has put her cards on the table, and now, when the game is being played with open cards, there is a possibility that the world may be delivered from the obsession of a mad competition in armaments. This, of course, cannot be achieved in one single conference, however fruitful it may have been. The only way to a realization of that aim lies in the convening of a conference of all the responsible statesmen from the four great European Powers. The Berlin conversations have certainly, and in no small measure, opened up the possibilities of mutual understanding. Therefore it is quite likely that the reintroduction of conscription in Germany and the announcement of the fact may — other circumstances being favourable denote the serious beginnings of a European policy of peace.

Now as concerns Hungary, the situation is clear. The military provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, were an annihilating blow to Hungarian national defence, putting, as they did, our borders entirely at the mercy of the military imperialism of the Little Entente States, who are armed to the teeth. This intolerable state of matters has now lasted for over 16 years. Italy has long since realized the impossibility of the situation, and it was but lately that *S. Mussolini* gave emphatic expression to Italy's views on the subject. The *Duce's* disarmament policy rests upon three fundamental principles: equality in armaments, security, and willingness to negotiate. *S. Mussolini* has declared that should the western Powers come to terms with Germany over Army and Navy questions, Italy will enter the arena on behalf of the rest of the defeated states, viz, Hungary, Austria, and Bulgaria. But Italy will do so even should no compromise with Germany be forthcoming, for Rome has no wish to see the states of Europe judged by two different standards.

Hungary's standpoint was stated firmly and clearly by the Premier, General Gömbös, in one of his recent speeches which contained the following passages:

"Whoever really wants to solve the European problem must first put an end to the injustices and humiliations which the so-called defeated nations are being made to suffer. Germany first demanded equality, then invoking her own sovereignty proclaimed her equality. We cannot follow Germany along this path; for Hungary — and this is what we consider the most important of all is a member of the League of Nations, and, as such, will turn to the League with the same request. And, relying on our noble Italian friends and on all those who

have proved themselves friendly towards us, we hope to attain our aims."

For our own part we have no comments to make on the Prime Minister's unequivocal statements. It is to be hoped that the League of Nations will now, as it has done several times recently, rise to the heights of its

vocation, and, in spite of the intrigues against Hungary which are sure to be forthcoming, grant to Hungary and to the rest of the defeated states what by all the laws of human and Divine justice should by rights be theirs. In view of what has happened, and what is about to happen, we have no reason to doubt that so it will be.

—v—

FRESH YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL FOR PARTITION OF AUSTRIA

In our February number we published an article dealing with the plans of the Czechs and Yugoslavs for the partition of Austria. We would now call the attention of our readers to a pamphlet by a Slovene teacher named Emil Lilek just published at Cilli, in which this latest spokesman of Yugoslav imperialism demands the immediate annexation to Yugoslavia of Carinthia, independently of whether the "Anschluss"

comes into being or not. In another pamphlet issued a few years ago the same writer put forward a scheme for the partition of Austria between Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, — a scheme under which the Czechs claimed Lower and Upper Austria and the northern section of "Burgenland", while the Yugoslavs claimed a part of Styria and the other section of "Burgenland".

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN CULTURAL AGREEMENT

On March 4th., in the Austrian Federal Chancellery, the Austro-Hungarian cultural agreement was signed, — by *Chancellor Schuschnigg* and *Foreign Minister Berger-Waldenegg* on behalf of Austria and by *Dr. Hóman, Minister of Education*, and *Baron Apor, Hungarian Minister in Vienna*, on behalf of Hungary. In the Agreement (Convention) based upon the principle of reciprocity the Hungarian Government declares that it will continue to maintain the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna, as also the Hungarian Historical Institute there bearing the name of the late Count Klebelsberg, former Hungarian Minister of Education. On its part the Austrian Government is to create a chair of Hungarian literature or history in the Vienna University to be filled by a visiting professor. The chair will be filled by the Austrian Government inviting one of the scholars nominated for the purpose by the Hungarian Government. In addition, both States — as far as possible in the same measure — will carry into effect an exchange of university and

college professors and will offer facilities for a certain restricted number of visiting professors to give lectures, and later will provide for lectures to be given in German in certain seminars, reciprocally ensuring also as many places as possible for professors and research students to work in scientific institutes. Both States will alike grant certain benefits in respect of the payment of fees to a restricted number of students (not more than 12 in either case in one and the same school-year); adjusting and systematising the cultural intercourse between the two countries in roughly the same manner as provided in the Polish and Italian agreements. — On the day of the signing of the Convention *Chancellor Schuschnigg* — in the presence of *Dr. Hóman*, Hungarian Minister of Education, — opened the Exhibition of Hungarian Popular Art arranged by the Austrian Cultural Association in the rooms of the Hagenbund which displays the products of Hungarian art.

DISSOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES IN HUNGARY?

On March 5th. the Regent of Hungary dissolved the House of Deputies convened in 1931 and convened the new Parliament to meet on April 27th. The dissolution of the House of Deputies is to be attributed to the tension in evidence in the inland political situation for some nine months past, which last spring followed the calm ensuing after the formation of the Gömbös Government (in October, 1932). The resignation, first of *Nicholas Kállay*, Minister of Agriculture, followed by that of *Béla Imrédy* ensuing upon his appointment as Governor of the National Bank of Hungary, and that of *Francis Keresztes-Fischer*, Minister of the Interior, necessitated the reconstruction of the Cabinet — or rather the construction of a new Cabinet, which was joined by *Nicholas Kozma*, Managing President of the Hungarian Telegraphic Agency, as Minister of the Interior, and by *Géza Bornemissza*, General Manager of the "Hungaria" Electrification Co. Ltd., as Minister of Commerce. In a speech broadcast on March 8th., *Julius Gömbös*, Prime Minister, gave as the reason for the dissolution the "unrest and nervousness" which had "seized certain factors of public life", when "it was made known that in its reform endeavours the Government did not intend to content itself with merely proclaiming the reforms". According to the Premier, what was needed was "a situation not permitting of misunderstanding or mis-interpretation". "On the one hand it has to be made

quite clear to the sober and objective public opinion of the country that these reforms did not aim at a revolution, but on the contrary at preventing revolutions, while on the other hand the reform policy had to be hermetically closed against the atmosphere of demagoguery, agitations and extremes." In the opinion of the Premier the dissolution of the House was rendered inevitable also "by the inadequate time at our disposal for a realisation of the reforms", seeing that it was quite evident to him that "the reforms had to be discussed and put into execution without a break and at one and the same period, while the parliament that had been dissolved would not have had time therefore, since its term would have lasted only barely a year and a half. While going to press, the election campaign is at high tide all over the country. One of the chief points of interest in the election struggle is the fact that Count Stephen Bethlen, who for more than ten years was Prime Minister of the country, after the dissolution resigned membership of the Government (the so-called National Unity) Party, which was founded by him, and accepted nomination at Nagykanizsa as non-party candidate. Some of his personal adherents have also left the Government Party, while a few of his former fellow-ministers are standing for election on the basis of the programme formulated by the Government.

BULGARIA AND THE REVOLUTION IN GREECE

The events that have just occurred in Greece caused grave anxiety in the whole of Europe, though more particularly in the Balkan States. Bulgaria regarded the events as a threat to her frontiers, — and that not only from the side of Greece. The Bulgarian frontier on the Thracian side was defended by only a very few detachments of frontier guards; and the effects of the deadly feud in Greece might easily have penetrated into Bulgarian territory. And this would very probably have complicated matters. However, to every rational person it was evident that Bulgaria was not going to plunge into adventures; and the speech made in the Royal Theatre by Premier Zlatev, as also the statement given to representatives of the foreign press by Foreign Minister Batolov, emphasised unmistakably Bulgaria's determination to preserve peace. Yet the peace of the Balkans was actually in danger. For at the very outset of the insurrection Turkey concentrated formidable military forces on the Bulgarian frontier. This move would in itself not have been of any importance, had the Turks — as they themselves would have us believe — done so merely because their treaty with Greece requires them to watch the territorial integrity of that country. However, if we take into account that the Turkish press has for over a year been conducting a bitter and causeless campaign of calumny against Bulgaria, while during the last year or more big forts have been built in Turkish Thracia, we will understand that the measures taken by Turkey caused grave misgivings in Bulgaria. This procedure on the part of Turkey was anything but a demonstration of the strength of the Balkan

Alliance, for the defence of the Balkan frontiers is not the duty of Turkey only. The reason must be sought elsewhere. There is, for instance, the question of the passes and of the European Turkish hinterland of the passes. This is a question affecting, not only Bulgaria, but also Greece, the ally of Turkey. So we have every ground for supposing that the disarmed condition of Bulgaria and the doubtful value of a Greek army wasted by internal struggles suggested to the Turks that the present was a favourable opportunity to satisfy their territorial claims. This explains the appeal of Bulgaria to the League of Nations. The watchful eyes of the European Powers, combined with the telegrams of a peaceful character exchanged between the Bulgarian and Turkish Governments on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Izmet İnönü's appointment as Prime Minister, luckily justify us in believing that the tension in the situation has slackened and that with the advent of settled conditions in Greece the warlike atmosphere will be removed for some time to come. The lesson to be gathered from recent events is that the Balkan Alliance gained nothing by Turkey's behaviour. On the contrary, the fact that the concentration of the Turkish troops was effected without the previous consent of the other Members of the Alliance, shows that the existence of this Balkan Alliance does preclude the possibility of individual action on the part of individual Members, even if such action is calculated to lead to war. Consequently the consolidation of the peace of the Balkans must be effected, not by a Balkan Alliance, but in some other way.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

TWO STANDARDS FOR MINORITY PETITIONS

Under the title "*In Geneva Two Standards Are Employed When Dealing With Minority Complaints*" Dr. Ewald Ammende, Secretary General of the Permanent Congress of European Minorities, wrote an article in the March 13th. issue of the *Ujvidék* (Novisad) "*Deutsches Volksblatt*" in which he complained that, whereas the League of Nations without delay referred to the Hague Arbitral Tribunal the petition filed by the Greek Minority against Albania, the petitions filed — for instance — by the German Minorities of Pozen and Pommerellen are systematically rejected. (The same course has been taken also with most of the petitions submitted on behalf of the Magyar minorities. *Ed.*) The article stresses the fact that the Greek petitioners were represented by the same Greek diplomat, Politis, who had previously spoken before the League in favour of the Mellon-Franco principle of absorption; he had thus turned his back on his previous attitude and appeared in the arena as a champion of minority rights, merely because it was a question of the rights of a Greek minority.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

CZECHS AND SLOVAKS

We have repeatedly spoken in these columns of the political suit brought by the Czech authorities against Louis Bazovsky, the well-known Slovak politician who was the first Czecho-Slovak župan (sheriff) of Nógrád County, under the Protection of the Republic Act, and of the trial having been postponed owing to the illness of the accused. One of the ramifications of this political suit, which at the time created such a stir, is the trial begun on March 8th. before the District Court of Besztercebánya against Milos Vančo, former Secretary of the Turócszentmárton (Turčiansky Svety Martin) Chamber of Advocates and one of the leaders of the autonomist Slovak National Party, for having multiplied copies of the indictment against Bazovsky and having sent these copies to politicians, advocates and editorial offices. So proceedings are being taken against Vančo on the charge of having made public confidential official papers, and for that reason he has been deprived of his office as Secretary of the Chamber of Advocates. The Court

has ordained the filing of supplementary evidence and has adjourned the trial. The Censor is taking the most ruthless measures, not only against the Magyar papers, but against the Slovak papers too. A special stir was caused by the confiscation of the March 10th. issue of the "Slovak", which was effected by order of the Public Prosecutor also on account of an article written by Dr. Joseph Tiso, former Czecho-Slovak Minister who is at present Vice-President of the Autonomist Slovak People's Party and is regarded as moderate even by the Czechs.

THE SITUATION IN RUTHENIA

On March 1st. the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic appointed Constantine Hrabár, bank director, to be Governor of Ruthenia. Seeing that this appointment may lead to misunderstandings among foreigners unfamiliar with the conditions prevailing in Ruthenia, we believe it is necessary to offer the following information:

Under Articles 10—13 of the Minority Treaty concluded between Czecho-Slovakia and the Allied and Associated Powers on September 10th., 1919, the Czecho-Slovak Republic is required to grant to the territory lying to the south of the Carpathians the most far-reaching autonomy compatible with the unity of the State. This autonomy is to extend to questions of language, religion, education and public administration. In these questions the legislative power is to be in the hands of the Diet of the autonomous territory, to which the Governor to be appointed by the President of the Republic shall be responsible. The public officials of the autonomous territory shall as far as possible be appointed from among the inhabitants of that territory.

Fifteen years have passed since that treaty was signed; but so far the Czecho-Slovak State has not carried into effect a single letter of the obligations undertaken at Saint Germain. The territory does not possess any autonomy in respect of the linguistic, religious, educational and administrative questions, for these matters are arranged by Prague, the laws being passed by the central Czecho-Slovak Parliament and executed by the Prague Government. The autonomous Diet of Ruthenia has not yet been summoned to assemble, so that the Governor just appointed is responsible, not to the autonomous Diet, but exclusively to the Prague Government. At least 90% of the public officials of the autonomous territory are of Czech nationality, though — even according to the 1930 Czecho-Slovak Census — the Czechs and the Slovaks combined comprise only 4.79% of the total population of this territory and number only 33,961 souls.

Down to early in 1933 Ruthenia had a Governor in the person of Anthony Beskid; but in view of the fact that the autonomous Diet was never convened and that consequently the autonomous questions were arranged and settled in the ministries in Prague, he was merely a puppet in the hands of the Prague Government and did not possess even the power to appoint a messenger. The present Governor will be a puppet of the same kind; for the Czecho-Slovak Government did not provide simultaneously with his appointment for the convening of the autonomous Diet and for putting the autonomy of Ruthenia into effect as provided in the international treaty relating thereto. In a speech made at Ungvár in May, 1934, Foreign Minister Beneš promised to have the laws required for the purpose passed before the expiration of the present session. We are on the eve of the new Czecho-Slovak elections, which must be held not later than next autumn; yet so far the Government has done nothing to fulfil the promise made by Beneš. But the inhabitants of Ruthenia have long known that they must not take the Czech promises seriously . . .

The temper of the Ruthenian people is strikingly illustrated by the recent disturbances in the village of Nagycserte. This village is in the Mezőlaborc (Medzilaborc) hundred, which — though administratively belonging to Slovakia — is inhabited mostly by Ruthenians and should therefore, under the Saint Germain Minority Treaty, have been incorporated in Ruthenia. On March 13th., on the occasion of the execution of a distress warrant in the house of one of the farmers living in the village, the inhabitants attacked the gendarmes, demanding the suspension of the distress proceedings and the payment of the long-promised compensation for the damage inflicted by the war. On the arrival of gendarme reinforcements the bells were tolled and the gendarme barracks besieged, one of the detachments of gendarmes having to force a way into the village in a veritable hand-to-hand fight. According to the official reports five gendarmes and one of the officials of the hundred delegated to the scene were wounded, while it is impossible to ascertain the number of demonstrators who were injured. This is not the first case of the fury of the Slovak and Ruthenian inhabitants of the territories torn from Hungary against the ruthless exaction of taxes and distress procedure finding vent in regrettable acts of violence of the kind. Similar cases occur every year; and in certain districts the inhabitants have made veritable offensive and defensive alliances against the gendarmes for the purpose of preventing the executions effected under the protection of Czech gendarme bayonets.

PERSECUTION OF HUNGARIAN OPPOSITION

Count John Esterházy, President of the National Christian Socialist Party, which is fighting for the autonomy of Slovakia and Ruthenia, quite recently — after having completed his term of 14 days' confinement for a speech made at a mass meeting — again entered the prison of the Public Prosecutor in Pozsony (Bratislava) to serve the term of 10 days' confinement inflicted on him for a speech made at the Érsekújvár Congress of the Party. In this connection we would note that the representative of the authorities unexpectedly dissolved the Bacska meeting of the National Christian Socialist Party — without previously warning the speaker — during a speech made by Esterházy in which he criticised the policy of Government. The Rimaszombat District Court has sentenced Andrew Jaross, who represents the Magyar National Party in the Slovak Provincial Diet, and Julius Koczor, former National Assembly Deputy of this Party, to 14 days' confinement each for speeches delivered at a meeting held at Pelsőc. According to the indictment Jaross spoke of the Trianon frontiers in a manner laying him open to the charge of sedition. The accused, however, denied the charge. The charge against Koczor was that he had given a description of the Czech land reform, of the income tax and of the employment of Magyars by the State insinuating that the Hungarians had been treated unjustly. Koczor declared that he had really spoken of these grievances and injustices; but he was ready to prove the truth of his statements by official documents, and begged the Court to ordain the filing of the relevant evidence; however, the Court refused to do so. Julius Koczor has been sentenced also by the same Court to a further term of 14 days' confinement for a speech delivered by him at Rimaszombat. In this speech, according to the indictment, among other things he said that the Magyars had not been given any land under the land reform, only ministers and lawyers receiving shares, that being the main cause of the misery prevalent today among the Magyar agriculturists. He also said that the Magyar farmers were paying twice as heavy taxes as the Czechs, for in Slovakia and Ruthenia

the basis of assessment (earnings) was 1.400 Czech crowns *per cadastral yoke*, whereas in Moravia it was the same *per hectare*, and added that no Magyars were employed in the State service. The Court did not allow the accused to submit his evidence in respect of the charge.

EIGHT DAYS' HARD LABOUR FOR A POST-CARD ADDRESSED TO THE CZECH NATIONAL BANK

The Reichenberg District Court has passed a sentence strikingly illustrative of Czech chauvinism on Rudolf Lucke, exporter living in Gablonz, who has been sentenced to eight days' hard labour under § 14 of the Defence of the Republic Act for traducing the Czech nation. From the January 24th. issue of the "*Prager Tagblatt*" we learn that Lucke wrote the National Bank an open postcard on which he begged the Bank "to write in German, because I do not know Czech and so the information received is of no value to me; should you not be willing to write in German, you may write in any of the world languages, in French, English, Italian or Spanish". This answer the Court regarded as a criminal act. It was no use for the accused to quote by way of excuse the following passages of his letter, in which he said that "if I knew Czech, I would just as willingly write you in Czech as I would write to an Englishman in English or to a Frenchman in French". The Court sentenced the accused, although his previous record was a clean one, unconditionally to eight days' imprisonment, because, though he was entitled to ask the National Bank to correspond with him in German, the fact that he did so on an open postcard nevertheless comprised an act of defamation of the Czech nation.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL ADVOCATES CZECHISA- TION OF MINING

Of late the question of the nationalisation of mines has again been raised in Czecho-Slovakia. The Czecho-Slovak National Council also discussed the question, but while opposing the scheme of nationalisation most energetically demanded the Czechisation of the mines. In the opinion of the Council the mining undertakings constitute a powerful factor of germanisation which has so far defied attempts at czechisation.

A leading article published in the February 1st. issue of the paper "*Bohemia*" deals with this question and refers to the essay by the Czech statistician Dr. Boháč published in the "*Statistický obzor*", according to which since 1921 the number of hands of Czech nationality employed in mining in Bohemia has declined by 34% and that of hands of German nationality by 41.3%. The decline in Silesia amounts to 58%, though there has been an increase in the number of Czech miners employed in the at country. There has been a decrease in the number of officials twice as big as that recorded above.

RUMANIA

"RACIALISM" RUNS AMOK IN RUMANIA

Hardly any catchwords have raised such a commotion in Rumania as those enumerated above. At a conference of his followers held recently, Alexander Vaida, ex-Premier and leader of the National Peasants Party, broached the idea of a "numerus valachicus". the realisation of the idea — of a "front national" — being advocated at meetings subsequently held at Kolozsvár

(February 25th.) and Temesvár (March 1st.) *General Stephen Tatarescu*, President of the Rumanian National Socialist Party, one of Alexander Vaida's staunchest supporters. This movement, which is assuming continually increasing dimensions, is not in keeping with the provisions of the minority treaties or with the Rumanian Constitution; nor is it in harmony with the conception of a "spiritualisation of frontiers" so often stressed by Titulescu. Vaida's movement has created a great stir in the Rumanian Press; declarations both for and against the idea having been made by Rumanians. An ex-Minister of the name of *Sever Bocu*, for instance, unequivocally damns the suggestion, declaring that suggestion to be nothing more or less than popularity-hunting ("*Temesvári Hirlap*", February 26th., 1935). The same principles were professed on its formation by the Iron Guard too, the movement leading eventually to the murder of Premier Duca. In a speech delivered by him ("*Erdélyi Hirlap*", February 28th., 1935), *Sever Bocu* established the fact that the application of a "numerus clausus" in private enterprise would be an attempt on the sanctity of private ownership, adding that Rumania could not afford to ignore the opinion of France, of the other Allies of the country, and of the civilised world regarding all these matters. *Nicholas Lupu*, Vice-President of the Peasants Party, points out pertinently that the movement is likely to create in France an impression very unfavourable to Rumania, seeing that it is a manifestation of hitlerism and of a *rapprochement* towards Germany. According to the "Adeverul" (February 26th.), Vaida's movement is morally a contradiction of the promises made at Gyulafehérvár and is in direct defiance of the terms of the treaty of peace. The "Adeverul", the "Dimineata" and the "Lupta" all point out that in internal politics the movement will drive the minorities to make a united front, while internationally it will undermine the confidence in Rumania felt in foreign countries. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Peasants Party, *Julius Maniu* himself repudiated the suggestion made by Vaida.

Nicholas Jorga too, who has just returned from abroad, has expressed his disapproval of the movement, describing it as Vaida's romantic phantasm. And the permanent committee of the National Peasants' Party, at an extraordinary meeting in Bucharest, removed Vaida from his office as president of the *Transylvania organisation of the Party*, the management of that organisation being entrusted to Mihalache, President of the National Peasants' Party. The "Curentul" is however informed that Vaida is determined to found a new party which will also bear the name of "National Peasants' Party" and will include all those who have openly joined him.

On behalf of the Saxons *Friedrich Müller* (suffragan) addressed an Open Letter — published in the "*Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*" (February 14th., 1935) — to Alexander Vaida requesting him to withdraw his proposal. He stressed the point that the minority question demands an organic solution, it being therefore unpopular to advocate such a solution; but essentially it was of far greater value to the Rumanians themselves than pseudosolutions such as a "numerus clausus". The "*Deutsche Tageszeitung*" (February 10th., 1935) establishes the fact that Vaida's proposal is in direct defiance of Article 8. of the Minority Treaty concluded on December 9th., 1919, which ensured all minorities living within the Rumanian State a free and unimpeded economic development.

These protests — expressed most vividly in the press of the Magyar minority living in Rumania — are but faint echoes compared with the approval voiced in the greater part of the Rumanian Press — in particular in the two dailies (the "*Universul*" and the "Curentul") closely connected with Titulescu. Of the speeches made at the anti-minority meeting of the Rumanian Lawyers'

Federation held in Bucharest special mention is due to that of the advocate *Anibal Teodorescu*, who flatly denied the right of the minorities to base their privileges upon international treaties. "We do not owe our existence to the treaties", he said, "and therefore the Rumanians may infringe those treaties. The treaties have no power to protect the minorities at the expense of the majority." *Istrate Micescu*, one of the most prominent Rumanian jurists, actually allowed himself to be betrayed into declaring that he protested even against the minorities being permitted to unite in separate political parties on the basis of national feeling. In an address given recently at Arad *Tatrate Micescu* pointed out that *the minority protection treaties have no value in common law, seeing that neither the Emperor of Japan nor the King of England is entitled to grant the rights of Rumanian national to persons to whom no such rights are due*. Nor is the League of Nations entitled to force sovereign States to acknowledge minority rights; for that League is not a Power having control of those States, merely an advisory body for the benefit of the sovereign States. Consequently all those neo-Rumanians who desire to live in Rumania must learn to take part in village occupations and must learn to scrape manure from under oxen, otherwise they are not entitled to a subsistence.

In a speech made by him at Temesvár, *Vaida* protested against his movement being branded as anti-cultural, barbarian and cannibalistic. In another of his statements he declared that there was a "*numerus Judaicus*" in force at present in Rumania. As to What France and the League of Nations might say to it all, *Vaida* answered as follows: "My '*numerus valachicus*' is a domestic affair; and if the League of Nations desires to appear to be generous, let it do so at its own expense, and not at ours. France, which has recently taken such drastic measures to protect herself against the influx of foreigners, will surely not take it amiss that we too try to defend our national interests. I do not believe that Christian France is likely to agree with the Magyar Party or *Filderman* or *Scrutator* as against the Rumanians." ("*Erdélyi Hirlap*", Vol. XIX., No. 4986, March 5th., 1935. "*Brassói Lapok*", Vol. XII., No. 53, March 6th., 1935).

And now we would once more ask how this renewed war of extermination against the minorities can possible be brought into harmony with *Titulescu's* slogan concerning the "spiritualisation of frontiers"?

MANIFESTO OF MAGYAR PARTY

The Conference of the parliamentary group of the Magyar Party of Rumania held in Bucharest on February 7th. and the following days discussed exhaustively the situation of the Magyar minority living in Rumania and established the following facts:

1. The *incitement against the Magyars* in evidence for some time past in the Rumanian Press and at meetings of Rumanians, is making the lot of the Magyars more and more intolerable. This incitement has already created a public temper which has resulted in encouraging *the most ruthless administrative abuses*, — so much so indeed that the economic subsistence of the Magyar minority, its general standard of culture and its national feeling is threatened with the greatest dangers. *In no single case has the Public Prosecutor instituted criminal proceedings against the campaign of incitement that involves nationality agitation*; while the Government has not taken any measures to prevent a repetition of the actions resulting.

2. The dismissal from active service of public employees belonging to the Magyar minority still continues. *It is openly admitted already that a deficient knowledge of Rumanian is pretext enough for casting persons of Magyar*

origin out into the streets. From official documents it is shown that in many cases public employees are dismissed the service simply because they are Magyars by origin and without being allowed to take a language test.

3. The recent tendency to *endeavour to cut off all possibilities of thriving even in the field of private enterprise* — a tendency first given expression in a statement made by the former Prime Minister *Alexander Vaida* — has evoked the utmost consternation among the Magyars of Rumania; for previously no serious politician had even dreamed of taking up an attitude of the kind. The parliamentary group of the Magyar Party protests most energetically against all endeavours aiming at restricting the facilities of subsistence in the professions and private enterprise too; for *not only is such a tendency an infraction of human rights, but it is diametrically opposed to the unequivocal provisions of the Constitution and of the international treaties, so that in the event of a mere attempt being made in that direction the Party would be driven to put the attacks upon the vital conditions of the Rumanian nationals belonging to the Magyar minority before the public opinion of the world*. The still more far-reaching demand to the effect that *private enterprises should be required to employ in the industrial and commercial establishments founded with their own capital and managed personally by the owners serving also as their technical advisers workers forced upon them from without, aims ultimately at depriving Hungarian (Magyar) labourers, clerks and officials serving private enterprise of their means of earning a livelihood*, — a procedure or rather scheme against which the Magyar Party protests most decidedly. The "*numerus valachicus*" proclaimed by *Alexander Vaida* is not feasible as a scheme, if only because there are no legal rules ensuring a person's freedom to choose the nationality to which he belongs, the question of nationality being decided arbitrarily by the authorities against the will of the person in question; so that it may happen that his Magyar origin will deprive of his post a Rumanian national whose children are excluded from the Hungarian schools which partly use Magyar as the language of instruction *because they are not of Magyar origin*. *Vaida* must himself be well aware that *the proportion of Magyars in the several branches of the public service is nothing like as large as the quota to be allotted to this minority as representing its proportion of the total population of the country*. Consequently the protest raised by the Magyar Party all over the world is in vindication of acknowledged human rights.

4. *Inequality in respect of taxation* is a general anomaly ruling all over the country well known everywhere and complained of by the nationals belonging to the Magyar minority, which is also the chief sufferer from the methods of distraint now in force in Rumania.

The repeated brutalities committed by members of the gendarmerie have provoked violent protests also from the Rumanian Press; but the brutalities committed in regions inhabited by Magyars are such as to make everyday life intolerable for the people at large, complaints filed in the past having failed in most cases to bring about a redress of the grievances. In innumerable cases *the public administration officials employ the most brutal means to impede the cultural activity of the Magyars, even interfering with the activity of associations of a religious character*. The parliamentary group of the Magyar Party was also dumfounded on being informed that one of the "*primpretors*" of *Háromszék County*, referring to measures taken by his superiors, for the purpose of furthering the re-rumanisation of the "*originally Rumanian but magyarised*" *Széklers*, ordained that *elderly women and men should be required to attend evening courses on pain of severe penalties for non-attendance*, — which measure is absolutely illegal and throws an instructive light on the depths to which private despotism has sunk.

The Minister of Education is dissatisfied with the

system of name analysis involving an arbitrary determination of racial origin, and has foisted a Rumanian origin on whole villages or on the Székler inhabitants of whole districts by means of blood tests effected with the aid of sciolistic public administration organs, — a procedure the object of which is evidently to make the Magyars appear as a minority representing an insignificant quota of the population and thus to deprive them even of the rights acknowledged in the minority treaty forming a supplement to the treaty of peace.

5. The parliamentary group of the Magyar Party is to place the above matters without delay before the Premier, particularly seeing that, to judge by previous experience, no redress of grievances may be expected to result from protests made before the Parliament. ("Magyar Ujság", Vol. III., No. 52, March 3rd., 1935.)

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To a representative of the news agency "Miscarea Minoritara" Count George Bethlen has made a statement to the effect that the Rumanian Constitution must be amended, seeing that the Constitution framed in 1923 does not take into account the fact that the new Rumania includes also minority nations the position of which in the State cannot be settled by a mere general statement of principle relating to equality of rights. Rumania is the only Succession State whose Constitution does not even mention the minorities. According to Count George Bethlen the Constitution must contain a provision to the effect that everyone is entitled to schooling in his own mother tongue, while it is the duty of the State to assist the schools required by the grant of proportionate subsidies. The Székler and Saxon corporations must be given autonomy. (As is well known, Article 11 of the Rumanian Minority Treaty guarantees this autonomy. *Ed.*) The Constitution should further provide that in official intercourse persons should be allowed to use their mother tongues, while there cannot possibly be any restrictions hindering the free use of the mother tongue in intercourse that is not official in character. The Constitution must contain also a provision stipulating that all acts of denationalisation are to be punished.

COMPLAINT AGAINST RUMANIA SUBMITTED TO MIXED ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

On behalf of Michael Poór, landed proprietor, of Magyaregregy, Dr. Jules Petain, of Paris, advocate, has submitted to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal a complaint against Rumania. Under the Land Reform all the landed property belonging to the Hungarian proprietor and his wife — altogether 1800 cadastral yokes — was sequestered except only 100 yokes. In cases where a husband and wife are left only 50 yokes each out of the property sequestered by expropriation the Rumanian Land Reform Act provides that the amount of compensation is to be paid in cash. In the case in question, however, after wearisome and costly proceedings involving the outlay of millions and after protracted proceedings at law, the authorities remitted to Poór for the landed estate taken from him *expropriation bonds* of the nominal value of 3.5 million lei. Poór then brought a case against the Rumanian Treasury, winning his case before all the

various courts of law; but, notwithstanding his having obtained a definitive finding, he proved unable to secure his legitimate claim. It should be noted that there are large numbers of Transylvanian landed proprietors in a similar situation; whereas in Bessarabia in many cases payment has been made in cash where the parties concerned would have been satisfied with bonds. We may refer, for instance, to the case of Ratzimann, a Bessarabian landowner, who received 3 million lei in cash, though his claim could have been paid also in bonds. ("Brassói Lapok", Vol. XLI., No. 43, January 22nd., 1935.)

HOW THAT "SPIRITUALISATION OF FRONTIERS" WORKS IN PRACTICE

Without troubling to motivate their action the authorities have prohibited the circulation in Rumania of the German translation of a book of verses entitled "Help!" by Alexander Reményik, a well-known Transylvanian poet. An embargo has been placed also on the "Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie", a monthly scientific periodical published in Budapest. The authorities have also prohibited the performance of Zoltán Kodály's world-famed "Psalmus Hungaricus", the music of which has also been placed under an embargo, — the reason given being that this work of Kodály's, which has already made a tour of practically the whole world, is the "anthem of Hungarian irredentism". The Rumanian conductor Radu Urlatianu has been forbidden to ever again conduct in Rumania — for having allowed his orchestra to play that famous musical work. It should be noted by the way that the Rumanian violinist Enescu has also spoken with admiration of the said composition.

The inquisition to which Urlatianu was subjected has ended in a tragedy. The eminent Rumanian conductor has committed suicide . . .

MINORITY PAPERS PLACED UNDER EMBARGO: FRESH SERIES OF LIBEL CASES

A general ordinance has been issued by the Censor to the effect that no so-called "blank spots" must be left in texts that have been "censored". Seeing that the passages objected to by the Censor can only be removed by chiselling them off the moulds, it is often quite out of the question to give effect to the measure. For not observing the terms of the ordinance many Hungarian dailies have been placed under an embargo by the Censor — e. g. in December last the Nagyvárad "Magyar Hirlap" for 3 days and again in January for a further 10 days, and early in January the Temesvár "Temesvári Hirlap" for 3 days. At the end of January a Hungarian journalist of the name of Joseph Tódor was sentenced by a court of law to 6 months' confinement and a fine of 10.000 lei for having criticised the measures for instituting language tests taken by the General Manager of the CFR. (Rumanian State Railways). Proceedings were also instituted by the Public Prosecutor — on the ground of a manifesto addressed in 1932 to their constituents

through the press containing inciting matter — against Count George Bethlen, President of the Magyar Party of Rumania and four associates. Count George Bethlen was acquitted; but Dr. Joseph Gál, one of his "accomplices", was sentenced to a month's confinement and a fine of 5000 lei. A stir was caused throughout the country by the finding of the court in re the appeal of Joseph Manyák, Editor-in-Chief of the "Szatmári Ujság", against the sentence passed in the libel suit brought against him: the court rejected the appeal, Manyák being arrested immediately and made to begin the term of five months' confinement imposed upon him. In all probability this finding will lead to a prolonged legal discussion, there being no precedent for the procedure followed by all three instances in refusing to give a hearing to the witnesses for the defence or to permit the presentation of the material evidence collected by the defending counsel.

CLOSING OF HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

The Rumanian Ministry of Education has forbidden the Reformed elementary school in the village of Illyefalva in the County of Háromszék to function, giving as his reason that the school is not licensed to function. The truth is, however, that in 1929, at the same time as all the other denominational schools, the school that has just been closed submitted all the papers required to the Ministry; and it is probable that those papers "disappeared" while in the possession of some school inspector or other, there having been innumerable instances of such things happening. The Ministry of Education has definitively suspended the Magyar section of the State elementary school in the village of Váralmás in the County of Kolozs, dismissing from service the only Magyar teacher there employed. Now there are 60 Magyar children unable to obtain any instruction in their native tongue, because the woman teacher recently appointed does not know a word of Magyar. Again, by ordinance of the Prefect, the "Calvin Cultural Institute" in the village of Bács in the County of Hunyad has also been closed on the ground that three years ago an amateur company performed a piece there without permission and that the Institute is used by the Magyars for secret meetings. By order of the Minister of the Interior the "Szivgárda" (Heart Fellowship) Association of Transylvanian Roman Catholic Elementary School-children has been suspended, although its work was solely and exclusively of a religious character.

UNPRECEDENTED ELECTION ABUSES

At a meeting of the Rumanian Senate on March 6th. Joseph Sándor, Magyar Senator, asked a question in re the abuses committed on the occasion of the administrative elections in Háromszék County. On the occasion of the parish elections at Kovászna on February 6th. only 120 out of 1500 Magyar electors were given voting

certificates. Charles Hadnagy and John Deák, election agents, were beaten black and blue. In the village of Uzon, on the occasion of the parish elections held there on February 11th., the local leaders of the Magyar Party — Ladislav Ágoston, President, and Charles Bartha, Charles Széplaki, and Joseph Kőpe, election agents — were subjected to domiciliary visits under the pretext that they were irredentists. So we need not be surprised that in this village inhabited almost exclusively by Magyars, when the ballot-boxes were opened, only 9 votes were found to have been given for the Magyar Party as against 335 for the official list. In illustration of the mentality of the Rumanian Senate we would note that for asking this question Senator Sándor had disciplinary proceedings started against him.

YUGOSLAVIA

THE NATIONAL MINORITIES AND THE ELECTIONS

As is well known, the National Assembly (Skupstina) elections have been fixed for May 5th. These elections will be held as provided in the Election Act of September 10th., 1931, and in the Novels of September 26th., 1931, and March 24th., 1932. Seeing that § XIII. of the Constitution of September 3rd., 1931, as also § XII. of the 1931 Act dealing with Associations and Assemblies, forbids the establishment of parties on a religious, a clan or a regional basis, *the only parties able to take part in the elections are those established on the basis of absolute State and national unity*, the same to file general lists for the whole country which must be submitted by not fewer than 30 electors (acting as nominators) from each administrative hundred, — this being done in a manner ensuring that not less than one half of the total number of administrative hundreds in the country shall be represented in the nomination, the said half (50%) of the total number of hundreds to include however hundreds selected from two thirds of the nine Banates (i. e. hundreds situate in the territories of at least six Banates). In addition to the nominators required to figure on the general lists, each of the candidates for a constituency or hundred respectively must be nominated also by at least 200 nominators — that meaning in the case of 153 hundreds (being one half of the total number of hundreds) no fewer than 30,600 further nominators, so that a *sine qua non* of the approval of the general lists is the signatures of no fewer than altogether 35,190 nominators. According to the "premium system" postulated in the Act, that general list which receives the largest number of votes — even in the event of it obtaining only a relative and not an absolute majority — is to receive three-fifths of the seats. The remaining two-fifths of the seats are to be distributed in proportion to the numbers of votes recorded for the several other general lists, the list of candidates receiving the largest number of votes to be given a share also of these seats.

It is still quite uncertain how many parties will take part in the election campaign conducted under an election

system of so unexampled a structure, which is made even worse by the employment of an open ballot. But it is quite sure that the national minorities numbering altogether two and a half million souls — including also the Magyar and German minorities, each half a million strong — will be unable to organise independent political parties or to take any independent part in the elections. At best they may possibly be able to obtain 2—3 seats on the official general list of Government, if, in addition to concluding the usual election pact, they undertake to unconditionally support the policy of Government.

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN THE FORM OF FREE GIFTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

The allotment of land under the plea of agrarian reform to the Serbian and other South Slav claimants — as also the granting to these persons of disproportionately great benefits — is still going on, causing incalculable material and moral losses to the landowners and to the Magyar claimants who are being excluded altogether from the distribution of land. Quite recently two villages with enormous Magyar majorities — Óbecse (Stari-Becej) and Péterréve (Lacko-Petrovoselo) — were compelled by pressure from the authorities to surrender to Serbian "dobrovoljatz" and other Yugoslav agrarian claimants a part of the village lands at the price of 300 or 400 dinars respectively per cadastral yoke of 1600 square fathoms. Considering that the market value of the vegetable earth (richly fertile soil) of the southern regions (Vojvodina) severed from Hungary is at least 6000—10.000 dinars per cadastral yoke, as a consequence the Serbian and other persons thus allotted land have made an illegitimate profit of 5650—9650 dinars a yoke, the landowners having suffered a loss of the same amounts.

DANGER MENACES MINORITY SPORT CLUBS

Dr. Ljudevit Auer, Physical Training Minister, has elaborated a Bill which, in order to secure the uniformity of the control and development of physical training, stipulates that all military knight and sporting formations — while preserving their independence — must become members of a central organisation. This draft-bill is extremely disquieting from the point of view of the minorities, seeing that the subordination of the minority sport clubs to central organs exclusively under Serbian control must during the carrying into effect of the new provisions result in those clubs (associations) losing their minority character and their independence. This danger threatens in particular the Magyar (Hungarian) sport clubs (associations), which have so far too been driven to "nationalise" and in most cases to exchange their Hungarian names for Serbian names, not only by being compelled to accept the State language as the official language of administration, but also by the having to admit of Serbian and other South Slav elements as members and even as executive officials. The Hungarian (Magyar) minority sport clubs of Hungarian

villages and towns have for years past been compelled to figure under Serbian names (Granicar, Napredna, Omladina, Napred, Napredak, Krivaja, Radnicki, Triglav etc.) — to the glory of the protection of minority rights!!!

IN RE A DECISION TO CHANGE A STREET-NAME

At the recent general meeting of the officially appointed Council of the town of Stara-Kanjiza (a town with 19.000 inhabitants) the street named after Arany János, one of the greatest Hungarian poets, was renamed Nusicevalica after the eminent Serb writer Nusic. As a consequence the name of the Hungarian poet has been removed from the boards marking the street (this being one more instance of the systematic destruction in Yugoslavia of every reminder of the Hungarian past); though by no means because that was the wish of the inhabitants, 94% of whom are Hungarians, but simply because the pressure brought to bear upon the Hungarians from the very outset has at last succeeded in forcing through the change of names. How much finer and more human a gesture it would have been if the authorities, showing respect for Arany's memory, had called some other street after Nusic, — or if the eminent Serb writer had expressed his respect for the immortal name of his fellow-poet by refusing — in the name of literary fellowship — to allow a distinction involving an outrage on the feelings of the Hungarians to be forced on him!

BLOODY DISTURBANCES IN SLAVONIA

On February 19th., at Sibiu, a village near Slavon-Bród, the arrest of three Croatian peasants led to a serious conflict between the inhabitants who demanded the release of the prisoners and the gendarmes. The casualties were 7 dead and 6 seriously wounded; while in addition a large number of persons were arrested and taken the same day to the prison in Slavon-Bród. On February 20th. some 200 agriculturists started off from the neighbouring village to Slavon-Bród, where they demanded the release of those of their fellows who had been arrested on the charge of a breach of the peace. During the demonstration the gendarmes again used their rifles, killing five of the rioters and seriously wounding three. No official statement has been issued of the number of persons slightly wounded or of the number of persons subsequently arrested. On February 23rd., after the requiem for the souls of the Croatian victims celebrated in Zagreb the crowd demonstrated loudly against the Government, though on this occasion there was no bloodshed.

On February 18th., in Cettinje and Podgorica, two towns in Montenegro (Zata Banate) the students demonstrated against the Government in protest against the events which had occurred at the Belgrade University, which events had led to numerous arrests and one death.

B O O K S

"The ways of Czecho-Slovakia and its Magyar Minority", by Ödön Tarján.

The author, who is an expert on the question of Czecho-Slovak magyars and their economic position in the dismembered territories as well as their general political situation, gives us a vivid picture of conditions existing there and the lot they are thrown into — as he himself is. The book, carries on its front page a map, showing that the most western town of Czecho-Slovakia, Eger, is 860 kilometers in aerial length from London, but 940 kilometers from Körösmező (Jasina) which is the most eastern frontier station. This proves the unnatural status of Czecho-Slovakia's frontiers. The Danube-basin question being of up-to-date importance impels us to quote from this book, citing his final conclusions.

"The shrill loud-speakers of Czecho-Slovak propaganda, broadcasting pleasant tales about the scrupulous observance of minority rights and the true democratic spirit of Czecho-Slovakia, have the sole object of drowning the S. O. S. cries of the suffering minorities and those of the starving "liberated" Slovaks.

Democracy and humanism are but shop window, objects morality and civilization stage screens hiding from the eyes a gigantic business concern engaged in unscrupulous jobbing under State patronage, and dividing the population into top-dogs and under-dogs, into exploited and exploiters

The whole building reminds one of a structure hastily erected for the purposes of a show, not meant, however, to last for a longer period. It has a pleasant, dignified appearance if viewed at a distance; on closer scrutiny, however, it reveals its secret of having been constructed of woodwork and paperpulp instead of steel, brick and marble

The question emerges: what does it all mean? Is it reasonable to suppose that MM. Masaryk, Beneš and the other State founders labour under the delusion of having erected a lasting edifice? It is perfectly inconceivable that the blunders committed should have so long remained hidden to them. And should they even be inclined to overlook the wrongs inflicted on large masses of the population, they could not possibly ignore or abide by the alarming problems they are faced with in public finance and economics. They are bound to realise that the maintenance of production is possible on such a reduced scale only within the present confines of Czecho-Slovakia; that social upheavals of unpredictable consequences must be reckoned with. The impending catastrophe could but be averted by taking swift and broad-minded decisions: the Prague rulers do not appear, however, to possess the courage shoulder the grave though inevitable responsibilities.

The economic crisis has deepened the wounds inflicted on Slovakia and Ruthenia by the Peace Treaty, and it is now evident that the Prague Government is unable to heal them. A few years ago the hope could still be entertained that Slovakia and Ruthenia might safeguard their interests by acquiring a substantial autonomy within the limits of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The progress of pauperisation experienced since, and the hair-brained policy of achieving economic selfsupply stubbornly pursued by Prague, have

demonstrated that symbiosis with the Czech countries could never vouchsafe to the Carpathian provinces a healthy development of their economic resources. It is sufficient to remember the data supplied above regarding goods-traffic between the Eastern and Western parts of the country, to dispel any doubt in this respect.

What however, could justify the control by Prague of territories the economic prosperity of which depends on another country considered and treated as an arch-enemy, and attacked by all possible, openly brandished and hidden, weapons by the Czecho-Slovak State?

Economic cooperation with Hungary is a vital necessity for Czecho-Slovakia. It will not be accomplished, however, on a proper scale before solving political differences separating these countries from one another. The way of reconciliation must needs cross hotly debated territory surrounding the conspicuous landmark of Treaty Revision. The Hungarian demand for Revision is bitterly opposed by the Czecho-Slovak Government. This stubborn resistance is not, however, rooted in the peoples' real interests, their future well-being depending entirely on an early solution of existing difficulties. Czecho-Slovakia herself is faced with an appalling financial and economic situation. She has failed to win the friendship of any of her immediate neighbours. Masaryk's State needs, more urgently than any other, peace and the possibilities of a quiet evolution. These she cannot find so long as she persists in her present constitution. The Little Entente is but a scare-crow set up to intimidate Hungary, an empty life-belt without a subsistence of its own. A positive reality, on the other hand, is the fateful interdependence of all peoples living in the Danube basin, especially that of immediate neighbours. Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary might rely too on the common interest of setting a limit to German expansion. Prague has certainly no time to lose: she cannot afford to let things come to a head. She might not survive a serious test. Especially since Poland has loosened the ties binding her to France and her Allies, Czecho-Slovakia must realise the urgent necessity of coming to terms with Hungary. This necessity tends to become the paramount problem of Czecho-Slovak foreign policy. The differences still barring the way to such a "rapprochement" are the fruits of a misdirected policy conceived in a spirit of perverted pride which has no echo in the hearts of the people. A policy seeking to establish justice and equality among the peoples would also succeed in solving the problem of the Magyar minorities, by reducing their number, in the spirit of President Masaryk's teachings, through restoring them as far as possible to their mother country, to the lowest possible figure. For the thesis once announced by Professor Masaryk — as he then was — retains its full validity in the State headed by himself, too: "Political independence is indispensable to a people which is cultured and aware of its dignity; a people politically unfree will be oppressed economically and socially exploited even in States risen to the summit of cultural evolution."

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

A U S T R I A

REDUCTION OF EMPLOYEES' INSURANCE ANNUITIES

In terms of the Act for the purpose of ensuring the employees' insurance annuities due for the months March-May, which came into force on February 21st., the annuities payable for disablement, old age and to widows and orphans due in the said months are to be reduced, — to the extent of 20% in the case of disablement and old age annuities exceeding 120 schillings a month and of annuities payable to widows exceeding 60 schillings a month, and of 10% in the case of smaller annuities and of annuities payable to orphans. However, no disablement or old age annuity may be reduced to less than 108 and no widow's allowance to less than 50 schillings a month. The Act ordains further that the workers' accident insurance institutes shall be required — subject to the approval of the Minister of Social Administration and so far as their material resources permit — to furnish a loan free of interest to the principal employees' insurance institute.

B U L G A R I A

FOREIGN TRADE BALANCE FOR 1934

According to the provisional statement issued by the Statistical Management, the aggregate value of the foreign trade in 1934 was 4.764 million leva — as against 5.049 million leva in 1933. Imports represented altogether a volume of 245.843 tons and a value of 2.229 million leva (as against 23.805 tons and 2.202 million leva in 1933). There has been a noteworthy increase in textiles, paper, metals, tanner's and dyer's materials. Exports show a decrease from 430.525 to 396.145 tons, the value of the same from 2.846 to 2.535 million leva. Particularly noteworthy is the advance in animal exports to three times the amount recorded for the previous year, a result due to the acquisition of markets in Palestine and Egypt. Germany heads the list in point of value of both exports and imports, her share figuring at 1,082.970 and 901.530 leva respectively. In the list of importing countries Germany is followed by Italy and Austria, Great Britain being fourth (value of imports, 142.870 leva); while in the list of countries importing goods from Bulgaria Great Britain stands eleventh, the exports from Bulgaria to that country figuring at the sum of 52.800 leva.

C Z E C H O - S L O V A K I A

NEW MONOPOLIES

So far the efforts of the Czecho-Slovak Government to eliminate the economic crisis have proved absolutely futile. Not even the 16.6% depreciation of the Czech crown ensuing last year proved able to induce a revival of the industrial output of a State adjusted for the purpose of self-supply with agrarian produce. The year 1934 did indeed close with the foreign trade balance showing a surplus of 1.400 million crowns; but this

was due primarily to the increase of imports not keeping pace with that of exports, — a circumstance to be attributed to a decline in the inland purchasing power. On the other hand, more than one third of the surplus of exports originated from the goods trade with Germany, that being a result of an entirely temporary character due to the difficulties of the foreign situation position in the Reich. This is proved by the circumstance that the Prague Government was driven to fix the relative proportions of the goods trade with Germany as $\frac{3}{4}:1$, in order to gradually reduce the amount of the claims due to Czecho-Slovakia which have been blocked.

Nor have the efforts to develop the Economic Little Entente produced any serious results or succeeded in securing new markets suitable to further the increase of production and the decrease of unemployment.

In face of the continuous deterioration of the economic and financial situation, Czecho-Slovakia is obliged to wait until such time as the negotiations to be opened under the French-Italian Convention shall afford it certain possibilities of a closer economic co-operation with its neighbours. The question that troubles the leading factors is how to disguise the difficulties. That is why there is no talk today of the economic scheme so frequently referred to in recent years which was to extend to the whole field of production; for to deal with that scheme would of necessity involved to reveal the fact that Czecho-Slovakia is economically dependent upon foreign countries.

The Government, which is perfectly helpless in respect of commercial relations, has — by desire of the parties supporting it — shown the utmost eagerness in completing the organisation of those institutions which concentrate the control of production, sale, export and import trade in the hands of organs established by those parties. This is what led the Prague Government to think of creating monopolies, which — though by no means providing a cure for the ills of the economic life of the country — secure the political parties and their leaders profits amounting to hundreds of millions and at the same time afford them fresh opportunities to acquire fortunes and political power. The creation of the various monopolies is a natural corollary of the conception entertained from the very outset by the Czech State-builders constituting a minority in their country which aims at the utilisation of every possible means to effect the realisation of a Czech national State in the economic field too. This was the object also of the Act ordaining the "nistrification" (nationalisation) of joint-stock companies, of the stipulation providing for the approval of Government being made the *sine qua non* of an increase of the share capital of joint-stock companies, of the land reform, of the measures for the reconstruction of the banks, and of the monopoly of the sale of spirit. Additional links in the chain have been the centralisation of wood export, the corn monopoly introduced last year, and the animal monopoly about to be put into force, which is to extend also to dairy farming

and to the egg trade and is to be followed by a wool monopoly and a drug monopoly.

In a State so pronouncedly "nationalistic" as Czecho-Slovakia the fettering of the economic life and the placing of the same at the mercy of the small group of persons in power, must inevitable lead to disaster for the minorities excluded altogether from power. First, because such a procedure undermines their political independence; and secondly, because the deliberate system of exploitation to which they are exposed continuously wastes their national assets and ultimately makes the economic situation which is in any case of a grave character intolerable to them.

The carrying into effect of the "nostrification" of the *joint-stock companies* afforded Czech capital an opportunity to worm its way into all the undertakings which it desired to include in its sphere of interests. In connection with the work of *re-constructing the banks* the Prague Government allotted to the banking companies politically connected with it sums amounting altogether to some 3.000 million Czech crowns. The ultimate result of the *land reform* was that only 27% of the areas sequestered was left in the possession of the original owners, the remainder changing hands. Seeing that the Germans were scarcely allotted any share and the Magyar no share at all of the areas of land distributed, there was evidently an enormous shifting in favour of the Czech people in particular and to some extent in favour of the Slovaks too, though the latter — as a consequence of the unequal taxation and of the inequality of the burdens imposed by the tariff policy, as also of the unjust distribution of public contracts — have paid back many times the value of the benefits received by them under the land reform scheme.

The *centralisation of wood export* — apart from placing sales in the hands of an undertaking belonging to the Czecho-Slovak Agrarian Party — by the regulation of production has made the owners of forest land dependent upon that undertaking. The regulation of deforestation and the system of permits offers a wide scope for "protectionism" (jobbery).

Another reason why these measures were taken is that it is in the interest of Government to maintain the costly organisations of the Coalition Parties supporting it. It was for that purpose that steps had to be taken to construct the seemingly democratic legislature on the basis of the strictest party discipline; and that in its turn made it necessary to create big party apparatuses, which absorb enormous amounts of money. The amounts required have been and are being procured by a "partition" of the public life of Czecho-Slovakia among the parties supporting Government. A prominent German economic journal appearing in Prague has disclosed the fact that for the endowment of the parties supporting Government a charge of 50 Czech crowns per wagonload is exacted on coal imported from abroad, the amount resulting being distributed among the parties in proportions fixed by mutual agreement. The Czecho-Slovak Agrarian Party has maintained its extensive organisations out of the enormous commissions received from the undertaking entrusted with the sale of spirit and of the "tributes" levied by its confidential agents in the course of the enforcement of the land reform. The Czech Opposition papers appearing in Prague have revealed the fact that on the occasion of the recent reforms the Agrarian Party procured the amount of 30 million Czech crowns by making the institute entrusted with the sale of spirit purchase three houses in Prague.

The carrying into effect of the land reform scheme is almost at an end. The sources of income which will consequently be exhausted must be replaced by fresh ones. The most expedient means to that end seems to Prague to be the introduction of monopolies, the systematic extension of which will gradually play the whole economic life of the country into the hands of persons

and institutions closely connected with Government. For the minorities are not allowed to be represented at all in the economic organisations. This is true, not only of the Magyars, but also of the three and a half million Germans too, though the latter has since 1926 had two representatives in the Czecho-Slovak Cabinet — these latter serving as proofs to convince foreign countries of the consolidation of the State. And indeed how could we expect the Czech minority which clings so desperately to the power in its hands to permit outsiders to look into the management of the institutions destined to promote the economic reinforcement of the Czech national State? That there has not yet been any change in the attitude of official quarters and that the inexorable selfishness of the powers that be is still in force as against the minorities, is proved by the circumstance that not a single German (not to speak of the Magyars) has been given a place in the Management of the Export Institute now being organised, though it is a well-known fact that a considerable proportion of the industry is still in German hands.

To sum up, the fact may be established that the pseudo-democracy of Czecho-Slovakia is a cloke for the disguise of an enormous business undertaking for the exploitation of the minorities which are excluded from political power.

The organisation and activity of the *corn monopoly* is an irrefutable proof of the truth of our statement. The management is chiefly in the hands of members of the Czech Agrarian Party, which provides for its own co-operative societies pocketing the enormous earnings — a commission of 400 Czech crowns per wagonload. But the most patent manifestation of the desire to injure the interests of the minorities is to be found in the manner of fixing prices and of delivery. The prices have been fixed at par of the Prague Exchange, the result being that the producers living in districts remote from Prague (in particular those — mostly Magyars — of Slovakia and Ruthenia) receive prices less the freight charges to Prague. Now, seeing that the bulk of the corn produce is sold by the Corn Trading Company to mills in the neighbourhood of Prague, in the latter case the Company simply pockets the difference in freight charges in lieu of profits. On the other hand the producers of the Czech-Moravian districts lying nearer Prague receive higher market prices. The situation of the deeply indebted farmers of Slovakia and Ruthenia is materially aggravated by the unfair determination of prices.

But the farmers belonging to minorities are brought into direct political dependence upon the co-operative societies managed chiefly by Czechs, seeing that the time of delivery is fixed arbitrarily by the latter. The fact that these societies and their representatives are the only organs entitled to purchase corn, they are ensured every means of political recognition and political persecution.

The yield on corn imports is also under the control of the company possessing a monopoly, which accounts to the State behind closed doors, to the exclusion of the public; while the management of the Czecho-Slovak Land Office is administered by an exclusively Czech company whose mandate from the legislature expired sixteen years ago.

Under such circumstances it is comprehensible that the minorities living in Czecho-Slovakia have received with the greatest misgivings the scheme for the establishment of *animal, wool and drug monopolies*. For these minorities the realisation of that scheme must result in a further fettering of the economic life and an aggravation of their dependence upon the powers that be. And the democracy of Czecho-Slovakia does not afford any means of self-defence. At best the legislators belonging to the minorities may criticise the Bill, that leading the Government not to put the measures into force by Order in Council. But criticism — which is not likely

to produce any results — cannot be expected in the least to deter the Czech majority from carrying its intentions into effect — for its desperate clinging to power is matched by its endeavours to acquire wealth. The balance of the work done during its fifteen years of existence by the democracy of Czecho-Slovakia is aptly illustrated by two figures. Of the savings deposits accumulated since the political change in 1919 only 6% falls to the share of the territories severed from Hungary, 94% being claimed by the territories severed from Austria. It is to be feared that as a consequence of the further deterioration of the economic situation the persons in power will in the future too try to obtain compensation by fleeing the minorities. While the economic and cultural standard of the minorities living in Czecho-Slovakia continues to decline disastrously, the complaints filed by the minorities lie unheeded in the archives of the Geneva Areopagus . . .

834.577 UNEMPLOYED IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

This is the number shown in the official statistics; but the real number is far higher, as has been ascertained by the Prague papers from the similarly official figures relating to the number of persons employed. Taking the distribution of the unemployed by districts, we find that in the districts inhabited by Czechs there are 55.5 unemployed for every 1000 inhabitants, the proportion per 1000 inhabitants in the districts inhabited by Germans being 94—9 (i. e. almost double), the latter figure affording a pregnant illustration of the results of State "protectionism". The number of unemployed in Slovakia and Ruthenia shown in the official statement is only 128.382, the increase during the month of February being one of 7.3%. According to information supplied by the Union of Slovak Manufacturers the official statement does not comprise even one half of the actual number of unemployed, for the organisation of the labour bureaus in Slovakia is not yet by any means perfect.

FINANCING OF PUBLIC WORKS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The Prague Government is elaborating far-reaching schemes of investment. In addition to the amount of 2000 millions included in the State Budget it is proposed to appropriate a further sum of 3000 million Czech crowns for the purpose of public works to reduce unemployment, this being effected by the issue of State contract notes which the National Bank would be required to discount. Thus the work of financing in reality involves a disguised inflation, a circumstance that has led to a serious conflict between Dr. English, the Governor of the National Bank, and the Government, the former opposing the raising of money in such a manner.

DOWNWARD TENDENCY OF TRAFFIC OF CZECHO-SLOVAK RAYLWAYS

In February the volume of the traffic declined to 301 thousand wagonloads as against 320 thousand wagonloads in January, being less than that recorded from the previous year. The decline in traffic from November to December amounted to 28%, a decline which — in view of the depreciation of the Czech crown — must be described as absolutely disastrous.

SITUATION OF CZECHO-SLOVAK BANKS DURING CRISIS

The economic crisis has gravely undermined the position of the Czecho-Slovak banking companies, despite Government having so far placed at their disposal 3000 million Czech crowns for the purposes of re-construction. In a paper on the subject Pimper, editor-in-chief of the "Národní Listy", the organ of the Kramat Party, shows that the aggregate amount of deposits in the custody of the banking companies has so far declined to the sum of 8600 million Czech crowns, while of their share capital the banks have forfeited the sum of 737 million Czech crowns. Of great interest is the position in respect of the deposits held by the savings banks. Of the total amount of deposits on savings bank books (18,600 million crowns) only 341 million crowns — not quite 2% — represent deposits originating from the territories severed from Hungary.

R U M A N I A

DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN TRADE IN 1934

Quite recently the data of Rumanian foreign trade in 1934 were made public. If we desire to ascertain whether there has been a deterioration or an improvement in the foreign trade balance of Rumania since the outbreak of the crisis in 1929, we must not content ourselves with a comparison of these data with the data for 1933, but must reach farther back. In the year 1931, the year in which the crisis culminated, Rumania imported 560.366 tons of goods; whereas the volume of her imports increased in 1934 to 635.870 tons — an advance of 13.3%. In 1931 exports — showing a volume of roughly 10 million tons — represented a value of 22.196,914.000 lei; the exports for 1934 on the other hand showing a volume of only 8,625.306 tons and a value of only 13.612,000.000 lei. Thus the value of the exports shows a decline of 40%, whereas that of the imports shows a decrease of only 16%. As things stand, therefore, we have on the one hand a continuous advance in imports and on the other a continuous decline of exports.

Y U G O S L A V I A

"UNION" BANK CRISIS

The following are the conditions on which the Minister of Commerce and Industry has approved the re-construction scheme of the Yugoslav Union Bank: The share capital to be reduced from 185 to 18.5 million dinars. The shares of the nominal value of 200 dinars each to be stamped as of the nominal value of 20 dinars each. By the issue of preference shares of the value of 41.5 million dinars the share capital to be raised to the amount of 60 million dinars. The preference shares to be taken over by the conversion into preference shares of a part of the "original" claims of "original" depositors. A special reserve fund amounting to 55.5 million dinars to be established partly by the conversion of "original" deposits and partly by the conversion into dinar values of the claims of the British investors at present existing in foreign currency values. The "original" deposits are to figure in the re-construction to the extent of 40%. The bank is ensured a moratorium of 6 years for the repayment of the remaining 60% of the "original" deposits. The rate of interest payable on "original" deposits up to 50.000 dinars shall be 4%, that on "original" deposits exceeding that amount, 3%.

S P O R T S

A recent number of the Hungarian Statistical Review contained very interesting data relating to the number of persons actively engaged as competitors in sport. The material for the statement in question has been supplied by the big sporting clubs. The principal figures of this statement are the following:

Branch of Sport	No. of Persons Actively Engaged in Sport			
	in Budapest		in the Provinces	
	Total	Women	Total	Women
Football	25.120	—	62.493	—
Athletics	10.283	388	26.557	480
Swimming	4.811	1.206	8.265	1.902
Gymnastics	4.045	1.892	8.014	2.846
Wrestling	1.104	—	1.965	—
Lawn-tennis	584	180	1.065	330
Hockey	624	42	829	42
Table tennis	530	87	818	113
Boxing	619	—	771	—
Cycling	422	—	758	—
Rowing	585	—	709	—
Fencing	396	23	647	49
Handball	610	152	610	152
Skiing	388	69	430	72
Golf	169	41	169	41
Skating	88	12	102	19
Total	50.378	4.092	114.202	6.046

The above statistics refer, however, only to persons actively engaged as competitors, the number of persons taking part in the various branches merely for the sport not being given at all. This fact is of peculiar importance in the case of lawn tennis, which is already beginning to develop into a really popular game. The situation is the same in respect also of skating and skiing. The statement does not contain any figures at all relating to shooting and pigeon shooting, to ice hockey, polo and riding, all of which branches are practised by very large numbers of enthusiasts. Should we add to the above statistics also the tourists, watermen not belonging to clubs and the boy scouts and girl guides (the tourists of course representing the biggest masses), as also the crowds of sporting youths brought into action by the "Levente" institution and the sporting activity of the arms, we should obtain figures showing the enormous

— almost unparalleled — popularity of sport in Hungary.

So far the activity in evidence in the field of sport has not been excessive; for, while on the one hand the disappearance of the snow and frost has put an end to winter sports, on the other hand the tardy approach of spring has prevented the resumption of open-air sporting life.

FENCING

Early in March, at Naples, there was a fencing match between Italy, France and Hungary, the representatives of Hungary once more scoring a brilliant victory over the Italian sword fencers. The hall in which the fencing match was held was packed with an enthusiastic crowd of spectators; the Hungarian sword fencers won against Italy by 6 to 3. The value of the success of the Hungarian team is enhanced by the fact that the three representatives of Hungary were all young fencers who had never previously taken part in an Olympic match.

HOCKEY

During the Easter holidays the Hungarian Hockey Club will play against an English team. Negotiations have been opened with the world-famed Cambridge team. The last English hockey team to visit Budapest was that of Oxford University, which played against the Hungarian Hockey Club and — besides winning the game — achieved a memorable social success. Their play here contributed very largely to induce the advance in Hungarian hockey sport which has since ensued.

MOTOR SPORT

The grand automobile exhibition in Berlin promises to ensure the success of the Budapest Motor-Car Beauty Contest. All the American, Italian, German, Austrian, French and British factories have announced their intention to compete; indeed, in some cases the factories are bringing to Budapest for the occasion all the material that figured at the exhibition. The events will include the first Elegance Contest, which to all appearances promises to be the first important automobile and social display of the spring season in Budapest.