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## KING GEORGE THE FIFTH †

**N**ever has the death of a foreign sovereign evoked expressions of such sincere and cordial sympathy on the part of Hungary as recently, when the whole Hungarian nation joined with the British people — among whom it has had so many noble friends, not only in the remote past, but also during the trials of the past seventeen years — in mourning the decease of King George the Good.

During the sad days of His Majesty's illness millions of Hungarians anxiously awaited the news arriving from Sandringham; and the whole nation followed in spirit the sorrowful procession accompanying the last remains of a great King from Westminster Hall through streets thronged with mourners to the station whence they were borne to Windsor, the resting-place of Britain's Sovereigns.

This heartfelt sympathy was called forth, not only by the respect felt for the eminent human qualities of the late King, but also by affection for the British people, whose historical traditions, constitutional system and social structure, resemble those of Hungary more closely than those of any other European country.

We are proud to think that in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, no long after John Lackland had signed the Great Charter, the beginnings of our Constitution showed a standard of development almost as high as those of the English Constitution. Whereas the form of constitution existing in the other countries of Europe is merely the "written" constitution introduced by royal edict, the Hungarian is of the "historical" type found in Great Britain. When in 1848 the class parliament was replaced in Hungary too by the system of popular representation in harmony with the spirit and the requirements of the age, our political life, in keeping with the parallel development of the two constitutions, took as its model the Parliament of London and not that of Paris; and no political authority was greater than that of the men who were familiar with the traditions of Westminster too.

This fact explains the profound respect of the Hungarian nation for the British monarchy and its Royal embodiment. The soul of the Hungarian people has no sympathy with absolutism — as was proved by its struggle against the attempts of the Habsburgs to reduce Hungary to the position of a hereditary province; but it is equally averse to a dictatorship or a republic. The ideal of the Hungarian nation is the constitutional kingship of Britain; and the death of George the Fifth, who embodied this ideal more perfectly than any of his predecessors on the throne, has therefore made us more conscious than ever of the greatness of the political ideal.

"Historical" constitutions are rooted in the past; but their elasticity makes them easily adaptable to the requirements of the present too. Like the British, the Hungarians are jealous of their traditions, from which they never depart unless forced to do so; nevertheless, while observing or perhaps merely symbolically maintaining time-honoured traditions, they may readily adopt ideas of whose justice and expediency they feel convinced. Conservative but not reactionary; favouring evolution but not revolution; deliberate and cautious, but at the same time courageous and energetic, — the Hungarians have spiritually much in common with the British. The similarity in the spiritual structure of the two peoples accounts for the surprising number of resemblances in their social structure too. Like the British people, the Hungarian nation has kept intact the medieval hierarchical order of society, which may in consequence be regarded as aristocratic in its foundations. At the same time, however, the law of social "capillarity" has been allowed to assert itself: and just as many eminent Englishmen have risen from the obscurest condition to the highest ranks of the Peerage, so in Hungary too the nobility — and even the Order of Magnates — has always been open to capacity driving its way upwards. In this sense Hungarian society too is democratic. Both peoples have the same conception of — and the same respect for — the word "gentleman", which to both alike means an unexceptionably character. The Hungarians looked upon King George as the embodiment of this ideal; the homage with which they joined in the mourning of his people was a tribute, not only to a dead sovereign, but to the man who personified all the qualities inherent in that most honoured of names.

*The sincerity and heartfelt nature of Hungary's sorrow finds a counterpart in the sincerity and heartfelt nature of the affection and homage which Hungarians feel for Britain's young king, Edward the Eighth.*

*We are proud to think that King Edward has also a few drops of the blood of the Hungarian Rhédeys flowing in his veins; and deeply gratified to remember that shortly before his accession to the throne, the new Sovereign twice visited Hungary. Then he really lived among and with us and took the Hungarian hearts by storm.*

*Now that he has ascended the throne of his ancestors and thereby assumed the cares and responsibilities of a mighty Empire, we offer him our respectful homage and, without expecting impossibilities, hope that His Majesty will keep in benevolent remembrance the Hungarian people, which has taken him to its heart and begs the Almighty to grant him a long and prosperous reign.*



The sad news of King George V. of England's death was received with the sincerest most profound sympathy by all circles—official and non-official in Hungary.

On behalf of Admiral *Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya*, Regent of Hungary, *Dr. Alexander Vértessy*, Chief of the Regent's Cabinet, *Dr. Stephen Bárczy*, Secretary of State in the Prime Ministry, representing the Prime Minister *Julius Gömbös*, and *Kálmán Kánya*, Foreign Minister accompanied by the Chief of his Cabinet, *Count Stephen Csáky* called at the British Legation in Budapest to express their profound sympathy. Amongst other to pay visit of sympathy to the British Minister were *Archduke Joseph*, head of the House of Habsburg in Hungary, and *Cardinal Justinian Serédy*, Prince Primate of Hungary.

The Regent of the Kingdom of Hungary, *Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya*, sent the following telegram of sympathy to His Majesty the King *Edward VIII*.

*"Deeply moved by the decease of Your August Father I beg Your Majesty to accept the expression of my profound sympathies in which the entire Hungarian nation participates."*

At the same time sent the Regent also a telegram of sympathy to His Majesty the Queen *Mary* in the following terms:

*"I have learned with profound regret of the grievous loss which Your Majesty and the whole British nation suffered by the decease of His Majesty King George and I beg Your Majesty to accept the expression of my deepest sympathies and those of the Hungarian nation."*

The Prime Minister General *Julius Gömbös* sent the following telegram to Prime Minister Mr. *Stanley Baldwin*:

*"Deeply moved by the death of His Majesty King George which is a great loss to the British nation and humanity alike I hasten to convey to Your Excellency the expression of my own and the Hungarian Governments' sincerest condolences."*

January on 24-th the Speaker of the Hungarian House of Deputies, *M. Alexander Sztranyavszky*, interpreted the sorrow felt by the Hungarian nation at the death of Britain's great King in the following words, which were listened to standing by the members of Parliament.

*"The mighty British Empire and the British nation which has given innumerable proofs of its friendly feelings towards us and its appreciation of our just aspirations, are in deep mourning. Britain's beloved, noble and wise Sovereign, George V, has been gathered to his forefathers. With heart and soul the Hungarian nation participates in the great grief of the British Empire and its peoples, and even in the present dismembered state of the country, recalls the close spiritual ties which for many centuries have formed a link between the two countries and their peoples through loyalty to the ancient constitutions, so similar in origin and contents.*

*"Popular superstition has it that with the passing of every life the seed of a new life germinates. May it be that with the passing of the great and noble ruler of the mighty British Empire a new seed of life shall spring, out of which there will ultimately grow among the nations of the world a peace which rest on mutual appreciation and upon a reciprocal recognition of one another's rightful interests and just aspirations.*

*"I ask for authorisation to send a telegram of sympathy to the Speaker of the British House of Commons, expressing how deeply the Hungarian Parliament — the choosed representative of the nation — sympathizes with the British nation in its hour of sad bereavement."*

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the Hungarian Parliament the Speaker then addressed the following telegram to the Speaker of the British House of Commons:

*"On the occasion of the death of King George V of England deeply affecting also us Hungarians, the Representation of the Hungarian nation, every member of which is deeply possessed of feelings of respectful reverence for the great and noble kingly and human virtues of the exalted sovereign deceased, inspired by sympathies deeply rooted in a long past that unites Hungary to the English nation and people and sharing the sorrow of the mournful loss incurred by the mighty British Empire, charges me to express the deepest and warmest sympathies of the House of Deputies of the Hungarian Parliament."*

*Count Bertram Széchenyi*, President of the Upper House sent the following telegram to the Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable *Viscount Hailsham*:

*"The sad news of the deep loss inflicted upon the noble British nation and the powerful Empire created the deepest sympathy in our hearts. May I beg your Lordship to accept and to interpret to the House of Lords the intense sorrow felt by all members of the Hungarian Upper House on the decease of His Majesty King George who in His most august spirit reigned so wisely over His people."*

The Regent ordered the National Army to observe 12 days half mourning, to begin on January 22nd. He also commanded that on the day of King George's funeral every public building (including also the barracks and all other buildings occupied by the National Army) shall hang out a black flag, or the national colours draped with black. The Prime Ministry also issued orders that black flags were to be hung out on all public buildings in the country. The Ministry furthermore requested the owners of private houses to hang out black flags as a sign of the Hungarian nation's mourning.

The Lord Mayor and the Mayor of Budapest issued separate appeals to the inhabitants of the Capital, the text of which runs as follows:

*"King George V of England, the great ruler of the British Empire, has been gathered to his fathers, and his death has plunged the mighty British Empire and the British nation into profound mourning. Every civilized country in the world sympathises with Britain in her great loss. The Capital of Hungary also feels the deepest sympathy for the British nation, to which it is linked by spiritual ties centuries old. Budapest wishes to express its profound sympathy for the new King, who, as Prince of Wales, won the cordial affection of its inhabitants. The inhabitants are therefore requested to hang out black flags on their houses as a sign of their genuine sympathy."*

Very many houseowners deferred to the appeal; while the shopkeepers displayed in their windows portraits of Georg V. and Edward VIII.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE BUDAPEST PRESS

The whole Hungarian press, irrespective of parties and political connections write of the death of King George V with the most profound sympathy, and greeted the new king, Edward VIII, on his accession to the throne of his ancestors with the deepest respect and the warmest sympathy.

This may be seen from the following extracts from the Budapest press:

The semi-official "*Budapesti Hirlap*" wrote as follows:

"The late King George V of England was known to the whole world as the ideal of a constitutional monarch. This was surely the reason why the whole Hungarian nation regarded that mighty ruler with such great affection. The Hungarian view of public law, which is founded on historical traditions rooted in bygone ages, is particularly able to appreciate respect for constitutionalism on the part of monarchs."

The article then went on to greet the new King in the following words:

"In Britain's new ruler the most excellent traits of his immediate predecessors, his father, George V and his grandfather Edward VII, are happily united. This is the best guarantee that he will be successful in leading his Empire far on the ascending path of development and prosperity. As ruler, the King's exceptional qualities will make it easy for him to choose in critical moments the path along which not only the peoples of his own Empire, but also the other nations of the world may arrive at the immeasurable blessings of peace.

"The Hungarian nation greets the new ruler, Edward VIII, on on the occasion of his accession to the throne of his mighty Empire with homage as deep-felt and sincere as the sympathy with which it mourns the death of King George."

In its obituary notice the "*Függetlenség*", a Government Party organ, wrote:

"George V, King of England, lies pale upon his bier. In his life he was the ideal of a Man whose own greatness conferred royalty upon him, and the model of a Sovereign who was able to remain a man on the heights of the throne. When he died, a disjointed world that had lost its faith in ideals, mourned for him as the symbol of all that is good in human nature, all that is noble, wise and unassuming. But the world also sees — and this is the greatest secret of life, of civilization, and of England's greatness — the survival of those qualities in his successor."

The "*Függetlenség*" then went on to say that the Hungarians had had the honour of seeing Britain's ruler face to face when he visited this country. It was most probably the desire to see something new that first drew a mind eager to add to its experiences towards this historical city in Central Europe. But when he came for the second time, the then Prince of Wales's decision to re-visit Budapest undoubtedly denoted a real feeling of sympathy for Hungary. Perhaps the heart of Britain's future monarch was touched by the moral force of a historical race; the first gentleman in the world was attracted by the chivalry, sympathy, and tact of the Hungarians. The heir to the throne of the British Empire had surely been captivated, not only by the beauty of Budapest, the azure hue of the Hungarian sky, and the lights of the embankments mirrored in the Danube like strings of pearls, but also by the faith which, enhanced by tradition, burned in the nation with a brilliance surpassing any artificial flame. The teachings of the countries had gone to prove that the greatest moral force was often an attribute of the poorest and of the noblest. The new inheritor of the British throne, who has sworn to defend the most ancient constitution in the world, has conceived an affection for a country whose constitution was very little younger than that of his own nation and whose traditions and history were marked by the same great moral forces which had made England as mighty as she is.

In the "*Pesti Hirlap*" Mr. Francis Herczeg, the eminent Hungarian author, wrote an article on the significance of the change. This article appeared also in English and contains amongs other things the following passage:

"No doubt the death of no foreign ruler has ever affected so deeply the Hungarian nation than that of King George V. On the day of the sad tidings from London Budapest made the impression of national mourning. It is worth our while to meditate over the origin of this sentimental wave.

Apart from the King's overwhelming personality which is beyond all criticism, we think that this is a case of sympathetic mass feeling evoked by British national mourning.

To us Hungarians the sentimental ties which for so long unite our two nations are far more important than to the British and we always followed with greater attention the history of the development of Hungarian-English friendship. We know that it began with the religious wars when Hungary shed its blood for the freedom of conviction. It continued during the struggles for our national liberty when Hungary repeatedly took to arms in the defence of its constitutional and self-determinating rights.

Hungarians have for a long time been thinking with a kind of nostalgia of the British who, with the help of God and by their own strength, could realize a national existence the like of which dwells for many a century in our dreams.

In the past, British friendship did not assert itself in political deeds. Our Hungarian ancestors derived from it a moral benefit only; but it was a great advantage to them as British public opinion has, so to say, legitimised the ideal contents of their struggles.

Our friendship for Britain gained an enormous impetus at the time when a distinguished section of British public opinion openly and decisively took up an attitude against the inhuman and untenable provisions of the Treaty of Trianon.

We shall not forget the magnificent statements made by the lords at the memorable meeting of the House of Lords and we shall not forget the moral encouragement and support which the pro-Hungarian Group in the House of Commons and the leading English newspapers gave our nation. It was British love of justice which raised our nation from the dust into which it was thrown by a cruel peace treaty unparalleled in history. We owe gratitude to the British for to-day we Hungarians may look into the future with heads lifted high, despite the severe struggles for existence.

We Hungarians are entitled to a modest place in the row of the mourners. The devotion of the peoples of five continents will adorn the memory of King George V., but if feelings are to be judged by their purity and intensity, so those our nations proffers to the dead will not be the worst jewels of the royal coffin.

The new king, the Prince of Wales of yesterday, has won a place in the hearts of all Hungarians during his visits to Budapest. He has charmed our capital with his resplendent youthfulness. Here we know that only those will become true men who sincerely dare to be young in the spring of their existence.

The free and happy youth of Edward Albert came to an end yesterday. He, like his predecessors, will also be the representative of serious work and severe duties. We wish his manhood may be just as glorious as his youth has been beautiful. And may he see our small country, whenever his memory reverts to it, in the sunny splendour of his own youth."

The following is an extract from an article in the Liberal daily, the "*Pesti Napló*":

"We Hungarians, who look upon the glorious British Constitution as the elder brother of our own ancient Constitution, and who therefore look up with respect to the "British example" as something to be followed; we Hungarians, who have always so greatly admired British writers, discoverers, preachers, legislators, generals, travellers and merchants, now turn with the deepest sympathy to Britain, who has lost her beloved King, George V. At the same time we greet with homage her new King, Edward VIII. We greet King Edward, who so recently paid two visits to Hungary, and who — we are convinced — carried away with him, in his heart and his mind's eye, the memory of the Hungarian Capital, of Hungary and her people, of a country each single inhabitant of which followed his every step with respectful affection. He came to us incognito — a gentleman on his holiday —, and when he left us, it was as though we had said goodbye to a friend."

The mouthpiece of the Legitimist Opposition, the "*Magyarság*", wrote as follows:

"King George V, from whom the British nation is now about to take its last farewell with grief, all the more sincere that it is far-removed from extremes of emotion and expression, was the embodiment in royal power and dignity of respect for the ancient constitution. All the services rendered by him to his country in the most critical periods of his reign were rooted in this unshakable adherence to the constitution. And the gratitude with which the British Empire prepares to take leave of its ruler is the confirmation in sentiment of that pivotal political truth, that inner harmony, between King and Nation in their respect for ancient traditions and the principle of constitutionalism is the one supreme guarantee of development and of the power to stand firm in times of storm.

"The British Empire has every reason to look forward with hope to the new Sovereign's reign, and that hope is shared by the Hungarian nation, which bears the burdens imposed upon it by Trianon with an unflinching determination to survive them. Edward VIII went through the school of the world war in his youth, and while yet their to the throne more than once gave evidence of his profound sense of the social problems. A ruler who has personal experience of the war may rightly be expected, by the rest of the world as well as by his own people, to be a zealous worker for international peace. And Hungary, too, is justified in assuming that he will understand the sufferings and legitimate longings of the humiliated and oppressed races; that he will pave the way to international peace by the only feasible means — a revision of the unjust and intolerable peace treaties. Imbued with these ideas, Hungarian public opinion lays its tribute of homage on the bier of the late King George, and awaits with hope the reign of his energetic successor."

After a description of the historical rôle played by the House of Windsor, the "*Magyar Hirlap*" paid homage to Edward VIII in the following terms:

"It would be superfluous to recapitulate the merits and achievements of the late King George. As for Edward VIII; His Majesty, following in the footsteps of his three great predecessors, will be able to cope with the tasks devolving upon the British Sovereign today. He will do so with that adherence to the forms and methods of Democracy which is now a fixed tradition with the Kings of England; with the versatile knowledge of men and the world acquired while Prince of Wales; and with the graciousness of manner which is always a powerful, though gentle, weapon in the hands of a monarch. There is no reason to fear that when confronted with difficult tasks and weighty problems the eighth Edward in the history of England will prove irresolute."

The "*Pester Lloyd*" drew a parallel between Edward VIII and his grandfather, Edward VII. One passage ran as follows:

"Edward VII, like his grandson, Edward VIII, who has now succeeded to the throne, cherished a marked partiality for Hungary, and loved to sojourn here. When he was still heir to the throne, Edward VII paid several visits to Budapest, and we are proud to think that Edward VIII, as Prince of Wales, was also twice in Hungary in the course of a single year; that he professed to have enjoyed his stay exceedingly; and that he expressed his sympathy for our country in a marked way.

"And yet there was a difference between the visits of the Princes of Wales. Edward VII while in Hungary, moved only in exclusive circles among the highest in the land, chiefly in the society of his personal friends belonging to the aristocracy, Count Elemér Batthány, Count Géza Andrássy, Count Stephen Károlyi and Baron Sigismund Uchtritz, and his social headquarters was the National Casino, at that time an exclusive *milieu* and the meeting-place of the élite of the country. The Prince of Wales, as he then was, was also often to be seen in the streets of our Capital, and during the racing season he was a daily visitor to the Budapest racecourse. His figure, elegant, but slightly inclining to stoutness was always greeted by the crowds of spectators at the races with deep respect and in spite of his extreme exclusiveness the public never failed to show the liveliest and most sincere admiration for him. His grandson, the present King, behaved quite differently on the occasion of his two visits to Budapest. Edward VIII did not make the National Casino his headquarters, but lived the life of an ordinary tourist, untrammelled by any formal etiquette and eager to enjoy all the pleasures our town has to offer the eye and the palate. At the same time he also manifested an interest in and appreciation of the productions of Hungarian industrial and peasant art. If during a walk through the city he saw any interesting object in one of the shop-windows, he went into the shop with his suite to buy what had taken his fancy. His behaviour among us was thus far more democratic than that of his grandfather, but was equally marked by an enjoyment of Budapest and by kindness towards the Hungarian race.

"We in Hungary greet the new King of England with feelings of profound respect, and the circumstance that an Prince of Wales gave so ostentative an expression of his partiality for this land emboldens us to hope that he will not withdraw his goodwill towards our nation now that he has ascended the throne."

The Social Democratic "*Népszava*" also wrote with the greatest respect of the dead Sovereign, to whom is paid the following tribute:

"The greatest praise among all the eulogies that chroniclers can bestow upon the late King George is to say that his death has not put a full stop to any era. Everything will continue to go on as it did, in the spirit of the British Constitution and British Democracy, and in an atmosphere of liberty. Every son of the great British Empire shares in the life of the whole. The King of England is a British citizen placed in the most exalted position in the world-wide British Empire. One citizen has passed away; another has taken his place. What is eternal — at least so far as our finite human conception reaches — is British liberty, which on that Monday night in Sandringham neither died, nor was born; but which is — as naturally as it is natural that the grass in the English meadows is velvety and emerald-green."

## THE HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATION AT THE FUNERAL

The Regent and the Hungarian Government have delegated M. *Kálmán Kánya*, Foreign Minister, to represent them at the funeral of King George. General *Keresztes-Fischer*, Chief of the Regent's Military Cabinet and Count *Stephen Csáky*, Councillor of Legation, are the other members of the Hungarian delegation. The Hungarian delegation left Budapest the train in which King Boris of Bulgaria travelled. King Boris spent most of the time, on the train as well as on the boat, in the company of the Hungarian delegates.

From the moment of their arrival in England they were treated with the greatest consideration by the English authorities. At Victoria they were met by General *Sir Victor Mackenzie* on behalf of the Court, Mr. *Howard Smith*, First Secretary on behalf of the Government, and by Mr. Eden's private secretary on behalf of the British Foreign Minister. The Hungarian delegates put up at the Ritz Hotel, where Mr. Howard Smith, representing the British Government, called on them. Next day the Hungarian delegates were present at the Roman Catholic memorial service in Westminster Cathedral. Then they entered their names on the lists of callers on King Edward, Queen Mary, and the Dukes of York, Gloucester and Kent. Accompanied by Sir Victor Mackenzie they drove to Westminster Hall to pay their tribute of homage to the dead monarch. The Hungarian delegation sent three wreaths of red and white roses, carnations and laurel tied with red-white-green ribbons (the Hungarian colours). The ribbon on the first wreath bore the inscription "King George V, from the Regent of Hungary"; the second wreath bore the words "King

George V, from the Royal Hungarian Government" and the third, "King George V, from the Hungarian National Defence Army".

The three Hungarian delegates attended the levée held by King Edward in Buckingham Palace. King Edward conversed very graciously with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, and spoke of his recent visits to Budapest. M. Kánya presented the other members of the delegation to the King.

After the Royal funeral Sir Robert Vansittart, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, gave a lunch in honour of M. Kánya. M. Kánya called on Mr. Eden and Mr. Baldwin. General Keresztes-Fischer visited Mr. Duff-Cooper, Secretary of State for War, and General Montgomery Massinberg, Head of the General Staff, to both of whom he again tendered the sympathy of the Hungarian National Defence Army, and assured them of the warm sympathy always felt by the Hungarian Army for the British military forces. A pleasing incident occurred when the Hungarian Foreign Minister was leaving Mr. Baldwin. When the Prime Minister's valet was helping on M. Kánya's coat, he addressed the Hungarian Foreign Minister in irreproachable Hungarian. To M. Kánya's question, he replied that he had been brought up in Hungary, where his father had spent a good many years, and that he had never forgotten his second mother-tongue.

*At 11.30 a. m. on January 30th M. Kánya, Hungarian Foreign Minister, accompanied by Count Stephen Csáky, was received by King Edward VIII in Buckingham Palace. The significance of the audience may be gathered from the fact that it lasted 55 minutes.*

Before leaving London, M. Kánya, Hungarian Foreign Minister, made the following statement to the representatives of the Hungarian press:

"I shall never forget the impressions of these days in London. It was touching and uplifting to see the way the British nation took leave of its dead King. What impressed me most of all was, apart from the devotion to the person of the late King, the feeling one had of how mighty, how strong and united the British Empire is; how fast the ties connecting the various nations of which it is composed; for each and all of them joined in the mourning with one heart, one soul.

"Nothing was more characteristic of London, of that huge city's mourning and its astonishing discipline, than the order and silence, which words fail me to describe, of the multitudes of spectators who lined the whole six and a half kilometres of the route along which the funeral cortège passed.

"It was evident that the huge crowds had not gathered to appease a hunger for the sensational, and that their presence had nothing in it of an organized mass demonstration; but that their devotion, their sympathy, their mourning, sprang from the depths of the heart. I dare assert that the world had scarcely ever seen the like before. The virility and unity of this Empire of many, many millions, and its attachment to the Royal family, manifested themselves in a matchlessly beautiful manner during the last few days."

From M. Kánya's suite the press received the following information concerning the Hungarian Foreign Minister's reception in London:

"The Foreign Minister left London with the best of impressions. The warmth, kindness, and courtesy of his reception were greatly in excess of the demands of official politeness. Kindly feelings towards Hungary were manifest in official circles, as well as among the people. It happened that when the crowds recognized the Hungarian Foreign Minister in a motor-car bearing the Royal crown, they began to cheer Hungary."

## THE SOLEMN MEMORIAL SERVICE AT BUDAPEST

On January 28th, at the time when King George's funeral was taking place in London (11 a. m. by Central European time), a solemn memorial service was held the Calvinist church in Kálvin-tér, Budapest. It was attended by the British colony here and in large numbers by the official representatives of the sympathizing Hungarian nation. The church, the nave of which was a mass of pals and laurels — symbols of eternal life — proved too small to hold the delegates of the authorities spiritual and temporal. On the Communion-table below the pulpit a plain silver cross had been placed between silver candlesticks and bunches of white lilac to signify that the service was Anglican.

Besides *Sir Geoffrey Knox*, British Minister, all the accredited diplomats of other foreign countries were present. The Hungarian Government was represented by General *Gömbös*, Prime Minister, and his Ministers *M. Bornemisza*, *M. Darányi*, *M. Fabinyi*, *M. Kozma*, *M. Lázár*, and *M. Winckler*, by *M. Tahy* and *M. Tasnády*, State Secretaries, and by *Baron Apor*, permanent deputy of M. Kánya, Foreign Minister, who was away at the London funeral. The Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament was represented by *Baron Radvánszky*, the Lower House by *M. Sztranyavszky*, Speaker. *M. Sipőcz*, Lord Mayor, and *M. Szendy*, Mayor, represented the Municipality of Budapest. *Archduke Joseph* with his consort, *Archduchess Augusta*, *Archduke Albrecht*, and a great number of people prominent in Hungarian political, ecclesiastical and social life were present, as were the representatives of the Courts of Justice, the Administration and the Army.

At 11 sharp His Highness *Admiral Horthy*, Regent of Hungary, arrived and was received by *Dr. Ravasz*, Bishop of the Calvinist Church. The Regent sat opposite the Communion-table.

The memorial service opened with an organ recital of Beethoven's Funeral March, played by *M. Louis Akom*, choir-master of the church. Then the *Rev. George Knight*, minister of the Scottish Mission in

Budapest, ascended the pulpit and read a passage from the Bible. After this the congregation repeated the 39th and the 90th Psalms sitting, and then stood up to sing the English Hymn, "On God, our help in ages past, Our hope in years to come". Mr. Knight then read passages from the 1st Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians and from the Book of Revelations. This was followed by the Lord's Prayer, after which Rev. Mr. Knight intoned prayers. He then paid tribute to the dead King. Amongst other things he said:

"From other nations, too, the eyes of men have turned towards King George, for in him they saw a Sovereign whose ideal it was to seek the peace of the world. The nations came to trust him, not only as a man of honour, but as a sincere and interested friend in the troubles and cares of every land. *It has warmed our hearts in this hour of sorrow to see with what sincerity and whole-hearted affection the people of Hungary, from the highest to the lowest, have shared in our national mourning.* Tributes of deep sympathy have come from every nation, and today the whole world salutes sorrowing with them in the loss of such a husband and a father."

In Debrecen, the so-called "Calvinist Rome" the second largest town in Hungary, *Dr. D. Baltazár*, Bishop of the Trans-Tisza Calvinist Diocese, gave orders that the famous Rákóczi bell in the "Great Church" was to be tolled during the whole time of King George's funeral.

It was not merely sympathy felt for the British nation in its sorrow that induced Bishop Baltazár to give this order. The Hungarian Reformed Church and the Calvinist College in Debrecen wished to express their special gratitude to Britain by thus joining in the British nation's mourning. They have a particular reason to be grateful, for they have Great Britain to thank for the preservation of the Debrecen College. It happened in 1752 that when the Vienna Government forbade the Municipality of Debrecen to pay the ministers of the Reformed Church, the Professors of the College and the Protestant schoolmasters, as the town had previously done, the College was threatened with the danger of having to stop word. The Board of that ancient school applied for help to their brethren in the faith abroad. The English were the first to respond to their appeal. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of the Anglican Church, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, created a foundation of L 2,500 sterling, the interest of which the College enjoyed until quite recently."

The funeral ceremonies in London and Windsor were relayed from first to last by the Hungarian wireless. The transmission was translated into Hungarian by *D. Géza Koudela*, Papal Chamberlain. After the funeral service was over Dr. Koudela said:

„The official broadcast has come to an end, and we have taken a separate farewell of the departed Monarch after the Hungarian fashion. This is neither the suitable place nor the time to enumerate King George's merits as a monarch; nor is it fitting here to praise the royalty of his human characteristics. Hungary joins in the mourning of England and the British Empire. We pay homage to the memory of King George V, and pray that his soul may join the Saints with God.

"The King is dead; Long live the King". We turn towards the new Sovereign to do him homage. It is said that he likes Hungary. We have certainly grown to be fond of him. We are very fond of him, and it was with grief that we saw on the first of his photographs as King how serious, how grave his otherwise gay and smiling face had become. *May God help him in his position of grave responsibility!* The secrets of foggy Albion have always been incrutable. We cannot guess what the future may hold. We Hungarians, despoiled and distressed, who have been taken advantage of for a thousand years and cheated a thousand times, have ceased to hope for any kind of miracle. All, therefore, we beg of King Edward, all we wish of him is that now, when he is King, he should continue to show towards us the same nobility of heart and human kindness of which he allowed us to catch a glimpse whilst he was in our midst.

"God save the King!"



# WHAT IS TO BE EXPECTED IN THE DANUBE VALLEY?

by

*Dr. Tibor Eckhardt*

*Member of Parliament*

**Budapest, January 28, 1936.**

In recent months the public opinion of the world and the international press have repeatedly established the fact that the storm centre which a bare year ago lowered over the Valley of the Danube has since the aggravation of the conflict between Abyssinia and Italy been shifted to the Mediterranean. As a consequence the sadly disintegrated Valley of the Danube has obtained a respite; and in particular there has ensued an improvement in the situation in Austria, which during 1934 more than once threatened to lead to a grave conflict. The improvement is however only an apparent one; the relief is probably only a temporary one and will cease unless the interval is utilised for the purpose of constructively re-adjusting the chaos ruling in the Danube Valley.

Not only has international interest been diverted in recent months to Africa and the Mediterranean; in the policy of the German Empire too there has undoubtedly ensued a more moderate attitude respecting the treatment of the Austrian question. Today Germany is arming, openly and confessedly, in order to make up for the fifteen years of inactivity forced upon her by the Treaty of Versailles. These military preparations are absorbing the whole of Germany's material and financial resources, besides monopolising all her capacity in the field of international politics. The German Empire needs 2—3 years of tranquillity to enable it to realise its systematic military programme; and during that period we must not expect Germany to take the initiative in the Austrian question. But what are we to expect will happen then, if these years too are allowed to pass without anything being done in the Valley of the Danube?

Even without attributing to the German Empire any thoughts of aggression we cannot but feel anxious when we think of that day. The shifting in the balance of forces involved by the military preparedness of the German Empire will certainly make its effect felt automatically not only in the military situation but also economically and in the field of international politics — and even in the internal situation in Austria. It will hasten the consequences of the spell inevitably exercised on

a poor neighbouring people struggling to maintain its subsistence by a mighty kindred nation of sixty-five millions. The law of gravitation will act a thousandfold — indeed, with irresistible force — upon the Austria which has been deprived of the foundations of her existence. And even if this preponderance were not sufficient in itself, there can be no doubt that Austria is being driven into the arms of Germany and compelled to accept the pan-German idea by the pressure of the Little Entente, which, apart from excluding Austria from her natural sphere, the Danube Valley, and hindering her occupying her proper position in that valley, leaves her no possibility of thriving except by union with the German Empire. Unless the Danube Valley is re-organised while the present calmer atmosphere lasts, the union ("Anschluss") between Austria and Germany must inevitably ensue the moment the military preparedness of the German Empire enables that country to bring its increased force most effectively to bear on the balance of power in Europe. Today the Danube Valley problem is reduced to the question whether in the 2—3 years still available for the purpose it will be possible to organise an independent Danube Valley or not? Should we succeed in re-organising the Danube Valley in a manner leading to the development of an economically virile structure with political aims of its own and able to stand on its own feet which will endeavour consciously to defend its independence against all attempts at expansion, the balance of power in Europe will be saved and it will be possible to preserve the peace of the world. Should that not be the case, our restless Continent will be plunged into a path from which there is no return.

So it will be of interest to inquire into the forces which are calculated to further the rational re-organisation of the Danube Valley, and to try to discover what it is that hinders such a solution? The forces in operation during the past fifteen years are well known; and it is an easy matter to determine the mistakes so far committed. It is indubitable that for nearly fifteen years the Western European Powers have failed to agree at all in their policy towards Austria; and the differences

of opinion and the clash of interests dividing the Great Powers among themselves have more than once been reflected most strikingly in their attitude towards Austria, plunging the small Austrian Republic into serious conflicts. More than once in the past Austria has been the object rather than the subject of international policy, being utilised as a tool for the furtherance of various political ambitions of the Great Powers. Italy, the Franco-Czech political union and the German Empire — each of these factors has had its own armed forces in Austria; and the conflicts between these forces serving each a particular political object rendered the life of Austria almost intolerable.

That was why Austria welcomed the development of the Stresa front as a blessing; for the three Western Great Powers at least succeeded in harmonising their various attitudes towards Austria and undertook the united defence of Austria's independence. At any rate the situation was cleared. The Stresa front showed a union of forces against the "Anschluss" policy of the German Empire. However, the unity of the Stresa front was last year shaken by the Abyssinian conflict. At the present moment that front is crumbling to pieces, although there has been no change in the attitudes of the three Western Great Powers towards the Austrian question. And perhaps this latter circumstance entitles us to hope that in the Austrian question at least the united front of Stresa will be restored, unless the Italian-Abyssinian conflict degenerates into war. In the latter case, however, the Abyssinian question will not be the only problem to be settled by an appeal to arms; that is how numerous other questions — probably the future destiny of Austria too — will have to be decided. But the present situation denotes a change indubitably unfavourable to the interests of Austria; for the political and military power of Italy, which Great Power has been most active in defending Austria's independence, is very seriously employed elsewhere. As a consequence, the co-operation which might be expected to result from the Great Powers showing a united front in favour of the re-organisation of Austria and the Danube Valley, hardly looks at present likely to be realised; time is passing, but there is no sign yet of united action on the part of the Great Powers: and for that very reason the conflict between Italy and Abyssinia involves a loss of time excessively detrimental to the future of the whole Danube Valley.

Now we are beginning to see clearly the anxious character of the Little Entente alliance and the danger to the peace of Europe latent in that alliance. The Little Entente was brought into being for the purpose of maintaining by force of arms the subjection of Dismembered Hungary and of the Austria which has been deprived of her vitality, its professed object being to maintain the present *status quo* unchanged. The more patent the unfeasibility of that endeavour became, the closer the grip became of the ring in which, basing its policy upon the provisions of the treaties of peace, the Little Entente alliance is keeping Aus-

tria and Hungary in confinement. So, instead of following reason and adjusting itself to the changing circumstances, the Little Entente has aggravated the antagonism dividing the Danube Valley into incoherent fragments, has broken up the economic interdependence existing previously, and has deprived the Danube Valley of its vitality and of its ability to defend itself, splitting up into its components that territory, formerly united both politically and economically, and leaving it at the mercy of the political ambitions of every Great Power desiring to make its way into the Valley of the Danube. The incapacity to develop of the Danube Valley has been perpetuated by the Little Entente alliance, — a fact which became manifest the moment the *status quo* created by the treaties of peace was assailed, not only by the demands of Austria and Hungary, but also by the German Empire of today — the Germany of the National Socialists — beginning to knock at the half-open gate of the Danube Valley.

At the very outset it was seen that the Little Entente offers but little protection against the expansion endeavours of Germany. Yugoslavia, for instance, makes practically no secret of her conviction that the presence of the armed forces of the German Empire on the Brenner would offer Yugoslavia a far more effective security against Italy than the present state of things. Rumania is very careful not to betray too much interest in the Austro-German "Anschluss" problem: her interests are not directly endangered or even affected. Only Czecho-Slovakia opposes these endeavours, which veritably threaten her existence; but the danger is too great — Czecho-Slovakia is too completely at the mercy of Germany — for the Republic to venture to offer any resistance in the event of any real danger. The Czecho-Russian alliance is an open acknowledgment of this fact. The Little Entente is no longer able to ensure the existence of Czecho-Slovakia in the event of an attack by Germany; and the Czechs were compelled to apply for protection to that Russian Empire the appearance of which in the Danube Valley would involve the extinction of the idea of the existence of that region as an independent unit and would degrade Central Europe to the state of the pre-War Balkans, seeing that other States would sooner or later be driven to enter into alliance with the German Empire to counter-balance the alliance between Russia and Czecho-Slovakia. In that event the Danube Valley would be converted into the diplomatic — and possibly also military — battlefield of the pan-German and pan-Slav forces. The Czecho-Russian alliance is a grave defect of structure in the organisation of Europe; for it is an obstacle to the only possible peace policy — a policy which would ensure an equilibrium by excluding the pan-German and the pan-Slav forces and organising an independent federation of States in the Danube Valley. It is already urgently necessary that the Little Entente should be replaced by a new Danubian organisation binding more closely together the Danubian States and at the same time separating them from the German Empire, from

Russia and from the Balkans too. Once this re-organisation of the Danube Valley is successfully realised, that Valley will be in a position to treat on equal terms with the German Empire, with Russia and with the Balkans and will be able to adjust all its economic and political problems in a spirit of neighbourliness and peace. In the present situation, however, the appearance in the Danube Valley of the influence — or more particularly of the predominance — of any Great Power or group of Powers in the shape of an alliance like that between Russia and Czecho-Slovakia, naturally does not improve matters, and in fact only serves to aggravate the situation, and may indeed bring in its train new antagonism of an irreparable character.

Hungary does not — and cannot — pursue any other policy than that of stressing the necessity of an independent Danube Valley organisation. The failure of the Little Entente alliance must have fully convinced the world of the importance of Hungary, and of her being indispensable as a factor. Our central situation in the Danube Valley predestines our country — placed at the point of contact between the pan-German and the pan-Slav forces — to be the cornerstone of European peace and by defending our independence against the whole world to prevent the dislocation of the European equilibrium. This historical mission our nation fulfilled for ever a thousand years in the Danube Valley; and it was folly from the point of view of Europe generally that the Treaty of Trianon should have so seriously weakened us as to render us incapable of continuing to fulfil that mission unaided out of our own resources. Indeed, even co-operation with our neighbour Austria must fail to bring about the results so desirable from the European point of view so long as the disruptive policy of the Little Entente continues to divide the interdependent Danubian peoples into two hostile camps. The aims of the Franco-Little Entente policy, which endeavoured to drive Hungary into the mouse-trap of the Little Entente, after fifteen years of experiment has ended in a fiasco, because this country of ours has never been — and will never be — prepared to renounce its national ambitions or to commit economic suicide. The only attitude open to us to adopt as against the system — often one of terror — by which Hungary was disarmed as a military State and placed under an economic blockade, the minorities severed from our nation being ruthlessly subjected to a process of extermination, was one of passive resistance. The policy of the Little Entente has compelled Hungary, instead of seeking a rational co-operation with her neighbours, to play the role of political opposition towards the newly established international situation. Austria and Hungary were liberated from this *impasse* by the Rome Pact, which by establishing co-operation with Italy

counterbalanced the oppressive endeavours of the Little Entente and, fully appreciating the importance of the cultural, economic and military advantages latent in the central situation of Austria and Hungary, created the international basis the consistent outbuilding of which is the only possible means of removing the evils if the present situation in the Danube Valley.

For that reason we all welcome with the greatest pleasure the words spoken by the present Czecho-Slovak Premier, M. Hodža, at the meeting of the Prague Parliament held on December 5th last. M. Hodža declared that he proposed to make his first moves in the direction of Austria and Hungary, seeing that those two States were today partners of the Little Entente of decisive influence in Central Europe. The Czecho-Slovak Premier himself regards the 1934 Rome Protocols as presuming the Contracting States to be closely connected with the other parts and organisations of Central Europe, establishing the fact that this development was a proof of the attractive character of the Central European idea. At the same time he once more emphasised the readiness of Czecho-Slovakia to adhere to the Rome Pact. I am only too ready to admit on my part that by means of this statement and of others made since M. Hodža has adopted an attitude in principle which may serve as a basis for negotiation and allows of our hoping that by reciprocal moderation we shall be able to come to an agreement on that basis. The Hungarian attitude in the matter of principle has always been the endeavour to find a rational and mutual compromise as contrasted with the one-sided imperialistic policy of the Little Entente. Whether this policy of compromise will be limited or more extensive in its bearing, will depend upon whether the menacing pressure weighing upon Czecho-Slovakia has already brought that country to reason, — whether the new spirit which acknowledges international justice and fair play to be the lasting basis of sincere reconciliation and genuine peace has come fully in play. The extension of the compromise negotiations and agreements will depend upon how far this new spirit makes headway. In view of the innumerable unfavourable influences at work we cannot but welcome with pleasure the change in Czecho-Slovak policy — a change which will, we trust, prove to be a lasting one. For we really have not much time left; and in any case it is a question whether the short period still at our disposal will be sufficient to bring into being a new spirit and with the aid of that new spirit to bring into being the new independent Danube Valley organisation. It is not Hungary that is responsible for the delay and for the waste of precious years; and there can be no doubt that it will not be Hungary's fault if the desired results are not attained. We trust the encouraging words will be followed by deeds.

# HUNGARY MOURNING FOR KING GEORGE AND DOING HOMAGE TO KING EDWARD



*Views of Memorial Service  
at the Budapest Reformed  
Church in Calvin-tér.  
Admiral Horthy de  
Nagybánya, Regent of  
Hungary in the first  
row opposite the Com-  
munion-table*



*Life Guards and Keepers  
of the Crown forming a  
guard of honour at the  
memorial service*



*Sir Geoffrey Knox,  
British Minister, receiving  
the Regent at the main  
door*



*Archduke Albrecht (in  
steel helmet) and General  
Gömbös, Prime Minister  
(in general's uniform with  
plumed helmet) arriving  
at the church*



Members of the Hungarian Cabinet. Front row (left to right):  
*M. Coloman Darányi,  
 M. Tihamér Fabinyi,  
 M. Géza Bornemisza  
 and M. Andor Lázár.*  
 Behind: *M. Stephen Winckler*



*In 1935 King Edward VIII visited Budapest twice. The picture above was taken on February 26th of that year, and shows the King with his suite on the balcony of the Royal Palace taking photographs of the changing of the guard in front of the Regent's Residence*



*Edward VIII on September 17th 1935 leaving the races after watching the Regent's horse win*



*A photograph of King Edward VIII has been put out in many Budapest shop-windows*

# KOSSUTH'S WAR IN "THE TIMES"

by

*Alexis Máthé*

**T**he Hungarian War of Independence of 1848—1849, and first of all the figure of Louis Kossuth, was well known to English public opinion. His first visit to Great Britain in 1851, aroused great enthusiasm from Southampton to Glasgow everywhere.

Hungary was almost an unknown country to the average Englishman until 1848. British travellers had crossed the country, mostly on their way to the East. The descriptions of their journeys were published in more than one book. This however, was too little to reach the general public.

But the "Hungarian War", as "The Times" usually called the struggle of the Hungarians against their Hapsburg oppressors, soon became known to every newspaper reader in England. The Hungarian revolution was not an isolated affair, but a part of the various revolutionary movements and of the awakening national consciousness, meaning a serious threat, moreover a deadly blow to the balance of power set up by the clever, but too rigid and narrow minded policy of Meternich.

The leading British newspapers of the time, like "The Morning Post" or Palmerston's daily paper, "The Globe", all had given detailed accounts of the events in Hungary. But, having an excellent index, it is most convenient to read the contemporary volumes of "The Times", if somebody wishes to know the original reports both of the war itself, and Kossuth's first visit to England in 1851. And, of course, that great British newspaper, one of the proud national institutions of the English people, excelled in impartiality and truthfulness nearly ninety years ago as much as it does to-day.

The first news of the "Hungarian War" were sad, and did not promise much success or hope to the Hungarian cause. Open breach between the Vienna court and the Hungarian Parliament did not follow the first outbursts of revolutionary feeling in the spring till late in the summer of 1848. The tactics of Vienna was to rouse the nationalities against the Budapest Government, the Rumanians in Transylvania, and the Serbs and the Croats in the south. The Croatian general, Jellasich was marching victoriously with his troops towards Budapest in October of the same

year when "The Times" published its first leading article on the Hungarian War, on October 6th. It attacked the narrow-minded and unwise policy of Vienna, handing over the Magyars, that vigorous and magnificent race, to the all-devouring appetite of the Slavs.

Things did not change for the better during the unusually cold winter. Both armies had suffered cruelly. Pickets were found often dead, frozen to the bone in the Siberian weather of the winter nights. Meanwhile the troops of Prince Windischgraetz, the commanding general of the Austrian army, were approaching the capital. Another long leading article in the Dec. 28th number, anticipating the fall of Pest and Buda, which actually followed a few days later, compared the catastrophic defeat of the Hungarians to the battles of Mohács in 1526 and of Győr when Napoleon routed the insurgent army of the Hungarian nobles and gentry in 1815.

The first news of Hungarian successes against the Austrians arrived in London in the first days of March. It was almost unbelievable, and, of course, the official news service of the Austrians simply denied everything for weeks. Towards the end of the month, however, it was clear to everybody that the Austrian army had a series of grave defeats and the successes of the Hungarians were greater than even their friends ever dared to hope. The title of the leading article in the March 3rd number was: "The Hungarian Successes". The article pointed out that the Hungarians showed greater military strength and a braver national spirit than Europe had expected from them. They achieved quite extraordinary and unexpected results which will surely be followed with incalculable political consequences.

Later on we can read many reports of the Hungarian victories. One of the most interesting and most detailed is the description of the battle of Vác, published in the Apr. 14th number of the paper.

The hopes of the Hungarians to regain their liberty were soon shattered. On May 10th we can read the first of the many leading articles on the intervention of the Russians on behalf of Austria. The article reproved Austria, because, after letting the French loose on the Italians who were fighting for their liberty, now she had called upon



the Russians to crush the Hungarians. The Russian intervention against Hungary was now the most interesting subject not only to "The Times", but probably everywhere in Europe.

In its May 20th number the paper published a long and original report of the dethronement of the Hapsburgs, declared by the Hungarian Parliament in Debrecen on Apr. 14th. "The Times" had readily agreed with the Hungarians that for them this was the most natural thing to do. The June 1st number published the report of the reconquest of Buda from the Austrians which took place on May 21st. This time it was evident in England too that the Hungarians had not the slightest chance of victory against the united forces of the Austrians and Russians.

The situation was summed up in the leading article of the July 2nd number. The title of the article was: The Hungarian War. The writer of this article inveighed in unusually strong words against the Austrian government, calling its policy stupid and reckless. It was an unpardonable folly on the part of Austria — we can read in the article — to bring the Russians against the Hungarians, who never were a rebellious mob, but one of the oldest and noblest nations of Europe. On their part it was a rightful and just act, and by no means a rebellion, when they wanted to defend their seven hundred years old constitution.

The Hungarians had shown, not only in this last war, but many times before, that they were the bravest soldiers of Europe. Lastly the writer drew an historical parallel, expressing his opinion that differences between Austrians and Hungarians never ought to have gone further than those between the English and the Scots before the Union.

The final tragedy of the Hungarian army was not long in coming. The date of the surrender at Világos, a small country town, not far from the border of Transylvania, was the 13th of August. The revenge of Austria was bloody and inhumane. The news of the first executions reached London as early as the first days of September. The blackest day was the 6th of October when 13 generals of the Magyar army were executed, shot or hanged, in the fortress of Arad.

Another bloody deed was on the same day the execution of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Louis Batthyány. The news of the execution reached London ten days later. On the following day, Oct. 17th, "The Times" published a long leading article containing the main facts about Count Batthyány's death. The execution of the Hungarian Prime Minister in the opinion not only of "The Times", but of the whole British people was hardly less than a cold blooded murder. Count Batthyány was the very type of a correct constitutional statesman. The standpoint the unfortunate Prime Minister had taken when the mob of Pest had murdered Count Lamberg, an Austrian high official in the first days of the soon suppressed revolutionary movement in the spring of 1848, and also in the matter of the dethronement of the Hapsburg dynasty, was as correct as possible. The main charge the prosecution had brought against

him, viz. that he had recalled the Hungarian regiments garrisoned in the North Italian provinces of the Monarchy, — argued the article of "The Times" — was neither *lesé-majesté*, even less high treason, but the most natural patriotic act of a constitutional and responsible statesman. Lastly the article quoted a few analogical cases in history, concluding that the execution of Count Batthyány was at least such a base and vicious act as had been the execution of Count Egmont by the Duke of Alba.

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Hungary and her tragic fate was soon forgotten. The memory of journalists was not long and lasting, even 90 years ago. English people became interested in other things. Prince Albert was busy to realize the greatest idea of his life: the Great Exhibition which was opened amid great festivities in Kensington Gardens in May, 1851.

In the autumn of the same year a solitary fugitive, as the article of the Encyclopaedia Britannica calls him, Louis Kossuth landed in Southampton. An American man-of-war brought him from Asia Minor, whither he had fled after the capitulation of Világos.

Before his arrival in England he landed for a short time at Marseilles where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the people, but the authorities refused to allow him to cross France.

His ship, the "Madrid" landed at Southampton on the 24th of October. The reporter of "The Times" went on board of the steamer with Mr. Andrews, the Mayor of Southampton, Mr. Cobden, the chief organizer of Kossuth's visit, and Mr. Crosley, the American consul in Southampton.

Kossuth stood bareheaded on the deck on the arrival of the deputation. Mr. Andrews greeted him as "the Champion of Liberty". Kossuth's answer was very short, a few words only, said with embarrassed pathos: Ah! now I feel I am free! I am free when I touch your soil!

The reporter gave a detailed account of the whole scene. He described with unusual vividness. Kossuth's outward appearance: "He stands five feet eight inches in height; his stature is lean and he has a rather delicately built body. His face is oval, with large greyish blue eyes recalling the eyes of O'Connell. His forehead is high and broad with deep wrinkles. His lips are covered with thick mustache, but only when he is not speaking." Lastly the reporter mentioned that the well known portraits of the Hungarian patriot bore very little resemblance to their original. Generally speaking the reporter saw in Kossuth the man of thoughts rather than of acts. His features reminded one more of a theoretical enthusiast than of a great political leader.

For three weeks after his arrival Kossuth was the object of extraordinary enthusiasm, equalled only by that with which Garibaldi was received ten years later. Addresses were presented to him at Southampton, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh. He was officially entertained by the Lord Mayor of London. At each

place he pleaded the cause of his unhappy country.

Speaking English he displayed an eloquence and command of the language scarcely excelled by the greatest orators in their own tongue. The agitation had no immediate effect, but the indignation he aroused against Russian policy had much to do with the strong anti-Russian feeling which made the Crimean War possible (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

The date of his departure for New York was fixed for Nov. 20th. The shipping company offered a free passage to Kossuth, his family, and the few friends who accompanied him on his voyage. The attentive reporter of "The Times" was again on the spot. The evening was dull and chilly, and the sea more than choppy. The prospects for an ocean voyage with the clumsy paddle steamers of the early fifties were anything, but pleasant.

Kossuth was smoking his cigar nervously. He

had not slept the night before. Every feature of his face and the broken light of his wonderful eyes betrayed his great physical and spiritual exhaustion. It was a quarter past nine when the shot of the signal given from the "Humboldt" was heard. The steamer was waiting for her passengers in the Solway, and Kossuth and his travelling companions had to go aboard with a tender.

The "Humboldt" had a difficult voyage and arrived in New York on the 6th of December only. "The Times" published in its Dec. 22th number the article of "The New York Tribune", describing the arrival and the enthusiastic reception of Kossuth.

From the United States he returned to England again, and lived in London as a political exile, for the following eight years. In 1859 he left England for Italy where he remained, mostly in Turin, until his death on the 20th of March 1894. —y—

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

### ORDER IN COUNCIL OF HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT CONCERNING TEACHING CHILDREN BELONGING TO MINORITIES

While in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia the situation of the minorities — and in particular of the Magyar minorities — shows a constant deterioration both legally and in fact, the Order in Council No. 11000/M. E. ex 1935 issued by the Hungarian Government on December 23rd, 1935, is a further proof of the understanding displayed by that Government in respect of the affairs of the linguistic minorities living in Hungary.

The above Order carries into effect the provision contained in § 18 of Order in Council No. 4800/M. E. ex 1923, invalidating Ordinance No. 110,478/VIII./V. K. M. ex 1923 issued by the Hungarian Minister of Education. Under the said § 18 in all State and parish or municipal elementary schools in places where the number of pupils of schooling age belonging to any one linguistic minority is not less than forty or where the persons belonging to the linguistic minority in question represent a majority of the inhabitants, if so desired by the local school or local government authorities or by the parents or guardians respectively of 40 children of schooling age belonging to the linguistic minority, the mother tongue of the respective minority shall be employed either exclusively or in part as the language of instruction in a corresponding number of classes. Ordinance No. 110,478 ex 1923 differentiated three types of schools, — A) those in which the Hungarian language is taught, as an ordinary subject, the language of instruction for all other subjects being the mother tongue of the respective minority; B), those in which the minority language (mother tongue) is employed for grammar, reading, writing, composition, orthography exercises, as also for the teaching of natural science and agricultural knowledge (natural history, physics, economics, husbandry, housekeeping, hygiene), and of

drawing and sewing (embroidery), Hungarian being used for the teaching of geography, Hungarian history and gymnastics (physical training), and Hungarian and the mother tongue for the teaching of arithmetic and singing; C) those in which the minority language (mother tongue) is taught as an ordinary subject, the language of instruction for the other subjects being Hungarian.

By abolishing the differentiation between these three types — the last of which, the C) type, had proved peculiarly objectionable to the minorities —, the new Order in Council has introduced a new system, under which the pupil's mother tongue is to be used as the language of instruction for the teaching of religion and ethics, the mother tongue (grammar, reading and writing exercises, useful knowledge concerning the pupil's home and his native country, composition, singing), arithmetic, natural science and economics (accounting, measures, natural history, chemistry, economics, housekeeping, hygiene, drawing and sewing and embroidery), Hungarian to be used as the language of instruction in Hungarian (language), in subjects of national import (geography, history, civil rights and duties-civics) and in physical training. So Type C) has been abolished.

Another noteworthy innovation is the provision that in Classes IV., V. and VI. the knowledge acquired of geography, history and civics is to be repeated and the pupils examined in their native tongues, the result being that the pupils ultimately receive instruction in their own mother tongues too in all theoretical subjects, excepting naturally the State language.

In addition, the Order in Council contains the provision that in those villages (parishes) too in which the number of pupils belonging to the re-

spective minority is less than 40 or the number of persons belonging to the minority do not represent a majority of the inhabitants, there shall be a possibility of organising teaching of the language of the minority; for it is therein provided that in villages (parishes) in which the parents or guardians respectively of at least 20 children of schooling age shall express a desire to that effect, the children shall be taught their own language (grammar etc.) in their mother tongue. This provision is based on the fundamental principles accepted by the German-Polish Agreement relating to Silesia, the international treaty which goes farthest in respect of concessions in the field of minority protection.

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If we wish to understand the real significance of this Order in Council we must bear in mind that the nationalities (minorities) in Hungary do not number more than 687,207 souls, i. e. 7.9% of the entire population of the country (8,688,319). On the other hand, the Czecho-Slovak Census of 1930 shows that the percentage of minorities is not less than 48.85%, this meaning that 7,073,072 inhabitants out of a total of 14,479,565, do not belong to the ruling Czech nation. Semi-official records in Rumanian give the percentage of the minority population as 26.9%, that meaning 4,856,229 out of a total of 18,052,896 inhabitants. In Yugoslavia, 2,284,389 inhabitants (52.29%) do not belong to the ruling Serb nation.

It was, no doubt, in consideration of these facts that the decree issued by the Hungarian Government

has been so favourably received by the German Press, particularly as the majority of Hungary's minority inhabitants (478,630 inhabitants or 5.5%) are Germans. The German paper "Neues Sonntagsblatt", which is published in Hungary, greeted it as a New Year's present to the minorities. It is all the more surprising that the "Prager Presse", the monthpiece of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague, seizes the opportunity to criticize even this Order which will, no doubt, be of immense importance for the future development of the nationalities in Hungary; it does not believe that this Order was suggested by real goodwill or that the Hungarian Government will actually carry it out in practice. In fact, it is sure, it says, that the Hungarian Government will find means to prevent its realisation, and that it will resort to the help of the Church authorities to exercise their "chauvinistic" influence against. To this we would reply simply: the "Prager Presse" would do well to remember that Dismembered Hungary is not Czecho-Slovakia, which, to quote one of the many instances, has not fulfilled one single international obligation undertaken by her with regard to the autonomy of Ruthenia, not to mention the fact that most of the minority rights guaranteed by international treaties and in the Constitution of Czecho-Slovakia and in a number of Government Orders, have not been observed in practice. Considering the fact that there were 355 minority schools of the C) type functioning in Hungary in the school year 1932—33, the minorities have every reason to be glad and thankful for this edict.

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## RECONSTRUCTION OF STOJADINOVIC CABINET

The Committee of the former Radical Party, led by an old politician, M. Aca Stojadinovic, has expressed its disapproval of the organisation methods of the new Government Party, particularly resenting the fact that it has recourse to the assistance of the authorities in its work of extension. This feeling of tension between the two parties has now led to a partial crisis in the Yugoslav Cabinet; two Ministers who are members of the former Radical Party, M. Bobič, Minister of Public Works, and M. Kommeno-

vič, Minister of Physical Training, have resigned their offices. Their successors are M. Marko Kožulj and M. Dragiša Tsvetkovič, members of Parliament. In an official statement the Government has declared that the Committee of the former Radical Party, which was elected 15 years ago, has lost its significance, yet it is a fact that the former Radical Party is still very popular in the country. The situation, therefore, is so grave that the fall of the Government may be expected shortly.

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## POSITION OF RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT

M. Tatarescu's Government has entered its third year of office. "This is the first time since M. J. C. Bratianu's days" — says the "Curentul", a daily supporting the right wing — "that a Premier has managed to stay at the helm for two years." The Government's position is grave. One reason is the fiasco in which the Rumanian financial negotiations in Paris ended. The other is the failure of the new foreign trade and foreign exchange system. Because of this failure M.

Continescu, Minister of Commerce, and M. Transovici, Minister of Traffic, who were jointly responsible, are resigning; and that despite the latter being M. Tatarescu's trusted friend. Another thing that makes the Government's position so difficult is that the internal unity of the ruling Liberal National Party has broken up, and there can be no question of its restoration so long as the present Government is in office.

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## POLITICAL SITUATION IN BULGARIA

The political situation in Bulgaria is rapidly improving, declares M. Mainoff, one of the best-known Bulgarian statesmen. The trial of the great case connected with the unsuccessful coup-d'état of M. Velchev has already begun, and after its conclusion it

is expected that normal constitutional life will be restored in the country. There is a certain improvement to be observed in the economic life of the country, although certainly the system of limited production now generally introduced everywhere in

Europe, is a great handicap to the development of Bulgarian production and to the procural of gold currencies. The League Financial Committee has given the Bulgarian National Bank permission to reduce its funds by 25%, in order to secure the money needed for the invigoration of economic life. As for the further cuts effected in the Budget by the Government, opinions differ. According to the official opinion the country above all needs an active Budget: the increase of the public revenue will naturally be followed by new State investments. Other circles, on the other hand, believe that the absence of encouragement from the State will have a paralysing effect on

economic life. The taxation scheme elaborated by M. Riaskoff, Minister of Financial Affairs in M. Toseff's Cabinet, is further developed by M. Kioseivanoff's Cabinet, under the supervision of M. Riaskoff himself. The main phase of this scheme is the simplification of the entire customs organization and tax-paying in general. Another urgent task of the Government is to readjust the financial administration of towns and villages. Finally, we have to report that a complete reorganisation of the Bulgarian diplomatic service has been carried out by M. Kioseivanoff; in consequence of this many Bulgarian diplomats are now being recalled or transferred.

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## 152 PEOPLE IN BRITISH PUBLIC LIFE ON THE RESTORATION OF THE REGIONS INHABITED BY HUNGARIANS

Recently Maxmillan and Co. Ltd., one of the biggest publishing firms in London, published a book entitled "The Next Five Years", which well deserves attention. In it 152 people prominent in British public life expound their 5 years' programme of political action. Among them we find the names of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Birmingham and Southwark, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Lord Amulree, Lord Dickinson, Lord Elton, Lord Rutherford, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, the Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, Viscountess Rhondda; then Mr. Denman, Sir Geoffrey Entwistle, Mr. Foot, Miss Graves, Mr. Hills, Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Mc. Carthy, Mr. Mander, Mr. Martin, Mr. Molson, Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Graham White, Sir Francis Acland, Miss Cazalet, Miss Rathbone Bernats, Members of the House of Commons; Sir Norman Angell, Sir Walter Napier, Sir Arthur Salter, Dr. G. P. Gooch, Professor Gilbert Murray, etc. etc. Their programme embraces the question of revision of the peace treaties, and their opinion on that subject is given below.

"The League of Nations has a duty to make plain to its Members that they cannot hope to achieve their ends by ways of violence: but the League has a com-

plementary duty to ensure that the Members can obtain a fair deal, without unendurable delay, if they keep to the ways of peace. The most difficult task of statesmanship is, of course, to judge which claims for change are well founded and consonant with the general interest, and when and how to attempt to put through those changes by peaceful means... *As an example of claims for change which appear to deserve consideration with a view to a settlement that would be accepted by the States concerned as definitive, we cite Hungary's grievances concerning certain territories, small in extent in proportion to the old Hungary, contiguous to present-day Hungary, and peopled predominantly by persons of Hungarian origin.*"

"We think it unrealistic to propose the amendment of Article XIX at this time. But we do urge that it should be made plain that questions involving change may be raised under Article XIX., and that the Article (which was originally intended to form an integral part of Article X with its guarantee of territorial integrity) is living part of the Covenant and is meant to work."

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## THE "NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE" ON REVISION OF PEACE TREATIES

We reproduce the following article by *Mr Gabriel Wells* from the *New York Herald Tribune* (December 18th):

"The most characteristic weakness of human nature is the inclination to resort to indirection—or, in common parlance, to find an alibi. It is much more comfortable, regardless of final reckoning, to put the cause of things at a distance from ourselves than to make a direct personal connection with it and to shoulder our share of the responsibility. The prevailing depression is a flagrant case in point.

It is truly humiliating to behold the utter inability of mankind to cope with the world-wide unrest and disorganization. The reason for this impotence is primarily a false viewpoint. Depression is essentially an inner, not an outer, phenomenon. As has been said long ago, we make our times; such as we are, such are the times.

In order to deal sanely and effectively with a situation it is necessary to ascertain not only its operative cause. We generally fail to distinguish between these two kinds of causes. The underlying cause is the cause of the cause, the indirect cause; that is to say, it is the occasion of the cause. Thus, to hold the war directly responsible for the existing world unrest and disorganization is wrong. It is like a man saying that the reason for his getting drunk was his being taken to a night club. Oh, no. His presence at the night club was the occasion; his absence of self-control was the cause. On the same principle, the war was the occasion; while the lack of moderation and far sightedness at the peace table is the direct, real cause of the involved, troublesome state of affairs.

What those short sighted, grasping diplomats who dictated the terms of the treaties failed to realize was that dealing with human beings is not a one-way pro-

cedure. Sooner or later the return movement is bound to follow. A historic case comes to mind: While negotiations toward a settlement between Austria and Hungary were in progress war broke out between Prussia and Austria. And when, in 1866, Austria suffered a severe defeat, the radicals called upon the Hungarian spokesman, Francis Deák, to take advantage of the situation and to raise the terms of Hungary's peace proposal.

"Not so, by any means", the wise statesman protested. "True, we might gain our ends now, but as soon as Austria gets on her feet again she would come back at us with a vengeance..." Deák prevailed, and the result was a settlement in 1867, which led to a continuous mutually beneficial, friendly relationship between the two countries.

If only the framers of the peace treaties had been actuated by such far-sighted, statesmanlike impulses, what a different world this would now be! As it is, now Italy rises; later a revived Germany will press

her claims. And so also others in between. And the consequence of all these overhanging threats naturally is a state of international unsettlement and mutual distrust and fear. Is it any wonder, then, that the world is so persistently backward in returning to normality?

The remedy? What does one do, or ought to do, who has taken a wrong turning? Quite simple, even if very hard to follow. To act the part of a full-grown man is never a soft job.

It behooves particularly England and France, in order to avert the collapse of Western civilization and the disruption of their own empire, to take a resolute hold of the chaotic situation and infuse into it a conciliatory spirit while there is yet time. A firm moral stand is sure to win the support of the entire civilized world.

The treaties must be revised if there is to be peace without recourse to another war."

## ROOSEVELT ADMITS THAT INJUSTICES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED

In President Roosevelt's message to Congress on January 30th read the following sentence:

"Nations seeking expansion, seeking *the rectification of injustices springing from former wars*, seeking outlets for trade, for population or even for their own peaceful contributions to the progress of civilisation, fail to demonstrate that patience necessary to attain reasonable, legitimate objectives by peaceful negotiations or by an appeal to the finer instincts of world justice." So the President of the

U. S. A. admits that injustices were committed after the world war, and that it is rational and right to strive to redress them. If in spite of this he advises the victims of these injustices to be patient, we would draw his attention to the fact that these nations, and above all Hungary, have shown wonderful patience in having for 17 years borne with meekness, even if they do complain, the conditions created by the peace treaties. There are limits to human patience.

## PRESIDENT OF ANTI-REVISION LEAGUE ON STATE OF AFFAIRS IN RUMANIA

Below we publish part of a leading article entitled "The Eleventh Hour", which appeared in the "Universul" of December 13th. The article is from the pen of M. Stelian Popescu, President of the Rumanian Anti-Revision League, and it is all the more remarkable, because M. Popescu keeps on asserting in his paper that it is nothing but calumny when the Hungarians present the state of affairs in Rumania to western public opinion in an unfavourable light.

"Rumania's social and public life" — he writes — "is being undermined by grave disturbances. True, a state of siege has been proclaimed, but no serious measures followed; and although we have been living for two years under an exceptional régime, the internal peace of the country is more perilously menaced than ever. At best, the state of siege is being taken seriously only for the benefit of those who abuse political power. Public morals are being outraged daily, and whoever dares to protest is arrested and thrown into prison. The plundering of the Treasury has assumed incredible proportions; meanwhile the minor State employees are on the verge of starvation. All sense of values has caused to exist in Rumania.

We are living in utter anarchy; all authority is lacking; and this anarchy is spreading farther and farther in every field. Parliament has become a sort of arena where an increasing number of people go simply because they want to enjoy the most scandalous scenes, as they would a boxing match. Guile has taken the place of courage and uprightness; falsehood that of justice; flattery and lawning have lowered human dignity; and now that morality, the basis of all social organization, has been set at nought, social life is degenerating and disintegrating because of internal dissension. In these sad circumstances the country must feel that, far from being able to progress and develop, its doom is sealed. For what have we to expect when but recently the armed force under officers which was sent out to prevent disturbances at the elections in the Bucharest Chamber of Advocates, looked on with folded arms at the scandalous scenes taking place before them. Much is being heard just now in Rumania about a distatorship. Yet what is to be feared is not a dictatorship, for that might lead to something good, but the tyranny which to all appearances is fast approaching."

# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

### WHY DID THE HUNGARIAN MEMBERS OF THE PRAGUE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY VOTE FOR BENEŠ?

In our last number, when reporting the election of M. Edward Beneš as President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, we concluded from a brief *communiqué* issued by the Joint Parliamentary Club of the Hungarian Parties of Czecho-Slovakia that the Hungarian votes cast in favour of Beneš did not by any means involve a vote of confidence for his previous conduct, being merely the expression of a hope that in his capacity as Head of the State M. Beneš would find means to redress the well-founded grievances of the Hungarian minority. This conclusion of ours has been confirmed by the statements made in public since the election by the leaders of the Hungarian parties.

*Géza Szüllő*, President of the Joint Club of the Hungarian Parties, in the December 20th issue of the "Prágai Magyar Hírlap" published a statement in which, among other things, he made the following declarations:

"This was the first occasion since the establishment of the Republic that the most erudite and eminent Czech politician — the former Czech Foreign Minister — assigned any importance to the Hungarians as a factor and thought it worth his while to inquire officially before entering on the duties of his high office what attitude the Hungarians proposed to adopt... We accepted the proffered right hand, because this was the first occasion on which the offer was not made by us — the first time the begging was not being done by us —, the unselfish champions of our unselfish cause being appealed to by one whose position is stronger than ours. In 1866 Francis Joseph sent for Francis Deák to discuss with him the question of the possibility of a compromise and settlement between Austria and Hungary. At the time Austria had been weakened by the issue of the Prussian Wars. And, inspired by the Hungarian genius, Deák did not demand more in 1866 — not wishing to take advantage of the sovereign's dilemma — than he had done before 1866. That was why they said that the Hungarians had been chivalrous. Our nationality has changed; but in soul we have remained Hungarians — a fact acknowledged also by the present President himself. For we did not demand prior to the election or during the election — nor do we demand now after the election — anything more than guarantees that in cultural and economic matters we shall receive all that is necessary to ensure our remaining without amalgamation what we have always been, — law-abiding Hungarians who however demand that the laws shall be observed."

In another passage in his statement Szüllő said as follows:

"Our attitude does not therefore mean adherence to the Government Party; only with due consideration for the highest principles of parliamentarism and in the consciousness of the guarantee given from the highest quarter we shall continue with unaltered energy to fight for the right of the national minorities, naturally on the Opposition benches."

*Count John Esterházy*, President of the National Christian Socialist Party, at a meeting held at Párkány on January 2nd, stressed that it was not the Hungarian Members of the National Assembly who had taken the first step. When they had been called upon to negotiate, the Joint Club had decided to inform Beneš, then Foreign Minister, of the most crying grievances and to ask for guarantees that they should be redressed.

The Joint Club — Esterházy said — had demanded the redress of the gravest Hungarian linguistic, cultural and economic grievances, — a definitive adjustment of the nationality and pension questions and a just treatment of educational and church matters; the Club had demanded that in the future the Hungarian Members should be given an opportunity to scrutinise and check the drafting of the Budget for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Hungarians were being given a share in proportion to their numbers in everything they were entitled to. Beneš, then Foreign Minister, had declared to them that he considered all the requests put before him to be fair and legitimate and assured the Members that he would do everything in his power to further their fulfilment, assuring them that he would utilise every means at his disposal to carry the reforms into effect.

"After receiving this promise" — continued Esterházy — "we legislators were unanimously of the opinion that it was our duty to our nation to take the step in question. We felt the gravity of the situation and were fully conscious that we were not entitled to deprive our electors of any possible advantages when reciprocity on our part did not involve renouncing either our Hungarian character or any of our rights, or even any deviation from our original programme. We have maintained our independence to the full in every respect; nor have we undertaken to do any log-rolling for party or for Government. We have merely availed ourselves of the influence of the supreme factor on behalf of the Hungarians, desiring to make use of the same to compel and require every factor — from Government down to the smallest official — to fully respect the rights of the Hungarians — in other words, to treat us in the same way as they treat Czechs or Slovaks.

"The Hungarian is frank and honest. We openly showed our wounds to Foreign Minister Beneš, whereupon he gave us guarantees that he would come to our aid. We are here today openly and honestly professing the same programme as before and waiting for the fulfilment of the promises made us."

*Joseph Szent Ivány*, leader of the Hungarian National Party, at the meeting of the Governing Council of the Party held on January 9th, expressed the hope that in his high office M. Beneš would — as no longer subject to the political restrictions of the foreign minister — heal the horrible wounds of the Hungarian nation."

From all these statements we see that the new President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic got into touch with the Hungarian Members of the National Assembly at a juncture when his election was still anything but certain. He gave guarantees and made promises to the effect that he would support the Hungarian minority — evidently in return for receiving the votes of the parliamentary representatives of that minority. We have no reason to doubt that the new Head of the Czecho-Slovak State will keep his word and feel sure that there will be no need for the Hungarians to remind him of his promise.

## TEACHING OF HUNGARIAN, ONLY RECENTLY PERMITTED ALREADY ABOLISHED

In September 1935 the Ruthenian board school in Nagyszöllös introduced Hungarian, provisionally as a voluntary subject. Practically all the pupils, to the number of about 400, attended the Hungarian classes. Shortly before Christmas these classes were closed arbitrarily. The children's parents were thunderstruck when they heard the news. According to information that has meanwhile leaked out, the closing of the Hungarian classes was ordered by the School Inspector's Office in Nagyszöllös. Parents have appealed to the Chief School Inspector's Office in Ungvár to re-open the Hungarian classes. Now that under the influence of Benes's election a faint breath of understanding seems to have wafted from the Hradsin towards the Hungarian minority, it is doubly disconcerting to find the welcome measure adopted in September so swiftly rescinded.

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## R U M A N I A

### COUNT BETHLEN ON THE SUFFERINGS OF HUNGARIANS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Count Stephen Bethlen, former Prime Minister of Hungary, who is closely connected with Transylvania and the Hungarians of that province by the ties of centuries of family history, in the New Year number of the "8 Órai Ujság" made the following statement respecting the complaints which are unceasingly making their way over the frontier from Transylvania into Dismembered Hungary:

"Sad news keep coming to us from the territories severed from Hungary, and in particular from Transylvania, where the work of destroying Magyar culture and the endeavour to deprive the Hungarian minority of the means of subsistence *has assumed unparalleled dimensions* throwing into insignificance even the previous records of the past fifteen years. Day after day we read the sorrowful news of the dismissal without pensions of Hungarian public servants — railwaymen, postmen, elementary school teachers and other persons in the employ of the State — and of town and municipality employees living in that province; day after day we are compelled to watch the advance of the endeavour to substitute persons who are Rumanians by birth for the Hungarian officials and workers employed in the economic life of the country, in commercial, industrial, mining and lumbering undertakings alike. We may also read perhaps that Hungarian craftsmen will shortly be forbidden to employ even Hungarian apprentices or of the rumanisation being carried or forcibly everywhere, in and out of the schools.

"And now the authorities do not shrink even from conversion by force; for we read that they are making the Magyars and Széklers of Transylvania embrace the Orthodox faith. These methods exceed all conceivable measure and are such as have never so far been heard of in civilised countries. And when we add that the statements made by the official representatives of the Hungarians — statements made in an objective tone and confined practically to a mere enumeration of the facts — are received in the Ru-

manian Parliament brutally and coarsely, being answered by vulgar vituperation on the part of the majority, who might be expected to at least show that they were aware of what they owed the minorities under the minority treaties concluded under international guarantee, and also what Rumania owes the League of Nations, — I must confess that this situation is the bitterest wound inflicted on the Hungarian nation, and must affirm that the chief task revolving on the public opinion and the foreign policy of Hungary and on the Hungarian Government is to leave no stone unturned to put an end once for all to these anomalies and to stop the superfluous loss of blood suffered in consequence by the Hungarian nation as a whole.

"So far the Hungarian minority of Transylvania has itself from time to time filed complaints with the League of Nations. The anomalies referred to above made that minority act cautiously and timidly, using a *sordino*; for it had to fear — and will in the future have all the more reason to fear — the enforcement of retaliatory measures. I am afraid that the Hungarian minority of Transylvania will in the future be even less inclined to risk the dangers accompanying a direct application to Geneva. Today the attention of Geneva is entirely absorbed by the Italian-Abyssinian conflict. But some day or other that will be over too.

"The Hungarian Government must take the first opportunity which appears suitable to inform the civilised world of the monstrous measure of oppression and persecution which is the order of the day in Transylvania."

### WHAT RUMANIA HAS DONE FOR RUMANIANS AND GERMANS RESPECTIVELY IN THE PAST TWO-YEARS

In the course of the debate on Parliament's address to the King's speech, Dr. Hans Otto Roth, leader of the German Parliamentary Group in Rumania, on December 12th gave an account of the grievances of the German minority. "In the past two years, he said, the situation of the Germans in Rumania has become so grave, that they are now faced with the task of fighting a life and death fight." — On December 29th, the German paper "Banater Deutsche Zeitung", published in Temesvár, discussed the results of the two years' work of M. Tatarescu's Cabinet. "We are now in a state of distress and want", it says. In the year 1934—35 the Rumanian Government, according to M. Tatarescu's own words, established 1400 new Rumanian schools, appointed 10,000 Rumanian teachers, and built 77 new hospitals; it spent 128 million lei for the building of new Apprentice Homes and 60 millions for other Rumanian purposes; it also built 593 new Rumanian churches. What did it do during the same period for the Germans in Rumania?"

1. The Government grant (roughly 5 million lei) given to German schools in former years has been completely cancelled, and the contribution of counties and parishes to the expenses of denominational schools, which should amount to 9 or 10 million lei, has been reduced to 2 millions. — 2. The Government grant given to the German Episcopacy in Temesvár has been reduced by 50% in the Budget for 1935—36, while the loss of the Rumanian clergy is not more than 8—25%. — 3. The upper classes of German Government schools were completely rumanised in 1934; moreover, in Bessarabia, Bukovina, and to some

extent in the Banate too, even the lower classes have been denationalised. In 58 parishes of Bessarabia there is not one single German teacher to be found. — 4. More than 500 German officials have lost their posts, owing to the results of language tests. — 5. The new Administration Bill threatens the use of German in political life. — 6. The year 1935 witnessed the completion of the denationalisation of German towns. — 7. The new Trade Bill will have a detrimental effect on the future of German trade. The economic life and the very existence of the Germans is threatened by the "numerus Wallachicus".

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## HUNGARIAN PLAY BANNED

The Hungarian musical comedy, "The Umbrella King", which scored such a great success in Vienna and Budapest, has been banned in Transylvania by the Chief-Inspector of Theatres. The reason given was that some of the scenes contained insulting references to the Kings of France. M. Emile Isacu, Chief-Inspector of Theatres, also rebuked the theatre managers for having forgotten the important fact that Rumania was an ally of France. Here let it suffice to say that neither writers nor the authors of musical comedy librettos have the right to sit in judgment upon Louis Philip, the umbrella king. That task devolves upon history, and it was the French people themselves who in the Revolution of February 1848 deprived him of his throne. ("Erdélyi Hirlap", Jan. 9)

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### PRESENT CONDITION OF THE VOIVODINA

An article by Dr. Radivoj Simonovitch, a physician in the city of Zombor and one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Pan-Slav idea in the Voivodina before the War, has been published in the "Voivodianin", a paper issued by the Opposition parties. This article was suggested by the Ban's recent order to change the name of the city of Zombor to „Brankovičevo". The author describes the position of the Voivodina and of Zombor under the Hungarian régime. He informs the reader of the autonomous constitution of the Serb Church in pre-War Hungary,

which entitled the Serbs to make their own arrangements at Sremski Kralovac concerning religious and educational affairs and to dispose freely of their enormous church funds. For what purpose have these enormous funds now been appropriated? — he asks. Who is in charge of the funds in the 16 Pravoslav monasteries of the "liberated" territory? As far back as 120 years ago the city of Zombor had a training college for teachers where the most reliable Serb patriots and teachers were trained not only for the Voivodina but also for the whole of the Serb nation. The citizens of Zombor were once wealthy, brave, and proud, now they are poor and miserable. The Hungarians granted them a huge amount of landed property for military services, and as a royal free city Zombor was exempted from the payment of feudal fees and taxes. Now the citizens of Zombor, and the population of the Voivodina in general, have to pay three times as much in taxes as the Croatians, and twice as much as the Slovenes, so that Zombor is now a miserable big village. The Hungarians allowed the citizens of Zombor to arrange processions at the time of the elections and vote for any party they chose, either Government or Opposition, and sing their own national songs and play their own national music on these occasions. Now they have to vote for the Government candidate, whosoever he may be, and they proceed to the polling boxes in silence and with a feeling of humiliation in their hearts. In former days they often had Serb prefects and sub-prefects; now the county office and the revenue office have both been removed from Zombor to another place; even the provincial bank has been removed from there, although it had a huge building in Zombor, while in the place to which it has been removed a new building had to be erected at a cost of more than 120 million dinars. Every part of the country has its own people in the leading county positions, yet the Voivodina has not received any benefit from the Government so far, not even so much as to have one of its own men appointed to the office of Ban. This is the reason why the citizens of Zombor do not wish to become the citizens of "Brankovičevo"!

All the above statements made by the author with reference to the city of Zombor may be applied to the other towns and villages of the Voivodina, with the exception, perhaps, of Novisad (Ujvidék), capital of the Danube Banate. If the Serbs of the Voivodina are compelled to go so far in their complaints, we may well form an opinion of the state of the Hungarian, German, and Bunievatz minorities in the occupied territories.

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# POLITICAL ECONOMY

## THE ECONOMIC LITTLE ENTENTE IN PRACTICE

The new system of payment recently introduced in Rumania has led to a considerable decrease in Czecho-Slovak exports to Rumania. It is reported from Bucharest that the Rumanian Government is not disposed to allow the importation of goods over the value of 160 million Crowns this year, as against 220 millions last year. Within these limits the orders of the State will amount to 100 million Crowns, while the Rumanian oil industry will order tubes for 30

million Crowns, so that the other importers will have to be satisfied with the remaining 40 million Crowns.

This low contingent is, of course, not enough to satisfy the demands of the Rumanian market, yet the Government is not willing to extend the line of 40 millions; accordingly — as we are informed from Bucharest — the importers have been warned to relinquish the hope that the line will be extended and therefore to try to satisfy their demands from other markets than Czecho-Slovakia.

The final blow to Czecho-Slovak exports to Rumania has been dealt by the fact that the Rumanian



Government has declared the Czech Crown to be one of the so-called "strong currencies", while the Hungarian pengő and the Austrian schilling have been classified as "weak currencies". The result of this is that there is a great demand for the weak currencies, which may now be had on the market without any restrictions; consequently, the exports of countries with "weak currencies" have considerably increased at the expense of the States possessing a "strong currency". The new system practically precludes the possibility of Czecho-Slovak exports to Rumania, while on the other hand it furthers the exports of Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, and Poland to that country.

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## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

### MISERY OF SUDETA GERMANS

Czecho-Slovakia is generally known abroad as a State resting on a sound economic basis, for it inherited the larger half of the manufacturing industry of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Very few people know, however, the great problems which the manufacturing industry of Czecho-Slovakia has to face, partly because of the loss of the best part of the inland market which it once had in Austria-Hungary, and partly in consequence of the blunders made by the protectionist agrarian policy of the Government. Furthermore, very few people know that the unemployment in the rural districts and the poverty of the working classes is becoming worse and worse day after day. It is, however, a fact that the misery of the mining and industrial districts in the districts severed from Hungary, viz. Slovakia and Ruthenia, as well as in Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, is at present on a scale inconceivable before the war. Both the Czecho-Slovak and the foreign press have repeatedly referred to the misery of the Sudeta German territory, which is the most important industrial and mining area of the country. Thus, we believe, it will be useful to give a brief account of the situation as shown in official reports.

In a report issued by the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Health, Dr. Louis Czech, at the end of November, the consequences of poverty of the Sudeta German territory are described in the most striking manner. According to the report of the Ministry of Health, the number of children suffering from an illness of the lymphatic glands in Brünn, in the first quarter of 1935, was 36, that of children suffering from tuberculosis 42, the number of children suffering from rickets having increased by 200% as compared with the same period of the previous year. In Schüttenhofen the percentage of cases of rickets (in 1935) had increased by 100%, in Teplitz-Schönau by 40%, and in Asch by 39%, mainly in consequence of undernourishment.

The Medical Officer in the district of Teschen reported that the average weight of 80% of the children being nursed in the Children's Home was less than normal, and that 50% suffered from osseous abnormalities caused by rickets.

An equally tragic description of the situation may be found in a report drafted by a commission com-

posed of Czech intellectuals who had made a tour in North Bohemia, visiting the towns of Friedland, Reichenberg, and Gablonz; its members included Carl Capek, the well-known Czech writer, and Maria Pujmanova, a Czech authoress. The commission visited a number of industrial establishments, county offices, and labourers' home and spoke to people belonging to various social classes, primarily to officials, teachers, and physicians. The Commission declared that conditions in the rural districts are absolutely desperate. Madame Pujmanova gives the following account of her journey in the periodical called "Přítomost": „The people are underfed and are possessed of mob hysteria. Everywhere we may see starved and dreaming faces. The women start crying when they talk. At a meeting I saw a woman suddenly jump up, clap her hands and cry for help, because, she said, every member of her family had gone mad. It will be argued, of course, that the situation in North Bohemia is no worse than that in Slovakia, Ruthenia, etc. I am far from saying that misery is limited exclusively to North Bohemia, but I am convinced that it is most terrible there. Unemployment in that part of the country is no more an epidemic, but a natural state, and this is very sadthink." The public health officer of Weisskirchen reported that people of 30 suffer from cancer, that the epidemics of diphtheria and scarlatina never cease, and that even old people die of those illnesses. The unemployed have no health insurance, so that they receive no medical treatment either.

M. David, a Legionary Member of the Czech Parliament, and Senator Šoltz described their experiences in 35 villages of the District of Jung-Bunzlau, in the Czech periodical "Národní Osvobození". The economic conditions there, they say, are simply indescribable. In many textile factories labourers are paid only 5 Czech crowns a day, and families of three occupied in coral threading very often do not earn more than 3 Crowns a day. For these people bread is something exceptional, their diet consisting of black coffee and potatoes.

In an article written by him, in the "Česke Slovo", the organ of the Czech National Socialist Party (to which President Beneš belonged until quite recently), M. Heida, a Czech journalist informs us that no Czecho-Slovak Minister of Commerce has paid an official visit to the German industrial areas in Bohemia; the present "anti-Prague" policy of the Sudeta Germans is, in his opinion, a "hunger front". M. Heida then proceeds to describe the misery of this area and calls upon his compatriots to make a decisive move towards a peace with the Germans. He protests that there have been no public works initiated in the German areas; in a few exceptional cases the work was given out to Czech firms, who had labourers brought from the Czech parts of Bohemia instead of employing the out-of-work masses of the depressed areas.

The sad picture presented to the reader by the above reports of the wealthiest districts of pre-War Austria-Hungary, is but a specimen to illustrate the present economic condition of Czecho-Slovakia. The reports and facts are taken from sources whose reliability is unquestionable.

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## UNEMPLOYMENT ON THE INCREASE

The Ministry of Public Welfare reports that the number of unemployed rose from 678.870 in November to 797.190 at the end of December — an increase of 118.320, or 17.4%. This decline in the condition of the labour market dangerously resembles the course of events in 1932 when the economic crisis was at its height and the number of unemployed rose in December by 137.000, or 22.5%. In 1933 the increase was 80.000, or 16%, and in 1934, 83.000, or 11%.

The situation is most desperate in Slovakia (formerly part of Hungary) where at the end of November 84.284 persons were on the lists of unemployed. This number rose in December by 30.499 to 114.723. This signifies an increase in unemployment of 36% in Slovakia. In other words, compared with the percentual increase of unemployment in the whole Republic, that of Slovakia is more than double. These official statistics show better than anything else could that while most of the countries of Europe are slowly beginning to recover from the depression, Czecho-Slovakia's economic situation is as bad as it was in the darkest days of the economic crisis. If there is a country in the Danube Valley whose vital interests demand a change in the present situation, that country is certainly Czecho-Slovakia.

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## HUNGARY

### THE STATE ADMINISTRATION ACCOUNTS FOR NOVEMBER SHOW SURPLUS OF 24 MILLION PENGŐ

According to the Ministry of Finance's monthly report on Hungary's finances, in November 1935 the expenditure of the administration was 57.1 million pengő; the revenue (not including the yield from loans) were 81.1 millions. In other words, the State Administration revenue exceeded expenditure by 24 millions. In November the sum of 1.6 million pengő out of the money borrowed from foreign credit funds for necessary investments was devoted to State Administration purposes.

The total expenditure of the State undertakings amounted in November to 33 million pengő. Receipts were 31.6 millions — an excess of expenditure of 1.4 million for all the State undertakings. Out of the money borrowed from the foreign credit funds to cover investments the sum of 0.2 million pengő was utilised in November by the State undertakings.

Two million pengő were paid into the National Bank of Hungary for the League of Nations loan service. This amount was not transferred, and subsequently the sum of 1.7 million pengő was taken up against treasury notes.

In November the State Administration advanced sums of 500.000 pengő to the State Railways and of 900.000 to the State Iron, Steel, and Machinery Works, while 1 million pengő were appropriated from the surplus of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone receipts for the purposes of the State Administration.

According to the tables of figures contained in the report, the turn-over, compared with the November of last year, shows a general improvement, especially in the cases of the Post Office and the State Railways.

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## INCREASE OF HUNGARIAN TEXTILE EXPORTS

The exports of the Hungarian textile and ready made clothes industries from January to September, 1935, were of the value of 16 million Pengő. Thus *the value of the exports of the first nine months of the year 1935 exceeded that of the total exports of 1934 (11.4 Pengő) by 41%*. The increase in the quantity of exports is even more remarkable. In 1934 the exports of the textile and ready made clothes industries amounted to 34.759 quintals and 378.141 pieces; from January to September 1935 this quantity increased to 69.551 quintals (+100%), and 398.575 pieces (+5%).

Our most important market was Great Britain: 20% of the total textile exports during the first nine months of the year 1935 went to that country. Then comes Germany, representing 12%, the U. S. A. 11%, Yugoslavia and Rumania 7%. The most interesting point about our textile export to Great Britain is that it consisted to a considerable degree (25%) of the products of the ready made clothes industry. Although this includes also dresses decorated with popular embroidery, yet it is interesting to see that the British market is becoming more and more interested in the special Budapest style of our ready made clothes (suits and dresses).

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### THE "FUTURA" AS PILLAR OF MINIMUM WHEAT-PRICE SYSTEM

(X) The Hungarian Government has designated the *minimum wheat-price system* as the marketing basis of the 1935 wheat crop. This system will fix the lowest price for wheat throughout the whole country, and thus provide farmers with a sound basis of calculation, no matter in what period of the economic year they wish to sell. The minimum wheat-price system would, of course, prove a dead letter did the Hungarian agriculturists not have at their disposal an organization able to supply guarantees satisfactory in every respect that the farmers may with all certainty count on finding purchasers ready to buy their wheat anywhere and at any time at the minimum price at least. This organization is the "Futura", the *Hungarian Co-operative Societies' Trading Co.* which for over fifteen years, by means of a network of trading centres, has been buying wheat at every railway and shipping station in the country (about 3.300) and *paying at least the minimum price in cash* on receipt of the waybills or bills of lading.

Besides wheat the "Futura" buys and sells other arents, as well as fodder for cattle (rye, barley and maize), pulse and seed. In 1935, for instance, the importance of maize rendered necessary on account of the shortage in that commodity, was controlled and indeed the greater part of it actually effected, by the "Futura", to the complete satisfaction of the farmers.

Thanks to the confidence placed in it by the Hungarian Government and the sheep-farmers the "Futura" was able to play a beneficial part in controlling the marketing of the wool shorn in 1935; for it managed to secure contracts from the carding and weaving industries for the purchase of about 6 million kilogrammes of wool at a fixed price. The institution of a wool auction market under the management of the "Futura" has developed considerably, and was successful in negotiating the sale of about 1.2 million kilogrammes of wool — the largest quantity ever put up for auction in Hungary — at price 10% in excess of the ordinary market price.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### BANKS HAVE APPLIED FOR PROTECTION

According to a report of the Banking Association in Zagreb, 256 banks have, so far, asked for the application of the Bank Protection Act. 36 applications have not yet been dealt with in the Ministry of Commerce. 186 banks have applied for a moratorium on their former deposits, 4 banks have been granted a moratorium, and their re-construction scheme has also been accepted. 6 banks have been allowed to amalgamate, and 24 other banks permitted to liquidate without any legal proceedings. The amount of deposits held by the 256 banks (now under the Bank Protection Act) is 4450 million dinars, — 48.5% of the total amount of deposits in all the banks of Yugoslavia.

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### PRESENT STATE OF TOWNS OF THE VOIVODINA

The following two examples will sufficiently illustrate the sad fate of the towns of the Voivodina, which were most prosperous before they were taken from Hungary.

According to a report in the Bunievatz paper "Neven", published at Subotica (formerly called Szabadka), the population (numbering about 103,000) is alarmed to see the gradual decrease of the importance of this frontier town. Politically Subotica does not count. From an economic point of view Subotica is a town of the past, and nothing has been done in the way of its cultural improvement. In a word: Subotica is dangerously ill, it does not lead the life of a town any more, it has sunk — so to speak — into a state of lethargy. *It is enough to say that one fourth of its population (more than 25,000 people) are unemployed and are, therefore, living in a most deplorable condition.*

Another town, Stara-Kaniža (Ókanizsa, Pavlograd, with a population 94% Hungarian) is in an equally bad state. M. Agbaba Mihajlo, the newly appointed president of the town council, made a statement in December, in which he said: *"this town is absolutely dead, its debts are over 8 million dinars, its financial resources are exhausted, it owes its officials and retired employees half a million dinars; hence it will have to practise the greatest economy to retain its former position".*

To these statements we would simply add that the situation is the same in all the other towns and villages of the Voivodina.

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## S P O R T S

### FOOTBALL

For the winter season the majority of the Hungarian teams accepted engagements for matches abroad, the results of which were strikingly good. Of the 41 matches played the Hungarian teams lost only 7 — a really excellent performance.

### ICE HOCKEY

Now that we are on the eve of the Olympiad, the Hungarian ice hockey players are busily training for the great event. Matches, one more interesting than the other, follow in quick succession. One of the most important was that played by the Volants Français team from Paris against the Hungarian Skating Association team. The splendid French team was beaten on the first day by 5 goals to 3, but in the return match the French won by 7 goals to 2.

### FENCING

At the end of last year the Austrian Sword Championships were decided in Vienna. The Hungarian fencers took part in great numbers and again gave proof of their overwhelming superiority. The first 6 places were won by Hungarian competitors, while the Austrians had to content themselves with the last three.

### SWIMMING

On the list of the great events for next year is

the six team European water-polo meeting. The previous year's meeting was arranged for the Klebelsberg Cup, which the Hungarian team won outright. To replace this Cup the Hungarian Swimming Association has presented a Horthy Cup in honour of its President; and the six representative European teams which do best at the Berlin Olympiad will compete for it. It is very probable that the first four will be the Hungarian, German, Belgian, and French teams, but there is every prospect of a great struggle for the fifth and sixth places. The British, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Austrian, and Spanish teams will start with even chances.

### SPORT TRUCE IN CENTRAL EUROPE

How important the re-establishment of peace in the field of sports would be to the States of the Little Entente, is proved by a statement made by several leading men in Yugoslav sporting circles to the Belgrade correspondent of a Hungarian sporting paper.

"Until we can play again with the Hungarian teams" — they said — "the financial position of the Belgrade and Zagreb teams is not likely to improve."

The fact is that the Prague and Vienna teams do not draw such great crowds in Belgrade now as they used to. The conclusion of a truce in the world of football does not depend on Hungary; for it is the Yugoslavs who have kept the Hungarian teams away, and who have hitherto prevented intercourse in sports.

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