

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 Tsvetković, 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."