

larmini. The University of *Geneva* is still proud to be able to include in its rool of *savants* the name of the Hungarian Joseph Pétzely.

Very charmingly touching is the address of congratulation of the University of *Reykjavik* (Iceland). A thousand years ago — it tells us — the Eddas already connected the Icelandic and the Hungarian peoples, singing the glory of the famous knights and victorious kings of the Magyars. The *University of Basel* is delighted to remind us that according to its registers as from 1519 a whole host of Hungarian theologians, philologists and medical students have been entered among its pupils — among others Joseph Páriz-Pápai, Stephen Csapó, Joseph Hatvany and three Counts Teleki. The *University of Amsterdam* cites in illustration of the high standard of the University of Budapest the names of world-famed professors of that institution — Anyos Jedlik, Ignatius Goldzieher, Semmelweis, Lenhossék, Korányi, Virozsil, Pauler and Hajnik. The *Dublin University* refers in particular to the pre-eminent services of two Hungarian *savants* — of Joseph Fodor, the bacteriologist, and Ignatius Goldziher, the world-famed student of Islandism. The *Paris Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle* is proud to tell us that in its laboratory two great Hungarian anatomists have recently carried on highly succesful research work — Francis Kiss, the Budapest, and Stephen Botár, the Szeged professor. The *Neuchatel University* has much pleasure in informing us that the historical connections between Hungary and Switzerland include the name of the Swiss General Saphorin, who took part in the siege of Buda as commander of the Danube fleet operating under Prince Eugene of Savoy. The *University of Bristol* is delighted to express its gratification at the fact that our invitation to the universities was written in Latin and that the Latin language is still cultivated in Hungary, though it is being sadly neglected elsewhere in Europe. The *University of Harvard* (U. S. A.) reminds us that one of its great men, *Jeremiah Smith*, spent the latter years of his life in Hungary as financial High Commissioner of the League of Nations and by his zeal

and sagacity did much to further the economic welfare of the Hungarian people.

The affection of the other Hungarian universities was with our ancient Alma Mater in her days of gladness and triumph; not only did they send large deputations headed by their rectors to attend the celebrations, but they sent us also artistically decorated addresses written in a most cordial style. The addresses of the *University of Technical Sciences* and of the *Szeged Royal Hungarian Francis Joseph University of Sciences* are veritable monographs giving an accurate and cordial appreciation of the historical importance of our University. The *Debrecen Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University of Sciences*, which traces its origin from the sixteenth-century Reformed College, also sent a cordial address of congratulation in which it reviews the role played by Pázmány's university in the past and in the present history of Hungarian culture. The *Pécs Royal Hungarian Elizabeth University of Sciences* in its address expresses its homage for the University of Budapest in the following terms: "we approach your University with the homage of a daughter for her mother, for all the younger universities of the country are surely daughters of Pázmány's university, from which they have taken over the venerable university usages and traditions and the university spirit; most of their professors have been educated by her, having been started on their careers when she enrolled them as lecturers and readers".

All these moments furnish Pázmány's university with the strength and the force to continue worthily the life which has already a history three centuries old.

"If the map of Europe will not work, it must be redrawn. If that is not done by law, it will be done by force. All the guarantees in the world will not avail. After all, the diplomatic pressure brought to bear to avoid that would be quite as efficacious and more useful in canalising it." (From Senor Salvador de Madariaga's article in the Daily Herald.)

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

NEW PEACE CONFERENCE!

What has been going on in Europe since March 7th is in reality nothing more or less than a fresh serious collision between those forces one half of which — after a series of fiascos — would fain maintain the *status quo* at any cost, while the other half are bent upon enforcing the eternal law of evolution.

We are really delighted to see that official France — despite having hitherto echoed the catchphrases of the camp which insists upon defending the *status quo à outrance* — is also beginning to reckon with the latter forces. For in a solemn declaration made on March 10th the French Government made the following statements: "The League of Nations Covenant does

not involve any stabilisation or any perpetuation of States in the historical development of human civilisation. But it formally forbids all one-sided revision by force. No doubt all proposals relating to a better adjustment of the political and economic relations between nations may be brought within the jurisdiction of the League of Nations, where they may be discussed and freely codified according to the laws of a community which has not forbidden its Members to have recourse to anything except to force or war."

And François de Tesson, former Under Secretary in the French Foreign Ministry, in an article broadcast by one of the big press agencies wrote as

follows: "the question at issue is whether the revision of the treaties can be carried into effect by the will of a single man so long as Geneva offers any possibility of a suitable expedient?"

These statements would appear to justify our concluding that the leading personages of official France realise that it is no longer possible to hinder the liberation of the dynamic forces which must lead to a revision of the treaties of peace. That is why they have given up denying the possibility of revision, only laying the emphasis on the mode of realisation. Article 19 of the League of Nations Covenant — hitherto only the refuge of the weak — has thus suddenly become an authority from which even the mighty are beginning to derive their arguments.

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However, notwithstanding this very welcome advance towards a consensus of opinion regarding this Article of the Covenant, the fact must be established that for the moment the importance of Article 19 of that Covenant is only an importance in principle, seeing that it has never yet been applied in practice. Whereas the League has so far subjected the other Articles of the Covenant to the investigation of a whole series of various committees, and made them applicable in practice too, it has on the other hand preferred to regard the "revision" Article as simply non-existent. As a consequence, numbers of questions connected therewith have been left unsolved; in particular the question as to whether a resolution of the League proposing the revision of treaties which have become inapplicable or which might endanger the peace of the world must be unanimous? or whether it may as being merely a wish (*voeu*) be passed by a simple majority of votes? The former view — that accepted in any case by most French jurists — would involve the League (particularly in the event of the principle of unanimity being extended also to the States concerned) never being in a position to initiate a revision, seeing that it is practically certain that among the fifty odd Members of the League there would always be at least one whose individual interests clash with those of the League as a whole even in the case of a revision by common agreement.

Under such circumstances there is every justification for the objection that we cannot expect the League of Nations to carry out a just and fair re-adjustment of the situation created by the Great War; for that League regards it as its duty to maintain the *status quo*, while on the other hand it consistently obstructs every natural process of evolution. Despite the sincere sympathy which we feel for the fundamental principles of the League of Nations, we cannot refrain from expressing our conviction that the political atmosphere of Europe and the world at large would certainly not be so intolerably charged with electricity — and there would not be the present unceasing succession of conflicts — had the said institution not permitted the ultimate causes of the great antagonisms — in Central Europe primarily the minority and territorial questions — to assume such a virulent character. Is it not characteristic that the same League of Nations which wasted so much energy

and sagacity on maintaining unchanged and giving an orthodox explanation to the treaties of peace concluded in 1919 and 1920, should on the other hand have watched — and be still watching — with folded arms even the most flagrant infringement of the minority treaties, despite the latter being also integral parts of the general Peace Treaty?

The League of Nations will never be able to disarm all these objections and complaints unless it at once, without any further delay, sets to work to *apply Article 19 in practice — or rather to first ensure the practical application of that Article.*

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The beating about the bush so far in evidence has already repeatedly proved abortive from the point of view also of the usufructuaries of the post-War situation. It has proved impossible to stem the tide of life; and the new exigencies of the passing years have always gradually forced people to adopt re-adjustments. It is really incomprehensible that the Powers which represent the orthodoxy of the League of Nations should have gradually yielded to the new demands continually formulated by Germany instead of sitting down with that country and the other defeated States to discuss matters for the purpose of definitively liquidating the Great War and its consequences. This desire to beat about the bush and this refusal to comply with even the absolutely legitimate demands of the defeated peoples except after obstinate re-argued skirmishes, is the reason why Europe is being upheaved by crisis recurring practically every month.

But it is not too late even yet! Europe may still be dragged back from the edge of the precipice, if the lessons of the events now proceeding could be learned and the Powers of our old Continent be convened to *a congress or new Peace Conference and an effort be made with the help of mutual goodwill to solve all the matters in dispute.* At the great International Conferences of the nineteenth century — at the Congresses of Paris, London and Berlin — more than one delicate question was settled. It is true that the new Conference would certainly find itself faced with a more complicated situation than those of the nineteenth century; but that does not mean that the responsible statemen should be alarmed at the seriousness of the problems and the weight of the responsibility — or that, instead of trying to create permanent peace, they should prefer the horrors of a solution by force of arms.

In their agreements (*accords*) dated March 19th the Locarno Powers declared their readiness to use their weight with the Council of the League of Nations to support the resolutions proposing to convene all the nations concerned to an international conference which should investigate the questions of the system of collective security, of a restriction of armaments and the expansion of economic connections, and at the same time inquire into the organisation of the exchange of goods between the peoples and also certain points of the memorandums submitted by Germany.

LORD ROTHERMERE'S ARTICLE ON THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM

In the April 22nd issue of the "Daily Mail" Viscount Rothermere, the famous champion of the Hungarian cause published an excellent article intitled "Hungary's Joy-Bells Will Ring Again!" which has

had a very large echo in whole Central-Europe. The noble Lord wrote under others the follows:

"To-day I assert that the present decade will

see Hungary restored to the rank of a great nation in Central Europe.

Two influences are combining to bring this about — the magnificent spirit of the Hungarian people and the fast increasing authority in Europe of the powerful States which are that country's closest friends — Germany and Italy.

Of the former of these two factors I can speak with wide personal knowledge. It is nearly nine years since I first took up the neglected cause of justice for Hungary.

My subsequent close association with the country has revealed the fortitude and firmness of that gallant race to be as great to-day as they were in the sixteenth century, when defeat at the Battle of Mohács by an enemy tenfold superior in numbers placed the Hungarians under Turkish tyranny for 160 years. The tyranny of Trianon has lasted only one-tenth as long.

New forces are rising in Europe which will make short work of the opposition of those over-indulged and mischievous countries, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, which after unjustly despoiling Hungary, have blackmailed the Great Powers into allowing them to keep their plunder.

The rewards exacted by these petty States at the peace settlement, in the form of territorial expansion, were the result of their capacity for intrigue and the ignorance of the treaty-makers rather than of any service rendered to the Allied cause.

The Czechs, indeed, had no separate existence till after the war, and the vast majority of them continued to fight for the Central Powers right up to the Armistice. A small contingent of deserters and political exiles joined the Allied armies under the name of "Czech Legionaries." They were diligently publicised by certain British pundits who specialised in Central European affairs, but their military value was negligible.

As for Rumania, she was more of a liability than an asset to the Allies, since the crushing defeat of her army in its first battle put the whole of the Rumanian oilfields at the disposition of Germany.

Yet these two second-rate States have been mainly responsible for the maintenance of an unjust Peace Treaty which deprived Hungary of three-quarters of her national territory and placed 3,300,000 of the Hungarian race under foreign domination.

That domination, in the case of the Czech and Rumanian Governments, has taken the form of harsh and despicable oppression. The upstart politicians of Prague and Bucarest are still bullying and brutalising the unfortunate Hungarian minorities which they annexed under the Treaty of Trianon. The Czech Govern-

ment has even broken the pledge of autonomy which its founders gave to the Slovaks under the Pittsburg Agreement during the war as one of the fundamental conditions of the new State which was to be created.

Until Hitler restored the formidable might of the German nation, it used also to domineer over the three and a quarter million Bohemian Germans who make up 25 per cent. of the country's population. It wilfully and wantonly violated the spirit of the very treaty to which it owed its existence by making Czecho-Slovakia within three years the most heavily armed small State in Europe.

Hungary, whose sons are still the helpless victims of Czech and Rumanian tyranny, has strong claims upon our sympathy. It was under protest that she was dragged by Austria into the war against us. She treated British prisoners of war with unusual indulgence.

After the Armistice the gallant spirit of Hungary barred the way to Bolshevik aggression against the west. For four months in 1919 Béla Kun, the Red criminal who is now working to create a Soviet Republic in Spain, inflicted all the horrors of Bolshevik tyranny upon the war-exhausted nation.

Then, unaided, the Hungarian people, with the courage that they have never lost in the worst days of their country's dramatic history, threw out the Soviet Terrorists and Saved Central Europe for civilisation.

The great day of reparation for Hungary is nevertheless at hand. If she cleaves to her German and Italian friends she will before long be in a position to insist upon the redrafting of her frontiers.

Hungarian statesmen have shown shrewd instinct in linking her fortunes to those of the two most powerful nations in Europe.

I firmly believe that, before the present decade is over, the territories of which the Hungarian nation was so unjustly robbed by Rumanian and Czecho-Slovakia will be restored.

It is long since joy-bells were rung in Hungary. Poverty, unemployment, humiliation, and suicide have been the conditions amid which the present younger generation of Magyars has grown up. But, just as five and a half years ago I foretold the rebirth of the German nation which we have witnessed, so I now predict that Hungary will recover her lost lands.

From the time when I published my first appeal for Hungary in June 1927 I have not been in Budapest, but I look confidently forward to the day when I shall visit that historic city once again and hear the bells of the Coronation Church on the heights of Buda ring out across the Danube the joyful message that Hungary is free once more!"

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS MARCH 26

It was often overlooked that friends of the Treaty of Versailles know themselves that it was drafted under conditions which made it very difficult to give a final judgement upon some of the most essential problems with which they had to deal. He had always felt that it was a mistake to negotiate that treaty in Paris because of the very tense and poignant feeling which prevailed there at that time. That was why he thought that one of the services rendered by Mr. Eden was to get the present negotiations transferred to London. (Cheers). But it was always forgotten that

there were provisions in the treaty itself for revision from time to time. (Cheers). They could not regard this treaty as if it were Holy Writ or even a document which the persons who drafted it thought was a final decision on the controversy in Europe and in the world. (Mr. Lloyd George).

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It might be that for the purpose of honest and straight dealing treaties ought to be revised by the combined effort of all the contracting parties, but it must

be recognized that because of human progress and change every treaty was in its very essence an ephemeral thing. (Mr. Maxton).

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HUNGARY'S REINFORCEMENT AND PROGRESS IMPORTANT FOR THE WHOLE OF EUROPE

Sir Robert Gower, President of the Hungarian group in the House of Commons, speaking to his constituents in Gillingham at a Conservative mass-meeting, introduced the Hungarian question. The gist of what he said is as follows.

We hear a lot of cant today about the sanctity of treaties, but the Members of the League of Nations themselves have not been entirely blameless in this respect in the past. Some years ago the Hungarian Government asked the League of Nations to fulfil its treaty obligations and refer the case of the Hungarian optants whose lands had been confiscated by the Succession States, to the Courts of Arbitration. The League Powers, however, found that *it suited their political aims beter to refuse*. At that time he — Sir Robert Gower — and several eminent English jurists, including Lord Buckmaster, Lord Carson, and Lord Danesfort, sent an open letter to the Times in which they set forth that *the inertia of the League of Nations had dealt a mortal blow to the sanctity of treaties and other principles of adjusting international conflict by arbitration*. Events have proved the truth of their assertions. The attitude adopted at that time by the League led to the Central Powers *losing all their faith in its impartiality; and the effects of that loss are to be felt even today*. The post-war treaties were forced upon the vanquished, and that was a proceeding wholly lacking in the calm deliberation which is the *sine qua non* of equity and stability.

Those treaties should have been revised long ago. There can be no peace in Europe so long as certain nations are being treated as though they were naughty

World Conference was a vital issue, and he hoped, the Government would not allow that Conference to be wrecked as was the World Economic Conference. (Sir A. Sinclair).

children who had no claim to an independent national existence and to the most elementary rights of self-determination. Give Hungary and Austria permission to increase their military forces immediately. A greater humiliation could hardly be imagined than to deprive a free nation of the means of self-defence and place it at the mercy of neighbouring countries armed to the teeth. Would the British nation ever submit to such treatment? The interests of the whole of Europe demand that Hungary and Austria should grow stronger again and make progress. A revision of the territorial dispositions of the Treaty of Trianon is equally important, so that Hungary should get back her former territories, which in spirit were still hers. The dismemberment of Hungary was artificial and arbitrary, and artificial patchwork is never durable. Great Britain and the rest of world do not yet realize the grave and cruel injustices to which Hungary has been subjected and which in the name of justice must be repaired as soon as possible. Some people disapprove of encouraging Hungary to believe in the triumph of her just cause. That way of thinking shows so much malice that it is not worth answering. Future British generations would be surprised at the stupidity of those who were under the delusion that conditions based on injustice and unfairness could be permanent. A few years were a very short time in the history of a nation. Hungary deserves the warmest appreciation for the selfrestraint and patience with which she has borne the heaviest trials, and her faith in the world's honesty and love of fair play will not be disappointed.

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THE NEW ROME PROTOCOLS

The most important result of the meeting of the Hungarian Prime Minister Julius Gömbös, the Hungarian Foreign Minister Coloman Kánya, the Austrian Chancellor Kurt v. Schuschnigg and the Austrian Foreign Minister Freiherr v. Bergr-Waldenegg with Mussolini at Rome was the three Protocols signed on March 23rd, 1936, as corollaries supplementing the Rome Pact concluded in the same city on March 17th, 1934.

In the first of these Protocols the three Premiers express their satisfaction at being able to establish the happy results accruing from their co-operation and solemnly declare that they still continue to abide steadfastly by the principles laid down in the 1934 Protocols, that they will endeavour to make the activities of the three countries more and more homogeneous and their attitude united in face of all developments which the European situation may in future bring about, and that they have decided to form their three countries into a group, establishing to that end a permanent consultative organ. In the second Protocol the three Governments once more declare that they will not individually enter into any important negotiations

with third Parties in matters pertaining to the Danube question without first consulting the other two Governments. All three Governments are in full agreement respecting the utility of expanding their respective economic relations with the other Danubian States; but such expansion must be made subject to reciprocal agreements. According to the third Protocol a mutual consultative organ consisting of the foreign ministers of the three States shall meet periodically whenever the three Governments shall consider that desirable.

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The importance of the Rome protocols from the Hungarian point of view was explained by the Hungarian Foreign Minister, M. Kálmán Kánya, in his exposé delivered before the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Hungarian Parliament (Lower and Upper House) at meeting held on April 2nd. The official *communiqué* issued on this occasion contains the following statements:

In the opening part of his speech the Foreign Minister dealt with the diplomatic events proceeding the meeting of the three countries in Rome, as also with the *pourparlers* carried on the occasion of the

visit to Budapest of the Austrian Chancellor Dr. Schuschnigg and the Austrian Foreign Minister Baron Berger-Waldenegg between the Austrian and Hungarian Governments in the Danube question, which proved that those two Governments are in perfect agreement on that question. The principles laid down as a result of these *pourparlers* were then expressed formally and solemnly in the new Rome protocols, which document once for all the fact that the three signatory Powers are in absolute agreement in respect of the need for co-operation in Central Europe. The results of the negotiations had in every respect fulfilled the expectations of the Hungarian Government. There is nothing sensational about those results; but they confirm a system which has proved efficient for a year or two, — a system which does not involve any desire on the part of the signatories to be isolated from others, though it proposes to realise co-operation with the States not being signatories to the Pact, not at all costs, but only on the basis of the principle "*do ut des*". This object cannot however be attained unless the other side shows a similar goodwill and a spirit of complaisance. There has not been any change in the character of the Pact as concluded two years ago; but the new protocols have undoubtedly strengthened the international position of the signatory Powers, — a fact which Hungarians cannot but welcome.

The first Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Lower House to speak on the Foreign Minister's exposé was Professor Joseph Illés, who declared that until the promises contained in the treaties of peace — e. g. the autonomy of Ruthenia — had been fulfilled, there was no moral ground whatsoever for the indignation provoked by a breach of any treaty.

On behalf of the biggest Opposition party Dr. Tibor Eckhardt welcomed the Rome protocols as the expressions of the political ideas which had always been the basis of Hungarian policy in the past and must continue to be so in the future too.

Emmanuel Buchinger declared that the principles of his party (Social Democrats) made it impossible for him to approve the exposé.

Count Stephen Bethlen was gratified to learn of the signature of the Rome protocols and was delighted to see the strengthening of the relations between the three States. He approved of the formation of a group and also the fact that in economic matters the principle of bilateral agreements had been established. After making a few observations and putting one or two questions, he accepted and approved the exposé.

Count Alexander Festetics (National Socialist) also felt reassured by the words of the Minister — particularly because the Rome agreement did not contain anything likely to endanger our friendly relations with Germany.

In the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Upper House Field Marshal Archduke Joseph expressed his extreme delight with the Rome agreements, which were calculated to considerably enhance the moral weight of the signatory Powers. The other speakers also expressed their satisfaction and relief at the results of the Rome negotiations. The debate was closed by Count Julius Károlyi, former Premier, — whom the Committee had elected as president in place of the late Dr. Albert Berzeviczy —, who on behalf of the Committee expressed his thanks and gratitude to Government for their successful activity in the field of foreign affairs.

THE ATTEMPT IN THE SKUPSTINA

The decision taken by the Stoyadinovitch Government, which entered office on June 24th, 1935, to the effect that they would carry out their programme for the gradual abolition of the dictatorship with the co-operation of the Skupstina elected under the Yeftitch Government, has not in all respects fulfilled the expectations raised by it. Although the position of Government was made considerably more easy by the fact that of the 67 deputies elected on the basis of the Opposition list headed by Matchek 57 still continue to boycott a Skupstina brought into being by brutal force and innumerable abuses, that circumstance did not suffice to enable the Government to adequately ensure the Skupstina discussions against interruptions and disturbances.

The antagonism in evidence from the very outset between the several groups of Opposition deputies taking part in the work of the National Assembly became acuter and acuter and during the session opened at the end of January resulted in the outbreak of the most violent obstruction, which culminated in the armed attempt committed during a public meeting of the Skupstina by Arnautovitch, deputy belonging to the Opposition party headed by Yeftitch. The first rumours of the shooting in the Skupstina, which fortunately injured no one, made everybody believe that it was merely the action of a hotheaded drunkard intended to create confusion and a feeling of terror; however, the energetic investigation undertaken on the spot by the police authorities revealed the fact that it was a question of deliberate attempt aimed expressly against the person of the Premier Stoyadinovitch. According

to the facts revealed by the police inquiry, the conspiracy had been formed and the preparations for the attempt made by 17 deputies belonging to the Yeftitch Party who were also Members of the "Patriotski Omladinski Front" (Patriotic Young Serbians), of whom 11 have so far been arrested by the police, which did not delay action pending the suspension of the privileges of the said deputies.

In respect of the inland political situation the attempt has had two consequences of material importance. The first of these consequences was that on March 7th Stoyadinovitch tendered the resignation of the whole Cabinet and that in the Cabinet re-constructed by him the same day the portfolio of War Minister previously held by Petar Zhivkovitch was given to General Maritch, Commander-in-Chief of the Army. We are told that the reason why the highly influential War Minister Zhivkovitch was dropped was that he sympathised with the group of Opposition deputies members of which took part in organising the attempt. The other equally important consequence was that the Skupstina not only passed in its third reading the 1936/37 Estimates which had already been passed in the first reading, but also gave Government under the Finance Law far-reaching powers also for the regulation by Orders in Council with the binding force of law to be issued in agreement with the competent Skupstina Committees of political rights (press control, rights of association and assembly, suffrage etc.). However, whether these Orders in Council — which are already months overdue — and the other measures of Government, will really succeed in

calming the highrunning passions of the Serbian and Croatian peoples and will prove able to further the cause of a Serbo-Croatian compromise, is extremely problematical — particularly in the light of the state-

ments made by several ministers and Government Party deputies to the effect that the Croatian problem is not a political question at all, merely a matter of administrative routine.

JUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT'S DEFEAT IN SENATE

The Budget debate in the Senate proved that the Government was in the minority there. The Senate passed the Finance Bill by 41 votes against 37, but subject to certain amendments, so that the Bill had to be sent back to the Skuptsina. As the Budget year begins on the 1st of April, the majority of the Skupsina were obliged to pass the Bill together with these amendments, that being a fresh blow to the authority of Government. (The most significant amendment is the one by which the Government's authority of carrying into effect the laws on suffrage, on the freedom of the press and on the right of association and assembly by means of edicts, is to expire on October 1st.)

Some remarkable statements were made in the course of the Budget debate in the Senate. Thus M. Banjanin, Deputy Regent, declared that the Stojadinovitch Government had "established chaos"; and the spirit of hatred and separation had been allowed to strike root in the whole country during its rule. The Minister of the Interior, M. Korosec, informed the Senate that the Government intended to "consider" the possibility of ordering the election of municipal representative councils (which ought to have been done two years ago, in conformity with the law of July 25th, 1934) only in case the communal elections ended favourably (i. e., favourably to the expectations of the

Government). This shows that the Government has been unable to secure the confidence of the majority of electors, in spite of its extensive party organisation work conducted with the assistance of the entire Government administration. Special reference must be made to the statement made by M. Svetozar Stankovitch Minister of Agriculture. He invited the national minorities of the Voivodina (formerly a part of Hungary), who even in his opinion form the majority of the population there, to co-operate with the Government Party; after this, he said, he thought to dispose of the autonomous activities in the Voivodina by declaring that a political movement of this kind would only have been justified under the Hungarian régime, but there was no reason for it in a free state like Jugoslavia. There is, however, something wrong with liberty in Jugoslavia, else it would not have come to such extensive organizations in the Voivodina with a view to securing a far-reaching autonomy for that province. On the other hand, there would have been no call for such an autonomous movement under the Hungarian régime, simply because then the Serbs of the Voivodina enjoyed an exceptional religious and educational autonomy which no minority in Europe can now boast of.

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FURIOUS DEMONSTRATIONS IN ZAGREB AND IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

On the fortieth anniversary of the death of Dr. Ante Startzevitch, one of the most distinguished champions of Croatian national independence, a memorial service was celebrated in the Zagreb Cathedral. When it was over, demonstrations took place in almost every part of the town. The groups of demonstrators, composed mainly of university students, insisted on hoisting the Croatian flag on public and private buildings. Householders who refused to do so had their windows smashed by the demonstrators. The noisiest scenes took place before the building housing the Government organ, the "Novosti", all the windows of which were smashed. Here let it be said that at the last general meeting of the Serb Dramatists Association sharp attacks were made against the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb, because the management boycotts Serb plays, especially those written by Belgrade playwrights.

Great demonstrations took place in Zagreb on March 30th. The origin of the demonstration was the funeral of M. Stjepan Javor, a former municipal representative, who died in the prison hospital at Šremska—Mitrovića on March 27th, after he had been sentenced on June 30th, 1931 to 20 years' imprisonment under the State Defence Act. The Croats are convinced that Javor's death was caused by ill-treatment suffered during his detention at the Police Station in Zagreb. The funeral attended by a huge crowd headed by Dr. Maček and Dr. Trumbić, former

Minister for Foreign Affairs; after the funeral a crowd of about 2000 people began to riot in the streets, plundering a gun shop and breaking into the Corso Café, frequented mostly by Serbs, where they destroyed all the furniture. In many places there was a collision between the rioters and the police. It was stated in the official report that 19 rioters and 11 policemen had been wounded by shots and stones, while more than 200 rioters had been arrested. Following the street demonstrations, about 500 students retreated to the University, where they continued to demonstrate against the Government and the police. The University buildings were surrounded by the police and the students were not allowed to leave till the next day. The University Senate was so deeply moved by these events that it decided to resign.

Great demonstrations were also held in the University of Belgrade on April 4th. The nationalist students started a quarrel with the opposition students and a nationalist student stabbed one of the opposition students to death and wounded another very seriously. The quarrel began when the students of the opposition set about to organize a sympathy strike in order to attain a reduction of the high fees and to show their sympathy with the students in Zagreb, who had then been on strike for a whole month.

The press was, of course, not allowed by the censors to write about the strikes in the Universities of Zagreb and of Ljubljana (where there was also a

short strike). Nevertheless, M. Korosetz Minister of the Interior, made the following declaration in the Senate on March 26th:

"There is no such thing as censorship here! What really happens is that, in conformity with the Press Act, the first copies of newspapers have to be submitted to the public prosecutor; if he grants a permission, the paper may be published."

Before going to press we received the following item of news:

On April 13th a Serb Komitachi shot down M. Brkljačić, a Maček Party Croat member of the Skupština, at a popular meeting in Trnovač, a village in Croatia. Over ten thousand people attended his funeral and his murder has called forth a storm of indignation among the Croats. This indignation was

due the fact that on April 16th a crowd of excited Croats killed two Komitachis at Krstinec and wounded another. At the same time they broke into the house of the former Ban, M. Mihajlović and beat him. A few days later when M. Mihajlović, whom the Croats hold to be a traitor, made his appearance at the Zagreb races, the crowds arranged a great demonstration against him. Since this occurrence three other political murders have been reported from various Croat villages. Because of these incidents the Croats are greatly concerned for the life of their leader, Maček who is being guarded on his estate by 24 picked young men.

We shall return later on to the particulars of these incidents.

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BULGARIA AND THE "LOCARNO CRISIS"

The events following on the foreclosure of the Locarno Pact are naturally of the greatest interest to Bulgarian public opinion; for the developments arising from those events involve the peace of Europe and the fate of the League of Nations, on behalf of which Bulgaria has sacrificed so much. The fifteen years following the Great War have not done Bulgaria much good. For the Treaty of Neuilly inflicted severe wounds on this country too. Its territory was dismembered; millions of Bulgarians were condemned to suffer the fate of oppressed minorities; while Bulgaria herself was sentenced to the payment of reparations far beyond her capacity and at the same time deprived of her equality. Yet Bulgaria has nevertheless shown a great love of peace and has based her foreign policy solely and exclusively upon the League of Nations. For she trusts that the public opinion of the world is a power able to prepare the way for the coming of a period when she will see her legitimate demands fulfilled by peaceful means. Germany has shown what embitterment may lead a nation to do and what serious consequences may result from the action of that nation. The people of Bulgaria trust implicitly and believe that with the passing of the cloudy season the new spring will bring a year of abundance in which goodwill and international understanding and solidarity will bring into being an atmosphere rendering possible the redress of all the wrongs perpetrated so recklessly against certain nations by the framers of the peace treaties which are a constant obstacle to peace and progress. — So far as the inner life of the country is concerned, it should be noted that the Foreign Trade Institute has just been reformed and its sphere of activity expanded. The Government has taken up a small foreign loan for the purpose of adjusting the financial situation. This enables Government — quite independently of whether the new system of taxation proves a success or not — to secure in the new Budget the amounts required for the economic measures it is proposed to undertake (the Budget foreseeing an expenditure of 6163 million levas). In political quarters people are extremely curious to know what the higher courts of law will decide in the appeal filed by the persons sentenced in connection with the Velchev "putsch". The moment the final sentence has been passed on this case by the supreme court, we may expect the development of an atmosphere of calm and tranquillity to ensue in the inner political situation — that atmosphere then enabling Government to carry out the proposed con-

stitutional reforms and to definitively realise the consolidation of the internal situation so long desired.

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The question of the fortification of the Dardanelles is one that most immediately concerns Bulgaria. In the given circumstances it is naturally of the greatest importance to Bulgaria that the Straits should remain in a demilitarized condition, with their freedom guaranteed. For Bulgaria has no door towards the open sea except the Dardanelles. Without them the Black Sea would be an inland sea and the economic disadvantages of that would, from Bulgaria's point of view, be incalculable. She has had experience of those disadvantages in the past, and for that reason her claim to a free passage to the Aegean Sea was acknowledged. It was even recognized in the Treaty of Neuilly, which, as we know, robbed Bulgaria of everything that could be taken from her. Should the Turks get their way with the Dardanelles it will involve the fortification of Eastern Thrace, Bulgaria's immediate neighbour, where anyhow the work of extensive fortification has been going on. The attitude of the Turkish press reveals that the proposed measure is undoubtedly aimed against Bulgaria too. The fortification of the Dardanelles in itself does not mean that the Straits will cease to be free, but that when fortified they will be an effective weapon in Turkish hands against the countries which must pass through them to reach the open sea. We know that Turkey has more than once had recourse to the expedient of closing the Straits. This is the very point that so often in the past accentuated the problem of the Near East. There is therefore every reason to fear that a fortification of the Dardanelles might re-open the problem, were Turkey to abandon her policy of peace. If despite this Bulgaria acquiesces in the fulfilment of the Turkish demands, the reasons are twofold. On the one hand she respects the sovereign rights of other States, she knows this is the first step towards a peaceful revision of the peace treaties. As a result of the latter Bulgaria expects the restoration of her equality of right and the guarantee of a corridor providing an outlet on the Aegean Sea. With this a major problem would be solved and friendly relations between Turkey and Bulgaria guaranteed. The reintroduction of conscription in Austria was warmly welcomed in Bulgaria as the abolition of an unjust state of affairs. But although she admires Austria's step Bulgaria is not going to follow the Austrian example. She is going to wait in patience the decision of the

competent international forum which will surely restore to her the political sovereignty of which she has been deprived. No one can question her peaceful policy, and even armed she would not be a danger to any other State. Amidst changing events this country

too should be entitled to provide for her own defence against all contingencies. At present, however, the Bulgarian Government does not wish to bring a new storm over the already troubled waters.

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HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE HLINKA PARTY SUFFERED SHIPWRECK

In one of his political speeches M. Milan Hodža, the first Slovak Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, stated that it was his personal ambition to settle the Slovak question once and for all. On the strength of this statement negotiations were begun about two months ago with a view to inducing the strongest Slovak party, Hlinka's Autonomist People's Party, to join the coalition of Government parties. These negotiations however suffered shipwreck on March 27-th, and the leaders of the People's Party as well as the members of the Parliamentary Club of its deputies and senators, unanimously agreed that so far the upshot of the negotiations was not sufficient guarantee that the Slovak question would be definitively and satisfactorily settled, and therefore they did not see their way to entering into a coalition with the Government parties.

According to a leader from the pen of M. Hlinka in the "Slovak" of March 29th, the Autonomist Party demanded that *the individuality of the Slovak nation and the rights of the Slovak language should be established by law. They also demanded a legislative body for Slovakia and the organization of a separate ministry, as well as the extension of the rights of the provincial deputies and of the selfgoverning bodies.* Hlinka announced that since their demands had been refused, the Party would in future oppose the Government more keenly than ever. The Party is well aware of what it has to expect. It knows the Bill of Authorization contemplated by Government. It is acquainted with the strictures contained in the paragraphs of the Government Bill. Yet it is determined to keep on denouncing, in periodicals, at popular meetings and in Parliament, all the crimes against Slovakia of which the present Government is becoming more and more guilty. As Government refuses to grant the Slovak nation its minimum rights, the Party will mobilize the political forces of the population and employ them in the struggle to be waged for the existence of the Slovak nation and for its rightful demands. "Slovaks" — he wrote — "For two decades you have been cheated and done out of your ethical and spiritual possessions. Do not allow yourselves to be cheated, misled, and despoiled any longer!" With this slogan the Party once more unfurls the flag of opposition.

The "Orol" Roman Catholic Gymnastic Society in Zsolna (Žilina) proposed holding a meeting, but the authorities forbade it. On this occasion M. Hlinka published a letter in the press, which amongst other passages contains the following:

"For us the nation is more than the State. For

us the State is the letter, the nation the spirit, as we have been taught to think by Masaryk. We shall never deny our past and our history. We Slovaks stand on the foundation of the Pittsburg Convention and the Declaration of Turócszentmárton, in terms of which the Slovaks are entitled to every right of sovereign nation. We have the right to our own National Assembly, our own courts of justice, our own schools, our own administration and our own civilization.

At a meeting held at Easter in Kyjov, Deputy Joseph Tiso, who after M. Hlinka is perhaps the most influential man in the Party, said: — "We are living in the eighteenth year of the Republic and yet we have not arrived at an agreement between the Czechs and the Slovaks. Mutual understanding, reciprocal trust and even the desire to achieve mutual understanding are in jeopardy."

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THE NEW TERROR BILLS

The Czecho-Slovakian Government has submitted to Parliament its supplemental novel to the Defence of the Republic Act and its new Defence of the Realm Bill. The former increases the severity of the punishment for military treason, indeed in certain cases makes that crime punishable by death. Seeing that minority citizens have several times been arraigned innocently on that charge, the novel is likely to give rise to much anxiety; for it empowers the Government when nominating the panel of justice to appoint a military assessor in place of one of the judges. Only lawyers who are on the lists of the Ministry of Justice may appear for the defence before these panels, and the lists are drawn up at the Ministry's discretion.

The most striking dispositions of the bulky Defence of the Realm Bill are as follows: No building may be erected in the frontier zone without permission from the authorities. A similar permission is required for felling timber. In that zone real estate may be appropriated by the State. The Ministry of National Defence may pronounce certain enterprises important to the defence of the realm. These will be placed under the control of the authorities. In the event of the primary administrative authorities or the police declaring that the manager of any of these enterprises is not politically trustworthy, someone considered suitable by the authorities must be placed at the head of the concern. Otherwise the enterprise will forfeit its concession or be placed under compulsory management. The manager of the enterprise is bound to dismiss immediately any employees who have been branded by the authorities, on whatsoever grounds, as politically untrustworthy. Otherwise the enterprise will be placed under compulsory management. All this shows that the Bill provides the authorities with possibilities innumerable of fettering economically, even