

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

## JUNE THE FOURTH

### Notes on the "Trianon Anniversary"

On June the Fourth just sixteen years ago Hungary was forced to sign the Treaty of Peace. That sad Edict — which has detrimentally affected all the Danube Valley — would seem to have found an echo in the event just recorded. According to several foreign papers the meeting of the chief of staffs of the Little Entente chiefly concerned itself with the occupation of Hungary in case of a European conflict.

An *Occupation of Hungary* therefore! No attempt has been made to conceal the fact. We can hardly believe our senses. Is this really possible, after what has happened — after the Little Entente having so severely condemned Italy for unlawfully attacking Abyssinia, — after all those thundering catchwords about collective security and mutual assistance that made the great Palace in Geneva echo with the sound, — after the Little Entente States leading the van in proclaiming those catchwords? Since the establishment of the Succession States we have repeatedly experienced classical examples of inconsistency on their part; but we have never heard anything like this present case. To proclaim peace, security and mutual assistance on the one hand and prepare for occupation against disarmed, defenceless and dismembered Hungary on the other hand, — this is surely a signal victory for the new European spirit and that democracy of which they have always been so proud, — so signal a victory that we cannot but bow before it. If this is what ten million warriors had to die for, — if this is the liberation and equality of the peoples which Wilson was so anxious to present mankind with, then the Great Visionary may rest quietly in his grave...

Some terrible chaos and inexplicable confusion of ideas has taken possession today of politicians and diplomats and of the whole public life of Europe. To us it seems that this is a crisis, not of peoples but of individuals who have been raised to positions of responsibility by chance and the freak of fortune, — who have been placed by blind chance at the head of nations and countries and are now at a loss where to begin or what to do with the power and responsibility allotted to them by Fate in a measure far exceeding their strength and their abilities. This is the reign of a bad conscience which — particularly here, in the Danube Valley — has paralysed the human forces of an unshackled settlement and with the obstinacy of moral vertigo chases phantoms and worships fetishes.

One of these fetishes worshipped by by the Little Entente is the *status quo*. So far we have interpreted this attitude to be in any case based upon reciprocity. Now, however, with the Bucharest discussions behind us, it would seem that we must revise our views; for at those discussions the term *status quo* received a new interpretation. This new interpretation is to this effect: *status quo for all countries except Hungary*. Translated into the language of everyday life, that means that Hungary reduced to one-third of her original area cannot feel safe in the possession even of her present territory; and that she could never presume to reckon on the satisfaction of her legitimate claim to a revindication. Such are the results ensuing from the Bucharest meeting of Heads of State and General Staffs.

To these grave decisions we are unable to reply with the means of war; for we have no such means

at our disposal. Nevertheless we have one argument which is far graver and will be heard at a far greater distance than the threatened display of all branches of the military forces: by way of reply to the military discussions in Bucharest we would refer our readers to the discussions continued for a whole week in the Hungarian Capital by the "*Intellectual Co-operation Commission*" — which might be called the living conscience of the League of Nations. During these discussions the thousand years' cultural mission of Hungary was revealed in its full historical perspective, together with the heroic services rendered by that country in defence of Christian culture and the undisturbed development of Europe.

Men of mighty eminence such as Paul Valéry, Madiaraga, Ojetti, Thomas Mann, Bonnet, Georges Duhamel and many others, spoke in rapture of the marvellous moral and cultural achievements of Hungary and unanimously established the fact that the Hungarian nation has always done its duty by the Christian idea and civilisation. We feel impelled to quote the very words of Paul Valéry, who said: — "Hungary is a rich source of rythms and spontaneous creations; but at the same time she abounds in marvellously abstract intellects too. There is no other country in the world where ancient culture has had a more evident role than in Hungary, though the Hungarian language is in no way connected with the Latin language".

And indeed the humanistic ideal ruled over the Budapest discussions as a cultural ideal; and the traditional leading role of Hungary was revealed also in the general recognition and appreciation of the fact that in that country the ideals of humanism have always been held in the highest honour. One of the earliest forms of the Renaissance was familiar in the Court of King Matthias Corvinus; and the Hungary which at that early age — nearly five hundred years ago — was able in the purest language of science and art to speak on behalf of and to further the development of Europe generally, has won an unimpeachable right to continue to live her life in the basin of the Danube — her ancient home — according to the laws of her national genius. Those distinguished representatives of European intellectual life who ascertained these facts solemnly and decidedly on the occasion of the Budapest discussions, have issued what is practically a new historical diploma in praise of the Hungarians, the validity of which will be just as eternal as is that of the Corvin Codexes or of the verses of Janus Pannonius.

It is this historical diploma that we now wave in the eyes of Europe as a reply to the Bucharest menace, appealing for a revision of the sentence passed upon us in Trianon. We ask for a new, more honest sentence in keeping with the most elementary rules of international procedure. For, had the peace negotiations been really negotiations and we had not been prevented from voicing our cause and the justice of our pleading — and if our representatives had been given a serious hearing —, we are convinced that what followed — the disintegration of Hungary — would never have ensued. In the face of drawn bayonets we were however forced to take cognizance of the sentence prepared in advance and to obey the

cruel commands of the victors. And ever since — from that sad day sixteen years ago until today — the life of the Hungarians has been one long round of subordination and suffering and humiliation. We have at all times been forced to set the clock of our life by those who not only acted as our judges but making the three and a half million Hungarians who have been subjected to their rule pass through the treadmill of sufferings and persecution, have constantly endeavoured to make even Dismembered Hungary and the Hungarians left in her possession conscious of the superiority of their political and military power.

However, despite the tragical appearances we cannot any serious injury. Hungary has already a serious and strong public opinion behind her all over the world; and today her endeavours to obtain a revision are fostered abroad, not by elements moved by a momentary impulse, but by convictions based upon the most serious political realities. The fact that Great Britain has actually undertaken to sponsor the abolition of the anti-Italian "sanctions", thereby returning, by a gesture raising her higher than ever, to her previous broad survey of existing problems,

originated undoubtedly from the sage consideration that in the given situation British interests also require that all the consequences should be liquidated without delay, the only possible ultimate stage being a sound and honest reform of the League of Nations calculated to heal all the throbbing wounds from which Europe is now suffering.

Under such circumstances this threat of war against Hungary sounds veritably like an anachronism. We regard it as a grave political aberration, — not only from the point of view of the general temper prevailing in Europe, but also because nothing is farther from the minds of the peoples than the thought of war, — and we believe this applies just as much to the countries of the Little Entente as it does to the great West European States. The Bucharest decision of the General Staffs may be booked as merely a saddening record of the present politically decadent age; and we are sure the time will come — perhaps sooner than they expect — when this aberration will be made good by those very peoples in the name of which — though probably without moral authorisation from them — the blunder was committed.

## THE CRISIS OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

For more than eighteen months the Little Entente press had been remarkably down on the Polish Foreign Minister. Articles which had evidently been inspired from the highest quarters appeared practically every week announcing the inevitable fiasco of his policy and prophesying his early fall. All the greater was the alarm felt in Little Entente quarters when on the occasion of the recent Polish Cabinet crisis the new Premier retained Beck as Foreign Minister; so that Little Entente people were forced to take cognizance of the fact that the foreign policy of Poland would continue to follow the tendency which had previously proved so successful. The mistrust of Prague and Bucharest and their suspicion of the "machinations" of the Polish Foreign Minister so repeatedly aired in the Czech and Rumanian press was however only aggravated by Beck's visit to Belgrade, which was primarily an act of courtesy and a return of the visit paid to Warsaw five years ago by Marinkovitch, then Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs. We cannot therefore be surprised at the misgivings with which people in Prague and Bucharest watched the two-days' negotiations of Colonel Beck and his host, M. Stoyadinovich, which in addition to the development of the reciprocal trade of the two countries naturally extended also to all questions at present in the limelight of international politics.

As to whether any agreement was reached — and if so, on what points — during the course of this purely informative exchange of views, we can only guess. On such occasions the foreign press of each country usually regards as fact — or at least as probable — what it considers advantageous from the particular point of view of that country. The only positive moment to be gathered from the usual toast, from the various statements made by the two statesmen and from the official *communiqués*, is that Poland and Yugoslavia are prepared to take part in the important international discussions about to be opened, only as parties of equal rank with the others, refusing to accept any control or patronage, certain that the principal subject discussed during the said negotiations was that of the necessity of a common defence against the increasing threat of a bolshevik danger and of the establishment of that common line of defence

against bolshevism which is in the interests of both States alike.

That Beneš — who by stagemanaging the Czecho-Slovak-Russian treaty opened the way into Central Europe for the Red Army — and Titulescu — who in his horror of revision is prepared to undertake even the risk involved by the Soviet army marching through Rumanian territory — are not enchanted with this action on behalf of Europe initiated by Beck or with the possibility of Yugoslavia's joining in that action, and that they are afraid that the much-vaunted indissolubility of the Little Entente might possibly suffer from an agreement of the kind, is shown by the haste with which Titulescu went to Belgrade after Colonel Beck had left. This sensational "flying excursion" had two objects. On the one hand Titulescu desired to obtain information respecting the objects of Colonel Beck's visit and respecting the results of the negotiations with M. Stoyadinovich; and on the other hand he wished to secure the attendance of the Yugoslav Premier at the Bucharest Conference. That this latter object failed, is indubitable evidence of the fact that the attempt to bridge over the differences of opinion in certain very important matters existing for some time past between the Member States of the Little Entente, failed this time too, and particularly that all endeavours to settle those differences have proved abortive.

### THE MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE AT BUCHAREST

The latent and open differences between the States of the Little Entente were not entirely eliminated at the Bucharest Conference, if only because the surprising absence of the Yugoslav Premier and Foreign Minister made it impossible to pass resolutions equally binding on all three States and exceeding those already in existence. The meeting, which was held with much ado and theatrical pose, was therefore more by way of a demonstration, — a new and perhaps in its dimensions more powerful demonstration of the boasted "close co-operation and complete unity" which the Little Entente says has existed ever since its creation. In spite of the stereotyp loud promises, the toasts of the statesmen, and Krofta and Titulescu's statements

and conversations reported in the *communiqué* issued, it is obvious that the united front has been broken through in places.

The "*Le Temps*", the semi-official organ of the Quai d'Orsay was right in saying that the tottering of the war alliances, the developments in Britain's policy, the internal crisis in France, sanctions, the question of a re-organization of the League of Nations, the uncertain situation in Austria and the question of the *Anschluß*, Germany's arming and the Rhine problem, and even the question of the Habsburg restoration, have created such oscillations in the States of the Little Entente that certain standpoints have undergone modification which hitherto seemed final. The authors of the official *communiqué* wisely kept silence on these important questions, partly because they did not want to anticipate events and partly because they could not agree about them. The only subject on which they were unanimous was their attitude towards Hungary, i. e. their determination to keep the frontiers as they were and to respect the peace treaties. How weak their unity on other points is, may be seen from an article in the "*Curentur*" from the pen of a well-known Rumanian publicist, *Pamfil Seicaru*. In his opinion the Little Entente would do well to take an inventory of its assets now and then, and cancel from the balance of its alliance certain items figuring as assets which today have no value. The policy of the Little Entente at present is united only where Hungary is concerned. On all the other questions of European politics it was easy at the outset for the Little Entente to pursue a uniform policy, but in recent years such profound changes have taken place in international politics that it is impossible to determine a policy that would satisfy all the Succession States.

And if, in spite of all this Beneš calls the Little Entente the "pillar of Central Europe", and Titulescu, declaring that the aims of the Little Entente and the Balkan Alliance are similar, boasts in a threatening manner that 70 million soldiers safeguard the *status quo* from Prague to Ankara, all we have to say is that the most brilliant flights of rhetoric will not serve to hide the cracks in that pillar, and that Rumania's security would be in a bad way if Titulescu's bluff — had to defend it. How different from all this sword-rattling and threats was the composure with which Kánya, Hungary's Foreign Minister, defined the peaceful aims of Hungarian policy and Hungary's readiness to co-operate on terms of real equality.

#### THE CATASTROPHE AT COTROCENI

The celebrations arranged in honour of the Little Entente Heads of State were interrupted by the horrible mass-catastrophe caused by the collapse of the Cotroceni grand stand which resulted in 400 deaths and serious or slight injuries to more than 1000 persons. However, despite the awful catastrophe the gala parade was continued and the ceremonies arranged for the following day were held notwithstanding — these ceremonies including the launching ceremony at Turn-Severin in connection with the trip on the Lower Danube. The latter ceremony was not attended by the Yugoslav Regent Prince Paul, who on the day following the Cotroceni catastrophe returned to Belgrade — a circumstance which is certainly not a very encouraging or convincing symptom of the complete harmony so energetically stressed or of the unswerving solidarity so often voiced, — even were we to interpret this striking gesture merely in the light of an attempt to comply with the courtesy and external appearances which is obligatory under circumstances of the kind.

The Bucharest papers published exhaustive reports of the monstrous abuses responsible for the catastrophe,

which abuses reveal to the full the disgusting corruption rife in public conditions in Rumania. In a leading article published in the June 11th. issue of the "*Kronstädter Zeitung*" we are told that the chief cause of the mass-catastrophe was the fact that the building of the grand stand had been entrusted by the town authorities to a *croupier* and a funeral undertaker, whose tender was the cheapest and who endeavoured to insure themselves against eventual losses by using only old — mostly rotten — timber and instead of iron clamps and iron straps employed mostly scrap iron and rusty wire for the construction of the grand stand. A further circumstance typically characteristic of the conditions prevailing in Rumania is that all the papers relating to the matter of the grand stand disappeared *en bloc* from the town-hall and that the reports issued by the public authorities continued days after the catastrophe — when the whole world knew all about the terrible dimensions of the same — to speak of "only a few deaths" and 60—80 injured. Equally characteristic is the fact that the members of the notorious "iron guard" whose excesses are so well known utilised even this awful mass-catastrophe as a pretext for anti-minority atrocities.

The unexampled unscrupulousness responsible for this catastrophe caused the greatest indignation all over the country — that indignation being naturally echoed also in the press. According to the "*Dreptatea*" the collapse of the Cotroceni grand stand was the consequence of the prevailing system of lies and robbery. Lies are always being used to hide the truth from the king. And in the pages of the "*Universul*" the president of the Anti-Revision League, *Stelian Popescu*, dealt with the catastrophe and in this connection furnished the following description of conditions in Rumania — a description veritably dumfounding in character: — "The public life of Rumania" — says Popescu — "is characterised by mean servility and criminal superficiality. The total lack of any senses of responsibility is becoming more and more evident in the leaders of public life, whose pockets are empty when they start out on their careers but are so heavy when they retire from the public arena that they can scarce carry them... Strange indeed must have been the feelings aroused in our distinguished guests by the horrible spectacle of June 18th!! and how can we except our allies after what has happened to continue to repose confidence in Rumanian organisations? Unless Government applies energetic measures of retaliation, it must not expect a single Rumanian citizen to have confidence in it". Really no comment is needed on this conclusion of a man perfectly familiar with conditions prevailing there!!

#### Dr. SCHACHT AT BELGRAD

The Balkan tour made by *Schacht*, Governor of the German Imperial Bank, — and in particular his negotiations in Belgrade — have unnerved Yugoslavia's allies. They are afraid that the strengthening of the commercial ties between Germany and Yugoslavia and the constant increase in the volume of the trade between the two countries may involve also political consequences. As things stand today, Germany has already moved to the head of Yugoslavia's imports and exports lists. Not long ago, the investment in the Zenica iron and steel works effected by the Krupp Works — combined with an order from those Works of machinery representing a value of 200 million dinars — made a considerable stir; and quite recently further orders for railway material of the estimated value of 400 million dinars were placed with the manufacturing industry of Germany by the Yugoslav

State Railways (the entering of the equivalent of which on the clearing account will completely settle the sum due to Yugoslavia under that account), denote the enormous upswing in evidence in the commercial relations between the two States. This upswing was furthered considerably also by the "sanctions" policy of the League of Nations; for Yugoslavia failed utterly to find compensation for her lost Italian market in her trade with her allies — in particular with France and Czecho-Slovakia — and was thus forced willy-nilly to turn to the German market. The further enhancement of the mutual trade which shows a constant increase was the object of the agreement concluded in the presence of Schacht between the German Clearing Office and the Yugoslav National Bank in respect of clearing matters; such is also the object of the German-Yugoslav Bank to be established in Belgrade by the private parties concerned, though with the assistance of the two Governments. Under such circumstances we shall find nothing incomprehensible in the statement of the "Times" (June 12th. and 13th.) to the effect that the object behind the continuous increase in German exports to Yugoslavia is not only to develop trade between the two countries, but far more to draw Yugoslavia into the sphere of interests of German policy.

#### GENERAL STAFFS IN COUNCIL

The grave importance and the dimensions of the Little Entente military preparations is shown by the fact that the conference of the General Staffs of the three Member States which opened on June 15th. was still in session when this paper went to press — June 22nd. The agenda and immediate object of the con-

ference has been kept a close secret, of course, and the next official *communiqué* is not likely to disclose them. But it is safe to guess that the negotiations, which are by no means unimportant from the point of view of European peace, are directed primarily against Hungary, who because of her open and defenceless frontiers is powerless to defend herself. This has been correctly stated by a section of the foreign press. The "*Kölnische Zeitung*", for instance, writing of the British Foreign Secretary's speech of June 7th., says that the occupation of Hungary played the chief rôle in the joint military plans. The "*Berliner Tageblatt*" says that the conference of the General Staffs is for the purpose of elaborating not means of defence, but means of offence, for certain French papers which are usually well-informed about the doings of the Little Entente report that plans are being made in Bucharest to effect a military occupation of Hungary the minute any European troubles arise. That this is no empty guesswork may be seen when we read the article in the "*Lidove Noviny*" of June 11th. which amongst other things contains the following threats: "*The Hungarians are beginning to realize that an armed conflict in the Danube Valley would be the interest of all countries except Hungary, for by all the laws of geography the scene of the decisive struggle would certainly be the Great Plain of Hungary.*" If then we wish to find out who are a constant menace to the peace of Europe, but especially of the Danube Valley, it would be well to devote more interest to the conference of the Little Entente General Staffs in Bucharest.

## KÁLMÁN KÁNYA HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON CZECHO-SLOVAK DEFENCE OF THE STATE ACT

On May 13st M. Eugene Szontagh put a question in the Upper House to the Premier and the Foreign Minister, asking them what measures they intended to take in connection with the provisions of the Czecho-Slovak Defence of the Republic Bill which run contrary to international treaties. M. Kánya, Foreign Minister replied that the matter was under consideration and that he reserved his answer until it had been thoroughly investigated. The Bill having meanwhile become law the Hungarian Foreign Minister made the following statement in the Upper House on June 22th:

"There can be no doubt that this Act makes it possible in Czecho-Slovakia — *on the plea of protecting the interests of the State — to deprive landed proprietors of Hungarian nationality even of that part of the landed estates expressly placed under the protection of Article 250 of the Treaty of Trianon which has been left in their possession by the Czecho-Slovak Land Reform measures.*

"For Article 250 of the Treaty — *which the Peace Conference itself declared to be indispensable — is intended to ensure the utmost protection under the guarantee of international tribunals* in respect of the future too for the property of Hungarian nationals situated in the extensive territories transferred to Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia and to guarantee the inviolability of their possession and all the rights connected therewith.

"In this connection we cannot feel reassured by even the declaration of the Act to the effect that *the provisions of international treaties remain in force*

*intact.* For it is well known — and I regret to have to once more establish the fact in this House — that the Little Entente States *did not allow their measures of agrarian reform taken some time back to be in any way affected or prejudiced by the provisions of Article 250.*

"In any case in my last speech before the House I referred particularly to this fact and *reminded my hearers that recently too the Little Entente States have shown repeated signs of the endeavour to provide, that the legal protection by international law provided for under Article 250 shall become absolutely illusory.*

"The Czecho-Slovak Defence of the Republic Act provides that *no foreigners shall be allowed in future to stay in the frontier zone except with the approval of the military authorities.*

"The Czecho-Slovak authorities are in the habit of regarding as foreigners — and will certainly place under the working of this provision — the thousands of Hungarians living in the severed territories whose citizenship *for no fault of theirs is still* — more than fifteen years after the putting into force of the Treaty of Trianon — *a moot point,* — being so because their nationality as Czecho-Slovak citizens has, despite the relevant provisions of the treaty of peace, *not yet been acknowledged.* I would inform the House that the Hungarian Government is fully aware that the Czecho-Slovak Nationality Act contains *several provisions the practical application of which is a direct menace to the interests and rights of the*

*Hungarian minority living in Czecho-Slovakia.* For the said Act expressly permits *the expropriation of any landed estate lying in the so-called frontier zone.* Nor must we forget what must be the result to the minorities of the provisions which in the case of certain industrial undertakings and plants *make it possible without giving any reason for the action to withdraw at a moment's notice from owners branded as "unreliable" all concessions and stipulate that no persons found to be "unreliable" from the point of view of national interest may be employed in certain undertakings.*

"It is sure, indeed, that according to the amendment made during the debate on the Bill *religious or racial considerations are not in themselves sufficient ground for declaring persons to be "unreliable" from the point of view of national interest; but on the other hand the value of this new paragraph is materially lessened by the circumstance that it only cites parabolic criteria in illustration of the meaning of the term "unreliability".*

"Of late I have heard it said repeatedly — and that from many quarters — that this Act *is not directed against the Hungarians.* Whether this statement is true or not, *is not a question into which I propose to enter.*

"The Hungarian State will at all events *keep a constant eye on the effects of the practical application of the Act, which must ensue very shortly. And, should the Government be impelled to establish the fact that the practical application of the Act involves an infringement of the right and interests of Hunga-*

*rian nationals in Czecho-Slovakia which are guaranteed by international treaties, it will by way of protest against such procedure in defiance of international law have recourse to all the means available for the purpose of legal redress.* And should these means of legal redress prove futile, — provided such a course proves necessary —, the Hungarian Government *will avail itself also of all other available means of defence against any and every infraction of the rights guaranteed Hungarian nationals in international treaties.*

"Should the *Hungarian minority living in Czecho-Slovakia suffer any grievance in connection with the putting into force of the Act, in particular in respect of the rights guaranteed that minority in the Minority Protection Treaty concluded at St. Germain in September, 1919, it will naturally be the business of the Hungarian minority in question to have recourse to the legal redress guaranteed it under that treaty for the purpose of protecting its rights and interests and if necessary to apply to the League of Nations.*

"I must confess openly that after the experience we have so far in respect of the protection of minorities by the League of Nations *we cannot cherish any great hope of any petition that might be submitted in this matter achieving its object; and for that reason I do not regard it as impossible that if circumstances make such procedure desirable the Hungarian Government will be impelled itself to submit to the League of Nations a memorandum in defence of the rights of the Hungarians of Slovakia.* Such procedure is perfectly feasible."

## HEAD OF HUNGARIAN EX-SERVICEMEN'S DELEGATION RECEIVED BY KING EDWARD VIII.

For the first time, representatives from countries which fought against Britain in the Great War were present at the London Conference of the British Ex-Servicemen's Alliance.

The head of the Hungarian Ex-Servicemen's delegation, Count Takács-Tolvay, made a speech at the conference, urging that the tragic events of past years should be forgotten. Nothing short of a mutual understanding of each other's troubles and sorrows would ever restore to all of us our lost friendships and our lost prosperity.

King Edward expressed a wish to see the heads

of the foreign delegations. His Majesty therefore received Lieutenant-General Count Takács-Tolvay, head of the Hungarian delegation, in Buckingham Palace. General Sir Maurice Walford, President of the British Ex-Servicemen's Alliance, was present at the audience, which lasted twenty-five minutes. The king was very gracious, and spoke of his visit to Budapest, on which occasion he had been pleased to accept from Count Takács-Tolvay the badge of honour of the Hungarian Ex-Servicemen's Alliance. King Edward spoke warmly of his memories of Budapest.

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## BRITISH MINISTER IN BUDAPEST ON GROWING STRENGTH OF LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

Sir Geoffrey Knox, Great Britain's Minister in Hungary, paid a visit, at the invitation of the Reformed Church College, to Sárospatak, that ancient Hungarian educational centre, to view the English department of the College. On the occasion of the British Minister's visit Dr. Kálmán Szily, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Education, also went down to Sárospatak. M. Géza Farkas de Farkasfalva, chief superintendent of the Cis-Tisza Calvinist diocese, addressed the British Minister, emphasizing the fact that the mission of the English boarding-school was to give its inmates an education that would fit them to serve the cause of co-operation with

the great British nation. We are proud — said M. Farkas de Farkasfalva — that His Majesty King Edward has some Hungarian blood in his veins, and that our thousand-years-old Constitution is, after England's, the oldest in Europe.

In his reply Sir Geoffrey Knox stressed the importance of co-operation among the nations of Europe. Those of the pupils — he said — who were going to a British university would have an excellent opportunity of strengthening the bonds that already linked the two countries. And they would see that their compatriots who had been in Britain before them had paved the way for them by leaving behind them

pleasant memories of gentlemen, sportsmen and real friends.

The pupils of the secondary school living in the College welcomed Sir Geoffrey with "God save the King". On behalf of the senate of the College, its

staff of professors, and the students Count Paul Bethlen, D. Ph., secular curator of the College, addressed a welcome to the distinguished guest, after which he gave a short summary of the history of the College.

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## HONOURS CONFERRED ON BRITONS IN HUNGARY

The Faculties of Law and Arts of the Szeged Francis Joseph University of Sciences have conferred on *Sir Robert Gower*, leader of the pro-Hungary group of British M. P.s, and on *Mr. Rhys Davies*, treasurer of the group, the degrees of Honorary Doctor of Law and Honorary Doctor of Arts respectively. The two distinguished British politicians received their degrees on 13th. June in the presence of the Archduke Joseph and several other prominent men in Hungarian public life. Dr. Thury, Dean of the Faculty of Law, in his speech enumerated Sir Robert Gower's merits in the struggle against the unjust Trianon Treaty, while Dr. Zolnay, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, spoke of Mr. Rhys Davies's works "Modern Hungary and the Peace Treaties" and "The Croats under Yugoslav Rule". After the members of the Senate had with a handshake accepted the two British politicians as doctors, and the latter had taken the customary oath and received their illuminated diplomas, Sir Robert Gower expressed their thanks for the honour conferrer. In the course of his speech he laid stress on the psychological affinity between the English and the Hungarians, which was shown by history and the evolution of their legal systems. The old Hungarian laws were almost identical with the English ones. The Peace of Trianon was conceived in a cruel and unjust atmosphere. Those who made it did not know what they were doing. In future

the spirit which must prevail was one that would give redress to Hungary and enable her to take her place among the nations. In conclusion, Sir Robert Gower promised that the members of the pro-Hungary group would do all in their power to further that end. — Mr. Rhys Davies, in his speech, spoke of Alexander Petöfi, Louis Kossuth and Francis Liszt as three of the world's greatest men. At the banquet which followed the ceremony Sir Robert Gower, replying to the toast proposed by Dr. Theodore Surányi-Unger, professor of the Faculty of Economics, said that nothing was more pleasant than to recall the past of Hungary. After a past of that kind — he said — the Hungarian nation might hope for splendid future. Mr. Rhys Davies also pointed out that although the Hungarian nation was confined to a small territory, it was great in spirit, and therefore he believed in the future of Hungary.

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Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, has conferred upon *Mr. Louis C. G. Clarke*, Curator of the Cambridge Archeologic and Ethnologic Muzeum, the Middle Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit in recognition of the fact that quite recently Mr. Clarke gave a whole room of the University Museum over to the objects of archeologic interest discovered during excavations in Hungary.

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## HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN BERLIN

Dr. Valentine Hóman, Hungarian Minister of Public Education, spent a week in Berlin from May 24th to May 31st. The object of his trip was to return the visit to Budapest, in the October of 1934, of Herr Rust, German Reichsminister. In Berlin Dr. Hóman visited amongst others Herr Göbbels, and the two statesmen had a conversation on the questions of cultural policy affecting both countries. Premier Göring gave a dinner in honour of the Hungarian visitors. Herr Hitler received Dr. Hóman and Dr. Kálmán Szily, State Secretary in the Ministry of Public Education, together.

During his stay in Berlin the Minister of Public Education had an opportunity to inspect several scientific institutes, amongst others the Dahlem Institute bearing the name of Kaiser Wilhelm, Professor Sauerbruch's and Professor Stöckel's clinics, the Potsdam Training Institute of National Politics and the Reich sport fields. Dr. Hóman naturally paid a visit to the Berlin Collegium Hungaricum. The most

outstanding event of his sojourn, however, was surely when the Faculty of Arts of the Berlin University conferred upon him the degree of Honorary Doctor. Dr. Hóman, as we know, is not only a politician, but also an eminent historian. As the greatest authority on the Hungarian Middle Ages and the pioneer in Hungary of the new trend in history-writing, he is well-known and admired even outside his own country. In his speech Dr. Breloer, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, particularly stressed these merits of the Hungarian Minister of Public Education, saying that the Faculty had conferred on Dr. Hóman the degree of Honorary Doctor because "he had given a new direction to the writing of history in his own country."

As a result of the Hungarian Minister of Education's trip to Berlin a cultural agreement was signed between the two countries according to which a mixed German-Hungarian Committee was formed, which is to meet once a year in Germany and Hungary alternatively.

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## M. LUKOV, WAR MINISTER BULGARIA'S MAKES INTERESTING STATEMENT

In June, on the occasion of the military parade in Safia, a correspondent of the "Pesti Hirlap" had a conversation with M. Lukov, Bulgaria's War Minister. To the journalist's question whether it was true that

Bulgaria was going to introduce conscription, the Minister said: — "I do not feel at liberty to answer your question. At present we are not considering that problem. Neither political nor financial circumstances

permit us for the moment to do so. We cannot increase the strength of the army, so we limit it strictly to the peace footing that was determined for us. That we are striving to modernize military training and our equipments is only natural, but it is being done strictly within the limits proscribed..." In connection with the great military parade the Minister said: — "Yesterday's parade was merely a solemn gesture before the King and the nation. There was no question of its being a military demonstration, for civilians and students took part in it." When the Hungarian reporter began to speak of the political movements and conspiracies that have been so frequent of late in the Bulgarian army, the Minister replied: —

"They are all over now for good. We have done away with politics in the army and shall see to it that it never crops up there again. Politics paralyze the moral force of any army, while a military spirit free from the taint thereof enhances it. Politics in the army can only be productive of mischief." Later on in their conversation M. Lukov spoke about the Hungarian soldiers, whom he had come to know and admire during the Great War. "Our destinies — he said — are similar, our sympathy should be mutual. It is to be hoped that feelings of mutual respect and esteem will draw the two nations closer in future". With these words the interview ended. ("Pesti Hirlap" June 14.)

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## PRESIDENT OF SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL ON SOVIET PERIL

At the invitation of the German Academy Dr. Francis Jehlička, university professor and President of the Slovak National Council, delivered a lecture in the big lecturing-hall of the Munich University on the danger threatening Europe from the region of the Northern Carpathians. In his introduction Dr. Jehlička said that *Bolshevism as a system of philosophy was a menace to the whole of European culture and civilization*. It was urgently necessary — he said — for all the nations and states to join forces against Bolshevism, the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the human race. In 1920 the waves of that peril from the East had wellnigh succeeded in overwhelming Europe. It was only the heroism of the Poles that prevented the catastrophe. *At the time of the Soviet-Polish war the Czechs had done everything to support Bolshevism. Amongst other things they had refused the Hungarian army that wanted to hasten to the aid of Poland, permission to pass through Slovakia*. The Czech authorities had confiscated the ammunition dispatched by France to the Polish army. *The then Czech Foreign Minister had sent a message to the Russian general in command of the troops under Warsaw to say that he was willing to open the frontiers of Slovakia to the Red Army.*

Now, under much more favourable circumstances,

Stalin and Litvinov wanted to do what could not be done in 1920. In the interval the Red Army had been enormously enlarged and developed. The Czecho-Soviet military pact had made it possible for the Bolsheviks to advance without a gun being fired into Slovakia, which lies on the southern slopes of the Carpathians, and so across the mountains which hitherto had proved a mighty and unsurmountable barrier against the invasions of barbarians from the East. Hungary which for a thousand years had stood guard on the peaks of the Carpathians, was threatened, not only by the Czechs, but also by the Red Army.

The Czechs — continued Dr. Jehlička — had resolved upon that attack against Europe merely in order to keep their present possessions which they had acquired by an artful exploitation of a situation for the moment favourable to their aims and with the machinations of a Macchiavelli. The only answer to the notorious Czech slogan "Let Europe perish if Bohemia remains!" was "Let Europe remain even if Bohemia perishes!". The question had to be put: Was it more important that the Czechs remained in possession of their lands, or that Europe with all its culture and civilization should remain?

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## IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA ALL HUNGARIAN PASSENGERS AND TRAVELLERS ARE LIABLE TO IMPRISONMENT

For the information of Hungarians travelling to Czecho-Slovakia a semi-official *communiqué* was issued on June 20th.

Past experience has prevailed on many Hungarians travelling abroad to avoid going to Czecho-Slovakia owing to a well-founded fear that *they may be subjected to chicanery and even be liable to arrest*.

Of late there have been rumours that in Czecho-Slovakia today *those Hungarian nationals who during their residence in that country behave in an unexceptionable manner and even prior to their visit to Czecho-Slovakia never took any part at all in politics, are being treated as political criminals*.

In well-informed quarters it is stated in this connection that there is no reason for any excessive

alarm; but it is certain that *a journey to Czecho-Slovakia is fraught with danger to very many Hungarian nationals*. For it is an undoubted fact that most Czecho-Slovak authorities and courts of law interpret Article II. of the 1923 Defence of the Republic Act — which contains provisions for the punishment of any conspiracy against the territorial integrity of the Republic — to mean that *every Hungarian national travelling to Czecho-Slovakia may be accordingly treated as suspicious and may eventually even be imprisoned*.

In particular those Hungarian nationals are exposed to all kinds of chicanery and persecution who are *members of some partiotic Hungarian organisation, party or association*. However, the greatest danger

threatens those *who have performed or are still performing "levente" (school corps) service* under the Hungarian Physical Education Act, — those who belong to ex-servicemen associations or are members of any Hungarian club or political party *whose programme includes the revision of the Treaty of Trianon*. When we take all the above possibilities into account, we see that the list includes so comprehensive a category that *there is scarcely a single Hungarian national not liable to be called to account in Czecho-Slovakia on the above pretext*.

There can be no doubt that the best way to avoid arrest and to prevent all chicanery is *not to enter the territory of a State which does not guarantee us the*

*liberty due to us under international law*. It is a well-known fact that *many Hungarian nationals have already been committed to Czecho-Slovak gaols and have undergone long terms of confinement*, though when they entered the country never even dreamed that they could be called to account by the Czecho-Slovak authorities as "political criminals".

Minors and simple citizens have fallen victims to their purses having contained certificates of membership of clubs or to their cigarette-cases having been found to contain "Levente" cigarettes, — or to ill-wishers in Czecho-Slovakia having supplied information denouncing them as members of patriotic clubs and associations.

## HOW MINORITIES LIVE

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### THE FRONTIER ZONE ACCORDING TO THE NEW CZECHO-SLOVAK ACT

The new Czecho-Slovak Defence of the State Act renders it possible to put into force already in times of peace as against the inhabitants of the frontier zone measures which are diametrically opposed to the oft-stressed "democratic character" and "love of liberty" of Czecho-Slovakia and are indeed such as even dictators shrink from having resort to.

According to § 34 no building whatsoever can be constructed in the frontier zone except with the previous approval of the military administration. Such approval is also a *sine qua non* of the transformation of forest-land into territory of another character — and vice-versa. Where the military administration may consider such a course necessary, an owner will be required to execute the transformation of an already completed building stipulated by the authorities or at least to tolerate such transformation being effected. The Ministry of Public Works may in agreement with the Ministry of National Defence ordain that high-tension electric lines — particularly such as cross the frontiers of the country — shall be cut off and the technical equipment removed as required. The State administration of justice may have such work done also at the cost of the owner. Should such procedure be urgently necessary in order to further the defence of the Republic, *landed estates in the frontier zone may be expropriated by the State. No foreigners may be granted permission to sojourn or reside in the frontier zone without the approval of the military administration*.

According to § 49, should "foreigners" — this including fictitious persons and proprietaryships too — acquire estates, property or other material rights (excepting only mortgage rights) in the frontier zone or obtain a lease or tenancy of such, they must report such acquisition to the provincial office. This requirement relates also to mining, water, shooting and fishing rights too. The provincial office may with the

approval of the military administration impose upon the acquirers such restrictions and conditions as it may think fit, or *may order the rights thus acquired to be ceded within a short limit of time to Czecho-Slovak nationals* or to the State — to the organs of the territorial self-governing bodies, or to fictitious persons or associations specifically exempted from the obligation of registration (§ 50). Should the owner in question fail to comply with these instructions, on the proposal of the provincial office the local court may sell the right in question at his (the owner's) cost as provided in the regulations governing voluntary auctions. The provincial office may however ordain the application of some other method of liquidation and may indeed annul the right in question. The relevant Order in Council may on the other hand determine exceptions to the rules fixed in the voluntary auction regulations (§ 51). These latter provisions in no wise affect the validity of international treaties.

In terms of the Executive Decree, 55 of the 106 political districts in Bohemia (47.4% of the whole area of this province), 22 of the 53 in Moravia and Silesia (46.7%), 48 of the 79 in Slovakia (62%), and 12 of the 14 in Ruthenia (94.8%) are in the frontier zone. As may be seen in the map on page 21, exactly 56.5% of the territory of the Republic is in the frontier zone, which comprises almost all the areas inhabited by the Hungarian, German, Ruthenian, and Polish minorities.

Under the Executive Decree the building in the frontier zone of *inter alia* churches, theatres, exhibition halls, roads, buildings with tall chimneys, hotels, shooting-lodges, tourist hostels, watchtowers, etc., etc. is subject to the previous approval of the military authorities. Similarly, all licences issued to messengers, porters, hawkers, chemical works producing poisons for medicinal purposes and other preparations, hotels, irons, people engaged in the extermination of rats and mice and other vermin, ragmen, bureaus supplying information *resp.* the solvency of borrowers, travelling offices, private detectives, film companies, etc. must be first approved by the military authorities. In this way numerous phases of minority civil life will be controlled by the military authorities, even if — as in the instances above-mentioned — those phases have nothing to do with the interests of the army or the Defence of the State.