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AWAY WITH SLOGANS!

Yes, away with slogans! That is to say with false slogans! One of them was the allegedly only panacea: collective security.

That medicine was so cleverly advertised that certain minor states came to believe it was a real means of healing and also the only prophylactic against the greatest of misfortunes, a new war and certain catastrophe.

And yet, two and a half years after Marshall Pilsudski and Herr Hitler had astonished the world with the Germano-Polish Pact, which did away with differences that threatened to involve Europe in a fresh war, it has been possible to smother the second dangerous beginnings of a conflagration in Europe, the menace of war inherent in the Anschluss or an armed conflict between Austria and Germany. This achievement will prove a blessing, not only to the countries concerned, but also to the whole of Europe. In both cases however, the aim was achieved through sovereign resolution and the negotiations of the countries in question. Thus regional and not collective agreements, which succeeded in spite of the fact that in both instances attempts were not lacking to frustrate them. That obviously at least one great power had successfully co-operated in reconciling Germany and Austria, does not alter this fact.

And what do we see on the other side? Collective measures have proved an utter failure, as in the case of the Italo-Abyssinian war. Not to mention the loss of lives and property and the League of Nations' loss of prestige, we merely establish the fact. And now let us consider how mistakes of a similar nature might be avoided in future, viz. how steps like the Germano-Polish and the Germano-Austrian agreements might serve as examples to be imitated, and how they might be made profitable to the fullest extent and for the whole of Europe.

Were the whole of Europe willing to learn the lessons of the wise moderation shown by Warsaw, Berlin, and Vienna, and draw the evident conclusions, the matter would be child's play. Unfortunately we must be prepared to encounter strong adverse currents bent on minimizing the world-wide benefits contained in the Vienna-Berlin agreement, or even on exploiting them in

an opposite direction. A shadow has already made its appearance. There is loose, even foolish talk of a Berlin-Warsaw-Budapest-Vienna-Rome front, against which a Paris-Moscow-Little Entente-Balkan alliance is to march; that is to say of a system of pre-war alliances which, sooner or later, must unavoidably lead to a European war, if England's wise moderation and the energetic co-operation of the states that remained neutral in the great war does not prevent such development in good time.

Collective security then, after all? Yes, but on the principle of "Do unto others as you would be done by". Collective security with more commonsense and less local egoism.

We should not, as so often in the past, blinded by clever propaganda, overlook the simplest laws of nature and the fundamental truths which every mother, every housekeeper and every civilized person applies to everyday life. Excuse me, if I use trivial comparisons. In case of disease, a simple indigestion, the first thing to do is to rid one's system of the poison or neutralise it, and then build up the constitution again. Or when a suit of clothes gets wet and muddy, it must be dried before we begin to brush the dirt out of it and think of ironing it.

In order to make the slogan of "collective security" effective, we must return to the ethical principle which not only was said to be the aim of the war, but was also laid down in President Wilson's 14 points as the basis of peace. In the then neutral States it will be remembered that at that time the official announcements of both warring sides accepted those ethical principles as the foundation of the armistice preceding peace and thus they became a bilaterally binding standard for the new order of things in the world.

And yet, what have Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon, Neuilly and Sevres, those jewels of French scenery and architecture in the vicinity of Paris, given to mankind? A series of disappointments and, in reality, a continuation of the war with the spiritual weapons of hatred, suspicion and fear, as well as the dangerous weapon of economic pressure.

But it would be a pity and even harmful to waste time over the mistakes of the past. It is enough to say that probably Wilson's weakness,

coupled with Lloyd George's attitude maintaining a war-psychosis (he speaks quite differently now), in many cases nearly rivalling, and at any rate accepting the extreme demands of France and the smaller victorious groups, were responsible for the fact that the peace treaties were drawn up in a spirit so diametrically opposed to the principles preached.

Unfortunately for the world, this is true not only of the peace treaties, but also of the Covenant of the League of Nations, for the incorporation of which in the peace treaties — as a corrective for the future — Woodrow Wilson gave up more and more of his peace postulates, to insure which he had come over to Paris twice in turn.

Many will still remember that the only comfort left to Germany in 1919 was that the more senseless the peace treaties were, the more impossible it was made to effectively carry them out, the surer was revision. Revision would have to come, if only because of the irreconcilable antitheses between the economic burdens laid upon Germany and the rest of the peace conditions. If you kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, there will be no more eggs.

The League of Nations — as a means of correction — has proved a total failure, and it had to come, as it has come, through the force of circumstances to a point where willy-nilly a revision of the peace treaties had to be allowed, as for instance was the cancelling of the entire debt of reparations after the failure of the Dawes and Young Plans, or the repudiation of certain provisions of the treaties by unilateral announcements, thus creating a *fait accompli*.

Reaction, naturally did not fail to set it, and it led to counter-measures, the most dangerous expression of which is the unreasonable race in armaments and the revival of the pre-war system of allegedly defensive alliances, which however carry the germ of offence in them.

In the long run this must unavoidably lead to a new European war, and if Japan interferes, to a world war. No sacrifice should be counted too great, if thereby that catastrophe might be averted. Besides Great Britain, it is the little states in Europe whose interests in the first place demand the elimination of the menace of war. Not as though the great continental powers have not as much to risk in a new war as the minor states, but because the voice of the latter would cease to have any influence at a later date.

The League of Nations is certainly still an anchor of hope, providing that it manages to get itself out of the present tight corner caused by its so severely criticized shilly-shallying. A reformed League would be able to pave the way to collective security and in a corresponding measure to the security of those depending on the League or merely insisting on the catch word of collective security.

One of the chief reasons why the League of Nations cannot fulfil the expectations set on it,

lies in the League itself, principally in the coupling of the Covenant with the peace treaties.

It is too well known that the Covenant as laid down in the Treaty of Versailles is a bad compromise. Amongst others, David Hunter Miller has written about the endless negotiations and the many drafts which were submitted on all sides.

The result of the negotiations, the Covenant in its present form, is the work of war psychosis, an instrument to ensure the duration of the treaties and petrify the *status quo* created in 1919—1920, and not an instrument of evolution and, as Wilson intended, an organization above all the States and destined to effect the peaceful solution of dangerous political situations, or pave the way to the revision of such treaties as have become obsolete.

It might be argued that all this is possible with the present Covenant. Article 19 is there; besides this all the powers, great and small, have equal rights in the Assembly, and every member state has been given the widest possibilities and equal treatment.

But it is not exactly so. In practice we find the opposite.

It would lead too far to enumerate, in the scope of this article, all the faults which neutralise the efficacy of the League or make it quite illusory. Even if we admit that the League could not fulfil its difficult mission immediately and without any friction; just as all the member States had to learn how to bring their own political sovereignty into harmony with the new Covenant, before the desired aim could be achieved.

So much, however, is certain: the League of Nations has disappointed expectations and a reform is demanded on all sides.

But there is a great difference between the varying opinions how this reform should be carried through. Some consider that the lessons of the Italo-Abessynian war indicate the necessity of increasing the possibilities of sanctions, others, because of the same fiasco of the League, do not lay the chief stress on a reform based on punitive measures and their efficacy, but on preventive measures which will be able to hinder conflicts in time, that is to say find an amicable solution to all differences. An honest, or obligatory, application of article 19 ought surely reduce the necessity of applying punitive measures to the, let us hope, rare cases of evident bad faith.

Preventive measures of all kind, in fact the successful functioning of the institution at Geneva at all, is, however, only conceivable if it ceases to be a rump organization and unites all civilized countries of the world, in the first place the Great Powers. The United States of America refused from the beginning to have anything to do with the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. The Central Powers, as "guilty" and vanquished states were admitted only later on, and their word was as little listened to when the order of procedure of the League was being drawn up, as when the Covenant was incorporated in the peace

treaties. Later Germany, Japan, Brazil and several smaller states abandoned the League. Why they did so was very obvious.

The League has become a tool of some of the victorious states, an instrument to preserve the status quo and not a means of sound evolution and an instrument for putting into effect the loudly professed ethical principles and human rights.

Reform must therefore from the outset keep two aims in view — America must be induced to join the League, and the states that have left it must be got to come back. Furthermore, in future, measures must be devised which will make an evolution in conformance with the statutes possible, a thing impossible so long as *liberum veto* exists and unanimity is required in the most important cases.

The first step should be to separate the Covenant from the peace treaties, in order to be able to pass from the rigidity of their provisions to a mobile state in which the possibility of negotiation could be ensured.

Another possibility of reform would be the introduction of certain regional principles after the pattern of the Pan-American Union. Problems of a local nature would come before a commission from the States interested, and only problems of general interest would be brought before the Assembly. In general the whole order of procedure would have to be revised, simplified and made more effective.

Above all, a sharp line must be drawn between political and legal problems. Almost all the complaints against the League, except those that have their roots in the slowness and deficiency of the administration, arise from the unfortunate mixing of juridical and political problems. It is nonsense, and must paralyse every budding activity of the League, if questions of international law, like the interpretation of the Peace Treaties, the fulfilment or breach of certain provisions, are decided from purely political points of view. At the same time, the authority of the International Court of Arbitration at the Hague, to which all juridical problems should be submitted, must be extended and assured.

How necessary that would be is best shown, for instance, by the many difficulties which continually arise in the Danube Valley, as a result of breaches of the minority protection treaties guaranteed by the Great Powers. The main grief is that complaints cannot be submitted to a court of international justice, but are usually treated as purely political matters, better said, they are generally not examined at all, but owing to political influence vanish in a labyrinth of red tape.

How much better is the situation between Germany and Poland, all such controversies in their case being submitted to a court of arbitration accepted by both parties.

What regards Hungary, the interpretation and the eventual decisions as to provisions of the peace treaty is of greatest importance. For not only was the Treaty of Trianon the most unreasonable and unjust of all the treaties concluding the war, but it is also the only treaty all punitive provisions of which have been fulfilled to the minutest detail, while the few paragraphs favourable to Hungary, the separate treaties guaranteeing the protection of Hungarian minorities in the Succession States, have been disregarded in an increasingly aggressive manner. The new Czecho-Slovakian Defence of the Republic Act and the latest measures in Rumania directed against the Hungarian minority there, speak volumes.

Volumes might also be written about plans for the reformation of the League of Nations. All without any result, if the good will of the nations concerned continues to be lacking.

The minor states and the states which were neutral in the war, the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Switzerland ought to take the initiative in the matter of League reform. Britain will certainly help. Italy and Germany undoubtedly are only waiting to be met half way, and Austria and Hungary have long announced their willingness to co-operate. Then the question of France's security could be settled once and for all, and the Little Entente would be forced to agree to a solution of the Danube Valley problem that would not merely serve the economic interests of little cliques, but would create the possibility of a peaceful co-operation of all the peoples of the Danubian states.

As was said at the beginning of this article, if no sound reform of the League of Nations with the co-operation of Italy, Germany and the U. S. A. is forthcoming, then Europe will be threatened with the danger of military alliances and a new war. A revival of international arbitration at the Hague in the eleventh hour, however, important a problem it represents, would scarcely be able to avert that danger. But it surely would be worth while to take into consideration whether the pre-war court of arbitration could not be appealed to in some cases where the League of Nations has or is likely to fail.

I am convinced that the peace-loving people of Great Britain will do all they can to avert a new war, and do so in a spirit of reconciliation and on the basis of equality and justice for all nations alike.

MAIN POINTS OF THE DANUBE QUESTION

I. THE QUESTION OF SECURITY

by

Professor Eugene Horváth

In the discussion which has been going on for years in the matter of the Danube problem, people are apt to forget the development of this question in the past — and to forget how the present has been built on the past; though it will hardly be possible to base the future on non-existing foundations.

It would be a far cry to tell the old-old story of how from the Middle Ages onward the Estates of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary more than once agreed to jointly assert their common interests against the Vienna Government of the Habsburgs. We are on more familiar ground when we ascertain that the same community of interests between the three countries existed right down to 1866, this circumstance making it evident that the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 must have contained something to break up the unity between the three countries. That at least would seem to be the natural conclusion to be drawn from the Memorandum submitted to the Paris Peace Conference by the Czech Peace Delegation. For according to that Memorandum the Prussian War so thoroughly undermined the political and military power of Austria that the Emperor of that country proved too weak to reject the demands of the Hungarians; those demands being of so far-reaching a character that Hungary took away from Austria not only Hungarian territories but also territories inhabited by non-Magyar nationalities, which territories must therefore be restored to those from whose possession they were then wrested. This was the ground advanced by the Czech Delegation in support of their demand for the annexation to Bohemia of Upper Hungary; and it was on this ground that that territory was actually allotted to the Czechs under the Treaty of Trianon of 1920.

The leading statesmen present at the Peace Conference did not show sufficient knowledge of the Danube questions to allow of our supposing for a moment that they were aware of the real meaning of their decisions. However, seeing that they themselves eventually admitted that their judgments were a grave outrage on truth and the interests of the peoples living in the valley of the

Danube, it is doubly incumbent upon us to take the trouble to closely investigate the essential points of the Danube question.

To be quite frank, we must say that public opinion in Hungary never approved of the incorporation of Bohemia in Austria. We must not forget that at the battle of Bila Hora in 1620 Hungarian troops fought on the Bohemian side in the hope of preventing what actually ensued — the absorption of the Czech Kingdom by the Austrian Empire. Yet we must never forget either that both Austria and Bohemia were once German Imperial principalities, and that the struggle waged for centuries by Austria and Bohemia was only a chapter in the inner discords of the German Empire. Let us presume for the sake of argument that the governments of Austria and Bohemia decide to return to their places within the German Empire from which in 1866 Bismarck drove them; the Hungarian State would find itself facing an event over which it had no control. It would at the same time be impelled to provide more effectually for the security of its independence, seeing that the German Empire would in that event receive the addition of territories which were wrested from Hungary and allotted to Bohemia and Austria respectively in consequence of a decision of the Paris Peace Conference and of the relevant provisions of the Treaty of Trianon.

When as a result of the Prussian victory of 1866 he created a German Empire which was purely German in character and deprived Austria and Bohemia of their position as Members of that Empire, Bismarck was just as little responsible for Bohemia being incorporated in Austria after the defeat at the battle of the Bila Hora (White Hill) as were the leaders of the political life of Hungary in 1867 for the Czech Kingdom having been annexed by the Duchy of Austria in 1621 or for Bohemia having remained a Member of the Austrian State. The supposition that in 1870 Count Julius Andrassy, Prime Minister of Hungary, prevented Bohemia from obtaining the autonomy she desired, has been disproved by documentary evidence, — though there had been proof enough previously

too in the fact that the Hungarian Government at all times rejected the idea of Austria interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary on the ground that the Hungarian Government had also refrained at all times from interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries. It must be remembered that politically the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary were sovereign States independent of one another.

It is in this connection that we are able to refute the statement made by the Czech Peace Delegation to the effect that Hungary had separated from the Austrian State and had on that occasion seized also non-Magyar territories. Seeing that the Hungarian State has never been a part or dependent province of any other State, she was never in a position to separate from any other State or to "take with her" territories belonging to any other State. The Hungarian State, the independence of which was acknowledged by the chancelleries of Europe also during the rule of the Habsburgs, took its own territory with it when under the command of the Hungarian king it separated from that Austria which during the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848/49 attempted with the assistance of Russian armies to master Hungary and to absorb the sovereign Hungarian State in the Austrian Empire. On that occasion the Czechs served* in the Austrian army and co-operated in the occupation of Hungary, deserting the principles for the vindication of which against the pan-Austrian imperialistic endeavours of the Vienna Governments the Estates of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary had once fought shoulder to shoulder. We must not however forget that the sovereign who had Hungary occupied by his military forces was at the same time King of Hungary; so that the liberation of Hungary in 1867 from the military rule under which she had been suffering, did not mean at all a dismemberment of Austria, — still less did it mean that Bohemia and Austria were both disintegrated. It is universally known also that, in order to secure the possession of the territories in Upper and Western Hungary claimed by them, the Czech Peace Delegation made the Conference believe that the territories of Hungary known today as Slovakia, Ruthenia and "Burgenland" had been wrested by Hungary shortly before the Great War from Bohemia and Austria. The names given above have been in use only since the severance of the said territories from Hungary.

Prior to the Great War not even those publicists who have subsequently become the apostles of the suggestion, asserted that the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 was built up upon the ruins of Bohemia. Should we accept their one-sided allegations as true, the responsibility for not having sought the causes of this grievance in Vienna, must rest with the political leaders of the Czech people. That Compromise was the immediate result of the catastrophe of 1866, in consequence of which Austria lost all her German and Italian possessions; and the South Slav generals of the Monarchy attempted to secure com-

ensation for the losses suffered by expansion at the expense of the Balkan Peninsula. And that again created in the minds of the Czech politicians the impression that the endeavours of a Vienna Government bent on expansion at the expense of Bohemia with the purpose of enhancing the power of Austria, could only be counteracted and the grievances of the Czechs redressed by an appeal to the Great Power which stood in the way of Austrian imperialism. And that again involved a danger to Hungary just as grave as that which menaced her when the Czechs were the vanguard of the Austro-German imperialistic endeavours. For thereby the control of the destinies of the Danubian peoples was once more taken over by foreign forces; and in the Austria which had been driven out of the German Empire those Czechs strove to obtain the upper hand who insisted on the necessity of securing the support of Russia.

However: the Austrian Empire whose South Slav generals and politicians after 1866 diverted it from Germany and Italy and made it turn towards the Balkans, was defeated in the Great War. One consequence of this issue was the fact that on October 16th., 1918, the Austrian Government abandoned the shaken foundations of imperialism and adopted the principle of self-determination. This principle had been designated by President Wilson as the *sine qua non* of his ratifying the conclusion of peace; and every credit is due to Count Stephen Burián, then Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, for having accepted this principle and having thereby created a basis for the conclusion with the Allied and Associated Powers of a compromise well adapted to further the realisation of peace among the peoples of the Danube basin.

Had any one desired to construct a Danube Union on the basis provided for the purpose in the Imperial Letters Patent dated October 16th., 1918, it would have been possible to develop out of German Austria, the Czech and Hungarian Kingdoms a federation which by satisfying fully all national ambitions would have made good all the war losses, and by separating the Italian, Polish (Galicia), Serbian (Bosnia) and Rumanian (Bukovina) territories from the main body of the Monarchy might have laid the foundations of a stronger Danube structure destined to be long-lived. For in terms of the said Letters Patent the Compromise of 1867 was invalidated and the three States — German Austria, and the Kingdoms of St. Venceslas and St. Stephen — were given the right of self-determination. There was to be no other bond of union between them but the person of the monarch; and as a natural consequence the three States would proceed, after constituting their own internal governments independently, to create a new Danube Union based upon the ancient Pragmatic Sanction.

This possibility was frustrated by that other decision declaring war on the Habsburg Monarchy which was preparing to re-construct itself on a federative basis. It would not be easy today

to determine whether the moment that prevented the peaceful re-organisation of the Monarchy and the free re-grouping of the Danubian peoples was merely the ignorance or indulgent weakness of the Western statesmen, or whether it was merely a return for the military assistance received from the Russia of the Czars and an admission of the necessity that that Power should advance? In any case we cannot afford to ignore the documentary evidence at our disposal today in respect of the demand for a partition of the Monarchy and the means to be taken for that purpose. Evidence of the kind is that provided by the Memorandum submitted to the British Foreign Office, on April 15th., 1915, by the Czech Professor George Thomas Masaryk, Austrian subject then in exile, in which he demanded the occupation by Russia of Bohemia and of the Hungarian territories leading to that country. He did not confine his demand, therefore, to the partition of that Austria of which he was a subject but demanded the occupation also of the State of Hungary with which he was in no way connected. The same idea was broached by the Czech Professor Edward Beneš, Austrian national in exile, in a pamphlet ("*Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie*") published in 1916 the very title of which made the idea of a partition of Austro-Hungary by the aid of Russian arms a war catchword. And the same plan of partition was propagated in the Memorandum published by Lord Northcliffe in October, 1918, the "Austro-Hungarian" part of which was written by Dr. Seton-Watson, — a great friend of Masaryk who in 1915 took the latter's Memorandum to the British Foreign Office and later on was appointed to hold the Masaryk Chair of Slavonic History established in the University of London by the Czech Governemnt. All these facts are already general knowledge; and my only reason for mentioning them is to show that in the face of these bits of evidence it would hardly be possible to assert that the Monarchy collapsed of itself without any pressure from without. We would further establish the fact that the demands referred to above were in defiance, not only of President Wilson's Fourteen Points and of the Imperial Letters Patent of October 16th., 1918, but also of the tacit agreement concluded on the basis of the conditions of peace proposed by President Wilson and accepted by the Foreign Ministry of the Monarchy.

Still more striking proof that it was all the result of interference from without is afforded by the following facts. Beneš intervened with the French Government and Masaryk with the United States Government in the endeavour to prevent the carrying into effect of the terms of the Letters Patent of October 16th. and therewith of the whole scheme, which latter showed that the Habsburgs, by accepting the terms of peace postulated by America, were preparing with the assistance they hoped to obtain from the Western Governments to constitute in the Danube Valley a Power independ-

ent of Germany. In his Memoirs Beneš himself tells us that Berthelot, Secretary-General of the French Foreign Ministry, accepted the Czech conditions and thereby decided to support the scheme for the partition of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; "Austria-Hungary is doomed to disappear, and nothing on earth can save her". Masaryk also tells us in his Memoirs how he persuaded President Wilson to decide to send in answer to the latest Note of the Monarchy a reply diametrically opposed in spirit to the attitude he had previously adopted. In his answer to Count Burián dated October 18th. Wilson declared that he was ready to open peace negotiations, *not* on the basis of the conditions which he had proposed and which had been accepted by the Monarchy, but on the basis of new terms in respect of which he had come to an agreement — without the knowledge of the competent Austrian Government — with an Austrian subject then in exile. That Austrian subject had secured the approval of the American Government, not only for the partition of his own country, but also for the dismemberment of Hungary, a State entirely independent of Austria. Now, seeing that it has been unanimously established that it was Wilson's Note dated October 18th. that led up to the partition of the Monarchy, it is evident that the break-up of Austria-Hungary was not due to internal disruption. In the event of natural dissolution it would surely not have been necessary to resort to the weapons of armed occupation and annexation. Particularly when we consider that Wilson decidedly opposed the employment of such weapons at the Peace Conference in Paris, declaring that such procedure would shake the very foundations of the right of possession already allotted.

And foreign troops did actually march into the territory of Hungary, beginning military operations there in defiance of the terms of the armistice and seizing property, while the Governments concerned openly annexed the territories occupied by armed force and incorporated them in foreign States.

At the time it never occurred to anyone that the integrity of the territory of the Hungarian State was under the protection of international law. Yet, in his speech in the Czech Parliament on April 23rd., 1933, Beneš, then Foreign Minister, explained in classical terms how international law was based on the territorial integrity of States and how the very foundations of that law were being shaken by aggression. "We do not know" — he said — "how anyone could for a moment imagine that an independent State would suffer a number of other States — whether Great Powers or not — to dispose of its territory either directly or indirectly, in the consciousness of their strength or of their political or moral influence, on the basis of some preliminary agreement concluded by them for the purpose, — to dispose of its territory, i. e. of something that for every State alike constitutes the basis of its existence and the indispens-

able *sine qua non* of its continuity. We are unable to understand how States can combine for the purpose of distributing the territory of a third State, seeing that territorial questions relating to outside States are outside their sphere of authority, simply because they refuse to approve of any agreement not to their advantage. The determination I here refer to must be a surprise in particular to an entirely unbiassed politician, seeing that it is not merely a question of someone making unjustifiable claims upon the property of a third party, but also of a fact the injustice of which would be cryingly evident. This fact itself should suffice to make everyone refrain from demanding the application to other peoples of something the application of which to his own people he would never tolerate. In that event it would be impossible to prevent another similar group of States coming into existence and disposing in the same manner of the frontiers of other States and thereby increasing the danger of conflicts and anarchy all over the world."

When we contrast Beneš's speech with the events which led up to the destruction of the territorial integrity of the Hungarian State — after the conclusion of the Armistice of Padua (November 3rd., 1918), which respected the territorial integrity of that country and stipulated the maintenance of that integrity — the comparison leaves no doubt in our minds that the words of Beneš apply far more forcibly to the situation in 1918, when Czech, Serbian and Rumanian troops sent by their Governments invaded the territory of the Hungarian State, than to the situation prevailing in 1933, when the integrity of the territory of the Czech State was not threatened by anyone. Now, seeing that he never suggested that his words applied solely and exclusively to his own State, he may therefore be supposed to be ready to admit that other States too — including Hungary — are entitled to insist on preserving intact their territories and to expect the security of that territory to be safeguarded by the same international law which Beneš regarded as guaranteeing the protection of the territory of the Czech State. Hereby he would appear to have admitted that it would scarcely have been conceivable to secure the peace

of Danubian Europe except by the German-Austrian, Czech and Hungarian nations and States taking the path mapped out for them by the Letters Patent of October 16th., 1918, and uniting in a Danubian Federation based upon the right of self-determination and territorial autonomy. We might add at once that in that case Charles of Habsburg would have remained at the head of the Czech Kingdom, while Masaryk could only have become President of a Czech Republic after the power of the Habsburgs had collapsed. That is the personal basis, which might lead however to the interests of the Danubian peoples and the cause of European peace being degraded to a mere rivalry of persons. And that we would avoid at all costs; for we believe that we shall better serve the cause we have at heart if we establish the fact that Beneš — the advocate of the idea of security — himself differentiated between the procedure preceding the partition of Hungary and that following that event. On the other hand, if we accept Beneš's views, we cannot but express admiration for the Hungarian nation for having — despite the terrible outrages inflicted on international law and on the Hungarian State — refused to enter the path of sowing the seeds of conflict and anarchy in Europe for the purpose of recovering the territories wrested from it by an infringement of international law and by armed attack and of restoring the international law which has been so gravely outraged.

The public opinion of Hungary has been waiting patiently for a calm admission of the fact that the status quo of 1920 was built up on a status quo brought into being by flagrant breaches of international law and for the Great Powers to realise that the ruins of international law have buried, not only the security of the Hungarian State, but also the security of the Danubian peoples generally. And those who desire to provide for the security of the States must remember that this security cannot be restricted to those States which demand that they should be able safely to maintain the territories wrested by armed force from other States, but must be extended also to those States the security of which has been prejudiced by a breach of international law.

KING EDWARD VIII'S HUNGARIAN ANCESTORS

EXTRACTS FROM THE FAMILY HISTORY OF THE COUNTS RHÉDEY OF KISRÉDE

Mention has been made more than once in the columns of this paper of the fact that the blood of Hungarian ancestors flows in the veins of King Edward VIII, and it was only recently that an important English newspaper devoted some space to the same subject. We believe it will not be a wasted effort to set down the relevant data for the benefit of our English readers. Here let it be said that these data were not invented by us, but were compiled from authentic statistics published by two famous Hungarian students of genealogy, Andrew Komáromy¹ and Arthur Komlóssy,² in old volumes of the publications of the "Hungarian Society of Heraldry Genealogy".

In the last decades of the XIV century we find the family Rhédey of Kistréde of which Queen Mary's grandmother, Countess Claudine Susan Rhédey (later on Hohenstein), was a descendant in Upper Hungary (today partly Slovakia). The Rhédeys probably acquired their estates by right of *prima occupatio*, as a clan of one of the tribes that took possession of Hungary in the IX century under the leadership of Arpád. The tribe was more than likely the one to which Samuel Aba, King of Hungary (1144—1146), belonged and which was known as the Aba tribe.

The clan which received the counties of Heves and Nógrád as its share adopted the name of Rédei. The first trace of the use of this family name, and the only one in the XIII century, is to be found in a document issued in 1275 to the Chapter in Eger, in which *Rufus Deső* and *Gargyán László* (*Ladislau dictus Garduan*) style themselves "de Réde" after a village of that name.

The members of this branch did not, of course, consistently use the name of Rhédey at



that time. It was only when all vestiges of the tribal system had vanished and when with the cessation of common possessions the feeling of unity among the members of the same tribe had passed away, that we find the surname being used permanently.

Sources of reference mention seven men of the same tribe by the name Rédei, all of whom married and founded families.

1. Demeter of Szentmártonréde,
2. Ladislás Rédei of Berczel, 3 Rufus Desiderius of Boldogasszonyréde, 4. Michael of Kistréde and Szentmártonréde, 5. Peter Rédei of Tas, 6. Garduan Ladislás of Csecse and Nagy-réde, 7. Peter of Boldogasszonyréde.

The villages of Kistréde, Nagy-réde, Boldogasszonyréde and Szentmártonréde undoubtedly existed in the county of Heves as late as the XV century. In the XIII century there was also a place called Alsó-Réde, which was perhaps absorbed by one of the others in the course of time.

The degrees of relationship between the seven heads of the clan cannot be ascertained, for there is nothing in the documents extant to show who was the direct ancestor of the Rhédey family of which they were the seven flourishing branches. Anthony Szirmay holds that *Comes Chobanka* whom we hear of in 1199, and whom he styles "Lord Lieutenant of Szatmár", was the first ancestor of the Rhédeys. It cannot be denied that Chobanka was linked to the ancestor of the Rhédeys by close ties of blood, but Komáromy considers it improbable that he should have been the head of the family (*caput familiae*), if only because no mention is made in the family documents of any sons of his except one, *Comes John*, who styled himself "de Gyöngyös" after his estate there (*comes Johannes filius Chobanka de Gyngus*). Besides this the Chapter in Eger preserves in a work dated 1301 a document concerning the issue of *Comes Chobanka* which utterly precludes the possibility of his having been the direct ancestor of the Rhédey family, an assumption also refuted by the distribution of the land.

¹ A kistrédei gróf Rhédey családról. (About the family of the Counts Rhédey of Kistréde.) Turul, Vol. I, 1883, pp. 119—138.

² Az angol királyné rokonsága. Gróf Rhédey Mihály leszármazói. (The Hungarian relatives of the Queen of England. The descendants of Count Michael Rhédey.) Turul, Vol. XXVIII, 1910, pp. 97—99.

The circumstance that the private documents of the different branches of the family as well as documents relating to the distribution of the estates can be proved to have passed into the hands of Mikó (Michael) of Kistréde and Szentmártonréde's progeny supports the opinion of those who have studied the genealogy of the family that the issue of three of the seven heads of the family died out after a few generations, at least in the male line.

By the time we reach the middle of the XVI century the only branch left is that descending from Mikó of Kistréde and Szentmártonréde, and from that branch sprang the noble family of the Counts of Rhédey. The genealogic descent of Countess Claudine Rhédey from the above-mentioned Mikó (Michael) is as follows:

All we glean from documents of a later date about the head of the family, Mikó, who was styled "*nobilis de Réde inferiori et minori*" is that he lived probably in the last decades of the XIII century.

His only son Nicolas nicknamed "Mikocha", together with his sons Demeter, Oliver, Ladislas and Desiderius, all of whom were nobles of Nagyréde, was involved in a law-suit because of their persecution and mutilation of the serfs.

One of „Mikocha's" sons was *Peter dictus "Mikocha"*.

Peter's son Jacob (1394—1435).

His second son was Nicolas Dosa Rédey who was born before 1414. His wife, Clara Chelény of Szentdomokos, brought him a considerable dowry, but he himself was very acquisitive and he laid the foundation of the family wealth. Nicolas Dosa Rédey must have died about 1466, for in 1467 he is mentioned as the late Nicolas Rédey. He left four sons and two daughters, of whom only one, Nicolas V (1459—1488) had issue. His wife was Ellen Sáry of Misse. The figure of Nicolas V's only son Ladislas II (1476—1536) who called himself "de Mise" after his wife's estate, is very sketchy in its outlines, although he enjoyed a long life. He married three times. From his second marriage with Elizabeth Recsky was born a son, Paul (Paul VI 1562—1590).

In spite of the fact that as regards origin, the Rhédeys were the equals of any of the families of the high nobility, they did not belong to the Baronial class in the Middle Ages. They were stay-at-home men, well-off and honoured, and they spent their lives in adding to their ancestral possessions and in "*more patrio*" lawsuits with their neighbours. County life was their sphere.

But when the Turks, after taking the fortress in Buda, gained a footing in Hungary and the plains became the scenes of daily battles, the Rhédeys stepped out of their country seclusion. The possibilities of a military career presented themselves without their having to go far from their ancestral roofs and their jealously guarded possessions, and, indeed, it was to protect the latter that they took up arms. The fortress of Eger was an important stronghold at the time of the Turkish invasion. It was a strong key fortress

which as Valentine Balassa's enthusiastic poems tell us, was the school where the sons of the surrounding nobility learned the art of warfare. It was there that the scions of the Rhédey family began their career as soldiers. In 1551 we find Francis Rhédey I heroically defending the fortress and not much later the above-mentioned Paul III. Little is known of the latter's life. He must have distinguished himself early as a soldier, for in 1561 he received an estate at the village of Saar from Ferdinand I. Besides this, he acquired land in other places. We know of several of his acquisitions. In 1582, together with George Recsky under-sheriff of the county of Heves, he received, as a reward for military services, the estate of Székegyház in the county of Csanád (Southern Hungary) from Radetius, Bishop of Eger, who was the King's vice-regent.

Paul IV († about 1604), like his father, also became a soldier and fought bravely in the fortress at Eger. We find him there in 1575, when he was given a passport by the commander of the fortress, Christopher Ungnád, and sent to "bring over the "men of Öcsöd". Öcsöd in the county of Békés (Southern Hungary) was probably his already, for his children received another estate in 1610. About 1587 he married Anna Swtha, the daughter of George Csallóközy or Swtha, who had been left a widow first by Kelemen Réghy and then by George Perbes. She brought him fine lands in Gömör, but especially in the county of Szepes, where one of their descendants settled down later on. By 1604 Paul was dead. His youngest son was John (1598—1635) who at the time of his father's death was a minor. His uncle was Francis Rhédey II Captain of Fülek. He was the most outstanding member of the family, and in 1600 we find him in command of a division in the war between one of the leaders of the national party and Moses Székely who for a time occupied the throne of Transylvania. Later on he joined Stephen Bocskay, the great Prince of Transylvania (1606—1608), who was the leader of the Protestant struggle for religious liberty and the Constitution against Rudolph of Habsburg, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. In recognition of his services Bocskay raised him to the rank of the high nobility in Kassa on 2nd of May 1606, and as one of Bocskay's delegates he took an important part in the peace negotiations in the same year. Sigismund Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, gave him the fortress of Szentjób with its extensive lands. In 1608 he was Lord Lieutenant of the county of Bihar and Captain of Várad. In 1608 King Matthias made him Knight of the Golden Spur. He married Catherine Károlyi, thus becoming brother-in-law to Gabriel Bethlen. When Gabriel Bethlen ascended the throne of Transylvania Francis Rhédey was one of his most intimate friends in the most literal sense of the words, and in 1619 Bethlen sent him with an army of ten thousand to the aid of the Protestants in Moravia. His son Francis III was elected Prince of Transylvania by the Diet of Gyulafehérvár in 1637, but he resigned on 24th January 1658 and retired to his castle at Huszt.

But let us return to John III who was brought up in the court of Prince Gabriel Bethlen and whose chamberlain he became in 1614. It seems probable that he betook himself to Transylvania along with his brothers at the request of Francis II. His wife was a Transylvanian lady, Margaret Kornis. They were the founders of the Transylvanian branch of the Rhédey family. On 12th October 1624 John III received the villages of Petye along with other estates from Gabriel Bethlen. He married about 1628. His wife was the elder daughter of Francis Kornis of Szentpál, chief procurator fiscal of Udvarszékhely, and Judith Bornemissza of Kápolna. With her hand he received the estates of Homorodszentpál and Erdőscentgyörgy. On 16th January 1629 Gabriel Bethlen made out the deed of gift of those estates at Fogaras. Not long after John Rhédey became the procurator fiscal of Udvarszékhely. When during the reign of Gabriel Bethlen the Sabbatarians were being persecuted he suffered considerable losses. His wife Margaret Kornis and her sister Barbara had been brought up Sabbatarians by their mother in spite of the fact that their father was against it. Although both of them renounced their faith Rákóczi had the decrees of the National Assembly of 1638 put into execution in all their severity, and under the title of "*nota infidelitatis*" confiscated all their possessions, which he presented partly to his son and partly to his wife. John Rhédey redeemed the estates of Homorodszentpál and Szentgyörgy. For the latter he paid, on 23rd January 1645, the sum of 3000 florins into the treasury of the Prince. On May 1st 1651 George Rákóczi II signed the deed of gift of the above-mentioned estates. The estate of Erdőscentgyörgy extended to Maros-Udvarhelyszék and to the county of Küküllő and formed the most important part of the family possessions.

By 1653 John Rhédey was no longer in the land of the living.

His eldest son, John IV († 1686) who lived at Erdőscentgyörgy married Elizabeth Macskássy.

His third son, Ladislas V († 1772) married Mária Toroczky. One of his sons, John V was a general in 1765 and at the same time a lieutenant in the regiment of Hungarian Noble Guards which had been created not long before. In 1750 he fought in Lower Silesia, and in 1756 he distinguished himself so markedly at the siege of Schweidnitz that he won the Order of Marie Thérèse. As lieutenant of the Noble Guards he lived constantly in Vienna, but often visited his estates in Hungary. We have his letters to his younger brother and to his overseer. He always wrote in the purest Hungarian. The atmosphere of the Vienna Court was powerless to turn his head, although he was a *persona grata* with the great Queen. When in 1767 he felt death approaching he begged the Queen to absolve him, on the strength of documents submitted, of his duties as lieutenant of the Guard. Marie Therese wrote his absolution with her own hand and advised him "for the sake of his soul's salvation" to become a Roman Catholic. With deep respect but in firm words he refused to accept the Royal advice. He died on 10th January 1768 at Vienna in the rank

of a lieutenant-general. He left a great fortune behind him, chiefly in cash. Being without a family his brothers inherited it. As Ladislas VI had two unfortunate lunatic sons and Adam and Francis died without children, the whole of the gigantic fortune was inherited by Michael.

Michael IV († 1791), who together with his brothers received the title of Count from Marie Thérèse, had three sons by his wife Baroness Sophie Bánffy — Michael, Ladislas and Francis.

Ladislas VI (1775—1835) married Baroness Agnes Inczedy. Their daughter was Countess Claudine Susan Rhédey (1812—1841), the grandmother of Queen Mary.

She contracted a morganatic marriage with the Duke Alexander of Württemberg, son of Louis of Württemberg and cousin of William, King of Württemberg. Alexander of Württemberg was at that time a colonel in an Austrian Hussar regiment. On 16th May 1835 the Countess received the Austrian title of Countess Hohenstein and the children of the marriage, a boy and two girls, went by the name of Hohenstein till 1863 when William of Württemberg gave them the ancient title of Duke and Duchesses of Teck. Countess Claudine Rhédey died at the age of twenty-nine, after six and a half years of married life. Hers was a tragical death, and rumour made it out to be more so than it really was. In a short time the legend grew that the beautiful young woman who was passionately fond of riding and often accompanied her husband to manoeuvres had been thrown by her horse and that the galloping horses of her husband's Hussar regiment had trampled her to death. The falseness of this report is best proved by the memoirs of Ladislas Kozma, the family solicitor of the Rhédeys. According to his account, the Countess died on 1st October in Pettau, Styria, after a severe illness of eight days' duration. She had spent the greater part of the summer with her family and her mother in Erdőscentgyörgy (Marosszék, Transylvania). Alexander of Württemberg, who by that time was a major-general and commander of a division stationed at Grac, was called in for the manoeuvres in Styria, and left Transylvania before her. The Countess and the children followed him in September. On the last day of the journey their carriage was thrown into the ditch near Grac, and the Countess who was about to become a mother got a bad knock on the side. In spite of this she continued her journey and next day left Grac on horseback accompanied by a friend, the Countess Török whose husband Count Nicolas Török was a captain of the Hussars, to visit her husband. After a fatiguing ride of eight hours they reached Pettau. The Princess took to bed immediately and died eight days later, on 1st October. In compliance with her wishes her body was taken to Erdőscentgyörgy, where she was buried on 21st October in the family vault of the Rhédeys under the same Calvinist church where on 21st September she was baptized Claudine Susan. The express letter sent by the Gubernatorial Office in Styria to the Gubernatorial Office in Transylvania merely states with official brevity that

the body might be conveyed home, but does not mention the cause of death. In the Calvinist registry of deaths at Erdőszentgyörgy the cause of death is described as "premature childbirth".

Alexander of Württemberg, who lived to the age of eighty-one and died as a retired general of the Hussars, cherished to the end the memory of his beautiful young wife. Their only son, *Francis, Duke of Teck*, also revered the memory of his parents, and when his first child, the Duchess Victoria Mary, was christened, she received among her numerous Christian names those of her Hungarian grandmother Claudine and her great-grandmother Agnes. His son Adolph, who was born in 1868, received in baptism amongst others the name of Ladislas in memory of his Hungarian great-grandfather. Queen Mary, who was a posthumous child, showed her respect for the memory of her grandmother by ordering a beautiful marble monument, which was placed over the tomb of the Countess Claudine in the Calvinist church at Erdőszentgyörgy in the May of 1905.

In conclusion let it be said that the Rhédeys of Kistréde *de genere* Aba were raised to the rank of Counts on three occasions. Francis Rhédey, Prince of Transylvania, and his son Ladislas were made Counts in 1659 by Leopold I, but Ladislas died childless in 1663 or 1664 and being the only

son of his father who died in 1667, the first branch of the family to receive the title of Count died out.

A member of the Hungarian branch of the family which still exists in Szatmár was the next to receive the title, Louis Rhédey, locumtenens of the Lord Lieutenant of the country of Bihar, was created Count in 1808 by Francis I. He also died without children so that the title died out again in the first generation.

As has been said already, six members of the Transylvania branch, Ladislas, John, Michael, Joseph, Paul and Sigismund Rhédey were made Counts by Marie Therèse on 13th November 1774. The title, however, died out with four of these, who either died childless or whose children died leaving no successors. From then on there were only two titled branches, that of Joseph and that of Michael. The last male descendant of Count Joseph Rhédey's branch was Adam Rhédey, who was the Keeper of the Treasury in Transylvania. He died in 1849. The male branch of Count Michael Rhédey's family from which Queen Mary is descended died out in Count Gabriel Rhédey, a cousin of the Countess Claudine. With the death on 21st April 1897 of this last male descendant of the Rhédeys in Transylvania, the Rhédey family has become extinct.

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

TOWARDS A NEW ERA ?

The session of the League of Nations just over was rich in events. Since a long time public opinion all the world over has not been directed with such tense attention and, let us add, with so much anxiety towards the deliberations and resolutions of that great authoritative body as in the past weeks. The high tension of the international atmosphere, the consequences of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, sanctions, the question of the Dardanelles, the new agreement of the Locarno Powers in preparation, the Danzig affair, Germany's behaviour, and above and beyond all, the reform of the League of Nations on the eve of which we stand are, in aggregate and separately, problems so grave that to achieve even a semi-successful solution of them needs time and a sound nervous system.

The harassed, impatient nations of the world, who are thirsting for peace, have not much of either in great abundance. Their time has almost run down in a barren waiting during the empty years following the peace treaties; their nervous systems have been worn out by having to be constantly on the alert in readiness for war, by uncertainty and disappointments. And it is doubtful whether their politicians and statesmen are better off as regards time and nerves than the peoples themselves. After all these politicians and statesmen are but the projections, the forms of expression of the public feelings and opinions behind them, and they cannot detach themselves from the communities which not only inform their moods, but often also supply them with instructions.

And the nations of the world are tired. They are tired of the numerous political formulas and empty, seemingly useless, *par force* political activity, which instead of bringing the world nearer to the ideals represented by the League of Nations, have thrust it farther away from them than ever. Yet these ideals might be attained, realized, and charged with the forces of practical life. All that is needed is a sincere desire for justice and the elimination from international relations of supramatic egoism. All that must be done is to use this simple and natural "charm", and natural, logical solutions will appear of themselves, as if springing out of the very earth at our feet.

Has the last session of the League of Nations taken any serious steps in this direction? Has the League made any attempt, after sixteen years of painful shilly-shallying, to find itself at last? Dare it touch questions that hitherto have been avoided and can it become the League, not only of the victors, but also of the vanquished?

There are decidedly promising signs that this process has set in. These hopeful symptoms, however, are more or less confined to negatives. The sanctions imposed on Italy under Article 16 of the League Covenant have been withdrawn. It was Great Britain, herself, who took the first step in this direction, and the gesture undoubtedly did much to create the spirit of compromise with the help of which the possibility of a door being opened towards a reformation of the League Covenant has been assured.

Never before, perhaps, have the advocates of historical evolution and those of a rigid adherence to the *status quo* found themselves so acutely antagonistic. The clash did not take place in public; it happened behind closed doors, and the particulars did not leak out. What is important is that the reactionary camp did not win the day; for the resolution adopted *re* a modification of the League Covenant determines that the General Assembly shall authorize the League Council to ask the Governments of the Member States to submit to the Secretary-General, before the 1st September, any suggestions they hold conducive towards a full realization of the principles laid down in the Covenant.

This is the first step from a static towards a dynamic League of Nations. From the very outset Hungary's endeavours have always been towards this desirable end, as was proved by her attitude in the question of the application of sanctions against Italy. Hungary has always considered it of great importance that measures of a punitive nature should conform to those provisions of the Covenant — in the first place, therefore, to Articles 11, 13 and 15 — which aim at resolving any differences arising between Member States with peaceful and preventive means, and which afford the possibility of correcting situations the maintainance of which endangers the peace of the world. The Hungarian Government, which ever since Hungary became a member of the League has never ceased to do what could be done to bring about this harmony, is now able to record with satisfaction that Hungary is not alone any more in propagating these ideas and pursuing these aims.

That Hungary is justified in her efforts to obtain a peaceful revision has been admitted by the British Government in an answer given to a question put in the House of Commons on 29th June, when Lord Cranborne, State Secretary, said that the British Government, as repeatedly stated, was of the opinion that the present political and territorial *status quo* could be properly modified, only by means of compromise and negotiations. He assured the Honorable Member that the British Government would always keep that principle in view. In this statement we see the herald of that historical turn of the wheel, the fruits of which a reform of the League of Nations may bring to maturity.

Presuming that the reform will really be a reform! If the League will have the courage to meet without flinching the difficult task that confronts it. It is indeed no light one. Gigantic forces are pitted against every effort to secure revision, and even today there are those who refuse to hear of a development in the spirit of the Wilsonian principles. Sooner or later, however, they will have to realize that the only possibility of saving the Danube Valley, and with it the rest of Europe, is a peaceful territorial revision by way of a practical application of Article 19 of the League of Nations Covenant.

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The resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the League of Nations on 4th June asks the Governments of the Member States to submit to the Secretary-General, if possible before 1st September, any suggestions they consider expedient in order to secure the fullest adherence to the principles laid down in the Covenant. This resolution, which paves the way by means of a plebiscite to the extremely necessary reform of the League of Nations, was adopted after a very long and heated debate in the bureau of the General Assembly. It ended in a victory for the point of view which refused to be content with the modifi-

ation of certain disavowed Articles and demanded a reformation of the entire Covenant. This standpoint was supported by several speakers at the plenary session. In particular the speeches made by the delegates from Ireland, Switzerland, Norway and Hungary deserve mention.

Mr. De Valera, President of the Irish Free State, made a very apt statement when he said that *if the Great Powers would meet in a peace conference* and undertake only part of the sacrifices they would be called upon to make in the event of war, the present difficulties would be solved much quicker. In his opinion the obvious reasons for the war now threatening should be eliminated by way of *arbitration* and *conciliation*. In conclusion Mr. De Valera *took up cudgels for a territorial and economic readjustment in Europe*.

M. Motta, Federal Councillor (Switzerland) also emphasized the importance of perfecting the *procedure of conciliation*, and particularly called the attention of the Assembly to the fact that *it should be made easier to obtain the avis consultatifs of the Permanent Courts of Arbitration*; that is to say, the decision brought by a majority of the Council or the League Assembly without the votes of the parties concerned should be sufficient.

Great attention was paid to the speech of M. Koth, Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs in which he pointed out possibilities so far disregarded of avoiding future conflicts which the revision paragraphs of Article 19 afforded. That article is often regarded with mistrust and anxiety as the possible source of discomposing revisions. But the Norwegian Foreign Minister, on the contrary, opined that *it must be regarded as an important safety regulation and a valuable guarantee of security*. *Revision, as such, was not to be dreaded*. Scarcely a few days had elapsed since the peaceful revision of the treaty relating to the demilitarization of the Dardanelles had begun, *and if Article 19 had been resorted to in time, perhaps Germany's deplorable breach of treaty might have been avoided*. At the close of his speech M. Koth declared that in many places the international situation was fraught with dangers, conflicts and even the menace of war, and this made impartial investigation imperative to international peace.

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Hungary's representative, M. Ladislas de Velics, Minister in Berne amongst other things said:

"In the first place, I wish to state that the Hungarian Government, while recognising the great practical utility of the institution at Geneva in the life of the nations, is fully aware of the laborious efforts which, from its inception, the League of Nations has made in order to fulfil its essential object, namely the maintenance of peace and the development of international collaboration, founded on the idea of justice and equality of rights of all States, large or small. Nevertheless, in the light of the experience which it has gained during many years as a Member of the League of Nations, the Hungarian Government has, for its part also, been forced to recognise the existence of certain imperfections in the Geneva machinery. These result either from certain imperfect provisions in the Covenant itself or else from its practical application. Consequently the Hungarian Government declares that it supports the reform of the League of Nations and, where necessary, the methods of its application, and on this point its ideas may be briefly summarised as follows.

The Hungarian Government could not associate itself with the view that the task of the League of Nations should consist exclusively in ensuring the

rigorous application of those provisions in the Covenant which are of a repressive character. For its part, the Hungarian Government desires that there should be an equilibrium between these repressive provisions and those other provisions of the Covenant — such as, notably, Articles 11, 13 and 19 — which provide by pacific and preventive means for the settlement of any disputes that may arise between States Members, and offer possibilities of finding remedies for situations the continuation of which might endanger the peace of the world. The Hungarian Government, which, from its entry into the League of Nations, has never ceased put-

ing forth every effort with a view to reaching this equilibrium one day, is glad to be able to note now that it is no longer the only one which holds these ideas and pursues this aim. The claims for the application of the Covenant in its entirety become every day more numerous and more urgent. The Hungarian Government would like to hope that by following this course it will be found possible better to achieve the objects which are embodied in the preamble of the Covenant. These ideals are also the ideals of Hungary, and my country will always do its best to collaborate in this direction with other States Members of the League of Nations."

THE CHANGE IN THE GERMANO-AUSTRIAN RELATIONS

On the occasion of the conclusion of an agreement between Germany and Austria, S. Mussolini sent a telegram to Herr Schuschnigg in which he expressed the opinion that this important event in the world's history, to which the conversations between himself and the Austrian Chancellor in Rocca del Caminate had essentially contributed, was a real step forward on the road to a reconstruction of Europe and the Danube states.

It certainly was difficult to conceive a reconstruction of Europe and the Danube states so long as storm-clouds were lowering over Austria. But now the statesmanship of Herr Hitler and Chancellor Schuschnigg has driven the clouds away and Austria's sovereignty at home and abroad has been guaranteed by the leader of the German Reich. With this a door has been opened towards a peaceful solution of the general European situation and of the Danube Valley problem.

The news of the agreement between Germany and Austria was received with joy in Hungary, which is linked to both countries by ties of traditional friendship. And the Hungarian Government is pleased to

think that it never allowed those ties to slacken even in times when much tact and diplomatic skill were needed to keep the friendship of both countries. In these circumstances it is but natural that the Hungarian nation was sincerely happy to see its two old friends on good terms again.

As one of the signatory powers of the Rome Protocol Hungary finds much satisfaction in being able to establish the fact that one of the pillars of the Germano-Austrian agreement is Austria's firm adherence to the Rome Pact, an attitude which the German Reich — at least tacitly — recognizes and approves of. Therewith a bridge has been built between Germany and Italy — another very satisfactory event for Hungary, who with all her loyalty to Italy managed to preserve her friendship with the German Reich.

The exchange of cordial telegrams which took place between Germany and Austria, as well as between the responsible statesmen of the countries party to the Rome Pact is a sure sign that a co-operation will ensue among the four countries, the beneficial effects of which will not fail to make themselves felt in Europe as a whole, as well as in the Danube Valley.

REVISION IN MONTREUX

After the successful conclusion of the Montreux Conference a large section of the international press very properly stated that it was an important station on the road to a peaceful revision of the peace treaties. Turkey, who thanks to her victory over the Greeks in Asia Minor, escaped having to ratify the Peace of Sèvres and managed, what no other of the vanquished countries did, to get the victors to treat with her on terms of equality at the Lausanne Conference and conclude with her a new and more reasonable treaty — has now been successful in opening a breach in the Lausanne instrument and forcing the fortification of the Straits. This victory was won without the help of Article 19 of the Covenant; for the other parties, without running for advice to the League, realized that the time had come to amend the agreement concerning the Straits. It is also worthy of note that Rumania who, though one of the pillars of the anti-revision movement, has of late been urging a revision of the provisions applying to the Danube Commission which adversely affect Rumania, after withdrawing her reservations gave her full consent to the new agreement. Notable innovations were that the agreement immediately became operative before any of the contracting parties ratified it and that it may be modified every five years. It is to be hoped that the example set will soon be followed by others. Although the legal bases of the Montreux revision must meet with unconditional ap-

proval from a political point of view it is not without anxiety that we regard the fact that men-of-war may pass through the Straits to the assistance of the states which have concluded a pact of mutual assistance with Turkey even if Turkey remains neutral. This provision is a great advantage to the Soviet in the first place, and may one day prove very dangerous for Great Britain.

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International circles were dumfounded and shocked at the Rumanian Foreign Minister, M. Titulescu's attack on the British delegate in Montreux.

The Rumanian Foreign Minister, who shortly ago boasted that his policy was an Anglophile one, *thumped the table with his fist, and flying into a passion, shouted to the British delegate: —*

"You have one policy for Geneva and another for Montreux."

Reuter reports that when the British delegate courteously began to explain Britain's attitude M. Titulescu gave a bigger thump to the table and cried: —

"This is not a matter for politeness; it is the sacred rights of my country. You want to do away with the treaties between Rumania and her allies."

After this attack M. Titulescu hurriedly left Montreux without waiting for the British answer.

THE SOVIET AIR FORCE GENERAL STAFF VISITS PRAGUE

General Jakop Ivanovitch Alksnitch, commander-in-chief of the Red Air Force paid an official visit to Prague accompanied by a suite of fourteen officers. A four-motor gigantic bomber brought the Russian visitors to Prague. According to the official notice issued by the Czecho-Slovakian Ministry of War the Red officer pilots came to return the recent visit of the Czecho-Slovakian Air Force General Staff to Moscow.

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The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" writing about the visit amongst other things says: — "Since a long time Soviet Russia has been busy preparing for the contingency that Czecho-Slovakia may go to war. It is proposed to have a joint command for the French, Soviet and Czech Air Forces, and the supreme commander of the three is to be a French Air Force officer of high rank. As early as the end of April many Soviet Russian officers were working with the staff department of the Czech general command in

Éger. Other 11 Soviet officers — one of them was a General Staff officer — made their appearance in the middle of April, and General Hostauban Temnikov of the Soviet army is working now with the General Staff at the military headquarters in Brünn. Of signal importance was the conference that took place in Prague in March, which was attended by President Beneš, M. Krofta, Foreign Minister, several General Staff officers of high rank, and a commander-in-chief of the Soviet army from Moscow. This commander-in-chief suggested that certain reserve detachments of the Soviet Air Force should be transferred to Czecho-Slovakia already now. Soviet Russia has given binding promises to Czecho-Slovakia in the event of war. According to them the Soviet is to send to Czecho-Slovakia's aid an Air Force squadron consisting of 30 observation planes and three squadrons consisting each of 30 bombers, and besides this, a special flying fleet of 9 bombing storm planes and three squadrons consisting in all of 324 chasers.

THE DISTURBANCES IN BUCHAREST

Behind the Rumanian disturbances, the details of which were published in foreign newspapers too, lurks, in reality, the struggle between two opposing views of life which was carried on in a characteristically Balkan way between the ultra-chauvinists and the left-wing Radicals.

The clash between the two views took place first in the press controversy which lasted for weeks between the ultra-chauvinist and anti-Semite "Universul" on the one hand and the left-wing "Dimineata" and its sister-paper the "Adeverul". These papers are press organs appearing in hundreds of thousands of copies, and the business rivalry and antagonism between them are of long standing. The owner and chief editor of the "Universul", Stelian Popescu, is at the same time president of the Anti-revision League and leader of the anti-minority movements in Rumania. The "Universul" tries indeed to monopolize the unbridled agitation against the minorities, and the most of the wild accusations, chiefly against the Hungarians, see the light of day in its columns.

The trial of the anti-Fascist Anna Pauker and her 19 associates provided the "Universul" with the opportunity of accusing the "Dimineata" of Communist propaganda, because Alexander Pauker, the owner of that paper, was a relative of the accused. The "Dimineata" replied by disclosing the past of Popescu, and complementing the book which appeared some months earlier under the title of "Take your paws off the national flag" from the pen of the well-known writer and translator, Victor Eftimiu. Eftimiu had drawn upon himself the wrath of the "Universul" for protesting against a Hungarian author, Lorand Daday, being sentenced to a long term of imprisonment on account of a novel of his. The "Dimineata" also published a facsimile of Popescu's letter to General Mackensen at the time when the German army was in Bucarest in which he offered the General his support. Besides this, it proved that Popescu was a deserter: that as examining magistrate he had been guilty of cruelty; that, as a lawyer, he had made his fortune by fraud, and that he had become the owner of the "Universul" by forging a will.

Thereupon Popescu had recourse to the right-wing storm troops and carried the whole controversy out into the streets. Already weeks ago street fighting took place between the two camps, in which crow-bars, bombs and revolvers played the main role. Blumenfeld, the political editor of the "Dimineata" who is known as one of Rumania's best publicists under the *non-de-plume* of Scrutator, was severely beaten. An attempt on the life of Emil Graur, chief editor and brother of the owner of the "Dimineata", failed, but one of his tenants was shot down in the street. Students of the right wing confiscated by force the "Dimineata" and the "Adeverul" in the newspaper booths, while the workmen fought with the students in the streets. Two printers lost their lives and many people were severely wounded. The students raided the streets of Bucarest and before the eyes of the police hauled the Jewish, Hungarian, and Rumanian workmen whom they caught in the streets off to their headquarters — the so-called "Blue House" barracks of the Cuza Party youth — where they tortured their prisoners. One man had his eyes burned out, several had the swastika chiselled on their skulls with daggers, while others had the same sign tattooed on their backs. This was followed in Transylvania by the burning of the left-wing newspapers. The club of the minority journalists in Kolozsvár was broken into and the minority journalists maltreated. The collaborators of the minority newspapers were thrashed in the streets. Armed forces alone prevented the destruction of the editorial and printing offices of the Hungarian newspapers in Kolozsvár. Hungarian and Jewish travellers were subjected to the most appalling attacks on the trains in the whole of Rumania.

For a long time the Tatarescu Government allowed free play to the passions of the mob, and it was only a few days ago that the censor was ordered to put a stop to the press controversy between the adherents of the two opposing views. But, thanks to the agitation of the "Universul", the acts of terror against the minorities are still going on.

M. KIOSSEIVANOV'S NEW CABINET

As everybody knows, the Bulgarian Cabinet was reconstructed on 4th July; but its programme has undergone no change. In the sphere of foreign policy the items of that programme are adherence to the League of Nations, a *rapprochement* towards Yugoslavia, peace, understanding and cordial co-operation with Bulgaria's neighbours, and friendly relations with all other countries. In internal politics the motto of the Government programme is the manifesto of historical import issued on 21st of April, 1935 by King Boris, which assigned to the Toseff Government then in office the task of paving the way towards the inclusion of popular representation in the Government. The Welchff outrage delayed that work, but the time has now arrived to realize the promises contained in the Royal Manifesto and draw up a new election law under which the general elections may be held in the second half of October. The appointment of M. Karagyozoff, former president of the Supreme Court, as Minister

of Justice and of M. Krasnovski, a justice of high rank and later on president of the Supreme Public Audit Office, as Minister of the Interior shows that the Government is determined to assure that the elections will be conducted without any partiality. Among the events of the past weeks in the sphere of foreign politics mention must be made of the statement of the Bulgarian delegation at the Montreux Conference, according to which Bulgaria welcomed with sympathy the steps taken by the Turkish Government *re* the fortification of the Straits and a revision of the Treaty of Lausanne. These were questions of great importance to Bulgaria, who though a Black Sea state, was cut off from free communication with the sea and forced to transact a great part of her foreign trade by way of the Dardanelles. This statement deserves special attention in view of the fact that when Turkey was forced in Lausanne to demilitarize the Straits, Bulgaria was cut off from the Aegean Sea.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE MEASURES DIRECTED AGAINST FOREIGNERS BY THE CZECHO-SLOVAK DEFENCE OF THE STATE ACT

Mention has repeatedly been made in these columns of the new Czecho-Slovakian Defence of the State Act. In what follows we shall give a summary of the dispositions directed against foreigners, with due attention to the recently issued Ordinance *re* its execution.

As was stated in our May issue, in terms of pars. 22 and 23 of the Act, foreigners may not be employed in enterprizes important from the standpoint of the defence of the State without the previous consent of the military authorities; nor can they without it be members of the management or supervisory committee or board of control of any such enterprize. According to Ordinance 197/1930, the following are enterprizes of that nature. Mines, glass, metal and enamel works, machine factories, chemical works, textile and paper mills, graphical, leather and timber industries, wholesale trade in victuals, distilleries, ready made clothes and shoe manufacturies, means of communication, such as shipping and air-transport and all firms providing for transport in motor-driven machines, carriers, public and private nursing-homes, hospitals and infirmaries, manufacturies of drugs and medicines, and all concerns engaged in the purchasing of the raw materials required by the enterprizes mentioned above.

This means that the foreign employees — or employees who cannot produce papers certifying that they are subjects of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic — and the managers of industrial concerns, means of communication, mines, commercial concerns, chemical works, and even public and private hospitals can be dismissed at a moment's notice by order of the military

authorities. It must be remembered that in terms of par. 194 foreigners are "all physical persons who cannot produce proof of Czecho-Slovakian citizenship". A special danger to the Hungarian minority lurks in this paragraph, seeing that owing to the chaos prevailing in the question of nationality and domicile, the Czecho-Slovakian authorities, disregarding Article 62 of the Treaty of Trianon, refuse to recognize as Czecho-Slovakian nationals about fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants of Slovakia and Ruthenia. These for the most part are people whose mother-tongue is Hungarian and who under the laws valid at the time acquired the right of domicile in some village or town of those Provinces before 1st January 1910. These persons must now be discharged, that is to say, they must be replaced by others in the managements, supervisory committees, and boards of control of the above-mentioned enterprizes, if the military authorities refuse, now that the Defence of the State Act has become valid, to sanction their employment. Should any enterprize refuse to obey, it may be put under compulsory control and may even be deprived of its concessions. There is no possibility of legal appeal against the decision of the military authorities, even in the question of the nationality of the persons labelled untrustworthy. They cannot, of course, seek redress in the courts of justice, but must appeal to a council in the Provincial Office consisting of commissioners appointed by the Ministries, and this council is not obliged to state the reasons for its decisions. The foreigners or homeless persons employed by the enterprizes enumerated above must have the permission of the military authorities before they can take out papers of naturalization.

Under par. 49 of the Act, all foreigners were ordered to notify within six weeks of the date when the Act became valid (May 23, 1936) the Provincial Office of all the rights of possession and ownership, or any other real rights with the exception of mortgages, acquired by them in the frontier zone and in fortified places or places important to the Defence of the Republic. They must also notify the Provincial

Office of all rights of tenancy and lease, as well as of mining, water, shooting and fishing rights. The Provincial Office is empowered at discretion to limit their rights, or convey them to persons of Czecho-Slovakian nationality. A map of the frontier zone which comprises the greater part of the Republic was published in the June issue of this paper. In terms of the Executive Ordinance No. 198/1930 the above-mentioned obligation does not extend to the lease of houses or premises used to house means of communication, if the tenancy is for a period shorter than two months. It follows that even the lease of a garage, if it is for longer than two months, falls into the category of tenancies subject to the control of the military authorities and may be taken from a foreigner and conveyed to a Czecho-Slovakian national. According to par. 34 permission for foreigners and homeless persons to reside in the frontier zone is also subject to the approval of the military authorities.

DECLARATION OF HUNGARIAN PARTY ON THE ACT

On behalf of the Hungarian Deputies' Parliamentary Club M. Géza Szüllő read a declaration in Parliament, which ran as follows: —

"We Hungarians do not fear the measures contemplated to ensure the security of the State or the criminal sanctions adopted to stamp out espionage; for the history of the Hungarians and their tragedy show that they keep their oath and are not spies.

"But the Hungarians fear that this law will create in the administration and in political life a public spirit which will wrest from the national minorities the elementary rights guaranteed to them in the Constitution of the Republic.

"For that reason, then, we protest publicly against the passing of an Act directed against the principles of human liberty, equality before the law, the right of a man to defend himself before the Courts of Justice, and the right of ownership. To plan a law of that sort is to deny everything in the way of rights and liberties that the Czecho-Slovak State at the time of its creation promised before the whole world to the nationalities in the Constitution of the Republic: it is a denial of the eternal principles of democracy and the road towards a dictatorship."

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BRITISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON THE ACT

The London correspondent of the "Pesti Hirlap" addressed a question to several British politicians, asking their opinion of the anti-minority provisions of the Czecho-Slovak Defence of the State Act. Their answers were published in the "Pesti Hirlap" of June 3rd:

Sir Robert Gower, leader of the Central European group of British M. P.'s said: — "I can see already that the Czecho-Slovak Defence of the State Act is diametrically opposed to the rights guaranteed in the minority treaties, and I fully understand the indignation aroused in Hungary by this step on the part of the Czechs. I also understand the bitterness engendered by the Act among the Hungarian nationals living in Czecho-Slovakia. I have procured the text of the Act, and when I have studied it thoroughly, I shall decide what steps my group of British M. P.'s will take. Till then I assure the Hungarian nationals, who have every

reason to regard the Act with the gravest anxiety, that this assault on them will meet with the most energetic and determined opposition of every member of the British Parliament."

Mr. Adam Maitland, Conservative M. P. replied as follows: — "I consider it of the greatest importance to make the matter known to the widest circles of international public opinion. The protection of the minorities and their rights is an old tradition in Britain. In the past, too, Britain has always considered a breach of such treaties an unfortunate thing, irrespective of the nationality of the minority in question. Now that the Czecho-Slovak Republic has passed a law the provisions of which infringe the minority treaties, she will find herself confronted by an antagonistic public opinion in Britain.

I am certain that Hungary is entitled to ask the League of Nations to intervene to protect the rights of the Hungarian minority. I feel that when the matter comes before the League of Nations Hungary will not be disappointed by the response of British public opinion."

Mr. Rhys Davies, Labour Party M. P. stated his opinion in the following words: — "I was shocked to learn that there existed a Government which passed a law making the lives of the minorities more difficult than before. Experience goes to show that *oppression of this kind is its own punishment*. I who have studied the position of the minorities on the spot *feel sure that wisdom will get the upper hand, and that the Governments concerned will retract the measures which gravely endanger the rights of the minorities. Till this is done, it is vain to hope that a spirit of peace will rule among the states of the Danube Valley.*

Mr. William Mabane said: — "I have no doubt that the response of the House of Commons will be a severe condemnation of the behaviour of the Czechs. We shall do what we can to prevent an infringement of rights such as the Succession States are planning against the minorities. Not I alone, but everybody else in Parliament who has the peace of Europe at heart, will welcome the statements made by the Prime Minister's deputy and the Foreign Secretary. During the past few years we have repeatedly put questions to the Government concerning a revision of the peace treaties, but, alas!, the answers were always evasive. It is therefore with all the greater satisfaction we see that *our persevering work has reached a stage where a positive answer was forthcoming regarding a modification of the peace treaties. The mere fact that the British Government is considering the question of territorial readjustment on the basis of a mutual agreement gives Hungary the right to hope for the possibility of a peaceful solution.*"

In conclusion Mr. Mabane added that he wished to keep the question of a revision of the Trianon Treaty permanently before the House of Commons, and was labouring to draw the attention of the Government to the urgency of the problem.

(To be continued.)

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THE UNION OF TWO HUNGARIAN PARTIES

June 21 was a great day for the Hungarians living in Czecho-Slovakia, when, after months of preparations, the formal union of the General Christian Socialist Party and the Hungarian National Party took place. The name of the united party is the "United General Christian Socialist and Hungarian National

Party". M. Andrew Jaross and Count John Eszterházy were elected president and acting-president respectively. M. Géza Szüllő and M. Joseph Szent-Ivány, Deputies, who were leaders of the Parties will also be members of the Party presidency. The new construction is merely a formal expression of the cooperation between the two Parties in the Prague Parliament, outward signs of which were a combined Club and joint election lists at Parliamentary and self-governing bodies elections. As M. Jaross, the new president said in his speech at Party headquarters, the United Party will pursue an Opposition policy and is openly, sincerely, and honestly determined to unite in itself all the Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia, as well as all the Slovaks, Ruthenians, Germans and Rumanians who have hitherto fostered the thousand-years-old community of interests with the Hungarians.

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NO HUNGARIAN CHAIR IN ANY OF THE FOUR CZECHO-SLOVAK UNIVERSITIES

M. Géza Szüllő, President of the Parliamentary Club of the Hungarian deputies and senators in Prague, recently addressed a question to the Minister of Education in which he complained that during all the eighteen years of the Republic no steps had been taken to provide the Hungarians with the possibilities of university or college education. He said that for years the situation the two Hungarian chairs existing only on paper had been intolerable, and insisted that those chairs should be filled as soon as possible by the appointment of well-known scholars of Hungarian nationality. He demanded an adequate equipment and properly increased grants for the Hungarian seminaries. What follows is an excerpt from the text of M. Szüllő's question:

"It is a clearly recognized fact that the large body of Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia can boast of a high level of culture in the past. Recently Budapest celebrated the tricentenary of the Peter Pázmány University, the cradle of which was rocked in the territory now known as Slovakia. It was in Slovakia that Benedek Kisdy in 1654 founded the Kassa Academy of Law, and in 1667, on the initiative of Stephen Wittnyédy, the Academy of Law was founded at Eperjes by the Evangelical Church. It was in Slovakia at Selmecbánya that Maria Theresia in the 70's of the eighteenth century laid the foundation of the first Mining Academy in Europe. This academy was so famous everywhere that students flocked to it from far-distant foreign countries. Until the change of State took place there was, besides these, also a College of Economics in Kassa. All these colleges have been closed by the Government; and this act has not only deprived the Hungarians of their services, but has also been a serious crime against cultural progress in general.

"Later on a so-called "Hungarian chair" was set up, first in the Prague and then in the Pozsony Czecho-Slovak University, for the purpose of teaching Hungarian linguistics and literature, but both chairs were occupied by the same man, Professor Paul Bujnák, a Slovak who also spoke Hungarian.

"In 1933 Professor Bujnák died, and ever since the Hungarian chair has been vacant in both universities. In the interim it has been entrusted to temporary professors, the Czech national, Dr. Wladislas Šmilauer, Professor of Slav Philology in the Pozsony University and the Slovak, Dr. Francis Jančovič, former head-master of the Pozsony Grammar

School, who is the teacher of Hungarian in the university there. Dr. Šmilauer does not speak Hungarian at all. Both of them lecture in the language of the State; and when the students have passed their examinations, which are held in that language, they receive a diploma qualifying them to teach the Hungarian language and literature in Hungarian secondary schools. It is a sadly grotesque situation when a professor of Czech nationality is authorized to certify that a student is proficient in Hungarian.

"There are about 60 students of Hungarian at the Prague and Pozsony Universities. But is it conceivable that these young Hungarian candidates for a teacher's certificate should acquire a thorough scientific knowledge of the language, if they never, or hardly ever, hear lectures about Hungarian literature and have no opportunities of doing any practical work in Hungarian literature and language? Can it be regarded a satisfactory settlement of the problem when a paltry sum of 1000 Czech crowns is all that is set aside annually for the purposes of the seminary attached to the Hungarian chair in Prague, while the English, Rumanian and Hebrew seminaries receive 3000 Czech crowns each and the Slav philology seminary has an annual grant of 20.000 Czech crowns?"

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THE SUDETEN GERMAN QUESTION

Czech circles have taken offence because of a statement made by Herr Henlein, leader of the biggest Sudeta German Party, at a mass-meeting of the Party held in Eger. Herr Henlein, namely, said that he preferred being hated in the company of Germany to exploiting the hatred against Germany. Premier Hodža in his speech in the Senate on July 2nd severely criticized Herr Henlein's statement, and expressed his opinion that it was the best propaganda for the automatic separation from the rest of the Republic of the territories compactly inhabited by German nationals. (In other words, the territorial autonomy of the Sudeta Germans. Ed.) The Prague Government is trying to counteract the determined attitude of the leader of the Sudeta German Party by drawing the little German Christian Socialist Party into the Government coalition and making one of its members, Herr Zajiček, Minister without portfolio. Herr Zajiček's appointment was commented on by the organ of the Autonomist Slovak People's Party, the "Slovak", as follows: — "The Christian Socialists joining the Government coalition will not solve the German problem. The total number of Government Party Germans will be 22 against the 44 Henleinists of the Opposition. The world may make the mistake of thinking that three German ministers in the Cabinet means everything is all right, but will realize its mistake the moment it hears of Henlein's 44 deputies. It is the same thing as with the Slovaks. It may delude foreign opinion to see that there is one Slovak minister — M. Hodža — to 12 Agrarian Party deputies, and one — M. Dérer — to 6 Slovak Social Democrats. But this does not balance the 19 Opposition People's Party deputies. Ministers who are not backed solidly by the nation and the constituencies they represent, have not the stable position in the country and the Government which would benefit that nation and those constituencies." In any case, Herr Zajiček's appointment merely serves to delay Hlinka's fusion with the Government coalition so ardently desired by Prague, and for which preparations have been on foot for months, naturally so far without result. At the meeting of the Party held in Nagytapolcsány M. Tiso, who is Hlinka's collaborator

in the political guidance of the Party, declared that its political programme was to realize Slovakia's autonomy. He then added: "We shall join the Government when the demands of the Slovak nation have been satisfied, but we shall never do so for sake of seats in the Cabinet or in the interest of individuals."

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SLOVAKS COMPLETELY IGNORED IN THE CZECHO-SLOVAK ARMY

In an article published in the "Slovak" on June 4th, M. Haššik, Slovak People's Party deputy and member of the Parliamentary Army Committee, stated that there were only 10 Slovak officers in the Czecho-Slovak General Staff. Of the 3,600 cadets registered in the Kranice Military Academy in Mährischweibkirchen between 1922 and 1935 only 127 were Slovaks, and there was not one single Slovak among the 300 apprentices at the munition works in Brünn.

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RUMANIA

RELIABILITY OF OCTAVIAN GOGA'S STATEMENTS

In the first number of "Berlin and Volk", 1936, we read that when Titulescu was delivering a speech against the minorities, Octavian Goga interrupted him, saying: "In the days of the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy there was not a single railway employee, down to the last signalman, who was not forced to magyarize his family name." Although Goga's allegation is so well known to be false that it is scarcely worth while refuting it, we publish below a summary of the statistics concerning the names of the State Railway employees published in the official gazette (Magyarország Tiszti Cím- és Névtára) for 1914:

	Hungarian	German	Slav	Other nationality
	names	names	names	names
Total 6.515	3.637	1.654	968	257
% 100.0	55.8	25.4	14.9	3.9

These statistics which may be checked by everybody, show that only 55.8% of the State Railway employees had Hungarian-sounding names, while 25.4% had German and 14.9% Slav-sounding ones. This is how matters stood in reality and not as Octavian Goga — thanks less to a fertile imagination than to a fair amount of malevolence-alleges. (Stud. 1936, vol. IV, No. 84, April 10.)

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M. AVARESCU ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRANSYLVANIA AND THE OLD KINGDOM

In order to avoid the restoration celebrations on 8th. June — which were made so memorable by the presence of the heads of the Little Entente States and the Cotroceni catastrophe — Marshall Averescu went

to Jassy. In a speech delivered there he said: — "All Rumanians are certainly united politically, but no spiritual union has followed. Today the differences separating Rumanian from Rumanian are greater than they were in pre-war times. The Rumanians in Transylvania look down on those of the Regate as a kind of gypsy folk." ("Curentul", June 8).

M. George Bratianu, the dissenting Liberal leader, made a similarly interesting statement in his speech at the restoration celebrations: — "Rumania — he said — is still waiting for a restoration — the restoration of honesty and moral integrity in public life." ("Dimineața", June 8th. and "Curentul", June 9th.) In its issue of 30th. June the latter paper wrote: — "Corruption, *bakshish*, and wide-spread poverty are the phenomena that characterize internal conditions in Rumania."

A FORMER RUMANIAN PREMIER'S AND A PUBLIC ATTORNEY'S ATTACKS ON THE HUNGARIANS

At a meeting held in Nagyszeben on 21st. June M. Vajda-Voivod, former Prime Minister and the father of the "Numerus Valachicus", made the following statement: — "I know that we are living in a country with several million inhabitants of other tongues. We cannot pack them into the train and send them out of the country. But we must pass laws that will make them go of themselves". ("Csiki Lapok", June 28). M. Colfescu, Public Attorney in Kolozsvár, who has been heard more than once making similar attacks on the Hungarians at the trials of the minority pressmen, recently said in a lecture delivered in Szatmár: — "It is not only a question of Rumanian national self-defence, but also an international necessity to sweep the Hungarians away both from the Succession States and the plains of Pannonia as yet free." ("Déli Hírlap"), June 12).

HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS FORCED TO CHANGE THEIR NAMES

In pre-war Hungary the Rumanian newspapers could freely use Rumanian geographical names both in their titles and their text. Thus, for instance, nobody ever thought of forcing the Brassó "Gazeta Transylvanei" to change its name to "Gazeta Erdélyului". But the Rumanian censor has forbidden the use of Hungarian names, first of places, then of provinces (Transylvania, the Banate), in the text and the titles of the newspapers.

A few months ago the "Szamos", a daily published for 68 years in Szatmár, was ordered by the Prefect of the county, acting on instructions from higher quarters, to choose another title seeing that "Szamos" (the name of a river) was a geographical term and as such, under the Ordinance issued by the censor, might not be used in its Hungarian form. On May 12th the paper received another writ ordering the first to be carried out by May 15th. In consequence, from May 16th on the "Szamos" has appeared under the title of "Szabadsajtó". ("Szamos", May 15.)

In an equally arbitrary way the Prefect of the county of Bihar, citing ordinances 84659—1592 and 1244—1936 of the Ministry for the Interior, forbade the "Erdélyi Lapok" and the "Erdélyi Néplap" to appear under those titles, because the name of Tran-

sylvania was used in its Hungarian form (Erdély). The publishers of the papers asked for a respite — the Prefect's orders were dated May 22nd — but the general commanding the 17th Infantry Brigade would not agree, so that from June 2nd on the papers in question could not use the word "Erdély" in their titles. The "Erdélyi Lapok" became "Uj Lapok" and the "Erdélyi Néplap", "Néplap".

These measures are a flagrant violation of the minority treaty of December 9th, in terms of which no Rumanian citizen is to be prevented from using any language he wishes in the press or any other publications.

Besides the papers above-mentioned, the following have also been compelled to take another name: the Arad "Erdélyi Hirlap", a daily, the "Erdélyi Tudósító", a religious periodical, the "Erdélyi Gazda", a farming paper, and the "Erdélyi Szemle", a literary periodical appearing in Kolozsvár (Cluj). It is true that the Rumanian Minister of the Interior has reportedly told Mr. Willer, Hungarian M. P. that instructions have been sent to all the prefects in Transylvania and the Banate not to prevent in future the free use of Hungarian place-names either in the text or the titles of newspaper, but, for all that, the Hungarian papers which had been forbidden to use Hungarian names have not yet been allowed to resume their old titles.

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MORE REMOVALS OF HUNGARIAN MEMORIALS

On 3rd of June a memorial tablet with a Hungarian inscription was removed from the Town Hall in Nagybánya, a Hungarian town in Rumania. The inscription stated that Alexander Petöfi, the great Hungarian poet, had put up in the inn which stood on the spot now occupied by the Town Hall, on 8th September 1847. The tablet which was placed in the wall of the old Stephen Tower on the 600th anniversary of its erection was also removed, as were the tablets in the wall of a private building placed there in memory of the historian Schönherr and the actor Lendvay and the statue of the latter which stood in one of the public squares of the town. ("Népujság", July 3.)

THE „CSIK PRIVATE PROPERTY“ AFFAIR

In the columns of this paper mention has more than once been made for the fact that in the matter of the "Csik Private Property" which was confiscated without any compensation in 1923 by the State, the League of Nations Council on 24th of September, 1932 ordered Rumania to restore, besides all the town property, 19% of the forest and grazing lands (6704 hectares). But — contrary to the League decision — the Law passed in 1934 stipulated that the property in question was to be restored only if all claims to any other property were withdrawn. At the last meeting of the Board of Directors it was decided that a statement of this nature could not be signed, because the stipulation ran contrary to the League decision, even to the Constitution of the State, and the confiscation was in any case an illegal act. The Board of Directors is to seek legal redress in the domestic Courts of Justice. But as the State is meanwhile

felling the forests, by the time the Courts have given judgment all that the "Csik Private Property" will get back is a denuded territory. ("Népujság", July 3).

ABOUT 200 HUNGARIAN POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH EMPLOYEES DISMISSED RECENTLY

The language examination in vogue in Rumania are still taking their toll of victims. It now and then, for the sake of appearances, one or two Hungarian employees who were cast out of their jobs are reinstated, a whole host of others are immediately dismissed. The "Keleti Ujság", quoting the Rumanian official gazette, has published a list of the minority postal-and-telegraph employees who have been discharged from the Civil Service on the pretext that their knowledge of the language of the State was inadequate. In that list we find 156 Hungarians employed in the Post Office and 27 Hungarian telephone employees, all of whom were dismissed without warning and without any compensation or pensions. Many of these unfortunates are persons who had once already been reinstated in their posts by the Statutory Committee when it was found that they had a thorough knowledge of Rumanian. But the majority of them never had their cases tried by the Committee at all, and their instantaneous dismissal came as a complete surprise to the astonished victims. A number of them are employees who were promoted a few months ago. ("Keleti Ujság" May 5).

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ALL FILMS TO BEAR RUMANIAN INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

A new bill has been recently drafted in Bucharest, which prohibits the use of foreign inscriptions on films as from January 1st, 1937, allowing them to have only Rumanian inscriptions after that date. If this bill is passed it will make the position of minority languages even more precarious than it is now. Hitherto, it will be remembered, the films bore Rumanian, German, and Hungarian inscriptions.

The "Prezentul", a Bucharest newspaper dealing with economics, reports that the Rumanian Government's new Film Order, which forbids captions in minority languages, was first submitted to the legislative board which examines all Bills before they are introduced, to ascertain whether they are constitutional or not. The board found that the prohibition of captions in a foreign language was at variance with paragraph 3 of article 8, of the Minority Treaty, which expressly stipulates that all citizens are to have the right to use their mother-tongues in the press and other publications. Therefore the board advised the cancelling of the Order. But the Rumanian Ministry in question, ignoring this advice, has promulgated the anti-minority Film Order.

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APPALLING RESULTS AT EXAMINATIONS IN THE MINORITY SCHOOLS

In Székelyfalu 21 of the 39 pupils of the Reformed Church elementary school failed in their

examinations before a committee the members of which did not understand a word of the Hungarian replies given by the children. ("Brassói Lapok", Juli 1). Only 17 of the 133 pupils of the Roman Catholic *Gymnasium* (secondary school) for boys, which was deprived of its rights as a public school, were allowed to pass to a higher class by a committee of examiners consisting of foreign teachers. Thus over 87% of the pupils were made to fail. ("Déli Hírlap", June 21). At the elementary school examination in the purely Hungarian town of Marosvásárhely the parents of the Hungarian pupils were appalled to learn that their children had not received any instruction whatever in Hungarian. They have lodged a complaint with the Minister of Education. ("Népujság", June 21).

COMMUNAL GRANTS TO MINORITY DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS STOPPED

Under one of the Rumanian laws villages were obliged to allot 14% of their budget to educational purposes. Hitherto denominational schools got their share of that 14%. Recently, however, an order was sent to 26 Hungarian places in the county of Maros-Torda, forbidding them to give any aid to denominational schools. The whole of the 14% was to be devoted to the use of State schools. In places where the only school was a denominational one, the money was to be set aside for the building of a State school. ("Brassói Lapok", June 22). This order is a flagrant breach of par. 2, Article 10 of the Paris minority treaty.

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SITUATION OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The Prefect of the County of Szatmár has written to the Roman Catholic Bishop ordering the immediate removal of the statues of St. Stephen and St. Emeric from the main entrance of the Roman Catholic Cathedral. The same step has been taken with regard to the Roman Catholic parish of Felsőbánya (Baia-Sprie) which has two similar statues standing in the main entrance of its church. In his reply the Bishop stated that he did not consider himself authorized to remove the statues which must be looked upon as *relics of national value*. (Keleti Ujság, March 6th, 1936, vol. XIX., no. 53.). — Government contribution to the stipend of the Rev. Joseph András, parish priest in the village of Zágón, has been withdrawn, because he did not attend the national festivals on May 10th. The priest produced sufficient evidence to prove that he had been called upon at the same time to administer extreme unction to a dying man. (Erdélyi Lapok, February 14th, 1936, no. 36.). — The Rev. Eugene Kiss, Unitarian Minister in the village of Homoródkeményszőlős, has been accused of propaganda-work hostile to the interests of the State: what he actually did was to protest against the attempts of the State church to convert his own parishioners. (Székely Közélet, February 8th, 1936.). — The Inspector of Schools in Radautz (Bucovina) has ordered that, in addition to the other subjects, *the teaching of religion should also be given in Rumanian only*. (Banater Deutsche Zeitung, February 21st, 1936.). Now the minority clergy in the county of Maros-Torda have received an order informing them that under the General Decree

no. 10.820 of 16th April issued by the Superintendent of the District Police in Kolozsvár, no sort of religious meeting or festival may be held without permission from the Ministry of Public Education. ("Brassói Lapok"). The Public Prosecutor keeps levelling an avalanche of charges of incitement to rebellion against the minority clergy. In the county of Udvarhely, for instance, where charges of this nature are being tried at Székelyudvarhely almost daily, the Rev. Árpád Székely, a Roman Catholic priest, was sentenced to one month's gaol and a fine of 1.500 lei for having taken two Hungarian children who had been compelled to attend the Greek Catholic school back to the Roman Catholic one. The State aid (congrua) enjoyed by the Rev. J. Pálffy, a Unitarian clergyman, was stopped by the Ministry of Public Education without any enquiries into the matter, simply because the Rumanian Anthem was not being played on the organ in his church. The report of the gendarmes upon which the punishment was based, neglected to state that the only musical instrument the church possessed was a useless old harmonium. ("Brassói Lapok" May 20.) The Rev. Pongrácz Gellért, a Roman Catholic priest of the Minorite Order, has been arrested for having — it is alleged — made irreverent statements in a funeral sermon. ("Brassói Lapok", May 16.)

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YUGOSLAVIA

LICENCE REFUSED TO HUNGARIAN CULTURAL SOCIETY

As we reported at the time, the Ban of the Danube Banate dissolved the Hungarian Cultural Society in Nagybecskerek in April of 1934. There was no reason for dissolving this only central cultural organisation of the Hungarians. Since then the Society was reorganized, but its regulations were not endorsed by the authorities. The reason given, which was quite unfounded, was that the members of its committee were not sufficient guarantee that the Society would confine its activity to cultural matters untainted by politics. After this refusal the Society was formed again with a new committee consisting of persons who never had anything to do with politics. In spite of this the Minister of Education has again refused to sanction the Society and has not considered it necessary to state his reasons.

TWO STANDARDS

At the end of May the German town of Ujverbász sent a delegation of five to the Minister of Public Education in Belgrade to ask that the secondary school in that place which had been reduced to four classes should again be gradually built up to its full eight-class status, and that a parallel eight-class German department should be opened. The Minister of Public Education promised to attend to the matter and if possible to grant the request. But the same Minister of Public Education has curtly refused — as was reported in our May issue — to grant a similar request proffered by the 87% Hungarian town of Zenta.

At the March session of the Banate Council in the Danube Banate Dr. Francis Mészáros, Hungarian

Banate Councillor, announced that in the district of Zenta twelve perfectly good school-buildings had been closed for years. Despite repeated urgent appeals to the Ministry of Public Education no teachers had been sent to those elementary schools situated in a purely Hungarian region. As a result of this wilful neglect hundreds of Hungarian children of school age have had no opportunity for years of receiving elementary instruction. At one sitting of the Banate Council Dr. Gajo, a physician of Stara-Kanjiza (Ó-Kanjiza) complained that the school inspectors in the minority districts did not speak the minority languages. The extremely detrimental effect of this unsatisfactory situation was that, to curry favour with the school inspector, who was ignorant of the minority language, or indeed, in most cases, acting on his instructions, the teachers in the minority departments of the schools taught the majority of the subjects in the curriculum in the language of the State, instead of in the pupils' mother-tongue. This was a flagrant violation of Article 8 of the Minority Treaty and of § 45 of the Yugoslav Elementary Education Act. The same treatment of Hungarian educational affairs was also noticeable in connection with the appointment of teachers. To quote one instance, not a single teacher of Hungarian nationality was to be found among the 300 recently appointed, although it was primarily the staff of Hungarian teachers, systematically reduced from the very beginning, that should have been increased to meet the requirements of minority education.

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SITUATION OF HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS

The recent statistical figures on education in Yugoslavia, published in 1935, show that there are altogether 8628 elementary and lower secondary schools to be found in Yugoslavia, with 27.369 teachers. On account of its percentage *the Hungarian minority may claim 308 elementary schools with 1232 classes and 977 teachers.* However, there are not more than 528 elementary classes in which a few subjects are being taught in Hungarian; taking four classes for each elementary school, this means only 132 such schools. Even these schools are under Serb direction, and the Hungarians have absolutely no influence on their work, and no right of control or inspection. There are 364 teachers employed in these schools; most of them are Serbs who know very little or no Hungarian. There are no Hungarian *private schools* to be found in Yugoslavia. Cardinal Rafall Rodich, of Belgrade, recently declared that, according to the Concordate, which has not been put into action yet, it will be possible to increase the number of existing denominational private schools. On this statement we wish to offer the following comments:

In August 1920, the denominational private schools in the new territories were taken over by the State; after this there were 50 Slav private elementary schools and 14 secondary schools left in Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia. In the Voivodina, on the other hand, which

was taken away from Hungary, several private schools, 303 denominational, 67 municipal, and 9 proprietary schools have been taken over or closed. In other words, the nationalization of private schools was most ruthlessly carried out in those territories where it chiefly concerned Hungarian private schools.

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NEW PRIVILEGES FOR DOBROVOLJACI WAR VOLUNTERS

Our May issue reported that the *Dobrovoljaci* Congress held in the first years after the War established the fact that the *Dobrovoljaci* certificates were being sold for sums between 5000 and 10.000 dinars each, as a result of which there were over 35.000 *Dobrovoljaci* on the registration lists who were enjoying all sorts of privileges. The Serbo-Bunyevac national guard formed in Szabadka in the November of 1918 on the pretext that they were to maintain order, now asks the Government to discriminate in favour of its members when civil service posts are being filled, and to let them have free grants of land by means of a new Land Reform. The fulfilment of the latter request would threaten the Hungarian landowners with the expropriation of their last remaining acres. It is typical of the extent of the privileges granted to the *Dobrovoljaci* at the expense of the taxpayers, but especially of the national minorities, that the Minister of Finance issued a decree last month cancelling 60 to 80 per cent of the 90 million dinars lent to the *Dobrovoljaci* and *Četnici* (*Komitajis*) for building purposes from the settlement funds. As the majority of the *Dobrovoljaci* were settled down in the Voivodina (formerly Southern Hungary) the sum lacking on account of the above-mentioned writing off of 50% of their debts will be made good by laying a heavier burden of taxes on the shoulders of the population of that district, the majority of whom are minority nationals.

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YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS' CONGRESS DEMANDED ABOLITION OF CENSORSHIP

On the occasion of the centenary jubilee of the Croatian press the Yugoslav journalists held their annual Congress in Zagreb on May 24th. The Congress passed a resolution demanding the immediate abolition of the censorship. This unanimous resolution was naturally adopted by the national minorities whose newspapers are being treated with exceptional severity by the censor, so much so that since seven and a half years they have not been allowed to print a word about the wrongs or the legitimate demands of the minorities.

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B O O K S

„*Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers*“ by Sir Robert Gower, K. C. V. O., D. C. L. M. P. (Grayson & Grayson, Ltd., 66. Curzon Street, W. 1.)

Little Entente propaganda keeps on reiterating that the *status quo* created by the peace treaties is just and fair and that a readjustment cannot be the subject of discussion, because any sort of revision would only lead to fresh complications and make war unavoidable without making the position of the countries in question better. The chief supporters of that propaganda are Professor Seton Watson and Mr. John D. E. Evans. The more important data in their works have now been refuted by Sir Robert Gower in his "Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers", a short treatise, but one rich in valuable arguments.

To Professor Seton Watson's accusation that the motion advocating revision submitted to the British House of Commons by more than 200 M. P.s has "revived false hopes on the part of Hungarian extremists and made them less than ever inclined for discussion with their neighbours", the author states that the British M. P.s in question entertain no unfriendly feelings towards the Little Entente States. On the contrary, they view the situation with the greatest impartiality, and fully aware of their responsibility have decided that peace and understanding in the Danube Valley are impossible until the unjust territorial dispositions of the Trianon Peace Treaty have been subjected to an equitable revision.

Sir Robert Gower says that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as a natural geographical, political and economic unit, was a blessing to the rest of Europe. True, there were racial minorities in it the leaders of which desired national autonomy, but that did not mean that the racial minorities were oppressed. The Hungarian Administration was always just and considerate towards the minorities. The new frontiers, created arbitrarily, ignorantly, unnaturally, and without any regard for economic interests, which were supposed to have "liberated" the old minorities, have resulted in a ruthless oppression of the new minorities the like of which we look for in vain under Hungarian rule. This of necessity makes it impossible to build up mutual security and in the long run must lead to war. This is the reason why every plan which aims at creating at least economic co-operation among the Danube States has proved a failure; for without a solution of political and territorial differences it is impossible to produce an atmosphere of understanding, lacking which no economic co-operation is possible between independent states. The only way out of this awkward situation would be to replace the arbitrary peace treaties with treaties based on compromise.

In answer to the argument of Professor Seton

Watson and others that the revision movement is directed against the Slav races, Sir Robert Gower points out that besides the Hungarians, the Croats, Slovaks and Ruthenians who were wrested from Hungary — all of them Slav peoples — are also dissatisfied with the present situation. Another unfounded argument is that Hungarian revision is impossible, because it would produce other great problems, such as the question of the Russo-Polish frontier, the Italo-Yugoslav problem, the question of relations between Germany and Poland and the *Anschluss*. The question of Hungarian revision can be solved entirely independent of them.

Sir Robert Gower also shows the untenable nature of the argument that if Austria could acquiesce in her new position, Hungary might do the same. Why not? The answer is that Austria's and Hungary's positions are not analogous. Austria, which was a conglomeration of provinces conquered by the Habsburg dynasty, was simply reduced to its elements. Hungary, on the other hand, which was a thousand-years-old unit, was not disrupted by internal dissatisfaction, but torn asunder in an unnatural manner by forces from without.

Hungary asked for nothing but a plebiscite, i. e. that the populations concerned should be allowed to decide for themselves. This legitimate demand was refused. Instead, the resolutions brought by the popular assemblies at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia, Rumania), Turócszentmárton (Turcansky Svaty Martini, Slovakia) and Ujvidék (Novisad, Yugoslavia) were accepted as the basis of separation, in spite of the fact that they did not represent the wishes of the populations in question, but were merely resolutions passed by the chance gathering of a mob of revolutionaries. The popular meetings of the Eastern Slovaks at Kassa, the Germans of Upper Hungary at Késmárk, the Ruthenians at Ungvár and the Hungarians of Transylvania at Kolozsvár — all of which protested against separation from Hungary — might just as well have been accepted as a basis. But these meetings were disregarded, while, on the other hand, the anticipatory military occupation of Hungary far beyond the bounds of the lines of demarcation laid down in the armistice treaty was winked at, as was the fact that in spite of the expressed veto of the armistice treaties, the occupying armies immediately took over the civil administration, thus creating by force of arms a *fait accompli*.

As Nicolson and Hunter-Miller stated in their famous works, the draft of the Trianon Treaty, which Hungary was compelled to accept without any modification, was composed on the one hand in accordance with pre-war secret treaties and on the other on the basis of one-sided statements made by politicians of the Succession States, Benes, Bratianu and Veznitch, without Hungary having been heard at all.

Professor Seton Watson's allegation that the races

in Hungary are so mixed that no correct ethnographic boundary can be drawn has been officially refuted by Slav ethnographers, such as Niederle, Kálál, Bohác and Petrov. Apart from this, however, the argument is a lame one, for *Trianon*, in separating about two million Hungarians from the Hungarians in dismembered Hungary with whom they formed a solid block, ignored — willfully and on purpose — indisputable ethnographic borders.

Similarly unfounded is the objection that only certain oligarchs wish for revision. The truth is that all classes and conditions of people in Hungary, from

the Archdukes down to the poorest labourer are united in their demands for revision.

At the end of his excellent work Sir Robert Gower expresses the conviction that with "a just and equitable revision of the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Trianon a new era of prosperity would open for an important part of Europe where chaos now reigns."

Sir Robert Gower's excellent work, so rich in arguments and interestingly written, is sure to contribute to a better knowledge of the situation in the Danube Valley.

George Lukács.

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

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS FOR 1935.

The Statistical Office has now made public Czecho-Slovakia's balance of payments for 1935. The balance, which shows total revenues amounting to 10.338.000.000 crowns and expenditure totalling 10.404.000.000, closes with 66.000.000 on the debit side. The balance of payments for 1934 and that of 1933 closed with a profit of 143.000.000 and 283.000.000 crowns respectively. Compared with 1934, Czecho-Slovakian exports have increased by not quite 2%, but imports are 5% larger. The profits on tourist travel have sunk from 252.000.000 to 39.000.000. The reason is that tourist travel from the country has greatly increased, so that in 1935 the number of Czecho-Slovakian subjects who took trips to foreign countries has risen to a much extent than the number of foreigners who visited Czecho-Slovakia. The revenues accruing from railway traffic show an improving tendency, inasmuch as the revenues from international railway traffic have risen from the 133.000.000 crowns figuring in the balance for 1934 to 248.000.000. The sums sent home by emigrants, on the other hand, have again fallen off. In the column devoted to capital we see that the long term foreign credits of the manufacturing concerns and banks have increased, but the sum total of the other items has decreased.

The sum total of frozen foreign credits is 260.000.000 crowns. An examination of the detailed data of the balance reveals that the profits on current items have decreased, the sum total of private debts in foreign countries has increased, private credits have fallen off and the profits accruing from the stock market have sunk. The balance also shows that the transfer of dividends and *tantièmes* puts a great strain on Czecho-Slovakia's stock of foreign exchange. The rise in the transfer to foreign countries of dividends and *tantièmes* finds its explanation in the fact that the profits of several big enterprises whose shareholders

are mostly foreigners have greatly increased in the past year. The situation in this respect has undergone no change in the present year, as is best proved by the fact that the Czecho-Slovakian big enterprises in the hands of the French Schneider-Creuzot concern recorded great profits again, thanks to the boom in heavy industries.

The sum total of revenues accruing from current items is 8.950.000.000 crowns as against an expenditure of 8.772.000.000. Compared with a profit of 836.000.000 in 1934 and with a loss of 47.000.000 in 1933, the profit in 1935 was 178.000.000 Czech crowns.

MINIMAL PRICES

Negotiations are going on between the ministries concerned in connection with the Bill elaborated by the Ministry of Commerce re the fixing of minimal prices. In terms of the Bill the unions will have the right to propose the fixing of minimal prices in certain clearly defined branches of business. The proposal must be approved by the District Offices or the Provincial Office, according to whether the minimal prices apply to districts or to the whole country.

HUNGARY

REPORT OF HUNGARIAN DELEGATE TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN HUNGARY

In the course of the general debate on the annual report of the Labour Offices at the International Labour Conference at Geneva on June 13th, Mr. Ladislav de Vélícs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, delegate of the Hungarian Government, announced that Hungary had achieved notable results in the sphere of social policy. These results were observable in the decrease of unemployment, the maintenance and extension of public works, and in

the way young university graduates and the unemployed of the professional classes in general were being provided with jobs in public and private businesses. So far as social legislation was concerned the Hungarian Government desired, by shortening the hours of labour, to contribute towards the amelioration of unemployment, and wished, in this sphere, to ensure a continuous improvement. The experiment had turned out to be very satisfactory, for with reduced hours of work unemployment had abated considerably in the shortest time. In order to eliminate the consequences of a falling wage caused by unemployment, the Hungarian Government had introduced the system of determining what the minimum wages must be in the various branches of industry.

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A NEW AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE SERVICE OF PAYMENTS ON THE HUNGARIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS' LOAN

In the last days of June Dr. Fabinyi, Hungarian Minister of Finance, flew to London to discuss the Hungarian League of Nations' loan. According to a report issued by the London Committee on League of Nations' loans, the Hungarian Government had satisfactorily carried out and continues to carry out the agreement concluded on 6th, July 1935 *re* the services to be fulfilled by next August on the League of Nations' loan. In consequence the trustees could pay out 50% of the value of the coupons that fell due on 1st February 1936, and there is a prospect of their being able to pay also 50% of the value of those falling due on 1st August. The Hungarian Government has stated that it has again expressly recognized the special nature of the loan and the obligations undertaken. The Government firmly hopes, and will do everthing, to carry out the agreement *re* the services due on the loan from 2nd August 1936 till 1st August 1937, in terms of which the Government is to pay the trustees 50% of the interest in foreign exchange. The Government will set aside in the Budget the full services on the loan — interest and amortization included — in pengős and deposit these sums, as hitherto, in the account at the National Bank. The Government will have the right to borrow, as hitherto, the part of the interest not transferred against the deposit of 2% pengő treasury vouchers expiring in one year.

The 2% pengő treasury vouchers covering the part of the services on the loan not transferred in 1934/35 and 1935/36 will be prolonged for another year at the same rate of interest.

Dr. Fabinyi, Hungarian Finance Minister, has explained the significance of the new agreement as follows:

The agreement means that we shall have to pay $3\frac{3}{4}\%$ in foreign currencies instead of the whole $7\frac{1}{2}\%$. The negotiations were conducted in a very cordial atmosphere and in a spirit of understanding. The Committee on League of Nations' Loans, the Pre-

sident of which is Sir Austen Chamberlain, saw in the course of the negotiations that Hungary, in spite of all her great difficulties, honestly endeavours to fulfil her obligations.

The "Economist" admires the praiseworthy attitude shown by Hungary. It points out that although Hungary's finances have improved under the guidance of the present Minister, Dr. Fabinyi, the pace of recovery must of necessity be a slow one, considering the economic difficulties prevailing in the Danube Valley. The "Economist" also stresses the fact that the Hungarian Administration has frankly and honestly laid bare Hungary's financial position to the Committee. British capitalists are of the hope that Hungary's example will be followed by the Governments of other debtor states.

THE MARKETING OF HUNGARIAN WHEAT

Dr. Coloman Darányi, Minister of Agriculture, deputizing for the Prime Minister, issued a statement on this subject, according to which the Government has raised the station price of wheat 40 fillérs per quintal above last year's price (Station price means the average market price of wheat when the financial aid rendered by the Government has been equally distributed among all the stocks of wheat on the domestic markets. It insures stable prices for the whole season and protects the producer against a fall in prices.) The task of maintaining the station price in the following agricultural year will devolve on the *Futura* Ltd. The markets secured by treaty for Hungarian wheat are Italy (2,000,000 quintals, which a kind of monopoly will take over on the basis of a contract already signed); Austria (2,200,000 quintals, 700,000 of which may be flour); Switzerland (1,500,000 quintals), who has undertaken to buy that quantity in principle and is now negotiating the details; Holland (1,000,000 quintals) and Belgium (500,000 quintals), with which two countries Hungary has also concluded an agreement. This provides markets for 7,200,000 quintals of wheat, 4,200,000 quintals of which may be supplied immediately. Should our export surplus of wheat exceed 7,200,000 quintals — which is hardly probable — the Government sees further possibilities of finding foreign markets. Besides this, provision is already being made to insure that an undisturbed export of wheat to farther-off markets will continue.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN 1935 ALSO EXTENDED TO COMMERCE

According to the report issued by the Budapest Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the total value of Hungary's trade in the best year after the war (1928—1929) was 10,559 million pengő, while the average for the years 1925—1929 was 9960 millions. In the fiscal year 1932—1933 in which the depression may be considered to have reached its lowest point, the value of trade decreased by 50% to 5233 million

pengő. According to statistics compiled on the same basis, *trade in 1934—1935 amounted to 5686 millions*, which shows that the downward trend was replaced by an upward one. Compared with the worst year of the crisis (1932, for certain commodities 1933) the consumption of manufactured articles increased by 28.3%. The greatest improvement was noticeable in the branches of business employed by investors and the building trade. The quantity of bricks bought rose by 56.5%, that of cement by 29%, that of lime by 45.5%, that of iron girders by 38.6%, and that of plate glass by 66.5%. Compared with the worst year, the rise in the consumption of textile goods was also considerable.

If we examine the various statistics we see that on the whole *trade in articles of food developed comparatively favourably in 1935*. Trade in other commodities, however, was rather unfavourable owing to a duller tendency in the consumption of textiles. Trade in this business was adversely influenced this year as well as in 1934 by the weather, which made the purchasing of season articles almost negligible. On the other hand the position of certain other branches of business trading in produce and raw materials (building materials) developed favourably.

The considerable rise in the purchasing power of the agricultural population, as well as the sums released by the partial settlement of the farmers' debts, had a beneficial effect, especially on trade in the provinces.

RUMANIA

THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAS PROHIBITED THE IMPORTATION OF RUMANIAN WHEAT

The closing of the Belgian markets will be a great loss to the Rumanian export trade. Bucarest exporters sold about 30,000 tons of wheat to Belgium at a good price. The first deals were made at 97 Belgian francs at the Antwerpen rates. In consequence of the prohibition these contracts have naturally become invalid, and Rumanian exporters stand to lose 2,000,000 francs. Rumania is now considering how to parry the blow with a system of premiums.

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YUGOSLAVIA

STRICT CONTROL OF IMPORTS

The events of the first few days after the control of imports became valid on 25th June show that it is being handled very strictly. This control aims at limiting the volume of imports from lands which have a debit balance with Yugoslavia and have no barter agreements with her. The importation of wireless apparatus from the United States and Great Britain, for instance, will be forbidden.

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S P O R T S

OLYMPIC GAMES

The whole of sport life in Central Europe is dominated at present by the approaching Olympic Games. Every branch of sport is busy preparing for the great event, and so, for the time being, there are no important international matches on. Sometimes some of the competitors take part in the matches arranged by neighbouring countries, but that is more by way of training.

Every branch of Hungarian sport is busy training, in the first place those which won international titles at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

It seems a seasonable moment to publish the places won by Hungarian competitors at the Olympic Games hitherto held.

Athens (1896).

1st place. *Alfred Hajós* in the 100 metre fast swimming (1 min. 22.2 secs. 13 competitors) and in the 1200 metre swim (18 mins. 22.2 secs. 9 competitors).
2nd place. *Ferdinand Dáni* in the 800 metre flat race (2 mins. 11.8 secs. 13 competitors).

3rd place. *Aloysius Szokolý* in the 100 metre flat race (a tie. 19 competitors) and *Julius Kellner* in the Marathon (3 hours, 6 mins. 35 secs. 25 competitors).

Paris (1900).

1st place. *Rudolph Bauer*, throwing the discus (36.4 metres, 18 competitors).
2nd place. *Zoltán Halmay* in the 200 metre swim-

ing race (2 mins. 31 secs. 14 competitors) and in the 4000 metres swim (1 hour, 8 mins. 35.4 secs.).

3rd place. *Zoltán Halmay*, 1000 metres swim (15 mins. 16 secs.) and *Louis Gönczy*, high jump (175 cm.).

St. Louis (1904).

1st place. *Zoltán Halmay*, 50 yards fast swimming (11 competitors) and 100 yards wast cwimming (1 min. 2.8 secs. 17 competitors).

2nd place. *Géza Kiss*, one-mile fast swimming (28 mins. 28.2 secs. 9 competitors).

3rd place. *Géza Kiss*, half-mile fast swimming (10 competitors).

Athens (1906).

1st place. *George Sztantics*, 3000 metre walk (15 mins. 13.6 secs. 8 competitors) and *Zoltán Halmay*, *Géza Kiss*, *Henry Hajós* and *Joseph Ónody*, 4×250 metre relay swim (16 mins. 52.4 secs. 6 teams).

2nd place. *Zoltán Halmay*, 100 metre fast swim (1 min. 14.2 secs. 9 competitors), *Louis Gönczy*, high jump (175 cm. 24 competitors), *Michael Dávid*, weight throwing (11 m. 83 cm. 17 competitors) and *Stephen Mudin*, pentatlon (25 points, 26 competitors).

3rd place. *Stephen Mudin*, throwing the discus (31 metres 91 cm. 21 competitors), *Francis Holubán*, light weight wrestling (12 competitors) and *Peter Tóth*, sword fencing (3 touches, 22 competitors).

London (1908).

1st place. *Eugene Fuchs*, sword fencing (76 competitors), *Fuchs*, *Gerda*, *Tóth* and *Werkner*, sword

fencing, team (8 teams) and *Richard Weisz*, Heavy-weight Greco-Roman wrestling (7 competitors).

2nd place. *Zoltán Halmay*, 100 metre fast swim (1 min. 6.2 secs. 34 competitors), *Halmay, Munk, Zachár* and *Las Torres*, 4×200 metre relay swim (10 mins. 59 secs. 6 team), *Stephen Somodi*, high jump (188 cm. a tie, 20 competitors), *Béla Zulawsky*, sword fencing, individual (76 competitors).

Stockholm (1912).

1st place *Eugene Fuchs*, sword fencing, individual (163 competitors), *Berti, Fuchs, Mészáros, Schenker, Földes, Gerde, Tóth* and *Werkner* sword fencing, team (11 nations) and *Alexander Prokopp* rifle target-shooting (10 competitors).

2nd place. *Béla Békessy*, sword fencing, individual (163 competitors), and the Hungarian gymnastic team on the prescribed apparatus (5 teams).

3rd place. *Ervin Mészáros*, sword fencing, individual (163 competitors) and *Maurice Kóczán*, throwing the javelin with the right hand (55.50 metres, 25 competitors).

Antwerp (1920).

Hungary was not represented at the Olympic Games there.

Paris (1924).

1st place. *Alexander Pósta*, sword fencing, individual (47 competitors) and *Julius Halasy*, clay-pidgeon shooting, individual (98 points, 44 competitors).

2nd place. *Elemér Somfay*, pentathlon (6.77, 52.07, 23.4, 37.76, 4 mins. 48.4 secs. 30 competitors), *Louis Keresztes*, light-weight Greco-Roman wrestling (28 competitors) and *Berti, Garai, Pósta, Rády, Schenker, Uhlyárik, Széchy* and *Tersztyánszky*, sword-fencing, team (14 teams).

3rd place. *Charles Barta*, 100 metre swim, back stroke (1 min. 17.8 secs. 20 competitors) and *Ladislás Berti, Stephen Lichteneckert, Alexander Pósta, Schenker* and *Edmund Tersztyánszky*, rapier fencing, team (12 teams).

Amsterdam (1928).

1st place. *Louis Keresztes*, light-weight Greco-Roman wrestling (8 competitors), *Anthony Kocsis*, feather-weight boxing (19 competitors), *Edmund Tersztyánszky*, sword fencing, individual (9 victories, 33 touches, 64 competitors) and *Garai, Glykais, Gombos, Petschauer, Rády* and *Tersztyánszky*, sword fencing, team (14 competitors).

2nd place. *Attila Petschauer*, sword fencing, individual (9 victories, 24 touches, 64 competitors), *Béla Szepes*, throwing the javelin (65.26 metres, 28 competitors), *Stephen Bárány*, 100 metre fast swim (59.8 secs. 30 competitors), *Barta, Ivády, Homonnay, Keserű II, Halasy, Vértessy* and *Keserű I*, water-polo (14 teams) and *Ladislás Papp*, Greco-Roman wrestling (17 competitors).

Los Angeles (1932).

1st place. *Stephen Pelle*, individual, free-style gymnastics (28.8 points, 25 competitors) and cross-vaulting (57.2 points, 10 competitors), *George Piller*, sword fencing, individual (25 competitors), *Aladár Gerevich, Julius Glykais, Andrew Kabos, Ernest Nagy,*

Attila Petschauer and *George Piller*, sword fencing, team (6 teams), *George Bródy, Alexander Ivády, Martin Homonnai, Oliver Halasy, Joseph Vértessy, John Németh* and *Aloysius Keserű*, water-polo (5 teams), and *Stephen Énekés*, featherweight boxing (12 competitors).

2nd place. *Stephen Pelle*, combined individual competition (134.925 points) and on the parallel bars (55.8 points), *Pelle, Péter, Hegedűs* and *Boros*, free style gymnastics, team (101 points), *Edmund Zombori*, featherweight catch-as-catch-can wrestling (8 competitors) and *Charles Kárpáti*, light-weight catch-as-catch-can wrestling (8 competitors).

3rd place. *Andrew Kabos* sword fencing, individual (25 competitors), *Erna Bogen*, ladies' rapier fencing, individual (17 competitors), *Joseph Tunyogi*, big middle-weight catch-as-catch-can (7 competitors), *Zoltán Hradetzky-Soós*, small-bore rifle shooting (293 points) and *Andrew Wannie, Ladislás Szabados, Stephen Bárány* and *Székely*, 4×200 metre relay swim (7 competitors).

Winter Olympic Games (Lake Placid, 1932).

3rd place. *Emily Rotter* and *Ladislás Szollás*, figure-skating in couples (76.4 points, 7 couples).

Winter Olympic Games (Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 1936).

3rd place. *Emily Rotter* and *Ladislás Szollás*, figure-skating in couples (19 couples).

In conclusion it should be said that in the competitions of wits arranged in connection with the Olympic Games the little Hungarian nation achieved results out of all proportions with the number of Hungary's inhabitants, and compared with which the achievements of the other nations of the Danube Valley were completely dwarfed. At the Amsterdam Olympic Games, *Francis Mező*, professor of a Budapest real gymnasium (secondary school) from whose "Olympic Guide" (1936) these statistics have been culled, won the first prize with his work on the history of Olympic Games in ancient times for which 13 in all competed. The first prize for the architectural competition was not awarded in Paris, the second was won by *Alfred Hajós*, a former swimming champion. Of the 121 competitors for the prizes for sculpture at Los Angeles the Hungarian sculptor, *Miltiades Manno*, who has since died was the winner of the second prize.

SWIMMING

During the past weeks a keen struggle took place for one of the most interesting items of the Berlin swimming Olympiad, the 4 times 200 metres relay European record. Till lately Hungary was the possessor of the title, but in June Germany broke the record by a few seconds, and shortly after the French representative Olympic group set up a new European record of 9 mins. 22 secs. Then the Hungarian representative team determined to attempt a new record, in order to recover the title. The attempt was successful. At the beginning of July in Budapest the Hungarian representative team managed to break the French record and establish a new European record of 9 mins. 13.8 secs.