

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

## HUNGARY'S NEW PREMIER KÁLMÁN DARÁNYI

In former times a change of government in a European country did not cause any particular stir. National and international politics alike went their usual way along well-trodden paths; changes either to the right or to the left never gave statesmen a restless minute. But today, when so many elements of unrest are vibrating in the overlaid atmosphere of international politics, it is only natural that a change of government — wherever that change may be — should automatically arouse great interest and create a stir. That such interest should have been aroused in connection with the change of government in Hungary goes without saying, — particularly when we remember that the new Hungarian Premier has taken the place at the head of public affairs of an original and many-sided personality possessing the remarkable qualities of Julius Gömbös, the man who was torn away with such tragic rapidity from the public arena.

Kálmán Darányi, who has taken over Julius Gömbös's political heritage, has never shown any anxiety to cut a figure on the political stage. He has always fought shy of the noisy clamour of the hustings and of playing a role in the political arena. He differs entirely from his predecessor alike in the manner of his development and of the manner in which he rose to the position he now occupies as Prime Minister. He has worked quietly and noiselessly; and that is why those who have had an opportunity to watch his activity closely are far better acquainted with his great qualities than those who have only observed the outward manifestations of his personality. Kálmán Darányi is fifty years of age; he has thus taken over the supreme guidance of Hungarian affairs in the flower of his manhood, — at the age at which Julius Gömbös was carried off by a cruel fate. But the new Premier has a period of hard, serious and valuable public service behind him, — a service the value of which is acknowledged by every Hungarian irrespective of party.

While acting as Lord Lieutenant of one of the big counties Kálmán Darányi already gave evidence of the most eminent administrative gifts and capacities. At that time his name was familiar to the whole public opinion of Hungary as that of the best lord lieutenant in the country.

It was then that the Prime Minister, Count Stephen Bethlen, entrusted Darányi with the duties of Secretary of the State in the Prime Ministry. It goes without saying that a statesman of the calibre of Stephen Bethlen did not choose his chief collaborator without weighing the matter thoroughly. The new Secretary of State in the Prime Ministry had to face the anxieties and worries of a many-sided sphere of activity. We may safely say that Kálmán Darányi — in addition to the work of general direction — was responsible also for the most important agenda of Government. And after the retirement of Stephen Bethlen — under circumstances which in very many respects were entirely different from those under which he had originally entered office — Kálmán Darányi continued to fulfil his arduous task under the two following Premiers alike showed the utmost confidence in and the warmest appreciation of his indefatigable, conscientious and objective activity. During the past two years Darányi has been Minister of Agriculture; and in this capacity he left no stone unturned in his

devoted zeal to protect with a strong hand the interests of Hungarian agriculture, — as is proved *inter alia* by the two Reform Bills dealing with the reform of the entail system and with agrarian settlements respectively.

As concerns the leading principles professed by the new Premier, it will suffice to point to two moments, — one connected with his domestic policy and the other with his foreign policy.

In foreign policy we must not expect the Darányi Government either to make any material change. That fact is reflected unmistakably in the statements made by the new Government. The radius of Hungary's policy is determined in the Triple Convention of Rome; and the present Hungarian Government does not propose to deviate from the well-trodden path. The Hungarian nation desires to live in peaceful friendship with all foreign States alike, her only wish being that the other States should also show the same sincere friendship and goodwill towards Hungary — proving that friendship by act. It is only natural, however, that no Hungarian Government will ever renounce the nation's rights — will never renounce the claim to a peaceful revision of the treaties of peace and to a reparation of the undeserved injustices committed against Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon. The Hungarian people looks to international public opinion with unswerving confidence and is waiting with unprecedented patience and long-suffering for the day when those horrible injustices will be repaired.

In respect of domestic policy we regard as of decisive importance for the trend of the new Government's activity the fact that the Premier has retained the portfolio of agriculture. This shows that in his work as head of the government Kálmán Darányi attaches the greatest importance to agriculture, throwing into relief the agrarian character of the country by personally controlling the department of agriculture. The bulk of the inhabitants of Hungary make their living by agriculture; and Kálmán Darányi himself is a farmer and landowner, so that he is in immediate contact with and therefore able to appreciate all the troubles and worries of the farmer class: there can therefore be no doubt that the new Government regards as one of its chief functions the work of cherishing and protecting the economic, cultural and social interests and wellbeing of the Hungarian lower classes.

However, this endeavour to further a harmonious activity of the agrarian forces does not by any means denote any intention on the part of Government to ignore the legitimate interests of Hungarian industry; for the maintenance of the level of our industry is a national interest. In a period in which the whole world is adjusting itself to a system of economic autarchy, the leading industrial States which had previously been dependent on agrarian imports having in succession developed their agrarian production, — when the agrarian countries on the other hand have naturally been driven to develop their industry —, in such a period Hungary could not possibly deviate from the general trend of development and has been impelled to raise her own industry to a very high level of development. That is how Hungary succeeded in balancing her imports and her exports. The raw materials problem to a considerable extent has solved itself — by the exportation of industrial products. In

connection with industry account must be taken of the important circumstance that the increased importation of industrial products — in the case of those articles which Hungarian industry is able to produce in the same quality — would prejudice the interests of the Hungarian workers and increase unemployment in Hungary. In view of all these various circumstances Kálmán Darányi will therefore, while emphasising primarily as the task of Government the effectual support and assistance of the agricultural classes — i. e. a many-sided provision for the furtherance of a popular policy —, apply the measure of wise equipoise also to the general interests connected with the maintenance of our industrial production.

A symptom illustrating the state of things prevailing in the field of domestic policy is the exceptionally cordial sympathy with which the whole country received the news of Darányi's appointment. The clamour previously heard on the Opposition side has ceased; its place being taken by understanding and fellow-feeling, by sympathetic confidence and hope. This rapid change is due — apart from his other great

gifts — to the noble and attractive personality of the new Premier, who has never been of a militant character. This fact has been stressed also in the statements made by the Opposition Parties. Kálmán Darányi represents in Hungary the noble traditions of pre-War politics, when politicians still fought on questions of principle and political opposition did not mean political and personal antagonism. The politicians were rivals, but not enemies. The Opposition politicians themselves stress the conciliatory, understanding and objective character of Kálmán Darányi's arguments and conversations. His calmness and coolness, his great tact and above all his endeavour to preserve the inner (spiritual) peace of the country and to ensure an uninterrupted development, — these are the points that characterise him best. Today Hungarian public opinion is practically unanimous in acknowledging that the man who has been placed at the head of Hungarian affairs is an eminent statesman possessing great merits whose personality has acted reassuringly on the country generally and who deserves unconditional confidence.

## NO CHANGE IN HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY

At a meeting of the National Unity (Government) Party held on October 15th. the new Hungarian Premier, Dr. Kálmán Darányi, — who on this occasion presented the new Cabinet to the Party —, made a long speech in which he explained the programme of his Government. The passages given below are the parts of his speech which dealt with matters of foreign policy.

"In our foreign policy" — said the Premier —, "— a fact which it is hardly necessary for me to stress — there will be no change whatever. We shall continue to tread the paths which have enabled us to find our way out of our state of isolation. We shall continue to pursue the policy by the aid of which we have succeeded in securing sincere and reliable friends whose goodwill and sympathy was so strikingly expressed once more a few days ago on the occasion of the funeral of the late Premier.

*"We shall continue to observe an attitude enabling us to serve the interests of true peace. Our foreign policy has for its object, not only to cherish and strengthen the friendships which exist already, but to establish amicable relations with all those States which are just as sincerely ready as we are to contribute towards the establishments of the essential conditions of peaceful co-operation."*

In his speech Premier Darányi also dealt with the international economic questions, saying among other things: —

*"In international economic relations we have recently seen further tokens of endeavours towards an alleviation of economic isolation and a restoration of the normal course of international trade. The Hungarian Government would gladly welcome the possibility of mitigating the severity of the restrictive measures adopted under the pressure of the conditions of international economic life. Naturally such an issue would have to be made subject to the fulfilment of certain preliminary conditions. The most important of these conditions is the procural of permanent markets offering favourable terms for the sale of our export goods — in particular of our agrarian produce — and the stabilisation of marketing opportunities enabling us to obtain surplus stocks of freely available foreign exchanges and to accumulate reserves adequate for the*

*purpose of serving as a basis for an equitable adjustment of our foreign indebtedness."*

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In his speech during the meeting of the House of Deputies on October 21st. the Prime Minister made the following statements respecting the foreign and minority policy of the Government: —

*"As I explained a few days ago, there will be no change in the leading principles of Hungary's foreign policy. We shall continue to pursue that constructive peace policy by means of which we have so far too been enabled to co-operate with a large number of the States of Europe.*

*"The cordial ties of friendship uniting Hungary with the other Signatories of the Rome Protocol — with Italy and Austria — we shall endeavour to cement and to develop within the limits of possibility. The Hungarian Government will naturally at the same time take particular care to foster the traditional friendship between Hungary and the German Empire; and we shall always remember with deep gratitude those other nations which — like Poland and Bulgaria — gave so solemn expression to their sympathy with our people in its great bereavement.*

*"Hungary's co-operation with her friends is not directed against any one; on the contrary, we regard the realisation of a general reconciliation as one of the most important objects of Hungary's foreign policy. The Hungarian nation is united in its desire to ensure the friendship of Great Britain and would welcome any development of friendly relations with France based upon a reciprocal acknowledgment of the interests of either country.*

*"We shall continue to watch with the most intense interest the fate of the minorities living in the adjoining States, which so far — I am sorry to say — has been anything but reassuring. Although we are quite ready to admit that the League of Nations has proved able to co-operate in a manner satisfactory from any international questions, the fact must nevertheless be established that in respect of the protection of the minorities the Geneva institution is not capable to cope with the noble task entrusted to it. In this connection I would refer to the fact mentioned by the Chief Hungarian Delegate on the occasion of the last*

Assembly — the fact, namely, that of the 451 minority applications submitted only seven had been able to find their way to the Council.

"Under such circumstances there is surely something strange about the scheme reported to have been broached in Geneva to the effect that owing to a lack of work the minority section of the Secretariat-General of the League of Nations should be reduced. And the fact that the League of Nations in any case had shown very little interest in the fate of the minorities has been exploited recently by certain States which have actually failed to reply at all to questions addressed to them by the League.

"Despite all these moments the Hungarian Government does not intend to cease to use every effort to emphasise the importance of improving the lot of the Hungarian minorities alike by way of the League of Nations and by means of all other legal resources available. I perhaps need not stress particularly the point that our Government intends to use similar efforts to secure the fulfilment of its legitimate demands.

"Our minorities in Hungary will be treated with the affectionate regard essential to secure the enforcement of all fair and legitimate cultural and economic demands."

## THE QUESTION OF REVISION BEFORE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Below we publish a few extracts from speeches on the application of Article 19 of the Covenant delivered at the last General League Assembly by Mr. Anthony Eden (United Kingdom), Mr. Bruce (Austra-

lia), Mr. Jordan (New Zealand) and S. Monteiro (Portugal). The following statements are a complete justification of the revision movement.

### MR. ANTONY EDEN: (UNITED KINGDOM)

"If nations are to be prepared to co-operate fully and loyally for the maintenance of peace, that peace must rest on a basis that appears to them desirable or at least acceptable. They will only strive to maintain a *status quo* that has won general acceptance, or to prevent forcible change of that *status quo* if they are convinced that there exist peaceful methods whereby just changes can be effected.

That is, ladies and gentlemen, let us admit it, in the judgment of some, a principal failing of the League; it has come to be regarded, rightly or wrongly, as an attempt to stereotype a state of things that can hardly be expected to endure for all time. It is true that Article 19 of the Covenant recognises the impracticability of a rigid maintenance of the *status quo*. Moreover, there is, in the view of His Majesty's Government, nothing to prevent the Assembly, should it think fit, from embarking on the discussion of matters arising under that Article, though of course the powers of the Assembly do not extend to decisions on the substance of such matters. It would plainly be impracticable, for example, to seek to give the Assembly power to impose changes against the wish of the parties concerned. Human life, however, is not static, but a changing thing; and it would be a mistake to try to encase world affairs in a rigid mould of a particular date. A frank discussion of grievances may go some way towards removing misconceptions, and a clear expression of opinion on the part of a great majority of the Assembly would undoubtedly exert moral pressure on the side of remedy of injustice. The ideal, I suggest to the Assembly, for which we should strive is a balanced system wherein justice is done to all and where none should have a sense of hurt or grievance. Therefore, our peace-preserving machinery would lose something of its point and of its efficacy unless we are sure that the peace which we aim to preserve is one that by its justice commends itself generally to the nations of the world."

### MR. BRUCE: (AUSTRALIA)

"My Government also endorses the views of the Government of the United Kingdom with regard to Article 19. We feel that this Article, which is an Article for the remedying of grievances — one of the fundamental objects of the League — should be made operative. The League cannot succeed if it is to be turned into an instrument for the maintenance of the *status quo* at any given time. We must stand by the principle that the rule of law must also be the rule of equity. My Government is also in favour of the separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties, and we sincerely hope that the Assembly will be prepared to agree to that modification."

### MR. JORDAN: (NEW ZEALAND)

"We believe that if the automatic application of sanctions is to be effective or generally acceptable, there must be a definite method of rectifying international injustices, whether economic or political, as soon as, and as far as, they can be rectified. We believe that the Peace Treaties of the Great War carried within themselves the germs of future conflicts. We realise the enormous but, in our opinion, not insuperable difficulties of reconsidering the status established by those Treaties, and we prepared to join in such a reconsideration. For this purpose we wish to see all the nations of the world, whether Members of the League or not, invited to take part."

**MR. MONTEIRO: (PORTUGAL)**

"To prevent aggression is excellent, but to do away with the causes of aggression is still better. Such a policy will make co-operation more real and positive.

Mr. Eden, speaking a few days ago, said something which seems to me to be the best and most constructive defence of this policy. He said that we should endeavour to encourage and facilitate the use of the machinery of the League in order that it might be adapted to existing situations and changes of circumstance, thus making it possible to remedy those grievances which are recognised as legitimate."

**HUNGARY'S WISHES AND PROPOSITIONS BEFORE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

At the meeting of the League Council held on September 28th., General Tanczos, the Hungarian delegate, made a long speech in which he explained Hungary's views and wishes in connection with the reform of the League and its activity in general. The following is an extract from General Tanczos's speech.

**THE REFORM OF THE COVENANT**

The Hungarian delegation request that Article 11, in so far as it has in view the contingency of circumstances likely to disturb international relations or threaten good understanding between the nations, should in the operation of the Covenant be applied more thoroughly and, when circumstances arise, should be applied more promptly. On the other hand, the attachment of Hungary to the idea of international justice, as well as the consideration that respect for judicial or arbitrary awards represents the keystone of every system of arbitration, have led my Government to propose that the provision contained in paragraph 4 of Article 13 concerning the enforcement of awards given in the course of arbitration procedure or of a judicial settlement, should be carefully studied.

Further, the Hungarian Government is of opinion that for the juridical security of the Members of the League of Nations, it is important that we should give better facilities for requests for advisory opinions and that for this purpose we should formulate elastic interpretative rules and that we should prosecute as expeditiously as possible the studies which have already been started of this question in pursuance of there solution adopted by the Assembly on September 28th 1935.

The Government of my country fully realises that the putting into operation of the procedures provided for by the provisions of the Covenant just mentioned would not, by itself, give entirely satisfactory results from the point of view of maintaining peace, unless Article 19 of the Covenant as a means of security which is equally effective in this way should remain indefinitely outside the scope of application.

I would say, indeed, if there is one provision of the Covenant which is based above all on the idea of prevention in the field of international politics it is, without doubt, Article 19, in so far as it furnishes the League of Nations and States Members of the League with a peaceful means of remedying the state of affairs which arises when treaties become inapplicable and when there are conditions whose continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

In view of the fact that the machinery of this Article opens up wide possibilities of proceeding without recourse to force to a readaptation to new circumstances of the whole system of relations existing between States, the Hungarian Government holds to the belief that by the operation of this Article it should be possible in certain circumstances to prevent

war far more effectively than can ever be done by any system of sanctions.

It is a matter of common knowledge moreover — and I hardly need to repeat it here in connection with Article 19 — that human life is not static but dynamic, and it would be a mistake to try and force the affairs of the world into the rigid mould that may exist at any one moment. Although Article 19 may thus be regarded as one of the strongest pillars of the constructive work of peace among nations, the Hungarian Government greatly regrets to have to note that so far, practice at Geneva has not contributed towards the putting into operation of this provision of the Covenant to the extent that might have been desirable. Especially do we lack any indications as to the subsequent procedure to be followed by the Assembly in the event of Article 19 being produced for application.

It is a well-known fact that it is precisely this lack of any detailed indications as to the procedure to be followed, and the complete absence of any interpretative resolutions on the subject, which might to a large extent hamper, in certain circumstances, the bringing into operation of Article 19 of the Covenant. For all those reasons the Hungarian Government hopes that Article 19 will be carefully studied by the organisation of the League of Nations from the point of view of the practical enforcement of the principle which it propounds. Such a study should, in particular, make it possible to specify conditions in which the Assembly, having before it a request to proceed to the invitation which is mentioned in that Article, should formulate that invitation.

**THE EQUALITY OF THE ARMEMENTS**

The Hungarian Delegation is bound to note that since last year the state of affairs, far from improving, has become worse, and that in alarming proportions. The efforts which have been made by most of the Powers. — among others, by Hungary's neighbours, — to reach the maximum of their military potentialities have led to an ever more marked displacement of forces to the disadvantage of the disarmed countries, and has already led to a state of affairs which Hungary, for its part, could not regard as compatible with her security and to which she could not resign herself without placing her vital interests in jeopardy. In these circumstances I have to declare, on behalf of my Government, that the Hungarian nation is unanimous in holding that it would be impossible to maintain for any length of time the present situation in which there is at stake Hungary's own security, security to which she is entitled just as any other State.

**THE PROTECTION OF THE MINORITIES**

We may indeed ask ourselves whether effective protection of the rights of minorities is conceivable if the grievances of minorities, and the petitions which

are the external manifestations of such grievances, are judged by political considerations. To put that question is at the same time to answer it. Each minority petition relates to the infringement of certain clauses of international treaties. The Council, having such a petition before it, is called upon to deal with the question in the sense of ascertaining the facts and remedying any wrongs which are involved. We consider that this task is rather a judicial function, and we believe that simple reference by way of analogy to the provisions of Article 13 of the Covenant demonstrates that sufficiently. Having said that, it appears to us in the highest degree desirable, in order to clear up the juridical side of petitions, that the Council should make use, to the greatest possible extent, of the possibilities of the guarantee clauses of minority treaties as well as of the provisions of Article 14 of the Covenant. By proceeding in this way, the Council will conform to the recommendations of the Assembly on September 21st, 1922.

More thorough consideration of the juridical side of minority petitions should also be undertaken by the committees of three members which assist the Council in the examination of those petitions. It is desirable above all that those committees should give special attention to the elucidation of the allegations contained in the petitions, and that they should make use of the optional powers with which they were invested as the result of the discussions at Madrid in 1924, with a view to asking for further information, not only from the governments concerned, but also from the petitioners.

In connection with this, it may be useful to remind the Assembly that, out of 458 petitions which came before these committees up to May 31st, 1935, only 7 have found their way before the Council, with the exception of those concerning Upper Silesia, which came before the Council as the result of German initiative. The position therefore is that these committees, which were created to facilitate the task of the Council in the matter of minority protection, have in practice become a deciding authority interposed between the Council and the minorities, and the result has been to make it more difficult for the minorities to gain access to the body which is called upon to safeguard their rights. Any change in this situation can only be hoped for in the event of the committees being called upon to state their reasons in a detailed manner whenever they refuse to pass a petition to the Council, as in the case of the population of territories under mandate.

We must ask that minorities in Europe should enjoy the same degree of protection as the population in mandated territories. The situation of the latter in regard to the efficacy of the protection granted to them is much more favourable than that of minorities in Europe.

The Council, of its own initiative, supervises all details of their administration, and the Mandates Commission, in their annual report to the Council, gives an account of all the petitions brought before it. In the event of the Commission not recommending any petition to the attention of the Council, it carefully states the reason for its decision. The Secretary-General communicates to the petitioners all the conclusions of the Commission which have been endorsed by the Council. In the present circumstances in regard to minority protection, all this procedure is lacking. Yet the moral and material welfare of the minorities in Europe depends on the manner in which the League of Nations carries out the mission entrusted to it in the matter of minority protection. By reason of the guarantee assumed by the League of Nations concerning minority treaties, the Council has become, so to speak, the trustee responsible for ensuring their proper application, and, if the Council feels any doubt concerning the juridical scope of its powers in the matter, we would ask whether the moment has not come when those doubts should be dispelled by consultation with the Permanent Court of International Justice?

We venture from this platform also to appeal to the governments of the States which are bound by minority treaties. If the problem of minorities is not to become a source of trouble embittering international relations, that loyalty which minorities are so frequently asked to give to the majority should also be shown towards the minorities. They cannot do so better than by acting upon the eloquent words spoken by Aristide Briand from the platform of the Assembly, when he said: "It is not in the interests of any country that any component of its population which has its own value and genius should disappear. A great country, conscious of its own strength, would never seek such disappearance. It would not endeavour to reduce its population to uniformity to such a point. On the contrary, its own strength consists in assimilating the various elements of the population without causing them to lose either their native genius or their particular qualities. It is in this way that a country becomes greater and acquires full power to spread its influence afield."

## ANOTHER PARTY OF BRITISH M. P.-s VISIT HUNGARY

A party of British M. P.-s arrived in Budapest on September 24th, on their way home from Bucharest, where they had attended the Interparliamentary Commercial Conference. The members of the group were: Sir Philip and Lady Dawson, Lord and Lady Eltisley, Mr. A. W. Russel and Miss Russel, Lieut.-Col. E. T. Ruscombe-Wickham and Mrs. Wickham, Lieut.-Commander R. L. Tuffnell and Mrs. Tuffnell, and Mr. R. W. Porrit.

Two members of the Belgian Parliament also stayed in Budapest on their way home from Bucharest. On the same day a French parliamentary group also came to visit Budapest.

The British and Belgian M. P.-s were invited to a luncheon given by the "GyOSz" (the Association of Hungarian Manufacturers), which afforded them a good opportunity to make the acquaintance of the leading figures of Hungary's economic life.

At the end of the luncheon Dr. Paul de Bíró, Member of the Hungarian Parliament and Chairman of the "Rimamurány" Iron manufacturing industry Co. Ltd., addressed the guests on behalf of the association. He pointed out the achievements of Hungarian manufacturing industry, showing the wonderful recovery of this small country after the horrors of the great war, which had led to its dismemberment. This work, he said, was partly due to the admiration of the Hungarian people for Great Britain. It was on the model of the British system that Hungary had created her parliamentary system, and what Lord Birleigh said about this system in the 16th century, that nothing could ruin England but her Parliament, had not come true. The reason why this prophecy had not been fulfilled was that Britain's greatness does not lie in her physical power but in the moral forces which keep the Empire together; and Parliament was one of the greatest of

these forces. Britain will play a leading part in the recovery of the world, because she holds the key to the gate of world peace. At the end of his speech Dr. Bíró raised his glass to the British Parliament.

Sir Philip Dawson, replying, declared that the British people knew Hungary and the Hungarians: they knew that the Hungarians are a great nation, and they also knew their great difficulties and problems at present, from which, he felt sure, they would find a way out, so that Hungary would recover her former greatness and position. He greeted Hungary and Budapest, one of the finest, if not *the* finest, capital in the world; he greeted the hospitality and the refinement of Hungarians and their beautiful women, finally he greeted the manufacturing industry of Hungary, the excellence of which is well known everywhere. The belief the Hungarian factories always turn out excellent products is not new in England; as early as forty of fifty years ago Hungary developed in certain branches of industry much more rapidly than any other country. Thus, for instance, the "Ganz" factory was the first and best in some respects all over the world. In conclusion Sir Philip declared on behalf of his friends and in his own name that they would do all they could to promote Hungary's welfare.

After this the British, French, and Belgian Members of Parliament had tea at the International Club; from here they were taken to the "Hungaria" wine cellars in Budafok. They were interested to hear the explanations of experts and they declared that their experiences furnished a fresh proof of what they had already heard about the excellence and the exportability of Hungarian wines.

On the following day the visitors were taken to the city of Esztergom, the residence of the Prince Primate; from here they proceeded to the famous stud in the village of Bábolna. In Esztergom the British Members were delighted with the beauties of the scenery and with the silence of the Danube which had been so cruelly robbed of its traffic. They listened with great interest to the history of the city which the Treaty of Trianon had changed from a midland to a frontier town; then they visited the Basilica (Cathedral) and the Primate's Treasury and the new excavations of the mediaeval palace of the "Árpád" kings. At Bábolna they were pleased to see the stables, the beautiful harness and coaches, the riding ground, the magnificent specimens of horses and the herds grazing in the open field. After tea spirits were so high that the visiting married couples all tried to learn separately the "Tshardash", the Hungarian national dance, which they very soon danced together to remember it at home.

On the next day the British Members inspected the city of Budapest and appeared at a dinner given by Dr. Otto Légrády Editor General of the „Pesti Hírlap”. The hostess was Countess Margaret Bethlen, wife of Count Stephen Bethlen, who was Prime Minister of Hungary for ten years. Among other notabilities who appeared at the dinner were Dr. L. Tahv, Under-Secretary of State and Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, member of the Hungarian Parliament and leader of the largest party of the opposition. In his toast Dr. Légrády assured his guests of the warmest welcome of the whole nation. In his reply, Lord Eltisley expressed thanks for the cordial reception he and his colleagues had found everywhere in Hungary. They would be glad to recommend every Englishman and Englishwoman to come and visit Budapest as often as possible. They honour Budapest and Hungary very highly because they had watched the struggle of the Hungarian people to ensure the recovery of their country in these hard times. He raised his glass to Hungary and their host; what followed after this was a charming scene; among shouts of "hip, hip hurrah" the English, then the Belgian and French guests jumped from their seats and all joined in the old English chorus "For he is a jolly good fellow".

All those who were present were sincerely touched by the spontaneous expression of British heart and humour.

At night the British members, with their French and Belgian colleagues, were invited by the "Pesti Hírlap" to a gala performance at the Royal Hungarian Opera-house. Here they were visited by Fieldmarshall Archduke Joseph and his Consort, Archduchess Augusta; Dr. S. Winchler, Minister of Commerce, and General Somkuthy, Minister of National Defence also visited them in their boxes. Under-Secretaries of State Dr. Preszly and Dr. Tasnády-Nagy were also present at the performance. The programme was composed of the finest Hungarian ballets. The first was the late Dr. Radnai's ballet composed from O. Wilde's "Birthday of the Infante"; the second part of the programme comprised fantasies on Liszt's Rhapsodies. Each ballet was accompanied by increasing success which reached its zenith at the end with the performance of the "Rákóczy march".

After the performance many of the visitors and their families appeared at a supper given by Dr. Légrády in the Hotel Hungaria; the party, among whom were also very many members of the best Hungarian society, was entertained by the music of Magyar Imre's famous gipsy-band and remained together in the best humour until the small hours of the morning.

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## MANIU DEMANDS FURTHER POUND OF FLESH

The Rumanian National Peasant Party held a mass meeting on October 4th in Szatmár (Satu Mare). All the leaders of the Party were present and made speeches. The Czech Agrarian Party was represented by a delegation of 300 members.

M. Julius Maniu, leader of the Party, in his speech, amongst other things, said that if it came to revision *he would demand revision too*. He would insist on the frontiers of Rumania being pushed forward into Hungary as far as Békéscsaba and Vásárosnamény, where "Hungarianized Rumanians" were living. M. Maniu's cynicism takes our breath. He seems to have entirely forgotten that, with a flouting of the principle of self-determination, 102.000 square kilo-

metres of Hungarian territory and 1,700.000 Hungarians were taken from Hungary and handed over to Rumania. The number of Rumanians in dismembered Hungary, on the other hand, is only 16.221. "Hungarianized Rumanians" are the product of M. Maniu's fertile imagination. He, whose ancestors received Hungarian nobility in spite of their having been Rumanians, ought to know best how many Hungarians became Rumanianized in the course of the centuries under Hungarian rule and how many Hungarian estates fell into Rumanian hands. There is little evidence of the reverse process, especially in present day Hungary.



In connection with an earlier article of a similar nature by M. Maniu, an interesting essay from the pen of Dr. Stephen Hollós appeared in the "Statisztikai Tudósító" (Statistical Gazette) of 18th April 1934. The following data are taken from it:

Villages with a Rumanian majority	Number of population	Magyars	Rumanians	%
Méhkerék	2.263	135	2.116	93.5
Vekerd	489	66	423	85.5
Bedő	660	123	537	81.4
Kétegyháza	4.939	2.186	2.701	54.7
	8.351	2.510	5.777	

Villages with a Rumanian minority	Number of population	Magyars	Rumanians	%
Magyarcsanak	2.672	1.288	1.070	40.1
Pusztatölak	1.327	300	459	34.6
Körösszegapáti	2.134	1.444	687	32.2
Körösszakál	1.198	836	360	30.1
Elek	8.446	1.706	1.256	14.9
Battonya	12.718	9.784	1.155	9.1
Sarkadkeresztúr	2.497	2.298	185	7.4
Nagyléta	6.944	6.483	457	6.6
Gyula m. v.	25.241	23.468	1.384	5.5
Nagykamarás	4.385	4.009	198	4.5
	67.462	51.616	7.211	

Scarcely a third, then, of the Rumanians in Trianon Hungary — 5.777 souls — live as a majority, and

only in 4 villages, 2 of which are very small, while in one of them the number of Hungarians closely approaches that of the Rumanians. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of Rumanians in Trianon Hungary declined from 23.659 to 16.221. The decline was due principally to migration to territories allotted to Rumania. How true this is may be seen from the fact that the villages above mentioned (not including Gyula, the capital of the county) lost 4.238 Rumanian inhabitants through emigration. In the county of Nógrád, on the other hand, the number of Rumanians — which in any case was inconsiderable — has grown to the double of what it was, a proof that the decline in the number of Rumanians in the Great Plain could not have been due to forcible means.

From an educational point of view the situation of the Rumanians in Trianon Hungary is very favourable. There are 11 schools in which teaching is in Rumanian. The number of teachers is 19, that of pupils 1.239.

#### Rumanian schools in Hungary in 1931/32.

Number and type	N <sup>o</sup> of teachers	N <sup>o</sup> of pupils
1 State school	1	200
3 Greek Catholic	7	583
7 Greek Orthodox	8	456
Total 11	19	1.239

The number of elementary school pupils who are linguistically Rumanians in the school-year 1929/30 was 1.953, in the next two years 1.862 and 1.964 respectively. This shows clearly that in spite of their scattered condition the majority of the Rumanian children enjoy the privilege of schooling in their mother-tongue.

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## "SPIRITUALIZATION OF FRONTIERS" - IN PRACTICE

It is reported by the "Sunday Graphic" that Lady Amphyll, a member of London Society, was not allowed to travel into Rumania because, it is stated, the Rumanian authorities thought it an extremely strange thing that Lady Amphyll should be on friendly terms with members of Hungarian society.

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Many hundred Hungarian tourists took part in a tour to Yugoslavia arranged by the travel office of the Hungarian paper "Esti Kurir". The train was supposed to stop at Szabadka (Subotica), Újvidék (Novisad), and Belgrade, and it seemed natural that the travellers would be allowed to visit other places of the Voivodina (formerly Southern Hungary) from there. The Police of these two cities, however, paid no attention to international travel agreements and did not allow the Hungarian tourists to leave the confines of the cities; they even went so far as to send gendarmes to bring back those who had taken a trip to other places. Those tourists, on the other hand,

who went to Belgrade were allowed to visit all places in old Serbia; this shows that the Yugoslav authorities are anxious to prevent the Hungarian visitors from visiting their relatives and friends in the former Hungarian territories of Yugoslavia.

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A similar case has occurred in Rumania. Those Hungarian passengers who left Budapest with a regular Hungarian passport and a Rumanian visa by the Bucharest express on October 4th, were held up at the Rumanian frontier station "according to higher instructions" and were sent back by a special train to the Hungarian frontier (Lökősháza). The reason for this arrangement was said to be the manouvres between Lugos and Temesvár. Owing to the intervention of the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs the frontier authorities were, at last, instructed to allow the Hungarian passengers to enter Rumania after waiting from morning till night at the Hungarian frontier station.

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## CONCERNING THE VISIT OF THE BULGARIAN CHURCH DIGNITARIES TO YUGOSLAVIA

The Metropolitan of Sofia, accompanied by three Bulgarian dignitaries of the Church, returned in September the visit paid in Bulgaria three years ago

by the representatives of the Serb Pravoslav Church. On this occasion certain statements were made by the Serbs that cannot be allowed to pass without comment.

In his toast at the banquet on 9th September in Sremski-Karlovci His Reverence M. Barnabás, the Serb Patriarch, ventured to say that the Dual Monarchy had employed every means to denationalize the Serbs, whose lot had been better under the Turkish yoke than in the Monarchy ("Obzor", Sept. 10 and "La Parole Bulgare", Sept. 17). The Patriarch ought to know that the Serbs, in their flight from the Turks, found a new home in Hungary and a prosperity they never excepted. The Serbs in Hungary enjoyed a religious and educational autonomy the like of which is not to be found even in our modern era of minority protection. Thanks to the generosity of the Hungarian Kings the Serb Church became possessed of wide domains and other assets the income of which for more than two hundred was employed for the establishment of a whole series of Serb cultural and religious institutions and which, even today, are the chief sources of income of the Serb Patriarchate — of Patriarch Barnabás too. He also ought to know that down to the eighties of the nineteenth century the

centres of Serb culture and intellectual life were Ujvidék (Novisad), called by M. Barnabás's compatriots "the Serb Athens" and Sremski Karlovci, the seat of the Serb Patriarchate in Hungary.

In some villages in Macedonia Dr. Janič, former Serb Minister of Education, encouraged the villagers to speak Bulgarian with the Bulgarian Churchmen who visited the villages, as the inhabitants could not make themselves properly understood in another language — that is to say in Serbian. This is an open confession of the fact, consistently denied by the Serbs, that the population of this disputed territory — the present friendly overtures leave the dispute open — are mostly Bulgarian nationals, in spite of the Serb census of 1921 having spirited away 6 or 7 hundred thousand Bulgars and although the statistics compiled by T. Radivojević, professor in Belgrade University, on the basis of the 1934 census returns make no mention of Bulgars but only of 759.282 "Macedonians".

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## DEATH OF M. PRIBIČEVIĆ

On September 15th M. Svetozar Pribičević died in the "Podoly" Sanatorium near Prague. M. Pribičević was a well-known Serb politician, and for a time Minister. He co-operated with the Serb Pašić, the Croatian Trumbić and the Slovene Korošec to found the new State. When in spite of all his services to Pan-slav aims, he lost favour at Court, in the autumn of 1927, he formed a peasant-democratic coalition with Stephen Radić, the leader of the Croats. When the Dictatorship was proclaimed on 6th January 1929, M. Pribičević was interned in Brus, a village in Serbia, from whence he emigrated to Paris in 1931. In Paris

in 1932 he published his book "*La dictature du roi Alexandre*", which contained an impassioned attack against King Alexander and his Dictatorship. The censor expunged the passage about M. Pribičević having been interned from the obituary notice issued by the Maček Party and the Zagreb university students, and permission was not given to take his body home. Thus died in exile Svetozar Pribičević who was introduced to the Princess Elena by her brother King Alexander of Yugoslavia with the words: — "Behold the man who brought me three crowns!"

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Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

## MANIFESTATIONS OF SLOVAK AUTONOMISTS IN PÖSTYÉN

September 19th, 1936 will be a memorable day in the history of Slovakia. Many thousands of the members of Monsignor Hlinka's Slovak Popular Party gathered in Pöstyén (Piestany) to manifest their desire for the autonomy of Slovakia. As a striking illustration of the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks, the Czech censor did not allow the publication of more than a few details of the declarations made at the Congress. This congress was also a demonstration against Bolshevism and the Czecho-Russian alliance. The foreign journalists were particularly surprised to hear the following two lines repeated by the choirs:

"Horthy, Hitler, Hlinka,  
To je jedná linka."

This means roughly that Horthy, Hitler, Hlinka are fighting side by side against Bolshevism. This is the first time in the history of the Czechoslovak Republic that the Slovak autonomists have been bold enough to use the name of the Regent of Hungary at an open meeting as a sign of demonstration, which shows that they feel strongly enough against the Czech State.

An extremely interesting item of the Congress was the speech made by M. Chiappe, member of the French Chamber of Deputies and formerly Commissioner of Police in Paris.

An account published in the "Slovak" gives the summary of M. Chiappe's speech as follows: M. Chiappe did not understand much of the speeches he had heard, but from their purport he could gather that he himself and the Slovaks were fighting on the same front against Bolshevism; it is the same fight which may be witnessed now in the political arena of the whole world. France is fond of her independence, she is a truly nationalistic and Catholic country, and she sympathizes with the Slovak movement for independence, which is founded on the high principles of Christianity and nationalism. M. Chiappe assured the Slovaks of his friendship. This is no mere phrase, for he is a Corsican and a man of action.

M. Chiappe's speech was received with great enthusiasm.

Among other things, Monsignor Hlinka said: "This State will not be an isle of security and the pillar of peace until every nation is satisfied and pleased with it, and until Government has granted everything that the Slovak people has been asking for since 1848 with