

# DANUBIAN REVIEW

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A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE  
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Reply to "The Central European Observer."  
**SIR ROBERT GOWER**

"Hungary Will Continue to be a Stronghold of Parliamen-  
tarism."  
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# REPLY TO "THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN OBSERVER"

BY

SIR ROBERT GOWER, K. C. V. O., D. C. L., M. P.

**T**he November 12, 1937, issue of „The Central European Observer”, a periodical published by the Orbis firm of publishers in Prague, that is to say under the aegis of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, contained an article arguing against Sir Robert Gower, M. P.'s striking booklet „The Hungarian Minorities in the Succession States” (Grayson and Grayson, Ltd.), which appeared a few months ago. Below we publish Sir Robert Gower's reply to the Editor of that magazine, a copy of which was sent to us by the author.

*House of Commons, 1st January, 1938.*

*The Editor,*

*„The Central European Observer”*

*Prague.*

Sir,

In your issue of the 12th November, an article appeared impugning the accuracy of certain statements I made in my recent book, „The Hungarian Minorities in the Succession States”. I do not propose to enter into an exhaustive discussion of the arguments propounded by the writer of the article, I shall restrict myself to the following observations:

It is gratifying that a paper serving the cause of Czech propaganda should condescend to the admission: „We do not say that the Magyar minority in the Czechoslovakian State is already satisfied and has nothing left to fight for.” I submit that this sufficiently justifies the publication of my book. Exception is apparently taken not to essentials but to

details: as for the details in question the real facts are on my side.

I do not know what foundation the writer has for his statement that „burning nationality problems are at the moment best solved by internal political treaties concerning the mutual protection of minorities”. It does not appear to me that the problem of the minorities in Czechoslovakia could at present be satisfactorily solved either by mutual minority treaties or by measures of internal politics. This view is justified by the fact that Czechoslovakia has failed to observe the provision of the Minority Treaty concluded with the Great Powers. Having broken her pledges in the past, Czechoslovakia cannot reasonably complain if dispassionate and impartial observers are apprehensive that she may break them in the future. What guarantee is there that she would scrupulously observe a minority treaty with Hungary or an agreement with the leaders of the Hungarian minorities within her boundaries? For instance, the promises made on the occasion of the last presidential elections (December 1935) have not yet been fulfilled. This is true also of the minor concessions promised on 18th February 1937. These circumstances confirm me in my conviction that the problem of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia cannot be solved by measures of internal politics, and that the only adequate solution is the restoration to Hungary of the territories with predominantly Hungarian populations. Nor has my conviction been in the least shaken by the writer's statement that „Central Europe and the Valley of the Danube have anxieties to-day other than revision. The Central European States to-day are arriving at a sensible recognition of the fact that nationality questions are soluable by mutual understanding and agreement without upheavals.” That may be the prevailing opinion in the Little Entente States; but Hungary, the cardinal State of the Danube Valley, holds the opposite opinion, and without the collaboration of Hungary there can be no solution at all.

I confess to my surprise at the writer's statement that the liberation of Hungary from the Turkish yoke owed something to the efforts of the Czechs. I know that the

expulsion of the Turks from Hungary was due, not only to the bravery of the Hungarian soldiers, but also to the strategic genius of Charles of Lorraine and to the relief of Vienna by John Sobieski, King of Poland. Moreover, the Hungarian armies that defeated the Turks included Slovak warriors. But I have never heard before that the Czechs played a really significant part in the liberation of Hungary; and I should, therefore, be grateful if the „Central European Observer” would publish any historical evidence it may possess in confirmation of so novel a pronouncement. That „in the Middle Ages Hungary repulsed the Tartars and the Turks” is a historical fact established beyond dispute.

The writer had no need to inform me that the Russo-Czechoslovak Pact followed the rise to power of the German National Socialist Party. The Pact concluded on the 16th May 1935 was the outcome of a friendship contracted with Russia long before the repudiation by Germany of the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty.

In refutation of my statement that the minorities in the States adjacent to Czecho-Slovakia were in a better position than the Hungarian minority living in Czechoslovakia, the writer adduces the fact that the Hungarian minority is provided with more schools than the Poles living in Germany. I have never disputed that fact; but I must remark that Germany — apart from her not being bound, as Czechoslovakia is, by international obligations respecting her non-German minorities — has secured to her Polish minority equal opportunities in the economic field. Such equality of opportunity does not prevail in Czechoslovakia, where the power of the State is used to discriminate against the Hungarian minority and to deprive them of their due, for the benefit of the Czechs. Nor am I aware that the German authorities had imprisoned nearly as many Poles as the Czech authorities have imprisoned Hungarians. The writer's statement that, as against 692,000 Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, there are at least 1,000,000 Poles and Magyars in Germany is misleading: for the actual number of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, as against the figures shown by the official Czech Census, is well in excess of 692,000, and in fact, amounts to at least 1,000,000. Exception has been taken to



the Czech Census not only by the Hungarians but also by the Germans, Poles and Ruthenians. It has been described as „unreliable” even by Professor Rádl, the eminent Czech Professor of the University of Prague.

As for the other charges made by the writer, I have the following observations to offer:

(1) The declaration made at Túrócszentmárton on 30th October 1918, by certain West Slovak politicians, cannot be taken as expressing the will of the whole Slovak people, for, as Louis Steiner points out in his book entitled “Ungarns Vergewaltigung” (p. 561), of the 103 signatories of that declaration only two were from Eastern Slovakia, and those two were really West Slovaks. It should be noted that the declaration was supplemented with a secret clause, which provided for the final adjustment of the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks by an agreement to be concluded ten years later. That agreement has not yet come into being. The resolution of the Eastern Slovaks expressing their anti-Czech feeling which was drafted on 12th December 1918, was passed, not at Prešov (Eperjes) as the writer asserts, but at Košice (Kassa). Victor Dvortchák, now President of the Slovak National Council, is at least as good a Slovak as Hodža, Dérer, or Hlinka. His native language is Slovak, he speaks Slovak with his parents, he once edited the Slovak “Naša Zastava”, at the end of 1918 the Eastern Slovaks were behind him to a man; and only the Czech authorities drove him from his native land.

(2) The writer does not deny that the Ruthenian National Council formed at Ungvár, the present capital of Ruthenia, at the end of 1918 decided in favour of remaining part of Hungary. The representatives of the pro-Hungarian Party were not even allowed to take part in the deliberations of the “National Council” formed in May 1919, after the town had been occupied by the Czechs. In any case, the resolution passed by this Council made its adherence to Czechoslovakia dependent on conditions that have not been fulfilled.

(3) The assertion that “the preamble to the Constitution expressly refers to the Minority Treaty as the source of the constitution” betrays the writer's ignorance of the Czech constitution, which contains no such reference. Articles 106 and 128 of the Constitution incorporated the Minority Treaty, though with certain material modifications, which are therefore — under Article 1 of the Minority Treaty — invalid. The very important paragraph of Article 8 of the Minority Treaty which provides that “Czecho-Slovak nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Czecho-Slovak nationals” has never been incorporated with the Czecho-Slovak constitution.

(4) The number of Members of the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly belonging to the Club of the United Hungarian Party is only nine. Since the total number of members of the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly is 300, the Hungarians, who even according to the incorrect figures of the Czech Census represent 4.78 per cent of the population are not represented in proportion to their percentage of the population. The Members representing the „international Communist Party — Kosik and Török — cannot be regarded as representative of the Hungarians; nor can Schultz, Member of the Czecho-Slovak Social Democrat Party, and Csomor, Member of the Czecho-Slovak Agrarian Party. Further, the Members of the Club of the United Hungarian Party include one of German nationality (Nietsch) and one of Slovak nationality (Petrašek). This reduced the number of those who represent the Hungarian to seven. The writer admits that Petrašek is of Slovak nationality; but, on the ground of his being a member of the Hungarian Club, denies his being in reality a Slovak! Yet he treats Kosik, Török, Schultz, and Csomor as Hungarians. Strange logic, indeed!

(5) The Election Act of 1925 settles the question of the third security by providing that the seat falling to the minority group shall be allocated to the party that obtained the largest number of votes throughout the Republic. As there are three times as many Germans as Hungarians, no Hungarian Party has the remotest chance of obtaining more votes than those that are polled by the biggest German Party, that of Henlein.

(6) A mere enumeration of the names of Hungarians imprisoned for various political reasons would occupy several pages. It would be equally laborious to enumerate the names of Hungarians arrested on political charges who, for lack of evidence, have had to be released from prison after long periods of confinement. The large number of political trials suggests that there are grave defects in the minority policy of Czechoslovakia. The conduct of such trials in Czechoslovakia is curiously irregular, at least from the British standpoint. Most of the convictions are obtained on the evidence of „Military Experts“. According to the latest amendment to the Defence of Republic Act, persons charged with most of the offences enumerated in that Act may be defended only by advocates on the list approved by the Ministry of Justice. Advocates who retain their Hungarian nationality are excluded from this list. Charges are brought on the most frivolous pretext. I have heard of a case in which a student (Gustavus Krausz) of Budapest University, whose parents live at Kassa (Košice) was confined in prison from March to June 1937 simply because he resided at the Budapest Hunfalvy College. Though there was no other complaint, against him, he was convicted, and sentenced. As for the Rábelly-case which I mentioned in my book, it is immaterial whether the innocent victim

was imprisoned for six or eight months. The essential fact is that in Czechoslovakia many innocent persons are unlawfully imprisoned and receive no compensation for the loss or injury they suffer by reason of their imprisonment.

(7) When the final proofs of my book went to the press, I was not in a position to know that Professor Tuka was to receive a "pardon". Now I know what that "pardon" cost. He was sentenced by a Czechoslovak Court of law to fifteen years penal servitude. According to the penal law in force in Czechoslovakia, condemned persons whose conduct in prison is unexceptionable must be released conditionally after they have served two-thirds of their sentence. Professor Tuka, who was arrested on 2nd January 1929 and whose conduct in prison was unexceptionable, would therefore in any case have had to be released on 2nd January 1939. The special "pardon" was granted to him on the 3rd June last. Thus, after he had been treated as a common criminal for eight years and a half, his sentence was remitted by merely eighteen months. He had to pay dear for his release. Instead of receiving the pension to which as a Professor he was entitled he was appointed to a minor office in a Court of law. Ostensibly he was convicted of a conspiracy against the State; but the real cause of the proceedings was his article, "Vacuum Juris", published on 1st January 1928 in which he demanded that in fulfilment of the provisions of the secret clause appended to the resolution passed at Túrócszentmárton, the Czecho-Slovak question should be settled by 31st October of that year.

(8) The writer does not deny that before the Tuka case arose, political prisoners were deprived of the privileges to which the Hungarian laws entitled them. Nor does he dispute that Professor Tuka received no favours; he merely adduced the fact that the new law securing certain privileges to political prisoners was not passed till 1931, when the Tuka case was closed and forgotten. The truth is that the sentence did not become law till about the end of 1930.

(9) At Rozsnyó (Rožňava) in 1934, within a period of three weeks the publication of three Hungarian papers was suspended; Sajóvidék, Mi Ujságunk, and Rozsnyói Hírlap.

(10) One of my chief objections to the Land Reform was that where the Czech authorities redistributed the estates of Hungarian landowners in districts of purely Magyar population, "the minor claimants of Hungarian nationality were virtually ignored". Once the lands had been expropriated, I raised no objection to their apportioning among Slovaks the estates of Hungarian landowners in districts of purely Slovak populations. On the Czech side it has been asserted that the objects of the Land Reform were primarily social. In that case the estates of



Hungarian landowners in districts of purely Hungarian population would have been apportioned among Hungarian peasants. The practice of paying inadequate compensation to the owners of *Latifundia* is opposed to the legal principle, in force in every country except Soviet Russia, that provides for the payment of full compensation to expropriated landowners.

(11) The writer asserts that "Church Schools to-day in Czechoslovakia are not as they were in old Hungary, maintained chiefly by the Churches". This assertion is in conflict with the present state of things. For Hungary, whose school system was established on the foundation of the denominational schools, gave such schools a larger measure of assistance than Czechoslovakia has thought fit to give. The evidence that the writer cites in support of his contention serves to confirm my statement that the majority of the Hungarian schools "were supplied by denominational, parochial, and private beneficence".

(12) The statement that there are only twelve schoolrooms for the 1,800 Hungarian pupils at Beregszász (Berehovo) was published in the issue for 22nd July 1934 of the *Hungarian Journal of Prague* (Prágai Magyar Hírlap) which is censored by the Czech authorities.

(13) The writer is disposed to admit the possibility that copies of the works of Petöfi, Jókai, Madách, Goethe, and even Pestalozzi, may have been removed from the libraries of the Hungarian schools in Czechoslovakia. He attempts to minimize the irregularity of such a procedure by dismissing it as "only an administrative infringement". My book was written to protest against such "administrative infringements", which are of frequent occurrence in Czechoslovakia and the other Succession States and constitute deliberate infringements of law.

(14) According to paragraph 1 of Article 9 of the Minority Treaty, Czechoslovakia is required to maintain for the use of the minorities living within its boundaries, not only elementary schools, but also institutions for higher education grades, including universities. Hungary is not and never has been under any such obligation. It is, therefore, indifferent regarding the minority policy of Czechoslovakia, whether there was any Slovak secondary school in pre-War Hungary or not. The writer admits that the denominational secondary schools at Ungvár and Rozsnyó have been closed or abolished in direct defiance of Article 8 of the Minority Treaty — by the Czech Authorities —. His only plea in extenuation for such defiance is that the Hungarian inhabitants of Ruthenia have a secondary school Beregszász (Berehovo). This is scarcely convincing for, if the 34,000 Czech and Slovak inhabitants in Ruthenia have two secondary schools, then the Magyar inhabitants, who according to the Czech Census number 110,000 are entitled to have six secondary schools.



There are other points upon which I could join issue with the writer of your article but consideration of space deter me from doing so. In conclusion I would add that as a dispassionate and impartial student of Central European politics I took the most meticulous care to ensure that the statements I made in my book are accurate. Nothing the writer of the article has said leads me to alter the views I have expressed. Were it otherwise I should not hesitate to do so. I am sure you will give this my reply equal publicity to that which you gave the article criticising my book.

OSZK  
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

# “HUNGARY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A STRONGHOLD OF PARLIAMENTARISM”

BY

ELEMÉR SZUDY

**T**he revolutions which resulted from the Great War in most of the belligerent States subverted the forms of life which — being as they were the products of historical development — had appeared to be unalterable at least for a considerable period. Ideals reflecting the very souls and the destinies of individual peoples were in an instant relegated to the lumber-room and supplanted by new tendencies. Thrones collapsed and dynasties were driven into exile; and what had for centuries been revered as truth and honour suddenly became a lie and a symbol of infamy.

What has this world conflagration left Hungary?

Deprived of three-fourths of its territory and 67% of its population, the thousand-year-old Kingdom of St. Stephen was cut into pieces. And today, after twenty years, when we survey the period that has passed since the horrible turn in history and contemplate the spiritual crisis through which the Hungarians left in Dismembered Hungary have passed, — though without losing their faith or the force of their spirit and their genius or their unswerving belief in a better future —, we cannot but ask ourselves what is the cause and what the miraculous power that has enabled the Hungarian nation despite the horrors through which it has passed to continue unceasingly the historical mission devolving upon it in the Valley of the Danube?

The answer is an extremely simple one. The constitutional machinery which enabled the Hungarians to defy the ordeals of ten centuries of history and to maintain unbroken the

national character which had rendered Europe such services, is still actively at work and has ensured the continuation of our national existence despite the catastrophe inflicted by the Treaty of Trianon. It is the triumph of the Hungarian Constitution and of Hungarian Parliamentarism. Is it not remarkable that today, when mighty peoples have discarded democratic forms of government and donned the armour-plate of dictatorship, a nation numbering only nine million souls should — after the brief but bitter aberrations of a few months of sovietism — have resolutely and consciously have returned to the temporarily abandoned Constitution of its forbears because it realised that that Constitution symbolised the great historical truth of its own life and development? The mighty force of our Hungarian public law gives life and being to that truth, the energy of which radiates and diffuses its power in a manner which is maybe at first sight incomprehensible to the sons of other countries.

Without a thorough familiarity with the conception of the Holy Crown of Hungary no foreigner can realise completely the mystic force radiating from the fact of legal continuity. What is the real essence of that conception? The higher ideal and political power uniting king and nation by means of that perfect harmony of rights and duties which sprang from the fertile womb of stormy centuries and has at all times proved strong enough to guide Hungary through the labyrinths of multifarious crises. Already in the thirteenth century, in the days of King Andrew II., — almost at the same time as the Great Charter of England —, there was issued in Hungary a Golden Bull which first adjusted in written law the relation between the legitimate king and the free nation and thereby became the basis and source of that Constitution which to the Hungarians has at all times proved an unfailing support and stay. But the Hungarian Constitution, as a consequence of the almost preternatural significance of the conception of the Holy Crown, does not consist exclusively of written laws, but also of unwritten traditions of just as binding force; and it is this circumstance



above all that lends such electricity and so invincible a force to the Hungarian Constitution. The historical law system of Hungary was subjected to its first severe test during the century and a half of Turkish occupation, when three different masters owned the dismembered country; the spirit of the Constitution still continued to unite the dismembered parts: and when the day of liberation came, and the Turks were driven out of Hungary, the parts of the country which had been severed from one another once more united and the life of the community of earlier days continued without a hitch and without any upheaval at all.

It was the ardour inspired by the fire of their ancient Constitution that made the Hungarian Estates at the Pozsony Diet utter the historically famous „*Vitam et sanguinem*” — the promise of support given to Queen Maria Theresa in her hour of need during the Seven Years War, — words which then resounded throughout Europe and which the military prowess of General Hadik echoed as he swept victoriously right up to the gates of Berlin. It was the fame of this Constitution that brought Montesquieu, one of the greatest intellects of the eighteenth century, to Pozsony. — The theory of this eminent French political philosopher and writer regarding the separation of the State powers was responsible for the legal system still in force unchanged in parliamentary countries. The development of this fundamental system was no doubt due very largely also to the experience gained by Montesquieu at Pozsony, where the parliament consisting of two chambers (houses) had — like that of England — been functioning already for a considerable period.

This brief historical retrospect was necessary in order to enable us to understand the situation of present day Hungary and her unflinching devotion to her constitutional institutions. Without this historical survey we should be unable to understand why even today, when Great Powers have broken with the traditions of parliamentarism and dictatorial endeavours still appear to be making headway, this small country with its population of only some nine

million souls has the courage and the will, not only to maintain intact and preserve, but also to develop further in the democratic spirit its constitutional machinery. For that is what is happening today in Hungary, where personal liberty, the right of individual initiative, equality in respect of civil rights and the complete independence of religious and intellectual life of the State have always been regarded as the highest privileges and the unassailable moral possessions of man.

With the three constitutional Bills destined to raise the whole political life of Hungary to a fresh and more modern level higher than any yet attained, we have already dealt briefly in these columns. The first of these Bills, that dealing with the expansion of the Regent's prerogatives, was early in the year incorporated in Hungarian law; the second, that dealing with the extension of the sphere of authority of the Upper House, was passed and became law during the autumn session of Parliament. Both Acts form harmonious complements of the Hungarian legal system previously in force, the only object served by them being the maintenance and safeguarding of the principle of a balance of forces in constitutional life. This is fully in keeping with the progressive conservative tendency so far represented by the Governments, standing on a national basis, which for that very reason has at all times possessed the power and the feeling of security essential to enable them to advance rapidly in the direction of democratic progress — of the stabilisation of the political rights of the working masses.

For the latter result is what is aimed at by the third and last of the constitutional Bills, — that relating to the introduction of secret ballot as the general system of suffrage. In Hungary there is really no need for an extension of the suffrage, seeing that in that country practically one-third of the population are entitled to express their will respecting the questions of government and of policy. This is undoubtedly a large proportion in keeping with even the most exacting democratic postulates. Under such circumstances

it is a matter of vast importance that the secrecy of the ballot is to be secured everywhere. The Bill — presented to Parliament by the Government on December 30th — puts an end to political struggles reaching back for decades.

Hereby the series of constitutional laws is made complete; and the Bill is the crowning achievement of the work done with a common goodwill and a community of purpose by Government and Opposition, by majority and minority alike. For more than a year the spirit of "*Treuga Dei*" has controlled the destinies of the inner political life of Hungary. During this period the whole Opposition has shown a praiseworthy unselfishness in laying down the arms of severe criticism and has more than once sacrificed its popularity for the purpose of achieving the great object of realising the system of general secret ballot and thereby enhancing the strength and power of resistance of the edifice of Hungarian constitutionalism. That was the real object; and that will continue to be the ultimate ideal in view. That is why — a circumstance of unmeasurable importance under present conditions — all the constructive elements of our Hungarian national life have united above all to show their respect for the principle of Hungarian parliamentarism. This moment is of importance today, not only because it too enables the Hungarian nation to show the great nations of the West that it is not prepared to abandon its mission in the Valley of the Danube, which it is desirous of continuing and to perform with the aid of the spell of its constitutional force, but also because it proves that it desires to break once for all with the unconstitutional experiments — which were certainly insignificant and of no real importance — which were undertaken in the not very distant past and have left traces on the present too. The only reason why mention has been made of these phenomena — which with their confused ideologies have shown their heads occasionally in the country — is that still greater light may be thrown on the firm and unflinching devotion of the Hungarian people as a whole to the idea and the institutions of constitutionalism.



An eminent member of the political life of France — Senator Lémery — recently published in a Paris journal an article the title of which has been put at the head of this article. We thank the Senator for having advanced us his confidence in the maintenance and survival of Hungarian parliamentarism; but he surely would not have done so had he not been familiar with our history and with the individuality of the Hungarian people. In any case we shall do our best not to disappoint in this connection the Europe which favours freedom of thought.

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"I am convinced that it would be a far better defence of the State to satisfy the nationalities in our internal policy and create a friendly atmosphere with our neighbours in our foreign policy; the more so as we are dependent on the latter economically. The present political situation is the clearest proof that Government has not fulfilled its obligations towards the minorities. We cannot but admit that the present international unrest affects us above all and that the internal arrangements of this State are the subject of international discussion. Government, must also realize that the complaints of the minorities are heard beyond our own frontiers; the world is not deaf. Government must realise the urgency of a solution of the minority question that would meet the exigencies of the European situation and the demands of democracy and justice. Promises we have had in plenty, but promises are not enough. We ask for acts, especially in connection with the demands of the Hungarian minority. The quicker they are done, the sooner may we expect a relaxation of the international tension." (From a speech delivered by M. Nicholas Pajor, Hungarian Senator, in the Czecho-Slovak Senate on 9th December.)

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# PHILIP DE LÁSZLÓ

1869—1937.

BY

Dr. ANTHONY KAMPIS

His life was a splendid example of fulfilment. However daring the dreams of his youth, they were realized. His lot was one of personal, financial and moral success; with the aid of his brush his career was one of smooth progress from life as a poor art student in Budapest to one among the great, reaching the climax when the head of one of the States in another Continent did him the honour of sending a man-of-war to bring him over to paint his portrait.

The beginnings of Philip de László's life were humble. He was born on 1st June 1869, the son of a poor craftsman, who brought him up to follow his father's trade.

When his school days were over, he was apprenticed to a well-known photographer patronized mainly by the Hungarian aristocracy. After a few months of work in the photographer's studio, it was borne in upon the young man that his talents were lost on mechanical photography, and abandoning this craft he applied for admission to the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest.

His ability was recognized at the entrance examination and he was admitted. In the years following, with feverish assiduity he pursued the study of painting under the guidance of Bartholomew Székely and Charles Lotz. Success was not slow to reward him. In 1888, while yet a student of art, a painting of his, the portrait of a child, was exhibited in the Budapest Art Gallery with such marked success that he received a State scholarship. This enabled him to enter the Academy of Painting in Munich, where his teacher was

a famous master of Hungarian extraction, Alexander Liezen-Mayer.

In Munich he worked with fervour. Two of his well-known compositions date from that period: "The Story-Teller" and "In the Munich Hofbräuhaus". These pictures were exhibited in Budapest and the first-mentioned won for him the Friends of Art's prize. During his sojourn in Munich he also won two silver medals for pictures exhibited there.

Leaving Munich he went to Paris, where he remained a year, perfecting his art in the company of Benjamin Constant and Jules Lefebvre. The themes of his pictures at this time were the fashionable ones of the period (The Old Soldier, A Serious Question, Incroyable, etc.).

The influence of the years spent in Munich and the trend of art at home induced de László to try his hand with *genre* pictures, although even in his student days he felt his vocation to be portrait painting, and his fixed intention had been to devote himself to that branch of art. Contemporary students of his relate that during his student years Philip de László consciously strove to idealize the pose of the model set before him without detriment, however, to the figure or to the character of the face, and thus while the canvases of his fellow-students portrayed old drunkards, and toothless dishevelled crones, in de László's studies the same models assumed the aspect of dignified old gentlemen and worthy grey-haired ladies without any loss of likeness between the models and their portraits. It was a characteristic of de László's to seize upon the most favourable traits of his models without any hesitation or lengthy experimentation.

Yet, as we have said, for several years he could not emancipate himself from the dictates of the fashion of the age, but experimented with *genre* compositions. Success attended these efforts, it is true, but it is equally certain that had he continued on this path, had he not turned his back upon it no amount of perseverance or effort would have crowned his career with the success he was afterwards to achieve.



The turn came in the year 1894. That year de László was commissioned by the art firm Kosmos of Budapest to paint a life-size portrait of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria. De László executed the task in a brilliant manner and the portrait reaped so great a success that the painter found himself overwhelmed with orders to paint the portraits of the most distinguished people. From that time on de László painted almost nothing except portraits.

His painting of a lady exhibited in the Budapest Art Gallery won for him the small Gold Medal in 1897 and in 1899 the Hungarian Mortgage Bank gave him a commission to paint a portrait of Francis Joseph I for the assembly hall of the Bank. These events marked sudden rise to fame of the young painter; but for the moment he was a prophet, that is to say a recognized master of portraiture, only in his own country. However, the same year his career abroad began and with it the conquest of foreign countries. He left Budapest for Berlin. The first portrait he painted there was that of the Duke Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst, then Chancellor of the German Empire, and at the success of that picture the most exclusive doors were suddenly thrown open to admit him. The picture was hung; it brought him two gold medals and, what was of greater importance, so many commissions that he could scarcely accept them all. Kaiser Wilhelm himself was one of his patrons and he lavished every mark of favour on the young artist,

In 1900 he arranged a collective exhibition of his Berlin works at Schulte's and on this occasion it was established that de László's successes were by no means of an ephemeral art. Art critics of repute and unbiassed judgement acclaimed his works with praised of their form and *technique*, attaching considerable hopes to the future career of the artist.

Then de László took a great decision. He realized that never again would he deviate from the path towards which his individual inclination drew him. A pageant of the inspiring examples of the great portrait painters of bye-gone days passed before his mental vision; he felt that he could serve art well even if he confined himself to this one branch of it and that his name and fame would go down to posterity

if he perfected his knowledge and used his talents honestly, with faith and unflinching zeal.

He managed to secure a commission to paint Pope Leo XIII. This was no light task, for the aged Pope was a nervous, impatient man; he refused to concede de László more than one sitting and even then stipulated that neither the artist nor his work was to be visible. Another would perhaps have been daunted by these difficulties, either of which might well have spelt failure, but de László agreed and completed the work with such brilliance that his portrait of Pope Leo XIII may well be said to be the most excellent and poetical work of that period of his life.

The pose of the figure is simple yet arresting and full of dignity, and the frail gentleness is transfused with a spiritual force which reveals itself most strikingly in the fire of the eyes. The tone of the picture, which is of medium size, is light and the sensitively chosen colours range beside one another in delicate harmony. The execution is soft and tranquil. The virtuosity of a light and subtle play of the brush is noticeable in the treatment of the lace of the Pope's robes, the details of which though creating the impression almost of minuteness are limned in a sure and grandiose manner. These characteristics also mark the treatment of the transparent, finely-shaped hands and the rest of the details of the portrait.

While at the Vatican de László also painted a portrait of Cardinal Rampolla. In this picture the execution shows more of contrasting effects, the sweep of the lines is more decided, the expression of the face more purposeful, forcible and determined. The difference in the spiritual timbre of the two Churchmen and the difference of character and human values are magnificently portrayed in the two paintings, which at present hang in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.

In 1900 de László won the Hungarian State Gold Medal with a portrait of the Countess Csekonics exhibited in the Budapest Art Gallery. This Gold Medal was the highest distinction conferrable at that time on artists in Hungary.

By this time de László was so much in demand abroad that he could no longer remain in Hungary. Although he

did not take definite leave of his studio in Budapest, he set up one first in Vienna and then in London.

His contacts with the English aristocracy and later on with the English Court grew in time so exacting that London came to be his permanent home. In this he followed in the footsteps of several Hungarian artists (Jacob Bogdán, John Privigyei and Charles Brocky) who, tearing themselves away from their native land in the preceding century, became part and parcel of English artistic life, enriching it with colours which by very reason of their strangeness and peculiarity were stimulating and arresting.

In 1907 he painted the portraits of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. The same year he arranged a collective exhibition of his works done in England. In 1910 he painted the members of the Spanish Royal Family.

America now began to take notice of him and President Roosevelt invited him to Washington to paint his portrait. From then on de László was a favourite portrait painter of the American plutocracy.

Financial success was attended in ever increasing measure by the appreciation of his fellow-artists.

In 1905 he won two medals at an exhibition in Munich. Next year he was elected honorary member of the Madrid Society of Artists. The Venice Exhibition of 1907 brought him a gold medal, and in the same year one of his pictures was purchased by the Galleria d'Arte Moderna of Rome and he was elected honorary member of the Royal Society of British Artists.

In 1912 Francis Joseph conferred Hungarian nobility on him with the forename of „Lombos”, and he also received a diploma of honour from Amsterdam. A few years later he became a British citizen and a professor of the London Royal Art School.

In 1908 he had arranged an exhibition of the best of his works in Berlin. This time his success was not so unanimous as on the occasion of his first Berlin exhibition. The public still accorded the same admiration to his paintings, but the critics found fault with his too great routine, with a too suave, too refined execution untrammelled by problems



of any kind. These objections continued to be raised by critics throughout the rest of his life, but they were powerless to influence the artist or his admirers, and even the critics themselves never questioned his ability, taste and great technical skill.

After the war he went to New York in 1925, where he arranged a collective exhibition. It was visited by an unparalleled number of people. The magic of de László's name and fame was so great that several American painters who copied his style were able to make considerable capital, financial and moral, out of their imitation of him. He arranged collective exhibitions in London in 1927 and 1929 and one in Paris in 1931, all of which were viewed by the highest social circles and represented a considerable financial success.

Besides Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, he also painted the portraits of Lord Northcliffe, Princess Chimay, and the editor of the "Studio", Mr. Holme. Among his models were the Archbishop of Dublin and many prominent politicians, such as Lord Balfour and the ex-Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. James Lowther. Others to sit for him were the Princess Victoria as well as the well know society beauty, Baroness Bayens, and the Principal of Sommerville College in Oxford, Miss Penrose. It would, however, be impossible to enumerate the names of all the many people whom de László painted. All we would say is that he painted almost every member of the Royal Family more than once and that there is scarcely a single famous person in England whose portrait was not painted by him.

Besides his paintings which are in the possession of private individuals, one or more of his works are to be found in most of the important museums in Europe and his self-portrait hangs in the company of those of other famous Hungarian painters (Stephen Csók, Rippl Rónai, etc.) in the world-famed collection of self-portraits, to which only the very best are admitted, in the Uffici Gallery.

De László, though loyal to the country of his adoption in the latter half of his life, was bound to Hungary with inseverable ties. He often visited Hungary and painted many

portraits of outstanding people in Hungarian political and social life.

One of these is of special interest: the portrait of the Regent of Hungary in which the artist with cool technique and warm feelings depicts the virile strength and indomitable will of the Regent.

De László never ceased to be interested in Hungarian artistic life. He was a member, honorary or ordinary, of many societies of artists in Hungary. When possible he frequently visited the exhibitions in the Budapest Art Gallery; he continued to the end to be on friendly terms with his old colleagues and acquaintances and took a great interest in the rising generation of artists. Many young and struggling artists had reason to be grateful to de László for aid and scholarships.

De László died on 22nd November 1937 at the zenith of his career, in full possession of his creative powers as an artist and with no abatement of his ability to work. He had been knighted in the country of his adoption, was a frequent visitor at the English Court and died surrounded with wealth and the respect of two countries, in fact of the whole world.

The last two distinction which were conferred on him were the Hungarian Corvin Wreath, the highest recognition in Hungary of his merits as an artist, and the Chairmanship of the British Royal Society of Artists. He was on his deathbed when these distinctions reached him, as though to put a full stop to an artistic career the like of which would be hard to find among his contemporaries.

If now we seek to discover the reason of this unprecedented success, of the homage done to de László by countries and continents, if we ask wherein lay the arresting power which made peer and commoner bow in admiration before his pictures, we shall find some very interesting and characteristic traits in his art.

First of all his sure, certain knowledge of the art of drawing. Before he took his brush in hand de László had no need of a series of special sketches in order to catch the peculiarities of face and figure. One quick sketch, and he was ready to begin painting. He therefore did not tire his models, but rather stimulated their interest. His sure sense

of values (perhaps the most precious gift an artist can possess) enabled him to commit to canvas the picture as a whole, colour, background and the figure at once. This trait was supplemented by a great instinct for character, which resulted in his bringing out the likeness almost involuntarily while painting in the colour, lights and shadows. Bringing out the likeness was no separate task for de László, but merely a natural concomitant to the technical side of painting.

He enhanced the likeness by watching every little individual trick of manner of his model and conveying them to the canvas. He himself was heard to say that this was one of the secrets of the convincing power of his portraits.

He paid special attention to the eyes. In all his portraits the eyes are the central point, but he was just as careful in his treatment of the hands. Mention has already been made of these points in connection with Pope Leo XIII's portrait. This however does not mean that any part of the picture is allowed to dominate the rest, for picture and background are developed as an organic whole. By this means the minute elaboration of certain details here and there is compatible with the whole picture, while the broad sweeping lines of the other parts lend a character of grandeur to every single detail. Another sign that de László developed the entire picture simultaneously and uniformly is that he always worked on framed canvases.

But his most interesting characteristic as a portrait painter was his extraordinary sense of dignity and distinction. He painted his models as they would have liked to appear and posed them so as to charm and captivate the spectator. He stressed the refined, distinguished traits of his models, and where such were lacking, he smuggled them into the picture without spoiling a single line of the physical likeness.

He believed in his art and his vocation. He was the artist who painted the greatest number of the crowned heads and leading men of his day and he looked upon this work as one of the sources of future historical research. He himself said that this was one of the reasons why, besides striving to present a faithful physical likeness, he also strove



to mirror the spiritual and moral character of his models. In this he was but following in the footsteps of the great portrait painters of the past centuries. If he was not entirely successful we can at least say that with his death we have lost an able painter whose good taste and honest intentions were unquestionable.

OSZK

Nemzeti Széchényi Könyvtár

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"Our responsibility dictates a solemn protest against the parliamentary practice which is digging the grave of democracy, sabotaging honest debate and rendering futile our responsibility towards the people." (From a speech delivered by M. Andrew Jaross, President of the United Hungarian Party of Czecho-Slovakia, in the Prague Parliament on 30th November.)

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## POLITICAL MOSAIC

### WHAT DID M. DELBOS SEE AND ACCOMPLISH IN CENTRAL EUROPE?

The visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin opened out a new perspective for those who, in spite of the extraordinarily complicated state of affairs in international politics, have not lost their hope and belief that through a satisfactory readjustment of present-day Europe it will still be possible to establish co-operation among the Great Powers and thereby ensure European peace. Certain newspapers, in fact, expressed the optimistic opinion that as a result of the British statesman's Berlin visit a new Four Power Conference would meet and a new Peace Conference be convened. We sincerely hope that these optimistic views will soon be endorsed by events.

The *pourparlers* of M. Delbos, French Foreign Minister in London and his visit immediately following them to Central Europe and the Balkans seem, at any rate, to prove that the spirit which four years ago, when M. Barthou was Foreign Minister, made the European atmosphere so fraught with tension, has given place to one of the calmest deliberation. M. Delbos refrained from visiting Moscow, though certain political prophets expected him to do so, and he did not avoid a meeting with Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Minister, in Berlin and with Baron Apor, permanent deputy of the Hungarian Foreign Minister, in Budapest. If we feel inclined to attribute more importance than that of an act of courtesy to those meetings, we can only justify our conviction by pointing out that such an act of courtesy would have been inconceivable in the Barthou era.

The importance of the French Foreign Minister's journey is only enhanced by its having followed fast on the heels of the London *pourparlers*, at the close of which a *communiqué* stated with satisfaction that it was the common interest of the British and French Governments to maintain peace in Central Europe. After this it was evident that on his journey through Central Europe M. Delbos would represent not only France's but also Great Britain's views.

After these introductory remarks let us follow the French Foreign Minister to the four stages of his route and briefly summarize the probable consequences of his journey in Central Europe.

## Warsaw

In the Polish capital M. Delbos was apparently successful in strengthening the ties of alliance between France and Poland, but his efforts to improve relations between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia were not crowned with success. The views of the Polish Government on the subject are obvious: no foreign State can influence Poland's attitude, which depends entirely on the Czecho-Slovak Government.

It is well known that there are two reasons for the tension between the two States: one reason is the treatment meted out by Czecho-Slovakia to the Polish minority in Silesia; the other is the pact existing between Czecho-Slovakia and Soviet Russia. It was certainly no mere accident that Premier Hodža chose just this moment to receive the representatives of the Polish minority and to make certain promises to them. But apart from the fact that even in Czecho-Slovakia's present internal and international difficulties the value of Czech promises to the minorities has not increased, the question of the Poles in Silesia is organically connected with the grave nationality problems of the Republic, and it is hardly conceivable that it can be solved except if a simultaneous solution is found for the problems of the Sudeta Germans, the Hungarians, the Slovaks and the Ruthenians. It is evident that Prague cannot accede to the rightful demands of the Poles without, at the same time, honouring the similarly rightful demands of the rest of the Republic's nationalities. And, as we shall see later on, Prague has no desire to carry through radical reforms, meaning a deviation from her present arrangements in the field of the nationality question. Even less willing is Prague to break with Russia, for whose friendship with France Czecho-Slovakia was responsible and whom she cannot desert in a hurry without arousing the wrath of her increasingly strong Communist Party and dissipating the hopes of the Czechs in the support of the Red Army. Now the unswerving attitude of the Polish Government is that it refuses, in any circumstances, to allow the Red Army to pass through Poland; in other words the Czecho-Soviet military alliance is of no practical value; Russia cannot hasten to Czecho-Slovakia's aid, unless Poland is first crushed.

Thus, for the present, the chances of Poland's approaching Czecho-Slovakia are very slight and France's endeavour to establish harmony and co-operation between her two allies, for the time being at least, does not promise to be successful.

## Bucharest.

This will certainly not fail to influence Rumania, who, as we know, is bound to Poland by ties of alliance. Like the Polish the Rumanian Government is not willing to allow the Red Army to pass through the country, either through Bessarabia, which two



decades ago belonged to Russia, or through Bukovina adjoining Czecho-Slovakia. Rumania refused to conclude an alliance of mutual aid with Russia, and not only with Russia, but also with France, which was naturally a disappointment to Paris, the more so since it was French capital that paid for Rumania's armaments and Rumania now hopes for further French loans.

According to certain reports in the French press the question of a *rapprochement* with Hungary was also discussed in Bucharest. The main obstacle in the way of such a *rapprochement*, as we know, was the standpoint of the Rumanian Government which was that the Government was not in a position to regulate the situation of the Hungarian minority before the general Parliamentary elections. On the occasion of M. Delbos' visit, M. Antonescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his toast spoke of friendly relations with the neighbouring countries, and this sentence was taken to mean also a willingness to approach Hungary; but the *sine qua non* of a *rapprochement* between the two countries — and this Hungary cannot declare emphatically enough — is a satisfactory regulation of the lot of the Hungarians in Transylvania. The Rumanian Government excused itself on the plea of the approaching elections, but now that they are over, that excuse has ceased. The way is therefore open to a fulfilment of the rightful demands of the Hungarian minority in Rumania, and from now on it devolves entirely on the Rumanian Government to show whether a *rapprochement* with Hungary is sincerely desired or not.

In any case, while in Bucharest M. Delbos had an opportunity of looking into the seething cauldron of Rumania's internal politics and of seeing the deep rift separating the Opposition from the Government, as witnessed by the refusal of the leaders of the National Peasant Party to take part in the festivities organized by the Government in M. Delbos' honour.

### Belgrade

The visit of the French Foreign Minister to Belgrade was disturbed by two events. The one was that immediately before his arrival M. Stoyadinovitch thought fit to visit Rome and thus publicly demonstrate Yugoslavia's friendship with Italy, which has been growing stronger ever since the pact was signed by the two Governments on 26th March. M. Stoyadinovitch's proposed visit to Berlin in January will but serve to cement Yugoslavia's friendship with the Rome—Berlin axis. The second disturbing incident was the demonstration organized after M. Delbos' arrival by the anti-Italian Serb circles, on which occasion rifles were fired and many wounded left on the scene of the clash between the gendarmes and the anti-Italian demonstrators. The march of the demonstrators past the Czech Legation, coupled

with the intrigues of the Czech press against the Italo-Yugoslav friendship, leaves no reasonable doubt where we have to look for the spiritual leaders of what must have been a very disagreeable incident for M. Delbos. After these antecedents it is to be understood that the Yugoslav Government's mistrust of Prague grows ever stronger.

Unlike her Czecho-Slovak ally, Yugoslavia continues to be dead set against Soviet Russia, whose advanced outpost in Central Europe is the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and also refuses to sign the pact of mutual assistance offered her by France. Yugoslavia's geographical position, her economic interests and, last but not least, the state of her internal politics, clearly show her how indispensable is co-operation with Italy and Germany.

### Prague

The last, but perhaps the most important stage of M. Delbos' itinerary was his visit to Prague. It is a grotesque symptom of European conditions today that France should recommend the Czechs to seek reconciliation with Germany by pacifying the Sudeta Germans. The problem of the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia has for long been one of the questions causing the greatest anxiety to European diplomacy. Ever since, thanks to the results of the Parliamentary elections in 1935, Herr Conrad Henlein has enjoyed the support of the largest Party in Czecho-Slovakia, this leader of the Sudeta German Party is one of the most frequently discussed politicians in Europe. In itself the fact that while in Prague M. Delbos had a lengthy conversation with two of the representatives of the Sudeta German Party (who drew his attention to the provisions of the Czech Defence of the State Act, which are certainly unusual in a "democratic" State) is proof of the interest taken by France as well as Britain in the question of the Sudeta Germans. Towards the representatives of the Sudeta Germans, Herren Kundt and Pfundtner, M. Delbos adopted the extremely correct attitude of not being prepared to interfere with Czecho-Slovakia's domestic affairs; all he desired was a reinforcement of the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State, but not only the warning issued to Czecho-Slovakia by "The Times" in connection with the Sudeta Germans, but also the advice of the French press that the Republic should, without prejudicing her sovereignty, seek to improve the lot of the minorities, especially of the Sudeta Germans, is a striking proof that Paris is well aware of the mistaken nature of Czecho-Slovakia's minority policy and desires a change. The French press, of course, strongly emphasizes the point that there can be no question of nationality autonomy, but all *au fait* with the problem of the Sudeta Germans are fully aware that Henlein cannot withdraw the demand made for self-government after the complaints lodged in the spring of this year, and that Berlin is

not likely to be content with a solution that does not grant autonomy to the Sudeta Germans.

The oft-quoted concessions of 18th February — which in any case are being effected in a very tardy manner — are by no means calculated to solve either the Sudeta German problem or any of the rest of Czecho-Slovakia's nationality questions. For — we cannot repeat it too often — Czecho-Slovakia has not only a German, but also a Hungarian, a Slovak, a Ruthenian, and a Polish problem, each of which is of the same importance as the German question, if not arithmetically, but in gravity. The majority of Czecho-Slovakia's inhabitants is not composed of Czechs, but of minorities incorporated in the Republic without their wishes being consulted, and indeed against their will. The only possibility of existence for the Czecho-Slovak Republic is to take the political consequences inherent in this fact and, instead of striving to maintain a fictive national State, resolve itself into a nationality State, in which Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Ruthenians and Poles would enjoy, both as individuals and as national units, the same rights as the Czechs.

This fundamental problem of the Czecho-Slovak State is not to be solved by pretended concessions, and it will grow the more dangerous for the Republic, the worse her relations with her neighbours are. These relations, in their turn, depend more or less, on the treatment meted out by Prague to the nationalities enumerated above. It is indeed a vicious circle, the way out of which only a statesman of genius could find. The Czechs themselves are well aware of the gravity of the situation, and all the information we receive from the territories severed from Hungary goes to prove that a state of panic prevails among the Czech officials in the public services there. We wonder whether, in the few days at his disposal in Prague, M. Delbos was able to see far enough into the intricate and therefore hardly-to-be-solved nationality problems of the Czecho-Slovak State. The only good advice he could give to President Beneš and Premier Hodža was to lose not a minute in solving, by means of autonomies, the nationality problems of the Republic.

According to several press reports, all of the same tenor, the French Foreign Minister gave Prague the same advice he gave to the other two States of the Little Entente, namely to approach Hungary. If this is really true, it is one reason more why M. Delbos should not confine his attention to the problems of the Poles and the Sudeta Germans, but why he should also study the nationality problems of the territories wrested from Hungary, above all the question of the Hungarian minority, without a satisfactory solution of which no *modus vivendi* can possibly be devised calculated to improve relations between Budapest and Prague.



## THE RUMANIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

For the Rumanian Parliamentary elections, which took place on December 20 and 22, the Government Party, the National Liberals, made a pact with Alexander Vaida-Voivod's Party of the Extreme Right the "Rumanian Front", and worked together with Jorga's Party. The National Peasant Party under the leadership of Maniu, on the other hand, entered into a comradeship-in-arms with the Iron Guard, which joined the fray with the slogan: "Everything for the Fatherland!". It is therefore unquestionable that a certain movement towards the Right has taken place in Rumanian politics.

In this connexion we wish to point out that the Rumanian Government has made a pact for the elections with the German minority organizations; the Government has also promised that it will not apply the Defence of Labour Act against the German minority. In Bucovina the Germans were allowed to open 21 new denominational schools; in those schools which are also visited by German pupils, German will be one of the languages of instruction. Moreover, the Germans will regain their school property in Bessarabia and will be allowed to use their tribal flags ("Brassói Lapok", Nov. 28).

The Hungarian minority in Transylvania has not made a pact with any of the Rumanian Parties, but will enter the contest with its own list. Although the Government promised complete electoral liberty, almost immediately after the date of the elections had been fixed the authorities did all in their power to prevent free expression of the will of the Hungarians in Transylvania. The Rumanian authorities proved themselves very resourceful in discovering methods of using seemingly legal means of doing so. In County Szatmár, for instance, certain Hungarian villages were put in quarantine on the pretext of a contagious epidemic. Strange to say the "epidemic" avoided the Rumanian villages. In the counties of Szilágy and Bihar the Hungarian inhabitants of large villages will have to go 20—30 or 50 kilometres to tiny hamlets in order to vote. Everywhere complaints are being made about the distribution of the electors' certificates. The Hungarian Party is not allowed to conduct a propaganda campaign and in some counties the candidates of the Party have been arrested.

During the elections the gendarmes behaved with great brutality, and blood was shed in many places. In the village of Nyáradmagyaros the gendarmes used their rifles, killing several people, and in Pázmánfalva they let loose a pack of big wolf-hounds on the Hungarian electors, many of whom were terribly bitten by the ferocious animals. In the Hungarian constituencies

in many places the Hungarian voters were kept back by a cordon of gendarmes or driven back on the highroads by armed men. In the county of Kisküküllő 15% of the Hungarian electors were not allowed to vote. In the county of Szatmár the whole population of the village of Avasújfalu were arrested for presuming to vote.

A thing unprecedented in Rumania has happened: the Government Party has failed to obtain 40% of the votes cast. The explanation is to be found in the fact that there was no opportunity of robbing the ballot-urns as was the custom in the past, since the Rumanian Opposition Parties stood guard over the places where the elections were held and prevented a falsification of the election results.

The Government secured only 35.92% of the votes cast (152 seats), and even that not alone but together with Vaida-Voivode's, Jorga's and the German Parties. The National Peasant Party obtained 20.4% of the votes (36 seats). Great progress was made by the Iron Guard, which received 15.58% of the votes with 86 seats. This organization of the extreme Right took the hitherto scattered groups of the Right wing in hand and, thanks to its well trained canvassers, secured many votes especially in the lonely country places. 9.15% of the votes with 39 mandates fell to Goga's National Christian Party. In spite of the terroristic methods employed against it, the Hungarian Party managed to secure 136,139 votes (19 seats). In the counties of Csík and Háromszék this Party received an absolute majority of the votes cast.

Although, as we see above, M. Octavian Goga's Party did not secure even one-tenth of the votes, yet he was asked by the King to form the new Cabinet after M. Tatarescu handed in his resignation in consequence of his Party's defeat at the elections. M. Goga was able to persuade four Regate members of the National Peasant Party to accept seats in the Cabinet without, however, winning over the Party as a whole, for the four Ministers were immediately excluded from the Party.

When these lines are being written the Goga Government is but a few days in office and it would be impossible at this stage to form a definite opinion of it. One thing seems certain: the trend of its foreign policy — as was revealed by the first statement given by M. Micescu, Foreign Minister, — will be to approach Germany and Italy more closely than M. Tatarescu did after M. Titulescu's fall. The domestic policy of the new Government will be one of the most intolerant nationalism and so the minorities have little hope that the anti-minority policy of the Tatarescu Government will give place to a more reasonable one. On the contrary, the opposite is to be feared.

. . .

Compared with the scandalous atrocities committed at the Parliamentary elections, the election of the Senators was orderly enough. Three Hungarian Senators were elected, one in Csík County, one in Háromszék County and one in Udvarhely County.

Because of the atrocities, the County Maros-Torda section of the Hungarian Party refrained from taking part in elections "in order — so runs the official report of the Party — to prevent the loss of more Hungarian lives".

*M. Maniu's attack on the King Carol II.*

Returning to his home from Bucharest after the political crisis in November, M. Maniu addressed a crowd of his followers at the railway station of Kolozsvár (Cluj). The Tatarescu Cabinet, he said, was not a Government freely chosen by the people of Greater Rumania, but an instrument in the hands of the King's advisers for the perpetuation of their domination. The "*Cabal*" (the King's advisers), M. Maniu continued, must be swept away and at the same time Madame Lupescu, too, must leave the country, for it is impossible to shut our eyes any longer to the present state of moral corruption. The whole speech appears to have been intended as a secret attack on the King's person; it was probably due to this fact that the "*Patria*", a newspaper which had published the whole speech, was confiscated by the Police.

*Semi-Official Czecho-Slovak criticism of Anti-Democratic election methods in Rumania*

On November 15th the "*Prager Presse*", which is the semi-official organ of the Czecho-Slovak Government, passed a very severe criticism on the customary methods of force and terror characterising the elections in Rumania. It also remarked that the National Peasant Party rested on the basis of democracy. In other words, the semi-official organ of Rumania's ally not only condemned the governmental system of its friend but openly sympathized, not with the ruling party, but with the Government's opposition (M. Maniu's Peasant Party). It is easy to understand, therefore, why Professor Jorga, one of King Charles' former tutors and now his confidant, on November 24th, wrote the following reply in his paper, the "*Neamul Romanesc*":

"Rumania is an independent State with a number of allies who, nevertheless, are not allowed to recommend her such governments as they themselves would like to see ruling over her; furthermore it is a mark of indecency to demand, on certain ideological considerations, that we should have a different governmental system from the one that pleases us most. Rumania is a monarchy, and the Monarch is entitled to appoint as his cabinet ministers such persons as he thinks most fit to serve the purposes of the nation; the country, and the country alone, is



then entitled to decide — by means of its votes — whether it agrees with the Monarch's choice. If, therefore, anyone expects us to be directed by foreign influence in the management of our own affairs, be he ever so good a friend, he is — in addition to proving that he is not familiar with such principles of government — certainly ingorant of two things: he does not know King Carol and the Rumanian people." — y —

### THE BEST JOKE OF THE MONTH: COLONIES FOR CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

At the beginning of December, an article appeared in the "Poledni List" of Prague the author of which, it would seem, has no idea of the gravity of Czecho-Slovakia's international position, for he demanded no less than colonies for the Republic. This was deemed a little too much by serious Czech circles themselves, and in the "Lidové Noviny" of 5th December, Ferdinand Peroudka, the well-known Czech publicist, commented on the article in the "Poledni List" as follows: — "The actual situation is such, that, far from devising new demands, we must employ all our abilities and energies to keep what we have." — y —

### Mr. CHURCHILL ON "THE ABUSED TREATY OF TRIANON"

On 21st December Mr. Churchill delivered a speech in the House of Commons, which was much commented on everywhere. In it he spoke against the unjust Trianon Treaty. The passage of his speech dealing with this subject was as follows.

"We have heard that since Lord Halifax's return the Government of Germany have raised question connected with the restoration of war conquests. By this they mean conquests made from Germany and her allies in the late War. We are not called upon to express any opinion upon this until a specific request is formally made to us, but if and when that request is made, it would seem that the answer is very obvious. Of course, we should say that we are ready to discuss in a friendly spirit the restoration of war conquest, provided every other country, or the bulk of the countries that made such conquests, are ready to join with us and distrust the situation on equal terms. If my memory serves me right, the French made important war conquests, and so did Rumania and Belgium, Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia owe their national existence — which I trust they may long preserve — to war conquests in which British, French and, let us not forget, Russian soldiers played their part, and all of which are confirmed by the much abused Treaty of Versailles and the much more justly abused Treaty of Trianon."

EIGHT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE REVISION  
OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON

In our last issue we published a letter to the Editor of the "Manchester Guardian" by Messrs Ben Riley, Quibell and Rhys Davies, under the title: "The Grievances of Hungary". On December 2nd Sir Robert Gower, Messrs J. A. Lovat-Fraser, W. Rostron Duckworth, E. L. Fleming, Henry A. Proctor, George W. H. Jones and W. A. Wayland, Members of Parliament, wrote to the Editor of the same paper and commented upon the problem as follows:

"We have read with interest the letter on "Hungary's Grievances," by Mr. Ben Riley, Mr. Quibell, and Mr. Rhys Davies, members of the British Parliamentary Labour Party, which appears in your issue to-day. We agree with what they say. As the "Manchester Guardian" has ever been the champion of oppressed peoples, it is appropriate that they should have ventilated the matter in your columns. That great Liberal, the late Lord Buckmaster accurately summed up the position when in speaking in the House of Lords in 1927 he said:

"Hungary presents a spectacle which calls for the pity of us all... Peace, which by universal tradition is supposed to assume the form of a dove, descended upon Hungary in the form of a vulture and tore her limb from limb, tore her in pieces without the least regard to the economic interests of what was left, and left that unhappy country absolutely paralysed and impotent in the face of ancient and determined foes."

"It will not be disputed that Hungary was treated most unjustly and mercilessly when the Treaty of Trianon was imposed upon her, and that economic and political prosperity cannot be restored to, nor, indeed, can there be any pacific settlement of, an important part of Europe, unless and until the territorial provisions of the treaty have been so revised that Hungary shall have returned to her those parts of her ancient kingdom that are essentially Hungarian. The deplorable situation in the Middle Danube Valley which has been created by the treaty has, of course, been rendered more acute by the harsh manner in which the Hungarian minorities in the Little Entente States have been treated in direct defiance of the "safeguards" contained in the treaties for their protection.

"It is unnecessary to point out that this country is intimately concerned in the restoration of prosperity to an important part of Europe and in the removal of causes which, if they are permitted to remain, cannot fail to constitute a really serious menace to peace. Moreover, justice demands that the existing state of affairs shall be ended. As your Labour correspondents pertinently say: "This running sore is one which cannot and ought not to be indefinitely neglected."

"Hungary has asked that the whole question shall be considered by the Council of the League of Nations under Article 19 of the Covenant — referred to by your correspondents, — but so far the appeal has fallen on deaf ears. Notwithstanding the recent partial emasculation of the League, we still hold the opinion that it could and should fulfil the useful function of applying itself to the consideration of the question. Its neglect up to now to do so is inexplicable and it has certainly contributed to that distrust of the League which is prevalent in the world to-day. Hungary has already announced her willingness to abide by the League's decision, subject to the matter's being treated with impartiality. So far as the Little Entente States are concerned, it is difficult to believe that they would set any such decision at defiance. Indeed they depend for their very existence upon the goodwill of the nations.

"It is clearly to the interests of Czecho-Slovakia and her sister States that a well-balanced and lasting peace should be created in the Middle Danube Valley. It is true that feeling runs high in the States concerned. It is equally true that the general situation in those States is most unsatisfactory. These conditions are due to the "unnatural" partition of old Hungary and the natural resentment of the racial minorities at the treatment accorded to them. We believe that subjecting the question to a meticulously fair examination by an impartial tribunal, at which all interested parties are represented, could not fail to be productive of good. We are satisfied as to what the result of the inquiry would be. As our Labour Party colleagues who have written to you point out, "where injustices exist common sense demands that there should be a way by which such injustices can be removed." We are convinced that following a just and equitable revision of the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Trianon and the observance by the nations of the rights of their racial minorities, a new era of prosperity will open out for an important part of Europe where chaos now reigns.

"We would add that our views are shared by an important group of our Parliamentary colleagues — over two hundred in number — representative of almost every shade of political opinion."

— y —

### THE REGENT OF HUNGARY OPPOSES DICTATORSHIP AND THE RAISING OF THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE

On December 20th Admiral Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya, Regent of Hungary, was present at the special session of the County of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok at which the portrait of the late General Stephen Horthy was unveiled. The Regent made a speech which created a considerable stir in political circles every-



where, — a speech in which he spoke of the endeavours to establish a dictatorship and of the question of the succession to the throne in the following terms: —

*“The role allotted to the Opposition in constitutional life is that of critic and controller. That is just and necessary; for even the best-intentioned leadership cannot prevent occasional lapses or irregularities which it is the duty of all alike to reveal in order to prevent their working havoc. In recent years, however, the speeches made at party meetings have often, apart from exercising objective criticism, spoken of the necessity of preventing the power being seized by a dictator. In a constitutional State it is the business of the legitimate authorities to prevent, at the command and under the leadership of the personalities defined unequivocally in the laws and legal regulations, any and every such attempt. But — I would ask — who is there in Hungary today desirous of becoming a dictator? I do not believe there is any one here who doubts the unconditional reliability and the energy of the legitimate authorities or their ability to frustrate any adventurous undertaking of the kind.*

*“With this question is connected also another, — that of the succession to the throne, a question which has unfortunately been repeatedly broached of late. Every kind of pressure produces a reaction and differences, though what we need is unity and agreement. I myself regard it as my duty to safeguard the life of the nation during the strenuous centuries of our history. It is my conviction that a republican form of government is inconceivable in Hungary. I would however once more stress the fact that it is the business of the competent constitutional factors to determine the moment opportune for the adjustment of the questions awaiting a solution in this connection, when the time comes for the nation to consider it right and proper to express its will in the matter through the proper organs. All power is vested in the Holy Crown, from which all rights spring. This conception must be shared by all Hungarians who do not deny their historical past. There is therefore no cause whatsoever to be uneasy or alarmed.*

*“My name has been mentioned twice in connection with the solution of the question of the succession to the throne. Seventeen years ago — with the object of creating an atmosphere of mistrust — and today — unthinkingly and recklessly.*

*“Seventeen years ago, at Székesfehérvár, on the occasion of the unveiling of the column erected in commemoration of the entry of the national army, I said that I could not permit the person of the Regent of Hungary to be brought into connection with the royal throne.*

*“That is my attitude today too; and that is still my view of my duty. I would therefore beg Hungarian society as a whole*

*not to make the ancient institution of the kingship the plaything of political conflicts."*

### PREMIER DARANYI ON HUNGARY'S PEACE POLICY

A statement made by Dr. Kálmán Darányi, Prime Minister of Hungary, was published in the Christmas Numbers of the Budapest dailies. This statement contains *inter alia* the following passages:

"During the course of the year Hungary's foreign policy has continued consistently to work towards the attainment of our aims. The ties which bind us to our old friends have — if that is possible — been drawn closer; we have to the best of our ability faithfully and honestly fulfilled all obligations devolving upon us: indeed, for the purpose of consolidating the peace of Europe, we have opened up negotiations with our neighbours — these negotiations being initiated for the purpose of normalising the relations between Hungary and the adjoining States.

"The foreign policy of the Hungarian State is in perfect agreement with its internal policy; in the endeavour to create a peaceful atmosphere the two are complementary, both alike having for their object to ensure a continuation of constructive work within our frontiers and to as far as possible eliminate the causes of friction between the several parties, and on the other hand in our relations with foreign countries to further develop the ties of friendship and to convince the public opinion of the nations to openly acknowledge the justice of our case. In connection with this peace policy the Hungarian Government has during the course of the year, now coming to an end, been able to reckon without fail on the public opinion of the country, which has without respect of party supported and furthered the endeavours of Government to attain the said object. In this endeavour the Government has been able to reckon on the unfailing support of those States with which we are closely connected by means of the Roman Protocols — our economic connections with which we have succeeded in maintaining and indeed strengthening; and we can reckon just as safely upon the support of the German Empire, with which we are connected by ties of friendship."

### THE HUNGARIAN NATION RESOLUTELY INSISTS ON ITS RIGHTS AND EXPECTS GOVERNMENT TO ENFORCE THEM ENERGETICALLY

At a sitting of the Hungarian Upper House of Parliament on 9th December, Count Charles Apponyi *inter alia* said: —

"It is possible that in the near future negotiations of momentous import will commence everywhere in Europe; negotiations upon the results of which will depend the present and future peace of the Continent, its well-being and prosperity. At these negotiations our country must not be forgotten; we must cease to play merely a patient, meek and obedient rôle; we must elbow our way to the front row, but first of all we must show an interest ourselves in the questions of vital importance for Hungary. It is with great pleasure that I cite a sentence from a recent article by my honoured colleague, Dr. Francis Herczeg. "Now or never!" — he says. I do not consider myself competent to offer advice to the Government, but I think all of you here present, and, in fact, the whole Hungarian nation, will approve of my begging the Government not to neglect a single opportunity of insisting upon our rights. Let the Government — officially, everywhere, loudly, boldly and consistently — assert the justice of our demands. The Hungarian nation most firmly insist on its rights and unanimously and emphatically expect the Members of the Government to enforce with the utmost energy and perseverance the righteous demands of our country."

— y —

#### THE CHRISTMAS-WISHES OF LORD ROTHERMERE TO THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY

At Christmas Viscount H. S. Rothermere, the well known protagonist of Hungary's just cause, addressed the following letter to Mr. Francis Herczeg, the great Hungarian writer who is also president of the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League.

*"Dear Mr. Herczeg,*

"As Christmas comes round again, I should like to take the opportunity of expressing once more, through Your Excellency, my sincerest good wishes to the people of Hungary, whose cause I shall never cease to have strongly at heart.

"The period of waiting for justice to be done seems long to us who have to live through it, but its end steadily approaches, for the wrongs which your country suffered under the Treaty of Trianon are now universally recognised, if not yet repaired.

"That this has been achieved is due to the untiring efforts of the Hungarian Revision League under your leadership, and to all those Hungarians who, officially and unofficially, have continued to uphold Hungary's rightful claims even under the most discouraging conditions.

"In Great Britain the number of sympathisers with your country's national aspirations grows continually. I am proud that my articles in the "Daily Mail" should have been the medium by which they first became widely known to the



British public. With every year that passes, more and more visitors from the United Kingdom visit Hungary and learn to appreciate for themselves the high qualities of the Magyar race.

"The patience and self-restraint with which Hungary has borne the sufferings that have been her lot since the Great War are the best possible proof of the strength of her national spirit. Such moderation deserves far more generous recognition than it receives from the Governments of those neighbouring States which benefited so disproportionately at Hungary's expense. The oppression of Hungarian minorities in these countries; the confiscation of their property, and the restrictions placed upon the use of their language in churches and schools, are abuses which dishonour the Governments that tolerate them.

"I maintain my firm belief that the calm courage with which the Government and people of Hungary have so long endured undeserved ill-fortune will in the end bring its reward, and I renew my earnest hope that better conditions may develop for your sorely tried country in the New Year which is close upon us.

*(Signed) Rothermere."*

#### SIR ROBERT GOWER IN BUDAPEST

Sir Robert Gower, chairman of the Central European Group of Members of the British Parliament, arrived in Budapest on December 3rd; his visit to the Hungarian capital was very short, as he left on the 9th. On his arrival he was enthusiastically welcomed at the railway station by his numerous Hungarian friends. During this visit — which was his ninth visit to Hungary — Sir Robert Gower proposed to study a number of questions in connection with the revision of the Treaty of Trianon.

After an interview — lasting half an hour — with Kálmán Darányi, the Hungarian Premier, Sir Robert visited the Minister of Education, Dr. Bálint Hóman. The latter interview was chiefly concerned with the chair of English and Hungarian which are to be established simultaneously. Sir Robert informed the Hungarian Minister of Education that the Hungarian Chair in the University of London, where there is at present only a lectureship, will soon be developed into an Ordinary Chair. As regards the English Chair in the University of Debrecen, it will be an Ordinary one and is to begin its functions next spring.

Sir Robert Gower also visited Baron Gábor Apor, permanent deputy of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Among the notabilities and organisations that gave dinners, luncheons or teas in Sir Robert's honour, were Dr. Ottó Légrády, Editor of the "Pesti Hírlap", the Hungarian Revision League, H. R. H. the Archduke Joseph Francis, Dr. Elemér Balogh, Member of the Upper House, Prof. Gyula Kornis, Deputy-Speaker of the Hungarian

Lower House, Prof. Arthur Yolland, Sir Robert also appeared at the gala performance of the Hungarian Opera-house on the Regent's names day (Dec. 6) and paid his respects during the interval to the Regent, Admiral Horthy, who received him in his box. — Later on Sir Robert was visited by Messrs Stephen Horthy and Gyula Vermes, who asked him to convey to his daughter, Miss Pauline Gower, the famous pilot, the invitation of the Hungarian Touring Club to take part in a pilots' rally in Budapest in June next. Sir Robert said he was glad to convey this invitation to his daughter who, he felt sure, would be very pleased to appear at this highly interesting sporting event.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

## HOW MINORITIES LIVE

### THE CZECHO-SLOVAK-RUMANIAN MINORITY TREATY ENSURES THE SMALL MINORITIES RIGHTS WHICH THESE STATES REFUSE TO THE HUNGARIANS

The December 16th issue of the "*Monitorul Oficial*", the Rumanian official gazette, publishes the text of the Convention between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania signed on October 22nd, 1936, and relating to the school and intellectual questions of the Czecho-Slovak and Rumanian minorities of Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia respectively which supplements the declarations signed in Prague on January 21st and in Bucharest on March 1st, 1930, respectively. In all villages containing not less than 30 children of schooling age whose mother tongue is Rumanian the Czecho-Slovak Republic is required to establish a public elementary school with Rumanian as the language of instruction: Rumania being required to undertake the same measures in respect of children of Czecho-Slovak nationality living in that country. In these schools the official language of the State is to be taught only from the third standard upwards — 4 hours a week being set apart for that purpose. Although as a rule the teachers must be citizens of the respective State, nevertheless, until suitable citizens of that State are available, teachers who are nationals of the other contracting State must be allowed to teach, provided that they have acquired the prescribed qualifications in their own country and that there is no serious objection raised against them. Their salaries must correspond to those of the other teachers. They are required within a period of five years to take a supplement examination in the language, history and geography of that State in the territory of which their schools are situated. In order to ensure the provision of a suitable staff of teachers, in one or two teachers' training colleges in the State in question masters possessing proper qualifications must be appointed for the purpose of training candidates in the language and literature of the respective minority and if possible of singing too. These masters must be nationals of the State in which the training colleges are situated. Should no such masters be available, citizens of the other contracting State must be engaged. Those children showing especial proficiency who are preparing to act as teachers in the minority schools must be granted special



allowances by the contracting State in question. In order to ensure the preparatory training of these pupils, the teaching of the Rumanian or the Czech language respectively must be provided for in four classes of either a "city" school or a secondary school. The contracting States must provide also that the minority schools shall have at their disposal the requisite reading books and text-books and all school requisites too; indeed — subject to the previous approval of the educational authorities — these books and appliances may be imported also from the other contracting State. In those villages in which the distribution of the population or geographical difficulties or the lack of communications prevent the establishment of such schools, courses in Rumanian or Czech respectively extending to the most important elementary school subjects are to be organised. All applications relating to the establishment of Rumanian or Czech private elementary schools respectively are to be handled with particular courtesy. This agreement ensures the 14,000 Rumanians in Czecho-Slovakia and the 44,000 Czechs and Slovaks of Rumania rights which the 1 million Hungarians of Czecho-Slovakia and the 1.5 million Hungarians of Rumania have been demanding in vain. When will the latter be able to boast of having 1 public elementary school for every 30 children of schooling age or of being able to appoint teachers from Hungary?

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### VALIDITY OF PARTY PROHIBITION AND DISSOLUTION ACT ABOUT TO BE PROLONGED

On October 25th, 1933, when the events connected with the Nyitra "Pribina" celebrations in Slovakia and in the historical provinces the violent upheavals caused by the spread of the German national socialist ideas threatened to subvert the foundations of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, the Government made Parliament pass a law in terms of which the Government was empowered to suspend or prohibit definitively the activity of any parties which might endanger to any considerable extent the independence, constitutional unity, integrity, democratic republican character or security of the State. This Act, the retaliatory measures contained in which have since then been hanging like a sword of Damocles over the heads of the minority and opposition parties generally, expires at the end of 1937. So on December 13th the Government presented a bill in terms of which the validity of the said Act is to be prolonged until January 1st, 1939, and in addition provides for powers to be vested in the provincial offices (authorities) enabling the same to dissolve the local organisations and circuits of "dangerous" parties of the kind, and indeed to prevent the employees of those

parties from functioning in party matters. The Bill having been opposed most strenuously by the opposition parties, the Government has withdrawn it; but it is preparing to introduce another Bill, which it proposes to put up for discussion after the New Year. The withdrawal of the original Bill is to be attributed to the fact that it would have been very awkward for the Government if during the visit of M. Delbos, French Foreign Minister, there should have been a continuation of the attacks made by the Opposition on a Bill which is a crass flouting of the fundamental principles of democracy; though the Government will nevertheless not shrink from re-introducing the Bill now that the excitement caused by the visit of M. Delbos has subsided.

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### HOW HUNGARIAN CHILDREN ARE BEING DENATIONALISED

The following data are taken from a speech delivered recently by Count John Esterházy, Acting Vice-President of the United Hungarian Party of Czecho-Slovakia, in the Budgetary Committee of the Prague Parliament.

Hungarian elementary education has not yet been standardized and regulated by law. The laws dealing with it in force in the historical provinces differ from those in force in Slovakia and Ruthenia. The question of infant schools has not been regulated either.

The organization of Hungarian elementary schools is a problem that has got entangled in a web of administrative and educational red-tape, and eight or ten years are needed before the establishment of a Hungarian school becomes a *fait accompli*. When it is a question of establishing Czecho-Slovak schools in Hungarian places, there is no such difficulty. The tax-office officials, the gendarmes and the postmaster put their heads together and the work of organizing a Czecho-Slovak school begins. Nine or ten Czech or Slovak children serve as a pretext, a nucleus; the rest are recruited from among the proletarian children of Hungarian nationality, who are coaxed into attending the Czecho-Slovak school with promises of free school-books, clothes and shoes for the winter, and other presents. Then the secretary of the Slovak League appears in the village, draws up a petition, gets the parents to sign it and takes it to the school-inspector's office. The school-inspector submits it to the Ministry, and in a short time a Slovak or Czech teacher is appointed. Premises and material expenses are provided by the Slovak League.

But if it is a question of opening a Hungarian school, it must be discussed by the local parish council, and securities provided that all expenses will be met. It must be approved of by the school-inspector, the prefect, the *rappporteur* on educational

matters and the Provincial Office, and then endorsed by the Ministry of Education and the Finance Ministry. When at long last the application reaches the Ministries it may lie among the files for years unless somebody keeps on urging the matter.

To this very day no school-boards have been organized in Slovakia and Ruthenia. As a result all educational affairs are decided by the central educational authorities, and neither parents nor other persons interested have any say in the matter. This state of affairs places unlimited power in the hands of the educational authorities, who, without exception, are Czechs or Slovaks. It also explains why there are educational matters (such, for instance, as the licence to establish Hungarian secondary schools in Ungvár and Léva, or the opening of Hungarian elementary schools in Csécs and Makranc) which have not been settled yet after ten years of petitions and intervention. This is the sabotage which had been pointed out by the President of the Republic and which it would seem is not only connived at by the superior authorities, but also encouraged by them.

It is an unfair disadvantage to the Hungarian schools, and a thing that might have been arranged with a little goodwill, that many of them — elementary, secondary and technical schools — are not independent, but merely parallel classes, so-called Hungarian sections, of the Czecho-Slovak ones. The Hungarian minority has every right to demand that they should be made independent and it is a sad thing, and one characteristic of Czecho-Slovakia's minority policy, that nineteen years have not proved enough for the execution of a purely administrative measure. According to the latest statistics 36 of the Hungarian elementary schools are sections of this sort and half of the 25 Hungarian board schools are not independent. Most of the Hungarian secondary schools are simply sections of the Czecho-Slovak secondary schools, and the only Hungarian commercial academy in Slovakia, the one in Pozsony, is also under the administration of the Slovak Institute. This is true also of the industrial school in Kassa. The "section" system is a disadvantage to Hungarian education because the administration of the school is conducted in the official language of the State: most of the headmasters do not speak Hungarian and are therefore quite unfit to administer and supervise Hungarian schools. In addition to this all the material means of the school, even the money collected from the pupils and their parents (Hungarian parents), is devoted primarily to the ends of the Slovak schools.

While real palaces are being built with the most modern furniture and equipment for the Czecho-Slovak youth, the Hungarian schools have no decent premises, except in places where the village or some denomination has erected more or less suitable buildings.

If a child's name sounds Slav, that child is forced against



his own and his parent' wishes to attend a Slovak school. There are villages — such as Nagyborsa — of which it has been unilaterally decided without any expert opinion that they are old Slovak settlements. In places of that sort the Hungarian schools were arbitrarily closed, and the Hungarian children are obliged, in spite of all protests, petitions and complaints on the part of their parents, to attend Slovak schools. According to the latest report of the Slovak League, issued in September, in 1936 the League established 21 new Czecho-Slovak schools in the Republic, 4 in German and 17 in Hungarian districts. The organization of Czecho-Slovak schools has been continued without interruption this year too, and 1,270.000 Czech crowns were appropriated for this object in the first eight months of 1937. And everybody knows that this big sum was not collected out of school fees. Among the leaders of the Slovak League are to be found many prefects, school-inspectors and active politicians.

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### BOOKS NOT ALLOWED TO BE INTRODUCED INTO CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

It has frequently been noted in these columns that all Hungarian books must be examined by the Censor of the Police Court at Pozsony (Bratislava) before they are allowed to be distributed in Slovakia and Ruthenia. Here are some books that have been rejected by the Censor: Missionary Calendar of St. Anthony of Padua for the year 1936. — Ancient Hungarian Churches. — Révai's Encyclopaedia. — Rosary Calendar, 1936. — 1815—1920: the History of a Stirring Century. — The Recapture of Buda, 1686. — Dr. Gyula Czapik: Suggestions for Sunday Sermons. — The Work done by the Clergy in the History of Hungary and of the World. — Anecdotes of the Great War (by János Komáromi). — Philological Review, Nos. 7—12, 1936. — Pharmacopoea Hungarica Quarta.

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### THE "TIMES" ON THE GERMAN MINORITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Writing (in connection with the visit to London of M. Chauvemp, French Premier, and M. Delbos, Foreign Minister) of the Sudeta German problem, which is a cause of so much anxiety to the different Foreign Offices, "The Times" of 29th November says:

"It is as clear to-day as ever that, whatever individual nations may wish for themselves or others, an attempt to upset by force the Versailles settlement in further Europe would almost surely prove the beginning of a general war. Does the deduction follow that no effort should therefore be made at

any time to amend the settlement by agreement? Because the weight of the Western Powers is likely at all times to be exerted against aggression, has Czechoslovakia no responsibility at all for the present state of affairs and no obligation of any kind to discuss the terms on which, by mutual consent, the status of the great German minority might be made compatible with good relations with the Reich? Does any sensible being suppose that a settlement made without Germany, and maintained against her, can become permanent by the mere fiat of France and Soviet Russia? Who, looking at the composition of the Czechoslovak State and the conformation of its boundaries, can fail to see that German good will is an essential of its security? It will be statesmanship to help the weak against the overbearing dictate of the strong, but it cannot be statesmanship to organize and encourage antagonism between them, and actually to equip the strong with all the strength of a just grievance. These are the questions which call for farsighted examination in Prague, Paris, and London."

#### FROM THE MINUTES OF AN EXCITING DAY IN CZECH PARLIAMENT

*The speaker is M. Sidor member of the Slovak People's Party*

At the meeting of the Prague House of Deputies on December 3rd the atmosphere was heated to a white heat probably unparalleled even in the Chamber which had seen so many scandalous scenes during the previous nineteen years. It was a speech made by M. Charles Sidor. Deputy belonging to the Slovak Catholic People's Party, that brought matters to a head; the speech was made with the previous approval of Monsignor Andrew Hlinka and the parliamentary club of the Party. In his speech M. Sidor dealt exhaustively with the political history of Slovakia during the Czech régime, emphasising in particular the police rule and network of spies which the Czech régime had introduced in the territories severed from Hungary; and his speech culminated in a demand that the Czechs should at long last grant Slovakia the autonomy in respect of legislation, local government and administration of justice which the Pittsburg Convention signed also by M. G. Thomas Masaryk had guaranteed. The Deputies belonging to the Czech Government Party indulged in vehement interruptions by way of protest against the hard words used by M. Sidor. Their indignation rose to such a pitch that — according to the "Lidové Noviny", a Czech journal, — the expressions used by them could not possibly be reproduced. What would seem to have roused their indignation most particularly and to have been most disagreeable to them was the fact that Sidor's speech was made at a juncture when the inter-

national situation of Czecho-Slovakia was exceptionally grave. That is what we may gather also from the speech made by the Czech Agrarian Deputy M. Dubiczky, who loudly protested and said that M. Sidor's speech was an unheard-of lapse in the given international situation.

Below we cite a few passages from M. Sidor's speech. We are unfortunately not in a position to quote the strongest — and in all probability the most characteristic — passages, seeing that they are not at our disposal, having been simply cut out by a very original institution of Czech "democracy", the Censor functioning in the Speaker's office, while the Censor functioning under the Public Prosecutor had deleted a considerable part of the text passed by the parliamentary Censor. The result is that the organ of M. Sidor's Party, the "Slovák", from the December 4th and 6th issues of which we have taken the passages quoted below, teems with blank spaces imposed by the Censor.

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Early in his speech M. Sidor criticised M. Dérer, Minister of Justice, making the following comments, *inter alia*, on the Pittsburg Convention:

"I cannot agree either with the attitude adopted by Minister Dérer to the effect that was signed by G. T. Masaryk in America could not be binding on the citizens of this State in Europe, seeing that G. T. Masaryk was a democrat and in consequence could not foist his will on the citizens of the new democratic State. This interpretation given by M. Dérer will not hold water, simply because G. T. Masaryk was already acting in his capacity as elected President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic when he signed the Pittsburg Convention.

"His signature is valid and is binding on all citizens of this State alike" (*cheers*), "just as much as does that other signature of the President which was dated the same day as the Pittsburg Convention. I refer to what we are told by G. T. Masaryk on page 364 of his work entitled "World Revolution": — "This is how, prior to my leaving America, I signed the first loan of ten million dollars." By this act he therefore bound, not only himself, but all of us citizens of Czecho-Slovakia; and we had to acknowledge the said debt of ten million dollars. Equally binding on us all is therefore the signature to the Pittsburg Convention. Nevertheless, Minister Dérer and his friends in the Cabinet are not prepared to acknowledge the binding force of the signature appended by President Masaryk to the Pittsburg Convention. That is illogical and also to a certain extent a want of respect for the Great Dead. That is the point on which I differ from Dr. Dérer, Minister of Justice, in respect of the interpretation of the legally binding character of the Pittsburg Convention". — Then the Censor deleted three lines.

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Very noteworthy was what M. Sidor said about the Tuka case: "The secret police departments and their private hirelings and spies in Slovakia wanted to prove to Prague that their previous reports on the situation in Slovakia were true... The Slavičeks and Klimas of the Tuka trial desired to prove that a campaign of propaganda advocating a return to Hungary was going on in Slovakia" (*Interruptions.*) "and that it was the work of militia organizations directed by Dr. Tuka." (*Here the censor has deleted 27 lines.*)

M. Sivák, Deputy-Speaker, (ringing bell): "I beg the honourable members to compose themselves."

M. Sidor: "In that report Weiner" (a Czech agent provocateur who later on turned against the Czechs and disclosed the fact that the chief witness in the Tuka case, Christina Schramm, a caretaker of Viennese origin, had been bribed just before she was called to give evidence. Ed.) "introduces to his readers the figure of Colonel Moimir Scukup..." (*Loud cries. The Deputy-Speaker rings bell.*), "who entrusted Weiner with the task of collecting evidence for the Tuka trial in Austria." (*Incessant Interruptions.*)

Deputy-Speaker Sivák (ringing bell): "Order! Order!"

M. Sidor: ...

(Here the parliamentary censor has deleted 14 lines.)

M. Sidor: Amidst constant interruptions and a heated argument between the members of the Slovak People's Party and those of the Coalition and the ringing of the Deputy-Speaker's bell, M. Sidor went on with his speech.

M. Dubický (Czech Agrarian Party): "I had a better opinion of you, but today's speech has changed it."

M. Sidor: "I am ready to give you satisfaction." (*M. Dubický continued to shout.*)

Deputy-Speaker (rings bell): "I beg M. Dubický to compose himself."

M. Sidor continues his speech:

(9 lines deleted by the Parliamentary censor.)

M. Dubický (amidst a volley of exclamations): "You are a Catholic Party and yet you condemn others."

M. Sidor: "Yes, we are a Catholic Party. Gentlemen, this is how political trials were conducted in Slovakia in the era of the Slavičeks and Klimas, with witnesses paid with money from the common State Treasury. We know the whole background of the Tuka case. The Tuka trial was designed to exclude Hlinka's Slovak People's Party from participation in the process of consolidation." (*Heated argument between members of the Slovak Party and of the Coalition Parties.*) "At that time the Slovak Party was a Government Party, and conditions in Slovakia were becoming consolidated in the spirit of that coalition and not in the spirit of the Slavičeks, Klimas and certain others subordinate to them." (*Cries of "Shame!"... "Traitors!"*)

Deputy-Speaker Sivák (ringing bell): "Order!"

M. Sidor: "The desired end was achieved. When Dr. Voitech Tuka was sentenced by the court of the first instance, the Slovak People's Party abandoned the Coalition.

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After recalling the meeting of the Slovak Matica on 12th May 1932 at which the majority of that Slovak cultural organization outvoted the "Czechoslovak" directorate and adopted a resolution against the Czechization of the Slovak language, — then the congress of the Slovak youth held in Trenčské Teplice that same year at which a stand was made for the national ambitions of the Slovak nation, — and lastly the united action of the Catholic and Lutheran Slovaks for autonomy, and the Pribina festivals in the August of 1933, when the Slovaks enforced their will that Hlinka, whom the Czechs did not want to allow to speak at all, should be the first speaker instead of Premier Malypetr, — M. Sidor continued as follows:

"Immediately after the events in Nyitra the old story began again. Slaviček and Klíma, it is true, were dead, but their methods of "consolidation" were still in force in Slovakia. There came a series of investigations; hundreds of private persons were intimidated and prosecuted. But all this terror and jailing and the suppression of the autonomist press proved of no avail. The usual methods of intimidation were employed: for instance, a political trial was instituted against the Lutheran autonomist, Louis Bazovsky, and his friends in Pozsony. During the trial, which was an exact counterpart of the Tuka trial, Slovak public opinion was horrified to see what weapons were being used against the Slovak autonomist politicians. Characters who had played a part in the Tuka trial stepped out from behind the scenes. As witnesses, there appeared Dr. Milan Ivánka (a Slovak lawyer of Pozsony. *Ed.*), Dr. Joseph Smida (the head of Ivánka's office. *Ed.*) and Vencel Mihalus..."

(5 lines deleted.)

M. Sidor: "...He passed judgment on the quick and the dead. (Ivánka. *Ed.*) In his leisure hours he is still engaged in composing indictments and from a political point of view his importance is steadily on the wane. On 12th June, 1934, Hlinka addressed a question to the Minister of the Interior in connection with Milan Ivánka's suspicious activities. In that question the leader of our Slovak Party asked the following questions: 1. Does the Minister of the Interior know of the allegation that the Police Office in Bratislava (Pozsony) is paying a monthly sum of 2.500 Czech crowns to Vencel Mihalus and that furniture costing 15.000 Czech crowns is said to have been bought for the same Mihalus by the Police?" (Mihalus was the Czechs' chief witness, not only in the Bazovsky case, but also at the League of Nations' inquiry after the Marseilles murder. A description of his character was given in this paper at the time. *Ed.*)

(M. Wallo: "Mihalus ran away when Tuka was imprisoned.")

M. Sidor: "He was an agent before he went to Baden." 2. Is the Minister of the Interior prepared to explain this matter to a public opinion uneasy, indignant and excited to the highest degree? Will the Minister tell us whether it is true that Milan Ivánka is the head of the Police Bureau in Bratislava (Pozsony)? The Minister of the Interior replied to this question of Hlinka's on 14th September, 1934. In his reply he stated that all reports to the effect that any person not belonging officially to the Police was collaborating in the work of the Police Bureau in Bratislava (Pozsony) was untrue. Meanwhile, however, the Bazovsky case was tried in Bratislava and we know of Ivánka's evidence from the official minutes of the courts. Dr. Ivánka gave evidence that Vencel Mihalus was a man who had proclaimed the independence of Slovakia and then left for Austria, and who had been recognized as the president of independent Slovakia by no less a person than the King of Siam." (Siam did recognize Slovakia as an independent Slovak State in 1928. At the time the ignorance of the Siamese Government was the cause of much mirth in Central Europe. Ed.) "With Dr. Ivánka's aid he was able to return to the Czecho-Slovak Republic unpunished. Through Dr. Smida, Ivánka sent money to Vienna for Mihalus, who settled in Baden near Vienna, where he lived in comfort. According to the information at our disposal, Mihalus received a salary of 5000 crowns from Bratislava. Dr. Ivánka — so he stated in court — undertook to act as security for the price of the furniture bought by Mihalus and paid the furniture dealers 7.000 crowns. We see, then, that, besides the official department of public security for which the head of the Police and either the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the Minister of National Defence are responsible, there is another network over which Milan Ivánka rules and which is financed by him." (*Cries of "That's true!"*)

*The next 12 lines have been deleted by the Parliamentary Censor.*

\*

In conclusion M. Sidor said: —

"Gentlemen, you have employed every form of terror and the methods of a Slaviček and Klima" (the first Czech police prefects of Slovakia: Ed.), "and keep sending various elements to that country. One thing is sure: this Party and the Slovak nationalism which it has propagated you will never succeed in annihilating or tearing from the heart of the Slovak people" (*applause from the benches of the Slovak People's Party Deputies*). "Go on with your work of solving our problems by the aid of the butts of police-guns, as you did recently in the streets of Bratislava (Pozsony), where the university students were beaten by the police for daring to proclaim the watchword "Use Slovak in Slovakia" (*interruptions*). "You quite recently paid a domiciliary visit to the editorial offices of the "Nástup" and immediately after this visit (which lasted five hours) you suspended the appearance of the "Nástup" for six months.



Ignorant as you are of the mentality of the Slovak youth, you believe that by doing so you have cowed them and disarmed them. Your servant, Coloman Bieličky, District Attorney of Érsekújvár, a few days ago forbade the celebration of the name-day of Monsignor Hlinka to curry your favour and obtain the title of Government Councillor. But the anti-Slovak procedure of Government has in my opinion reached its culmination in the question of Černova and Ružomberok (Rózsahegy). On October 27th the Prime Minister, M. Hodža, went to the Černova cemetery to do homage to our fifteen martyrs; and now his Government...  
*(shouts of protest: the parliamentary Censor has deleted six lines).*

—y—

### THE RESOLUTION OF THE SLOVAK PEOPLE'S PARTY ON THE EVE OF M. DELBOS' ARRIVAL IN PRAGUE

In reply to the attacks directed against them by M. Sidor, a Slovak Deputy, the deputies and senators representing the Slovak People's Party in the National Assembly, issued a declaration on December 15, i. e. on the eve of M. Delbos' arrival in Prague, stating that the Slovaks never give up their status as an individual nation and their right to the home rule of Slovakia. In this struggle the Party refused to be intimidated by anyone or anything; it, therefore, most resolutely those repeated attacks which had been launched against it on account of the speeches made by its representatives during the Budget debate in the National Assembly. The Czech parties and the Czech press endeavoured to divert the attention of the public from the ardent problem of a radical settlement in Slovakia by recalling the Tuka-case. The Party, on the other hand, declared that it considered the Tuka-case legally settled. At the same time, the Party seized the opportunity to condemn those political methods which are being employed in Czecho-Slovakia against "undesirable" political factors, and against which the Party would not cease to fight. The Party was struggling for the natural and sacred rights of the Slovak nation; it was conscious of its rights and of the righteousness of its cause, and it would therefore invariably reply to attack with counter attack and to tendencies of dissolution by unanimity and unity.

### REPRESENTATIVES OF POLISH MINORITY SUBMIT THEIR NATIONAL DEMANDS

On 7th December, Premier Hodža saw the representatives of the Polish Parties of Czecho-Slovakia. Herr Wolf outlined the position of the Polish minority. The Rev. Mr. Buzek stated their demands, as set forth in the memorandum presented to the Premier. Professor Badura pointed out that it was necessary to

accede to these demands, both from the standpoint of democracy and in the interests of the Polish minority. Herr Junga, member of the Provincial Diet, stated the wishes of the Polish agriculturists. The Rev. Mr. Berger begged the Government to endorse the constitution of the Lutheran Church. In his reply M. Hodža admitted that the requests of the Polish minority contained nothing incompatible with the Constitution of the Republic and said that in keeping with the fundamental principles of minority policy as laid down on 18th February, the Government would give them due consideration.

The "Dziennik Polski", a Polish paper appearing in Czecho-Slovakia, expresses its opinion that this statement will meet the same fate as all the other statements made by M. Hodža; it will remain an empty phrase uttered obviously in order to enhance the effect of the clever arrangement of M. Delbos' visit. If the Government really wished to redress the grievances of the Polish minority, it would first of all have to make sure that its subordinate authorities obeyed its instructions instead of pursuing an arbitrary frontier-policy of their own.

The semi-official organ "Gazeta Polska" wrote on November 25th that the Polish Consul in Märjisch-Ostrau had invited those Polish citizens who had been dismissed from their work, to report at the Consulate so that he might intervene for them with the authorities. The paper then recalled number of cases to illustrate the recent dismissal of large groups of Polish employees from the Czecho-Slovak factories.

— y —

## RUMANIA

### IN FUTURE THE WORK OF THE CENSOR WILL BE DONE BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES

A decree recently issued by State Secretary General Marinescu of the Ministry of the Interior has taken the duties of the censor out of the hands of the civil authorities and placed them in those of the military departments. The new system of press supervision has already been introduced in Kolozsvár. In future press matter may not be published until every sheet submitted bears the stamp of the censor's office with the words "*Bun de imprimat*". A noteworthy innovation introduced by the new system is that no blank spaces are allowed, nor is it permitted to fill up the places left vacant by the deleted passages with advertisements, but new passages that fit into the text of the article in question must be written. On pain of confiscation and suppression the newspapers must be submitted for examina-

tion by the censor a second time before circulation. The decree also orders a preliminary censuring of all scientific works and *belles lettres* if they deal with world philosophies. This order also applies to calendars "Keleti Ujság", December 9).

On October 3rd a leading article was published by the "Prágai Magyar Hirlap", in which M. Gyula Koczor, sometime member of the National Assembly, replied to certain allusions in the Premier's recent speech given at Pozsony. With reference to § 14 of the Defence Act of the Republic, the Attorney General at Prague ordered the suppression of the following passage: "We see, on the other hand, that new schools are constantly being built even for 2 or 5 Czecho-Slovak children in the Hungarian regions, the pupils of these schools being recruited from the Hungarian children in these areas; nor does the Hungarian minority receive its due share under the various budgets even now; with regard to the rights of the Hungarian language the practice has remained unchanged. I could write pages..."

#### OFFICIALS TO BE PROSECUTED BY COURT MARTIAL IF THEY SPEAK A MINORITY LANGUAGE

The "Buna Veskire", a paper published at Kishenev, writes that the military Commander in that city has issued a strict order to the State officials, saying that they may not speak any other language than Rumanian when on duty. Those who infringe this order and speak a minority language, will be liable to persecution by Court Martial. — y —

#### THE CREW OF SHIPS — TO FALL UNDER THE "NUMERUS VALLACHICUS"

A decree issued by the Ministry of Labour to the harbour authorities of Galata provides that 90% of the crew of ships must consist of Rumanians, while the remaining 10% may be "foreigners" ("Magyar Ujság", December 2).

#### TEN THOUSAND GERMAN CHILDREN IN THE BUCOVINA RECEIVE NO GERMAN INSTRUCTION

The "Banater Deutsche Zeitung" (Nov. 23) writes that ten thousand German children in the Bucovina have no opportunity to receive instruction in their mother-tongue. The Rumanian authorities have even refused to permit the creation of a German School Society.



## YUGOSLAVIA

## WHAT HAS BEEN FULFILLED OF THE PROMISES MADE TO THE HUNGARIANS

Dr. Leo Deák, a Hungarian solicitor in Zombor and one of the leaders of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia, on December 7 visited the Minister of Agriculture, M. Stankovitch, and the Minister of Education, M. Magarashevitch, asking them to remedy the grievances of the Hungarians and to fulfil the promises which several members of the Cabinet had made on four occasions, and the Premier, M. Stoiadinovitch, himself on two occasions. Of these numerous promises only a few have been fulfilled so far; thus, for instance, the transference of some Hungarian teachers has led to the reopening of a number of so called "parallel" sections in the State schools; after a compulsory interval of three years the so-called "parallel section" of the Teachers' Training Centre in Belgrade has also been reopened; *two* of the newly founded Hungarian cultural leagues have had their statutes approved by the authorities. — Instead of the actual restoration of the two school buildings in Zombor — which had been confiscated from the Roman Catholic church without any compensation being offered — or the payment of the rent for the past years, which had already been promised by the authorities, Dr. Deák received further *promises*.

— y —

## 85—90.000 HUNGARIANS IN CROATIA AND SLOVENIA WITHOUT SCHOOLS

A large number of Hungarians are still living in Maradik, Syrmia (formerly Southern Hungary), for whose children there are no Hungarian schools available in the whole district. Their application for the establishment of a Hungarian school has been repeatedly refused. Just recently the Hungarian inhabitants applied for the establishment of a Hungarian section for 136 children, but with no success ("A Nép", Nov. 20). — In this connection we would remind our readers that the Hungarian population of Croatia and Slovenia — numbering 85—90.000 — has not one Hungarian school to which to send its children.

— y —

## ONLY LEDGERS WRITTEN IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE STATE CONSIDERED WITH REGARD TO THE ASSESSMENT OF TAXES

In a verdict brought on January 23, under No. 576/1937, the State Council passed a highly significant decision in principle; the verdict concerned the appeal of a Slovenian firm against

the decision of the committee of assessors, the appeal being founded on the firm's ledgers which were written in German. The official language of Yugoslavia, the verdict of the State Council says, is the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian language, according to § 3 of the Constitution; consequently, *the language of the State is the only language to be used before and by the State authorities, either in writing or in speech.* Any evidence written in any other language may be considered only in so far as it is accompanied by an official translation. The same fact appears from an edict issued by the Ministry of Commerce on March 25, 1921, under No. VI—Br. 1588, according to which all foreign joint stock companies and private firms must write their ledgers in the language of the State. If, this then, applies in the case of foreign firms, it must apply even more strictly in the case of inland firms. In a word, no ledgers written in any foreign language may be used in evidence either before the committees of assessors or before the committees of appeal. This decision of the State Council forms a strange contrast to the provisions of § 3, Art. 7 of the Minority Agreement.

## PROLONGATION OF BAN ON HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS

An edict issued on Nov. 25, by the Ministry of the Interior approves the introduction into Yugoslavia of 11 periodical publications from Hungary, such as medical, economic, cooperative, and sporting journals, etc. ("Napló" and "Vreme", Nov. 27). The ban on the introduction of newspapers from Hungary has, however, not been removed. — y —

## PROSECUTION OF TWO AUTONOMISTS IN THE VOIVODINA

Two citizens of Zombor, — a Hungarian solicitor, Dr. Dezső Bottlik, and a Bunyevatz solicitor, Dr. Giga Vukovitch, — have been accused by the Attorney General of Zombor of political provocation, under the Defence of the State Act; addressing a public meeting in 1936 the accused had declared, it appears, that M. Maček was fighting, not only for the autonomy of Croatia, but also for that of the Voivodina. For this reason they invited those present to join the party fighting for Voivodina's home rule ("Reggeli Ujság", and "Új Hírek", Oct. 27). — y —

## TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SERB GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF ÚJVIDÉK

On December 12th bicentenary was celebrated at Újvidék (Novisad) of the local Serb Pravoslav Grammar School, which was converted into a State School in 1920. This secondary school

has played an eminent part in the history of the Serb people in the past two hundred years, not only of the Serbs living in Hungary, but of the whole of the Serbian nation in general. For until the thirties of the last century this school — besides the school maintained by the Patriarchate of Karlovac (also in Hungary) — was the only educational establishment providing for the education of the leaders of the Serbian people. Moreover, together with the "Srpska Matica", the first cultural league of the Serbs founded about a hundred years ago in the same town (i. e. Újvidék), this school served as the hotbed of Serbia's national culture. Not without reason did Stanoye Stanoyevitch, the eminent Serb historian, call Újvidék the "Athens of the Serbs".

— y —

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár



## B O O K S

*C. A. Macartney: "Hungary and Her Successors. The Treaty of Trianon and its consequences." Oxford University Press. London. New York. Toronto 1937. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.*

*Mr. C. A. Macartney*, the well-known British scholar and historian who wrote a book on Hungary as far back as 1934 — with which book the "Danubian Review" dealt exhaustively in the issue for February—March, 1936 —, has recently published a big volume — entitled "Hungary and the Succession States" — offering the British public detailed information on the subject. The book contains a vast mass of data; and the author, apart from revealing an enormous store of historical knowledge, — and apart from presenting first-rate arguments, — has in the work under review (and this circumstance lends the book a peculiar importance) based his deductions on *personal* experience — on convictions and opinions which he acquired *in person* both in Hungary and in the regions severed from that country.

By way of introduction the book offers a pragmatic history of the Greater Hungary of pre-War days. The author's historical description of Hungary is a faithful and unbiassed one. The only objection we have to raise — though that objection is a serious one — is that the writer deals with the nationality policy pursued by Hungary in the nineteenth century practically exclusively in the spirit of Dr. Seton-Watson's works, — or rather that in that part of his introduction which treats of this subject he takes over bodily the conclusions arrived at by Seton-Watson in four of his books. As is well known, Professor Seton-Watson made it the chief aim of his life to bring about the overthrow of Hungary; and indeed he succeeded in achieving his object, seeing that the ruthless and persistent literary campaign inspired by prejudice which the Professor carried on for years against Hungary was very largely responsible for the one-sided and unfair treatment to which Hungary was subjected by the Powers which won the Great War. Since then Hungarian scientific literature has succeeded in refuting the many erroneous and tendentious statements made by Seton-Watson. It is true, indeed, — and it is very unfortunate — that most of the relevant Hungarian works have not been published also in world languages; nevertheless, it is to be regretted that Macartney should rather uncritically have given

credence to certain biased conclusions originally drawn by Seton-Watson.

A point very much to the credit of Mr. Macartney's book is the frank and uncompromising method adopted by the author in revealing in their naked reality the malicious perversions and the deliberate falsifications which the politicians of the subsequent Succession States employed for the purpose of misleading the Peace Conference and thereby paving the way for the unjust treatment meted out to Hungary. In his objective description of all these events Mr. Macartney offers a classical example of British *fair play*.

After the historical introduction already referred to Mr. Macartney takes in order the several territories severed from Hungary and writes individual studies on Burgenland, Slovakia, Ruthenia, Transylvania, the Voivodina, Croatia and Fiume. He offers an exhaustive geographical and historical survey of all the territories severed from Hungary; he describes the present economic situation of the inhabitants and compares that situation with the state of things in force prior to the change of rule; he devotes separate sections to each territory when discussing the treatment meted out to the minorities by the present rulers; and in conclusion expresses an opinion as to whether — and to what extent — there is any likelihood of a territorial revision in favour of Hungary? He then describes the condition of Dis-membered Hungary too and summarises the results of his observations.

Space does not permit of our dealing separately with the various sections of the work. We cannot, however, omit discussing briefly the final conclusions arrived at by the author.

Mr. Macartney establishes the fact that the economic situation has greatly deteriorated in Slovakia and even more so in Ruthenia. Nor has there been any improvement of the economic situation in the other severed territories either. The author notes that the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States is generally speaking of a revolting character: that treatment is least intolerable in Czecho-Slovakia, but in Rumania it is absolutely barbarian and arbitrary. He stresses in particular the point that the other minorities are being oppressed too, though not by any means to the same extent as the Hungarians. He lays special emphasis on the endeavours being made by the Czechs to absorb the Slovaks. However, — so the author tells us —, notwithstanding the fact that in the Succession States even those minorities which are racially akin to the ruling majorities are being oppressed too, during the period of nearly twenty years that has elapsed since the change of régime the longing felt by the nationalities for re-incorporation in Hungary has considerably abated. According to Mr. Macartney in pre-War days only the Croatians and the Rumanians of Transylvania showed any desire

to be severed from Hungary. The Germans, Slovaks and Ruthenians and even the Serbs of Hungary had no wish whatsoever for a separation; all they desired were certain concessions; and he (Mr. Macartney) believes that if a proper plebiscite had been held at the time in the territories which it was proposed to sever from Hungary, in all the territories outside Croatia and Transylvania the majority would have decided to remain incorporated in Hungary. Today — so Mr. Macartney believes — a plebiscite would show a different result. For — he says — the non-Magyar inhabitants of the severed territories have tasted the sweets of power, while since the separation from Hungary there has been a vigorous advance in respect of national self-consciousness. Nevertheless — so he believes — in Ruthenia, Southern and Eastern Slovakia, in the northern districts of the Banate and the "Bácska" region, and in the districts of Hungary proper severed from that country in combination with Transylvania, a plebiscite would still in all probability show a majority in favour of re-incorporation with Hungary.

Mr. Macartney, however, believes that the present predominance of chauvinistic nationalism will prevent Hungary having any prospect of recovering her full territorial integrity. Yet he considers partial frontier re-adjustments absolutely necessary, — a result which he believes Hungary will undoubtedly attain, though he is of the opinion that autonomy will have to be granted to the non-Magyar nationalities living in the territories to be recovered.

Mr. Macartney believes that the intermixture of nationalities in the territory of pre-War Hungary is so great that it is quite impossible to demarcate absolutely just frontiers on the basis of the national principle or indeed of any other principles. However, seeing that Nature created the territory of pre-War Hungary — the Hungary ringed round by the Carpathians — as a perfect geographical and economic unit, the wisest and most lasting solution of the problem of the Danube Valley and Hungary would be to form out of the territory of pre-War Hungary an Eastern Switzerland based on the principle of equality of nationalities in which each several nationality would find a national home and be able to maintain its national liberty. The author believes that the natural forces impelling the inhabitants of this unit to strive for a union must ultimately triumph, the several peoples living in that territory being prevailed upon to realise that their symbiosis is feasible and at the same time to understand that this is the only possible way for them to live. Mr. Macartney believes therefore that "if she (meaning of course pre-War Hungary) did not exist, it would be necessary to invent her".

*Dr. George de Lukács.*



## POLITICAL ECONOMY

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### WHY CZECHO-SLOVAKIA HAS FAILED TO PRESERVE WHAT SHE INHERITED FROM THE MONARCHY?

During the debate on the Budget Andor Nitsch, member of the Zipser German Party (which is in collaboration with the Hungarian Party), criticized the Czecho-Slovak Budget for the year 1938, with which we acquainted our readers in our last issue. Herr Nitsch's comments ran as follows: "The Czecho-Slovak Republic inherited enormous assets from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; the first Minister of Finance (M. Rašin. — *Ed.*) was capable of taking a firm grip of these treasures, but his successors were unable to preserve them. The responsibility lies not always, and not solely, with the Ministers of Finance, who — on their resignation — have often complained that money is being thoughtlessly squandered in the financial administration of the State: responsibility lies on those coalitions for which they were acting as political exponents. The coalitions went on spending lightheartedly and carelessly until, at last, they found that all the supplies were exhausted. Each coalition party endeavoured to increase its funds from the coffers of the State in the first place, and in the second from the sums withheld from private enterprise. The State Budgets were exceeded year after year, with the result that the debts of the State and the interest thereon increased continually. The Ministers of Finance then resorted to the simplest method: the raising of taxes. In the meantime every Minister of Finance was anxious to point out that our economic life would be unable to cope with any further charges in the form of taxation." — y —

#### NEARLY 100.000 MORE UNEMPLOYED

The report published by the Ministry of Public Welfare shows that by the end of November the number of unemployed has risen from 237.737 in October to 332.981; the difference amounts to 95.244 persons, i. e. 40.1%. — Detailed data show that the rate of increase in the various provinces was as follows: Bohemia: 41.774 persons, 27.7%; Moravia and Silesia: 24.468 p., 48.8%; Slovakia 27.824 p., 85.2%; Ruthenia: 1178 p., 27%. — y —

## INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY ON THE DECLINE

It appears from the report of the Institute of Investigation into Economic Prosperity in Berlin that the industrial production of Czecho-Slovakia in May 1937 had almost reached the standard of 1929. In September, however, it fell to 97.8% points. This stillstand or rather retrogression in prosperity may be seen still more clearly if we consider the supply of raw materials, which — as is generally known — is an indication of the volume of industrial employment. According to Uhlig's index of raw material supplies this supply of raw material for industry reached its zenith in the second half of the year, when, as compared with the situation in 1929, it amounted to 104.4%. In the third quarter, however, it fell to 94.1%; this fall becomes even more obvious if we compare the records for each month in the third quarter. In August the supply of raw material amounted to 99.1%, in September to 86.8%, in October to 86.7%. These records do not take into account seasonal influences, so that there can be no questions of a periodical rise or fall. We must not be misled by the prosperity of manufacturing industry or by the high record achieved by Czecho-Slovakia's steel industry, which is not much lower than that of Great Britain or Germany. In other branches of industry, on the other hand, there is a marked decrease in evidence. Thus it was stated — *inter alia* — by the "Národohospodársky Obzor" that the imports of raw materials in the first quarter of 1937 amounted to 105 in comparison with the situation of 1929; in September it fell to 65%.

Another reliable index of prosperity is the development of freight traffic. Here, too, a decrease is noticeable. In August it reached 98% of the 1929 standard, in September it fell to 92%, and in October to 84%. While the total volume of exports during the third quarter reached 77% of the standard of 1929, in October it fell to 72%.

— y —

## HUNGARY

## INCREASE OF DEPOSITS

The statistical data issued by the Central Corporation of Hungarian Banking Companies show that year 1937 brought a certain improvement in investments; the saving deposits in the custody of the Hungarian banks at the end of last year already exceeded the total of 1931 by 31 millions (totalling 834.3 millions), though they did not yet reach the 1930 standard, being 180 millions less than at the end of that year. The number of savings-books increased by 16.400 last year.

The total amount of *new deposits* during last year was 847.3 millions and exceeded the total amount of repayments by 30.6 millions. The amount of annual interest totalled 24.9 million

pengő. The increase of the aggregate amount of deposits is, then, mainly due to the increase in the amount of new deposits. This increase was, however, limited to the deposits yielding less than 3% or more than 4% interest, while the amount of those yielding a medium interest (3—4%) fell from 291.8 millions to 285.8 millions.

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### VALUE OF EXPORTS IN THE FIRST 11 MONTHS 109.2 MILLIONS MORE THAN LAST YEAR

According to the data of the Hungarian Statistical Bureau the value of *imports* in the month of November totalled 41.7 million pengő (35.8 millions in Nov. 1936), while the value of *exports* amounted to 53.5 millions (49.5 mil.); the balance for November, 1937, then, shows an excess of exports of 11.8 millions (13.7 mil.). — In the first eleven months of this year the value of imports was 429.1 (394.0) million pengő, that of exports rising to 583.3 (455.4) millions. The balance of foreign trade for the first 11 months of 1937 (January—November) thus shows an excess of exports of 109.2 million pengő, as against 61.4 millions during the same period last year.

Compared with the first 11 months of 1936, in this year there was an *increase* in the *imports* of wood and timber, raw hides, crude metals, unrefined mineral oil, and paper, while the imports of maize and raw cotton decreased.

It appears from the above figures that in the first 11 months of 1937 the *total value* of our foreign trade (exports and imports combined) rose from 849.4 million pengő last year to 967.4 millions; this corresponds to an increase of 118 million pengő, i. e. of 13.8%. Out of this, our exports show an increase by 82.9 millions (18.2%), while our imports increased by 35.1 million pengő (8.6%). The excess of imports increased by 32.8 (63%).

— y —

## RUMANIA

### THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

After the formation of the Goga Cabinet, M. Savu, Minister of Finance, made a statement to a Rumanian weekly, the "Excelsior", concerning the financial policy of the new Government. M. Savu announced the Government's intention to balance the Budget, a policy which would take into consideration, on the one hand, what the tax-paying capacity of the population was, so that taxation would represent the most equitable distribution of the fiscal burdens, and, on the other hand, the financial obligations of the State, which would have to be balanced by its revenues. The Government wished to do all in its power to stabilize further the currency and protect investments. The Ministry of



Finance desired to continue the negotiations begun with certain groups of foreign creditors, and in terms of existing contracts, to enter into similar negotiations with the rest.

M. Gigurtu's (Minister of Industry and Commerce) explanation of the unrest noticeable in the markets at the time of the formation of the new Cabinet was that it was a normal phenomenon attendant on the change of Government, for there were always nervous, undecided people who created a state of unrest on these occasions which — according to the Minister — was quite unwarranted. In his opinion the boom in the foreign exchange market was caused by the fact that the flight of capital was no longer possible and the free markets were not too well supplied, so that a boom took place in the most favoured foreign exchanges. In the rest of his statement the Minister of Finance said that one point of the Government's programme was more intensive production and that regulations were contemplated to facilitate the exchange of commodities. He denied the report that it was the Government's intention to appoint commissioners to every undertaking, but admitted that they would be appointed to all undertakings which "did not properly apply the provisions of the National Labour Protection Act" (Numerus Valachicus).

## YUGOSLAVIA

### 145 MILLION CZECH CROWNS "FROZEN" CLAIM

It was stated by the "Národný Listy" (Dec. 2) that Czecho-Slovakia claims 145 million Czech crowns from Yugoslavia, which she is unable to get from that country. Since however Czecho-Slovakia herself owes large sums to Italy, the Czechs propose the creation of a "clearing triangle" between the three countries concerned; in this way Czecho-Slovakia would be credited with the value of all that is exported from Yugoslavia to Italy.

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## S P O R T S

The unusually long spell of warm weather caused a considerable delay in the opening of the winter season. Nor did the artificial ice rink in Budapest or the arrival of the cold weather in the last few days alter the situation considerably, since the absence of sufficient snow has for a long time prevented our skiers from serious training. The same circumstance accounts for the fact that it has, so far, been impossible to provide for the arrangement of more important winter competitions, excepting those branches of sports for which the ice rink in Budapest offers suitable opportunities.

### *Ice Hockey.*

Following the successful match played against the Swedish team, the Budapest Skating Club met the ice hockey team of the LTC from Prague, by which it was defeated by 4:2. In this connection we must bear in mind that the Hungarian team has just started its training, since there are no summer ice rinks in Hungary.

### *Skating.*

Circumstances such as those mentioned above must all account for the fact that there is very little of importance to record in this branch of sports either, apart from the exhibition given by the German champion couple Herber—Baier, whose brilliant performance and marvellous Skill aroused great enthusiasm.

### *Pigeon Shooting.*

In the pigeon shooting contest arranged in connection with the inauguration festival of the shooting ground at San Remo, the Baiarde plate competition was won by a Hungarian competitor, M. István Strassburger, while another Hungarian, M. Sándor Dóra, was second in the Grand Prix.

### *Athletics.*

On the initiative of Italy, negotiations are being conducted with regard to the arrangement of a Central European athletic cup contest. It is suggested that the contest should be arranged between five countries: Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, to be represented by one team each. The contest,

to include the full programme of the Olympic games, is to be arranged in succession in a different country every year.

### *Gymnastics.*

At the beginning of December the world champion German gymnastic team visited Hungary in order to compete with the Hungarian team. The hard contest brought an unexpectedly good result for the Hungarians who remained only 5.8 points behind the Olympic team of the Germans. Final results were 287.85 : 282.05 points for the German team.

### *Football.*

Owing to the unsuitable climate of the country, Hungary's football is at a standstill during the winter season. This unsuitability of the climate was proved, among other things, by the match recently played between the Hungarian team "Újpest" and the Rumanian team "Venus", when the cold weather utterly spoiled the style of the game. The match resulted in the defeat of the Rumanian champion team by 2 : 1. Most of the leading Hungarian teams are now touring the South. The winner of the Central European Cup, the "Ferencváros" of Budapest, stopped at Zagreb on its way south, for a trial of strength with the autumn champion team of Yugoslavia, the HASK of Zagreb. The result, 6 : 4 for the Hungarian team, does not sufficiently signify the difference in the standards of the two teams; for, so long as the Hungarian team played with full strength and ambition, it achieved a result of 5 : 0 with the greatest of ease; subsequently however, it slackened down for the sake of economy, the result being in consequences reduced to a negligible difference in goals. The leading Yugoslav papers comment on the performance of the Hungarian team in terms of the highest praise, referring to the Hungarian players as "artists and conjurers". The Hungarian team "Kispest" has played against the representative team of Gibraltar, which it defeated by 3 : 2.

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