

POLITICAL MOSAIC

BRITISH OPINIONS ON THE CZECH QUESTION

J. L. Garvin:

(The Observer, June 19.)

The Czech Government has agreed that no plan consistent with the integrity of the mixed Republic shall be excluded from negotiation. The claims of Herr Henlein's party for the largest possible autonomy are admitted to discussion as well as the proposals of President Benesh and Dr. Hodza for sub-autonomy. Acknowledging past errors, the Czechs are ready for concessions on what may be called County Council lines giving more security to the Germans in respect of language, schools, and official appointments in their own districts and other local affairs.

These "cultural concessions" will not suffice even for an experimental adjustment and temporary truce. The German demand for the complete administrative self-government of the Sudeten lands bordering the Reich will not be surrendered in principle. Between that claim and the "cultural concessions," with subordinate local institutions, as contemplated by the Czechs, some advanced plan of compromise will have to be found, and the possibilities in this sense should be discussed as frankly between London and Berlin as between London and Prague.

There is no danger of war in Central Europe on Germany's wanton initiative. We make this statement despite the unscrupulous assertions to the contrary fabricated daily by Communist agencies, and spread by their credulous helpers. The only danger—springing partly from natural fear and partly from defiance based on the presumption of British aid at a pinch in addition to Russian and French—is the continued insistence of the Czechs on increased military measures for the purposes both of domestic and external policy.

The Times, June 14:

"It was one of the mistakes of the Peace Treaties that, though the principle of self-determination was much in evidence in Paris, the wishes of the Germans in Bohemia as of their

fellows is Austria were never consulted; or, in so far as by their self-organized efforts those wishes found some expression, they were harshly brushed aside. What remains to be done is to rectify the error of 1919, and to allow the Sudeten Germans peacefully to express their own views as to their future. Self-determination is a principle upheld by the makers of the Peace Treaties, by the League of Nations, and now by the Germans of the Reich, who ask it on behalf of their kinsmen in Czechoslovakia. It is of course perfectly true that power politics may drive principles into the background and put national aggrandisement before everything. But in this case all the countries concerned are party responsible for the present impasse, and all of them should now combine to find a settlement which can only be durable if it coincides with the wishes of the population immediately concerned."

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The London correspondent of the "Pesti Hirlap" recently had a conversation with Sir Robert Gower, leader of the Pro-Hungary group in the British Parliament, the gist of which was published in the July 7th issue of that newspaper. Sir Robert Gower said that the way the Central European negotiations had kept dragging on during the past weeks was a source of the deepest anxiety to him. For the present the States of the Little Entente — he continued — showed no signs of desiring to solve the problem of Hungary's rightful demands in a really peaceful way. During this time he had had numerous conversations with leading men in British politics, and they had come to the conclusion that they would be compelled to bring the Hungarian question up anew in the House of Commons and recommend it to the Prime Minister's consideration. Today the most burning problem in the Danube Valley was undoubtedly Czecho-Slovakia, that is to say the situation of the minorities in that country. All the same, the solution of the minority problem would not solve the question of the Danube Valley. He was still firmly convinced, and maintained the opinion, that no peace in the Danube Valley was possible until the areas inhabited by Hungarians had been restored to the mother-country. Sir Robert hoped that Prague realized this, for there were but few in Great Britain, nay in Europe, who did not know that the injustices of Trianon must disappear from the map of Europe, just as all the injustices of Versailles had been done away with. The Czech Government's plan would have been very welcome had it been realized quickly. It was beyond comprehension why negotiations were lasting so long. Were Prague really willing in good earnest to solve the situation, it could be done in a few days. The Government in Prague would be doing a great service to the cause of peace if they ceased to prolong negotiations and show reluctance to solve the problems and if, at the same time, they would give Hungary encouragement

to believe that no obstacles would be put in the way of an equitable settlement of the territorial question.

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Major Procter, M. P. (Con.), in an interview with the London Correspondent of the "Pesti Hirlap", said that the continual postponement of the solution of the nationality problem of Czecho-Slovakia led him to conclude that the Czech Government had misunderstood the advice and warning of London and Paris. Now this misinterpretation *migh have very serious consequences*. Those advocates of peaceful sympathy who had tried to make the attitude of the Czech Government comprehensible in Great Britain, were completely at a loss to understand the reckless superiority with which Prague was endeavouring to procrastinate the discussion of the nationality question. Major Procter did not know what information the British Government had received from Prague as to the progress of the negotiations; but the recent Note urging matters proved that neither Great Britain nor France was in the very least satisfied. There was no calculating what might happen in Czecho-Slovakia, if the authorities failed to conclude with the non-Czech nationalities an equitable agreement. One thing was however indubitable: Prague was not likely to have another favourable opportunity of the kind to adjust the nationality matters within the frontiers of the Czecho-Slovak State. Should next week too pass without there being any re-assuring report from Prague respecting the adjustment of the situation of the Hungarian minorities, Major Procter said he would immediately put an urgent question to the Prime Minister begging for the energetic intervention of the British Government in view of the incalculable danger latent in a further postponement of the solution of the question.

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Mr. Victor Cazelet, M. P., member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, speaking to the correspondent of the "Pesti Hirlap" made the following statement:

With their deeds, speeches and plans Hungary's new Prime Minister and his Government with one stroke won the confidence and sympathy of all civilized nations. British public opinion is fully aware of the difficulties with which Premier Imrédy has to contend. In critical times a Constitutional régime finds it very hard to fight against extremists, whether their demands are national or of an economic nature. Nevertheless Mr. Cazelet was fully convinced that Premier Imrédy would not only maintain constitutional order in Hungary, but, by insuring the continuity of

a thousand-year old system, would also play a vital role in consolidating peace in Europe.

As everybody now knew the cause of the present European crisis lay in the Paris Peace Treaties. Economic troubles would cease, were the intolerable conditions imposed on Europe by the Peace Treaties righted by means of an equitable readjustment. The sense of insecurity arising from this was growing steadily worse, and it would seem that even the most gigantic and rapid scale of armaments was powerless to insure peace in Europe and the world. Sooner or later all rationally minded statesmen would be forced to realize that parallel with armaments we needed a constructive international policy which by its realism would win the confidence of all the nations. Armaments alone, on however great a scale, would not be sufficient to save our civilisation and guarantee peace, unless at the same time efforts were made to imbue the souls of men with a spirit conducive to co-operation. It was time to devise a technique of peaceful and constructive national development that would restore a feeling of security among the nations. Should efforts in that direction be long delayed, another world war was inevitable.

Nowadays two questions gave rise every now and then to exceedingly strained relations between the several European Great Powers. The one was the Spanish question, the other the Central European situation created by the problems of the nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia. From the tenor of the pourparlers in Prague Mr. Cazalet gathered the impression that Czecho-Slovakia would seize this opportunity of coming to terms with Hungary. In his opinion, never since the Peace Treaties were concluded had there been so good an opportunity for this as now, when an agreement was so greatly to the interest of both countries.

No lasting peace between Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary was conceivable unless a fair readjustment of the frontiers in Hungary's favour took place.

Mr. Cazalet was convinced that those two countries could implicitly rely on Great Britain to act as intermediary, if requested to do so. Both of them trusted Britain. During the past weeks the British Government had given proof, precisely in connection with the Sudeta German crisis, that its influence in Europe was again very strong. Great Britain was interested in one thing alone, in peace, and expected Prague to fulfil the rightful demands of the Sudeta Germans, just as she expected Berlin to refrain from violence. The possibility of eliminating the differences between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia was forthcoming. Europe's leading statesmen knew today that Hungary had a great

vocation to fulfil, but that country would be able to insure its existence, which it had preserved during a thousand years of succesful struggle, only if it managed to maintain its independence in the future.

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WHEN WILL THE PROCRASTINATING TACTICS OF THE CZECHS CEASE?

Budapest, 30th June 1938.

The exciting parish elections are over; but the Nationality Statute (Charter) promised months ago by the Czecho-Slovak Government has not been made public. The negotiations and discussions carried on on June 23rd. with the Sudeta German Party and on June 29th. with the United Hungarian Party and M. Wolf, the Polish Deputy, followed on June 30th. by the pourparlers between Premier Hodza and the representatives of the Ruthenian branch of the United Hungarian Party, have not advanced matters beyond the merely informative stage. The Government has indeed promised that it will submit the Draft Nationality Statute to the National Assembly on July 15th.; but after the depressing experiences of the past the public opinion of the non-Czech nationalities is not in the least convinced that this latest promise will be actually kept.

The circumstance that the May mobilisation — which inflicted fresh serious charges on a population already groaning beneath the heavy weight of existing taxes — did not lead to a catastrophe, has immeasurably enhanced the self-importance of the Czechs. In contrast to the attitude adopted by them in the early spring, they are once more beginning to ride the high horse in their treatment of the non-Czech nationalities; and indeed, according to absolutely trustworthy information received, in a certain large town in the Zipser district of Slovakia the local representative of the Czech parties at a meeting openly declared that the most suitable solution of the nationality question would have been — to murder the nationality citizens. No doubt this insolent attitude is encouraged by the circumstance that the Czech press does not take the slightest trouble to enlighten its readers as to the serious character of the situation, but contents itself with pooh-poohing the nationality problem.

The abuse of their authority by those in power has continued to be the order of the day, and the cynicism which from the very outset has characterized the behaviour of the authorities towards the nationalities is, if possible, more in evidence than ever. Thus, to mention but one instance, when the United Hungarian Party arranged to hold a Hungarian Day in Beregszász (Berehovo) on 19th June, the authorities forbade them to do so on the pretext that since all the villages were making prepara-

tions to attend it in large numbers, no one would be left at home to prevent thefts and fires. It was just an endless series of similarly stupid and annoying measures that made the minority inhabitants lose all confidence in the authorities. Sadder still is the fact that the Czechs speak of their minority fellow-citizens with a hatred they are at less and less pains to disguise.

Under such circumstances Czech public opinion is not in the least convinced that, — as pointed out recently again by the warning articles of the leading British and French papers, the "Times" and "Le Temps" — the Czech nation has to make sacrifices. The impression obtained is on the contrary that people in Prague are continuing to temporise and endeavouring by half-concessions to throw dust in the eyes of the non-Czech nationalities and of the world at large.

From casual reports in the Czech Press it may be gathered, namely, that the nationality "reforms" are contemplated in the form of the following Bills: 1. a Novel supplementing the Language Act; 2. an Amendment of the Administration Act of 1937; 3. a Bill prohibiting denationalization and 4. a Bill providing that the nationalities shall enjoy a proportionate share of public posts, etc. It is said that the Novel supplementing the Language Act of 1920 is to reduce the percentage of minority inhabitants required in a district to entitle them to the use of their own tongue from 20 to 10 per cent. Should this plan be carried out, the Hungarians would regain their language rights in places where, thanks to the machinations of the Czech Census and the anti-Hungarian re-organisation of the districts, they lost them after 1920, but it would signify no improvement on the state of affairs prior to 1920. The Amendment of the Administration Act of 1927 would perhaps extend the sphere of authority of provincial self-government, but would neither grant national autonomy to the Sudeta Germans and Poles, nor secure to Slovakia and Ruthenia the autonomy guaranteed in the Pittsburgh Convention and the St. Germain Minority Treaty respectively. An Act prohibiting denationalization — which in any case is forbidden by the Constitution of 1921 — and a proportionate share of public posts, etc. for the nationalities, would certainly be welcome measures, but are only questions of details far removed from the core of the problem.

For the gist of the problem is that the Czecho-Slovak Republic must abandon the fiction of a national State and accept the reality that it is a nationality one, and on this basis must recognize the legal corporateness of the nationalities as such and invest them with national autonomy based on this or on territorial principles. The eventual extension of the rights of the individual where single minority citizens are concerned would not help much in the present situation. As, however, the granting of nationality autonomies necessarily involves the alteration of the

Constitution of 1920, no solution of the nationality problem is conceivable without such a step being taken. The less so since the present Constitution was framed without the co-operation of the nationalities. This being the case, they are compelled to regard it as a Constitution foisted upon them, and cannot consider the Constitutional arrangements of the Republic as democratic until they have a say in them.

Last Étape of Parish Elections.

The last series of parish elections were held on June 12th.; the results did not however bring about any change in the situation created by the elections of the two previous Sundays. In the German districts of the historical provinces the Henlein Party on this occasion too obtained roughly 90% of the number of votes. On the Czech side the parties of the Extreme Right have crumbled away, the electorate having decidedly shown a shifting towards the Left and the Communists having gained ground materially. This latter fact points to the Czechs regarding Moscow as their only hope in international politics and in internal politics too, showing a more and more decided preference for the principles of Bolshevism. A striking phenomenon is the considerable increase in the number of Czech voters in the Sudeta German districts — a phenomenon to be explained by the circumstance that since 1931. too there has been an unbroken continuation of the forced immigration into those districts of Czech officials accompanied by an equally artificial influx of Czech artisans into the German towns and villages.

In Slovakia — a province wrested from Hungary — the remarkable headway made by the United Magyar (Hungarian) Party on the present occasion was more strikingly in evidence than before. In 160 of the 535 parishes with Magyar majorities in which the election were held on June 12th the only party represented by candidates was the United Magyar Party. In 92 of the 112 Hungarian villages in Eastern Slovakia the Party obtained an absolute majority; and it headed the list in the other villages too. The character of the success attained by the Party in Western and Central Slovakia is shown clearly by the following data: In the Párkány hundred the United Magyar Party secured more than 75% and in the Feles hundred more than 60% of the total number of votes. In one of the largest Hungarian towns of Western Slovakia — in Komárom — the Party has secured 21 seats as against 12 seats previously. In numerous Hungarian villages — e. g. in Ipolykeszi, Kisujfalu, Palást, Apácaszakálás, Ipolybél, Elek, Füss, Kosuti, Tallós, Csata, Kolozsnéma, Örsújfalú, Turiszakálás and Kiskér — the number of seats obtained by the Hungarians has doubled; while in Kajal and Keszegfalva that number has trebled; and in the village of Torna

it has actually risen to four times what it was previously. The headway made by the Party has been made at the expense, partly of the Communists, and partly of the Czech Agrarians and Social Democrats, who have lost ground enormously. In the 35 villages of the Királyhalmec hundred, for instance, the United Hungarian (Magyar) Party secured 2848 more votes than at the 1925 parliamentary elections; whereas the Czech Agrarian Party lost 1438, the Communist Party 801, and the Czech Social Democrat Party 79 votes. These latter parties wormed their way into the Hungarian villages originally under the cloak of internationalism and "class interest" respectively; but the events of recent weeks have added such fuel to the fire of national feeling that the parties in question have been practically swept out of existence in the Hungarian villages.

Another instructive result of these elections is the very considerable discrepancy between the data of the 1930 Census and the number of votes secured by the United Magyar Party — a discrepancy strikingly in favour of the latter. In Jolsva, for instance, according to the latest Census data the Magyars represent only 7.43% of the population; whereas the votes cast for the Hungarian Party at the elections represented 56.6% of the total number of electors. The respective data relating to Rozsnyó are 50.6% (Census) and 56.4% (votes cast by Hungarian Party) respectively. Cases of the kind could be added *ad lib.* It would seem, therefore, either that the data of the Czecho-Slovak Census are false or that Slovaks too voted for the United Magyar Party, *Tertium non datur.*

Not only the United Hungarian (Magyar) Party, but also the Slovak People's (Hlinka) Party, which is co-operating with it in the struggle for autonomy, has achieved very significant results. The number of votes secured by the Party shows an average advance of 10%. In any case it is the strongest of the Slovak parties; and in all probability it is supported by the whole Slovak people. This circumstance requires to be stressed with particular emphasis in view of the fact that Czech propaganda has left no stone unturned to discount the great success achieved by the Party, and indeed actually goes so far as to deny that success. In answer to this it will suffice to refer to the fact that in Pozsony — the Capital of Slovakia — the Party this year obtained 8133 votes as against 5660 in 1935 and actually doubled the number of seats secured at the previous parish (municipal) elections. At Zsolna — that rapidly developing town of Slovakia — the Party now holds 13 seats, as against the 7 seats held previously.

The results of the elections at Pozsony are in other respects too exceptionally instructive. The United Hungarian Party and its ally, the German Christian Socialist Party, polled a slightly larger number of votes; while Henlein secured 13,283 votes as

against 5967 at the 1935 elections. As contrasted with the advance made by the three autonomist parties (Henlein, Hungarian and Hlinka Parties), the Czech Government parties lost some 600 votes, while the number of votes polled by the Communists actually fell from 5255 to 2856, they obtaining only 2 seats as against the 8 previously held by them. The victory of the autonomist parties was therefore scored at the expense of the Communists. The most gratifying moment of the Slovakia elections is indeed the circumstance that the autonomist parties made considerable headway at the expense of Bolshevism, whereas in the so-called "historical" provinces — as we have seen — the Czech agencies of Moscow secured very significant successes.

The results of the elections were a source of unspeakable joy to the native population of the capital of Slovakia. When they became public, Magyars, Slovaks and Germans fell upon one another's necks and crowds of them demonstrated before the offices of the United Hungarian Party, Hlinka's Party and Henlein's Party. The two latter Parties, as well as the ally of the United Hungarian Party, the German Christian Socialist Party, took measures to obtain legal redress for the various abuses of which the authorities were guilty. The most striking of these was that the names of thousands of minority electors had been omitted from the electors' lists. A fair election would have secured the Autonomist Parties greater victory than even the splendid results quoted above.

Contents of Sudeta German Memorandum.

According to the "Deutscher Nachrichtendienst" the fundamental principles underlying the memorandum submitted to the Government by the Sudeta German Party, which, together with the Minority Statute, has been accepted as the basis of negotiations, are as follows:

The national groups shall be entitled to elect their own national representatives and form their own national governments. Legislative power shall be in the hands, partly of the common legislative body (i. e. of a joint national assembly) and partly — in so far as the matters in question concern any of the national groups — in those of the national legislative bodies. To the sphere of authority of these national legislative bodies would, namely, belong matters concerning public welfare, public hygiene, building, housing, self-governing bodies, district and parish affairs, including the village police and certain questions of taxation pertaining to self-government.

To the sphere of authority of the central legislative body in Prague would be left matters pertaining to common finance and

common defence, as well as the executive power of the State (gendarmerie, etc.) and the direction of the State's foreign policy. The national governments would be called "directories". Their presidents would be elected from among the members of the national legislative bodies and would be members of the joint government. The authority of a directory would extend to all persons belonging to the nationality in question, irrespective of whether the said persons were living in areas inhabited by that nationality or not.

The Hungarian Party Demands National Self-Government Within Framework of Slovak and Ruthenian Autonomy.

On June 30th., at Pozsony, the joint club of the Members of the United National Christian Socialist Party, the Hungarian (Magyar) National Party and the Szepes (Zips) German Party representing those parties in the central Parliament and in the provincial Diets respectively, held a meeting the most important of the agenda of which — according to the communiqué subsequently issued — was the report submitted by the Deputies belonging to the club respecting the discussions with Premier Milan Hodza and the exhaustive discussion developing on the subject between those attending the meeting. The Deputies authorised to represent the parties in question took cognizance of the information supplied by the Prime Minister to the effect that the Nationality Statute (Charter) was not yet ready, but was being prepared. As a consequence the discussions were confined to the submission to the Premier of information essential for the drafting of the Bills under preparation the object of which was the re-adjustment of the position of the non-Czech nationalities living in the Republic, but the fundamental principles of which had not yet been determined.

After taking cognizance of the report the meeting of the joint club enunciated its attitude in the question by declaring that "it desired to continue in every field and on all points the struggle which it had begun twenty years previously for the purpose of achieving the equality of rights of the Hungarians living in Czecho-Slovakia and was still of the opinion that the struggle could not prove fully successful except by the establishment of Hungarian national self-government within the framework of the territorial autonomy of Slovakia and Ruthenia respectively".

Hungarians Demand Also the Autonomy of Ruthenia.

The Ruthenian section of the United Hungarian Party on 26th June, held a congress in Munkács (Mukacevo) which was attended also by the representatives of the Ruthenians and of the Germans and Rumanians living in Ruthenia. (The census of 1930 ascertained that there were 14.170 Rumanians living in

Ruthenia. These Rumanians have repeatedly taken part in the various demonstrations organized by the Hungarians, a sign that they are dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them by the Czecho-Slovak State and long for a return of the old Hungarian régime. This fact is worth noting both because it shows that the racial kin of Czecho-Slovakia's Rumanian ally are opposed to the nationality policy pursued by the Czechs, and also because it is a refutation by the Rumanians of Czecho-Slovakia themselves of the false charges brought by Rumanian propaganda against the nationality policy of pre-War Hungary.)

One of the passages of the resolution unanimously adopted by the congress runs:

"The Czecho-Slovak Government shall immediately introduce in Ruthenia the full territorial autonomy promised by international treaty and guaranteed by the Allied and Associated Powers, as compatible with the unity of the Republic". (Treaty of St. Germain, Article II. § 10).

Accordingly it was demanded that all Government measures, laws and ordinances at variance — either in part or as a whole — with such territorial autonomy and autonomous administration should be repealed and invalidated in Ruthenia. (St. Germain, Article II. § 14). The immediate dismissal of all State and public officials not recruited from among the autochthonous population, who, contrary to the relevant passage of the Treaty (St. Germain, Article II, § 12), had taken the posts belonging by right to natives of Ruthenia, was also demanded. The posts thus left vacant were demanded for autochthonous inhabitants, as was the immediate restoration of the salt mines of Ruthenia and the earnings to the self-governing people of Ruthenia. Other demands were that Government must clearly demarcate the undefined western frontier of Ruthenia and that Ruthenia's frontiers must be opened to the adjacent States, in order to ensure international trade and traffic in commodities. Ruthenia and its autochthonous inhabitants must be indemnified — immediately and fully — by the Czech Government for the losses sustained since 1919 owing to the Government's failure to introduce autonomy. In conclusion the congress insisted on the Government's immediately fixing the date of the elections which had been put off again and again since 1919. (St. Germain, Article II, § 11 and § 3 of the Czecho-Slovak Constitution).

The United Hungarian Party Demands a New Census.

The Motion submitted by Deputy Andrew Jaross, President of the United Hungarian Party, — dated May 6th last: it was published sub No. 1369 of the Publications of the Czecho-Slovak House of Deputies — runs as follows:

"When drafting the Census taken early in December, 1930, the Statistical Bureau differentiated between the so-called

"historical provinces" on the one hand and Slovakia and Ruthenia on the other. Whereas in Bohemia and Moravia every person himself (or herself) filled out the Census forms, in Slovakia and Ruthenia the Census was taken by so-called "commissioners". These commissioners, who were organs of and in a position of dependence upon the State, used every effort to prevail upon the inhabitants to declare themselves to be of "Czecho-Slovak" or Ruthenian nationality, employing all kinds of methods for the purpose of intimidating the population and not even shrinking from arbitrarily filling in on the Census forms as "Czecho-Slovak" the nationality of those who defied terror and persuasion and declared their nationality to be Hungarian (Magyar). But even where in the presence of the parties in question these commissioners entered the nationality of the persons as "Hungarian" (Magyar), there was no relying upon those persons being really filed as Hungarians with the Statistical Bureau; for the Census papers filled in in the presence of the parties were simply filled in in pencil and later on "corrected" by the commissioners in their homes or offices and filled in in ink, the parties concerned therefore not being in a position to ascertain what nationality they had actually been allotted.

"It is to this mode of procedure that we must attribute the incorrect character of the data relating to Slovakia and Ruthenia, which are not in keeping with the facts, so that the Hungarians are not prepared to regard them as authoritative.

"The events of the last few weeks, — the results of the National Assembly elections and of the elections of the less important administrative bodies — are sufficient in themselves to prove that the number of Hungarians (Magyars) living in Slovakia and Ruthenia is at least 40—50% larger than that shown in the official statistical publications.

"I should like to refer to a few other cases too. As is well known, of various demonstrations held in Pozsony early in May, 1938, the most imposing was that of the Hungarian (Magyar) inhabitants. According to the calculation made officially by the police the number of Hungarians taking part in the demonstration was at least 12,000; while according to our own calculation there must have been more than 15,000; whereas according to the reports of neutral papers only some 7000 persons took part in the Czecho-Slovak demonstration — the crowd on this occasion including also a few stray Hungarians. Moreover, the Czecho-Slovak demonstration included also children and school-boys and girls; whereas only adults took part in the Hungarian procession.

"These figures show that the statistical data relating to the city of Pozsony are absolutely false; for it is surely impossible that in a city which according to the Statistical Bureau in 1930.

included only 18.890 Hungarians more than 15.000 Pozsony Hungarians should be found taking part in a spontaneously arranged demonstration; and it is equally false that the Hungarians (Magyars) represent only 16% of the population of Pozsony.

"All these facts render it imperatively necessary that today, when — nearly twenty years after the establishment of the Republic — the responsible factors of the Czecho-Slovak State find themselves faced with the necessity of abandoning the system of oppression and "spiriting away" so far employed in dealings with their Hungarian fellow-citizens and of according the Hungarians their due place and rights in all branches of the public administration, — all these facts render it imperatively necessary that we should have available statistical data tallying with the real state of things and that the calculation of quotas should be effected on the basis of those data.

"In connection with the new Census to be carried out in the future we insist, however, also that a special register should be kept showing the relevant data of all persons not born — or descended from persons not born — within the territory of Slovakia and Ruthenia and another special register containing the Census of persons originating from Slovakia and Ruthenia.

"We demand, further, that the Census taken in Slovakia and Ruthenia shall be carried out in the same manner as in the "historical" provinces, — namely, that every person shall himself (or herself) fill out the Census form, in order to prevent there being once more a falsification of the results of the Census."

Hungarianism Spreading in Slovakia.

The "Lidové Noviny", a newspaper whose close connections with the Hradčín are well known, writes as follows in its issue of 26th June:

"The co-operation established by the Slovak Autonomists with the People's Party (Hlinka's Party Ed.), Henlein's Carpathian German Party and the Hungarians of the Opposition, has begun to make itself felt in a lamentable way in certain aspects of Slovak public life. A wave of Hungarianism has again begun to spread in some towns and villages of mixed population, in fact also in places wholly Slovak in character. The moderate Germans, too, in spite of all their old traditions, are beginning to be very noisy in places where they have any success to boast of. They are supported by the odd tactics of the People's Party, which contrary to the interests of the Slovak state-building elements is lending its support to foreign activities threatening the State. A striking example of this fraternization is afforded by the mining town of Selmečbánya (Banska Stiavnica), where the People's Party joined up with the Hungarian Christian Socialist and National Party over the election of the Mayor and

his deputies. Although the Hungarians of the Opposition secured only two seats at the municipal elections, thanks to the aid of the People's Party the post of second Vice-Mayor fell to one of them, while a member of the People's Party was elected Mayor. The newspapers of the Hungarian Opposition are particularly jubilant over this success, pointing out that now the direction of the affairs of Selmečbánya has passed into the hands of the autochthonous population, and that it was the two seats secured by the Hungarians that turned the scales. (The 1910 census showed a proportion of 41.8% of Hungarians in Selmečbánya, but the Czecho-Slovak Census of 1930 admitted only 2.33% *Ed.*) Similar evidence of this new co-operation in Slovakia is noticeable in Galánta, Nagyrőce (Velká Revuca), Jolsva (Jelsava) and elsewhere, a proof that the frequent visits of Count Esterházy to M. Tiso (Vice-Chairman of the Slovak People's Party. *Ed.*) in Trencsén (Banovce) were not of a merely social character."

Ruthenians of Eastern Slovakia Also Demand Their Rights.

In spite of the fact that the territorial autonomy guaranteed to Ruthenia in the Treaty of St. Germain was promised to the whole region inhabited by Ruthenians south of the Carpathians (territoire des Ruthenes au Sud des Carpathes), the Czech Administration has attached considerable Ruthenian areas in the old counties of Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén and Ung to Slovakia. The object was on the one hand to provoke a quarrel between the Ruthenians and the Slovaks and, on the other, to exclude the Ruthenians thus detached from Ruthenia from the privilege of autonomy, should the day come when the Government would be forced to grant it. In this manner the Ruthenians of Eastern Slovakia were reduced to the status of a minority without, however, enjoying any of the rights thereof any more than the rest of Slovakia's minorities. After repeated efforts to enforce their rights the members of Parliament representing the constituencies in Eastern Slovakia have now, as the Czech "Lidove Noviny" reports, submitted a memorandum to the President of the Republic and the Premier in which the Ruthenians of Eastern Slovakia demand their rights as a national minority.

The Situation as We Are Going to Press.

Down to the time of going to press (July 15th.) there has not been any material change in the situation described at the beginning of this article. The procrastinating tactics are still being followed. The Draft Nationality Statute has not been submitted to Parliament (though originally promised for July 15th.); and according to the information supplied by the Government Press it is not proposed to convene Parliament to meet until towards

the end of the month. The conference between Premier Hodža and the representatives of the United Hungarian (Magyar) Party originally fixed for July 13th. has been put off for a week. The obstinate resistance shown by the Czech parties to every concession — however moderate — suggested by Premier Hodža is — under the influence exercised by the Sokol Congress arranged as a Pan-Slav demonstration at the end of June and the beginning of July — becoming more and more decided. It is to this circumstance that we must attribute the continual postponement and procrastination. No wonder that rumours of the resignation of Hodža should keep cropping up more and more frequently. The old antagonism between the Prime Minister and President Benes is well-known to everybody. In the event of Hodža really resigning there is every possibility of a military dictatorship being proclaimed under the supreme direction of the President of the Republic. As is well known, since his election as President Dr. Benes has attached the greatest importance to securing the support of the army; and he enjoys the greatest popularity and sympathy in the army generally, though more particularly among the "legionary" officers. There can be no doubt, however, that the proclamation of a military dictatorship would not in any way improve the international position of the Republic, particularly in the eyes of Germany, and would certainly not further a solution of the nationality question, particularly in view of the fact that it has always been the army which has adopted an absolutely intransigent attitude in respect of that question.

SIR WILLIAM GOODE'S DINNER IN HONOUR OF HUNGARIAN MINISTER IN LONDON AND OF DR. FABINYI

On July 6h, in London, Sir William Goode gave a dinner in honour of *Dr. George Barcza*, Hungarian Minister in London, and *Dr. Tihamér Fabinyi*, former Hungarian Minister of Finance, who is at present Chairman of the Board of Directors and General-Manager of the Hungarian General Creditbank.

The guests attending the dinner included Lord *Essenden*, Chairman of Messrs. Furness Withy & Co., the well-known shipping firm, Sir Thomas *Hohler*, formerly British Minister in Budapest, Vice-Chairman of the Committee of the Anglo-Hungarian Society, Sir Orme *Sargent*, Under Secretary-of-State in the British Foreign Office, Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Danube Trade, J. S. *Wills*, Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade, adviser to the Board on trade with Hungary, F. T. *Ashton-Gwatkin*, technical adviser to the Foreign Office on commercial matters, Anthony *de Rothschild*, Member of the banking firm N. M. Rothschild and Chairman of the Hungarian Credit Standstill Committee, *Sydney Parkes*, General Manager of Lloyd's Bank and Member of the Hungarian Credit Standstill Committee, C. *Lidbury*, General Manager of the Westminster Bank, *Hugh*

Quennell, legal adviser to the Hungarian Credit Standstill Committee, Sir Albert *Stern*, Director of the Midland Bank, R. H. *Brand*, General Manager of the banking firm Lazard Brothers, E. H. *Lever*, Secretary General of the Prudential Assurance Company, manager of the Company's Hungarian branch, *Graham Hutton*, Assistant Editor of the "Economist", Dr. Francis *Marosy*, First Secretary of the Hungarian Legation, and many other prominent City men who take an interest in Hungary.

LORD ROTHERMERE SPEAKS OF THE APPROACHING TRIUMPH OF THE ENDEAVOURS OF THE HUNGARIAN NATION

On the eleventh anniversary of the day on which Lord Rothermere's first article written on behalf of the Hungarian cause appeared in the "Daily Mail", Mr. Francis Herczeg, President of the Hungarian Frontier Re-adjustment League, sent a message of greeting to His Lordship. In his letter to Mr. Francis Herczer Lord Rothermere inter alia wrote in answer:

"The generosity with which not only the Revision League, but the Hungarian people as a whole, responds to the sympathy of its friends, is one of the many noble traits in your national character.

"I foresaw from the first that the campaign for Hungary's rights would be a long one. I felt completely sure, however, that a cause so just, backed by that courageous spirit through which the Magyar race has overcome so many afflictions in its history, must in the end prevail.

"I rejoice with all my heart that the signs of the approaching triumph of your national aspirations are steadily accumulating. If, — as you are good enough to suggest, — my own efforts have contributed in any way to hasten the day when justice will at last be done to Hungary, that will be one of the proudest achievements of my life.

"Wishing to you all the reward, which you have so well earned, of seeing in the very near future the return to their native allegiance of Hungary's lost territories and exiled sons, and with my sincere gratitude for your kind message.

*Your very faithfully,
Rothermere."*

BRITISH COUNCIL'S GIFT OF BOOKS TO BUDAPEST UNIVERSITY

On 15th June Sir Geoffrey Knox, British Minister in Budapest, formally handed over to Count Paul Teleki, Hungarian Minister of Education, the very valuable library presented to the Budapest Peter Pázmány University of Sciences by the British Council. This library is the first instalment of the material offered

last year to the Hungarian Ministry of Education by the British Council as a lasting token of the cultural links between Great Britain and Hungary. The second instalment will be presented to the Debrecen University, where next autumn the English Chair established by the British Council is to be inaugurated.

With a few cordial words Sir Geoffrey Knox present the library to Count Teleki, who in expressing his thanks for the generous gift said that it would be a valuable link in the chain of Anglo-Hungarian cultural contacts.

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CORDIAL RECEPTION OF POLISH PARLIAMENTARIANS IN HUNGARY

On May 28th, 15 Members of the Polish Parliament — 5 Senators and 10 Deputies — arrived in Hungary. In Mezőhegyes the Polish parliamentarians were given a magnificent reception: the leaders of the party — M. Rdulkowski, Vice-President of the Senate, and Deputy Kozechunowitz, he latter of whom spoke in Hungarian — thanked their hosts for the cordial welcome. The Polish guests spent six days in Hungary. Dr. Andrew Nagy de Tasnád, President of the Government Party, gave a tea in their honour; among those present was also M. Kálmán de Kánya, Hungarian Foreign Minister. On May 31st. the Polish visitors were present at a sitting of the House of Deputies at which Deputy Csóor interrupted the speech he was making when they entered the gallery and addressed warm words of welcome to the representatives of that Poland which had for centuries been bound to Hungary by ties of close friendship; all the Hungarian Deputies present on this occasion rose from their seats and enthusiastically applauded the Polish guests.

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DEPARTURE OF HUNGARIAN MINISTER TO YUGOSLAVIA

Having reached the end of his term of office, M. Waldemar Alth, Royal Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, appeared before Prince Paul, the Yugoslav Regent, on May 26th, before his final retirement from the diplomatic service; on this occasion Prince Paul conferred upon M. Alth the highest distinction of the Order of St. Save, in token of his acknowledgement of the Minister's very valuable services. M. Alth's appointment to Belgrade, eight years ago, was made at a most critical moment, in which he was able to conduct the affairs of his legation with the utmost dignity and diplomatic skill. M. Alth's retirement is greatly regretted by diplomatic circles in Belgrade, as he was one of the most highly respected and most sympathetic members of the diplomatic corps. M. Alth finally left Belgrade on June 1st. being succeeded by M. George Bakách-Bessenyei, the newly appointed Hungarian Minister, who is one of Hungary's most excellent younger diplomats.

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TWO INTERESTING ANNIVERSARIES

Quite recently the Serbs of Yugoslavia celebrated two interesting anniversaries. The one was the hundredth anniversary of the date when Serb women were first allowed to sit down to table with their menfolk. The second celebrated the occasion a hundred years ago when beds were first used in Serbia.

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FIASCO OF YUGOSLAV IDEAL

M. Milan Marianovitch, one of the most inspired and active Croat propagators of the Yugoslav ideal before the Great War, who still remains loyal to this ideal, declares with deep resignation that the Yugoslav ideal lost its substance after the Great War. In an article published in the Belgrade weekly paper, "Krug", he declares that the very term "Yugoslav" has been discredited. It is still used very frequently, but only as a blind, because it has been completely discredited by the political system which has been using it as a screen since 1918. Otherwise the term has lost both substance and force, and it has become meaningless because it has been used practically exclusively as a cover for certain imperialistic ambitions.

Commenting on M. Marianovitch's article, which created a great stir in all Yugoslavia, a Croat paper, the "Obzor", declares that this complete fiasco of the Yugoslav ideal is chiefly due to the fact that the leading factors of Serb politics have displayed complete ignorance of the national individuality of the Croats, Slovenes and Serbs, which — nevertheless — is an undeniable fact and cannot be overruled by any passing political system. Neither the Croats nor the Slovenes nor the Serbs have ever ceased to live their own individual national life. ("Obzor", March 23).

A proclamation issued by the "Saint Save" Society of the University students of Belgrade strikes a Panslav note when it turns the attention of its members towards the "fabulous power" of "our Mother Russia" and towards the endless sufferings of the soul of the Russian people, which will survive the ordeals it has to face. Soon the day of the great national revolution will come, which will "destroy the scum of today" and annihilate the false doctrines of Marxism imported from the West which the proclamation calls "rotten to the core". The visions of the great Slav genius, Dostoiewski, will materialise; it was he who prophesied that Slavdom, purified of its sins, would bring a new revelation to humanity. A new Star is rising in the East: decisive events are in preparation. ("Obzor", March 31).

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