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MEGJELENIK A MAGYAR REVIZIÓS LIGA SZERKESZTÉSÉBEN  
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Tiszteletpéldány

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JUSTMENT LEAGUE

# MINORITY PROBLEMS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

## THE ATTACK ON MAGYAR CULTURE IN THE SUCCESSION STATES

by

**F. Llewellyn-Jones, M. P. Hon., D. C. L.**

The recent Assembly of the League of Nations held in the month of September 1934 is of outstanding interest, for two reasons. The election of the Soviet Government as a Member of the League is an epoch-making event. The other reason is the amount of attention which was given to the problem of the protection of National Minorities. Colonel Beck's declaration on behalf of Poland on the 13th September, that his Government had in contemplation to refuse all cooperation with international organisations in the matter of supervision over the application by Poland of the system of minority protection, at once brought the representatives of the different Governments of Europe to a realisation of the danger to European peace which would result from any such action. The British as well as the French Foreign Secretaries pointed out that Poland could not adopt that course without imperilling the authority of treaties. At a later date the Polish delegate intimated that, while reserving the right to bring the question up again, he would not press the Polish point of view at this Assembly. It is clear that if the Assembly had given any countenance to Poland's suggested policy, the situation of all minority groups in Central and Eastern Europe would have become extremely critical.

On the 22nd September, at a Meeting of the Sixth Committee of the Assembly, Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, the well known Hungarian M. P. and representative of Hungary, made an eloquent appeal on behalf of the Magyar minorities in the Succession States. He pointed out that the situation in all the Danubian States was unsatisfactory, and so far as Rumania in particular was concerned every article in the Minority Treaty had been violated. There is only one aspect of the many-sided policy of repression adopted against the Magyar minorities in the Succession States mentioned by Dr. Eckhardt upon which I should like to dwell in this article. I refer to the way in which Hungarian publications of every kind are being excluded from these States. Not only are all the literary productions of contemporary Hungarian authors being rigidly prohibited, but works of a purely scientific character are being banned. For fully fifteen years Hungarians who have not been able to visit post-War Hungary have been deprived of the possibility of making themselves acquainted with the results of Hungarian research.

The reason urged by the Governments of the Succession States was that Hungarian books advocating Treaty Revision were being circulated among the Magyar-speaking population. Dr. Eckhardt in his speech at Geneva emphasised the point that in Rumania literary works produced in the XVIIIth century had fallen under the Government ban, and that moreover books written before the War on historical and philological subjects urgently required by Hungarian students were refused admission. The President of the Hungarian Academy, Dr. Albert de Berzeviczy, had previously called attention to the same matter and cited a large number of instances of the deliberate and systematic prohibition of Hungarian literature. In marked contrast with this policy is the fact that a work of President Masaryk of Czecho-Slovakia has recently been translated into Hungarian for publication in Budapest.

When one bears in mind that a very large proportion of the millions of the Hungarians who have been cut off from their fatherland by the Treaty of Trianon are men and women of education and refinement who are naturally desirous of keeping in touch with the cultural life of their nation, one can appreciate the deep resentment at this policy and the sympathy with their fellow-nationals felt by all Hungarians.

When Sir John Simon replied to the claim made by Poland to decline to be bound by the minority treaties he said that "it would not be possible for any State to release itself from obligations of this kind entered into by unilateral action". Poland was at any rate perfectly frank and straightforward in making this claim. On the other hand the Governments of those countries which, while professing compliance with treaty requirements, are deliberately failing to perform their solemnly undertaken obligations to their minority populations, are in effect guilty of such unilateral treaty revision. Moreover they can scarcely complain of the appeal which the Hungarian Nation continues to make for the pacific revision of the Treaty of Trianon. I am convinced that there is no consideration so likely to influence the statesmen and peoples of Europe to respond to this appeal as the knowledge that the pledges given to treat the Magyar minority groups with justice and equity have been ruthlessly disregarded.

# THE MARSEILLES TRAGEDY

by

**Elemér Szudy**

**T**he royal drama in Marseilles and the death — by a tragic accident — of M. Barthou, French Foreign Minister, was a shocking event.

But behind that royal drama there looms large the drama of a whole people — nay, of whole peoples —, without which that royal drama would surely never have been enacted. It is evident that this was a political murder. King Alexander fell a victim to a conspiracy called into being by a system of political oppression not particular in its choice of methods. Though our human sympathy is entirely with the unfortunate victims, nevertheless as publicists we have a duty beyond the mere moments of sentiment, a duty making it incumbent upon us to deal also with the events — the political and historical background — leading up to and rendering possible the lamentable and horrifying attempt.

This duty is all the more incumbent upon us in view of the fact that the official communiqué relating to the Belgrade Conference of the Little Entente describes as decidedly international in its connections the monstrous crime which has been received with horror all over the world, and declares that the causes of that crime must be located outside the boundaries of Yugoslavia. This statement indubitably involves insinuations against other countries; and, seeing that the hostile propaganda launched in the foreign press has done its best under all circumstances to implicate Hungary in the conspiracy, we must raise our voices in protest and must point out that it is solely and exclusively the work of Croatian *émigrés*, and that the causes leading to this terrible misfortune are well-known circumstances and conditions arising out of the internal situation in Yugoslavia.

The basis in principle of the Yugoslav State formation was set down in the so-called "Corfu Convention", — the first attempt to put on paper this organisation resting upon the union of various peoples and upon a combination of heterogeneous cultures. The Convention — the nucleus of the subsequent Vidovan Constitution — was signed on the Island of Corfu, on July 7th., 1917, by Premier Nikola Pashitch on behalf of the Serbian Government then in exile and on behalf of the Yugoslav Union by Ante Trumbitch, who later on became Yugoslav Foreign Minister and ultimately was subjected to a lengthy confinement by the Yugoslav Dictators.

There can be no doubt that the leaders of the Croats who went into exile during the Great War

desired to bring into being a united Yugoslav State and a united Yugoslav nation: and when that was effected on paper, they all believed that their most important historical ideal had been realised. However, the Serbs never took the idea seriously; and during the early years of this *symbiosis* they made away entirely with the Yugoslav State idea, ensuring their hegemony by instituting a centralistic system in the machinery of the new State. In this attempt they succeeded completely. But what means they had to employ for the purpose!! They confiscated all civil rights, introduced corporal punishment, employed principally for the purpose of intimidating the peasantry, and afflicted the population generally with all the most ruthless means of persecution. Financially they positively stripped bare the several provinces, devoting special attention in this respect to the districts which had previously formed part of Hungary and to Croatia — which territories are still paying six times as much in taxes as the inhabitants of Old Serbia.

From the very outset the Croats took to the cudgels against this system of forcible absorption. The conflict became exceptionally bitter between the centralistic politicians in Belgrade and the persons responsible for directing the political life of the Croatian people; and the continuous aggravation of the situation finally culminated in the bloody attempt in the Skupstina on January 20th., 1928, one of the victims of which was Stephen Radič, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party.

This murder profoundly affected the soul of the Croatian people and led to revolutionary movements which impelled King Alexander, on January 6th., 1929, to answer by proclaiming a dictatorship. The Parliament was dissolved; the selfgoverning bodies were suspended; in Croatia the independence of the judiciary and the continuity of the administration of justice was annulled and a general reign of terror instituted which will for some time to come make Croats unable to forget this lamentable era. The Croatian patriots found themselves opposed also by irresponsible elements; the police organised bands of gangsters whose business it was to gradually dispatch the most eminent political leaders of the Croatian people. This is how the powers that be did away with Deputy Predaveč and with Milan Šufflay, the prominent politician and *savant* who was murdered in the very heart of the city of Zagreb.

Those provinces which after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy joined the Yugoslav

State formation to all appearances of their own accord, watched these events with feelings of disillusion and horror; though these events were merely the prelude to the terrors which the Dictators still had in store. The Slovene people, the Croatians and the Mussulmans of Bosnia were practically excluded from any share in the State life of Yugoslavia; and when Koroseć, former Prime Minister, Maček (Radić's successor as leader of the Croatian people) and Spaho, the first man in Bosnia, were arrested, what the powers that be really did was to confiscate the liberty of the peoples which these personalities represented.

It was the Croatian people that protested against the dictatorship by armed resistance too; though that resistance cost the people infinite suffering and the sacrifice of many lives. The insurrection that broke out in the Karst Mountains and on the Dalmatian seaboard was mercilessly suppressed by the Yugoslav army and police. A well-known Croatian politician who succeeded in making his escape has written the story of the tragic end of the insurrection of the Croatian National Party. Whole villages were wiped out of existence and their inhabitants flogged and beaten black and blue; more than fifty houses were demolished and in addition innumerable homesteads and country settlements were destroyed by fire. In one single district more than 600 head of cattle — besides other animals — were driven away, and hundreds of farmers' families were reduced to beggary. Old men of eighty and ninety were put on the rack, old women were beaten black and blue; and the number of victims claimed by this war of extermination in the town of Sebenico exceeded the number of its citizens killed during the Great War. The Mayor of this town was tortured, his ears cut off, his nails wrenched off and his ribs crushed; while twenty-eight Dalmatian villages were compelled to supply prisoners and hostages — more than 400 in number. The persons arrested were kept for days without food or drink in crowded cellars, where they had to sleep on the floor; they were then dragged off to various prisons and internment camps. The whole of Dalmatia was the scene of indescribable sufferings.

It was these deeds of terror that brought into being the Memorandum submitted in June, 1933, to the League of Nations by the Croatians living in foreign countries — the Memorandum being drafted on behalf of 320,000 American Croatians and of all the Croatian Associations existing in Europe. In this well-known Memorandum the Croatians gave a retrospective survey of their whole historical past. They pointed out that in 1102 Croatia entered into a personal union with Hungary, and that the Croatians preserved their independence for twelve centuries. In 1918, after the Great War, — so runs the Memorandum — without the consent of the constitutional representatives of the Croatian nation and in defiance of the wishes of the vast majority of the Croatian people, — when the Allied troops were still in the country and conditions were still chaotic — the Serbian army and Government authorities, referring to the Corfu Convention, forced a union. The real representatives of the Croatians lodged protests against the *fait accompli* of December 1st., 1918, — which surrendered Croatia against her will

to Serbia — with the Paris Peace Conference (on February 27th., 1919) and with President Wilson (in the following month). The Memorandum then enumerated a whole series of petitions previously submitted to the League of Nations and concluded by saying that *of the responsible international factors failed to put an end to the intolerable state of things described, the Croatian people repudiated all responsibility for any subsequent events incidental to a campaign of self-defence which was but natural.*

Terrible things must have happened to bring to this pass the long-suffering Croatian people, which even after the proclamation of the dictatorship still continued to believe in the possibility of a constitutional solution!! This is shown also by the well-known "Zagreb Points" made public on November 7th., 1932, by Dr. Vlatko Maček.

This peaceful *rapprochement* was however repudiated by Belgrade, which resorted to even severer measures. That things would come to this pass, would surely never have been expected by Louis Gaj, the originator of the Illyric-Yugoslav idea, or by Supilo, or even by Svetozar Pribičević, the first Minister of the Interior of the Yugoslav State, who is now an exile in Paris, where he has published a fulminating bill of indictment against the Serbian dictatorship. And what a bitter irony of fate that the ranks of the accusers should be joined also by the British writers who always led the van in the work of trying to win foreign opinion over to the idea of a union of the Southern Slavs, — by Seton Watson and Wickham Steed. On the occasion of the condemnation of Maček these writers published in the columns of the "Manchester Guardian" an Open Letter directed against King Alexander and the dictatorship in which they showed, by an exhaustive treatment of the subject and by abundant quotations, that the charge against Maček was entirely without foundation, whereas on the other hand the demand of the Croatians to the effect that the Yugoslav Government should adopt a democratic federal system was supported sincerely by at least nine-tenths of the population of the country. King Alexander — the Open Letter continued — had at last succeeded in inciting all his subjects against himself and the dictatorship. According to the writers of the Open Letter, though the persons responsible for maintaining the dictatorship will themselves answer in full for the internal consequences of their rule, at the same time they would commend the threatening international results of the embitterment of the Croatians to the attention of all quarters still interested in the peace of South-Eastern Europe.

We repeat : these are the words of "Scotus Viator" and Wickham Steed, written more than two years prior to the attempt at Marseilles!

The letter-writers were here thinking, not of Great Britain only, but also of Italy, — which latter country has however recently been very sensibly offended by a series of assaults delivered against it by Serbian aggressivity. Last year saw the mutilation of the winged lions of Tran; a few weeks ago appeared in the Yugoslav Press serious attacks on the Italian army and Italian valour; and the Italian Consul in Laibach has just been beaten black and blue.

# THE MARSEILLES TRAGEDY AND THE CAMPAIGN OF CALUMNY AGAINST HUNGARY

## SYMPATHY FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE MARSEILLES OUTRAGE

**T**he dastardly attempt at Marseilles which resulted in the death of Alexander, King of Yugoslavia, and M. Barthou, French Foreign Minister, horrified the whole of Hungary and has been condemned with profound disgust by the public opinion of the country. The "Budapesti Hirlap", the semi-official organ of the Hungarian Government, expressed the unanimous opinion of the Hungarian people in the words devoted to the memory of the great dead mourned by Yugoslavia and France:

"During the whole thousand years of the history of the Hungarian nation murder as a political weapon has always been an unknown quantity; even during the days of the darkest foreign oppression our nation resorted only to the weapons of law and justice in its defence of its cause and has always condemned the use of any forcible means in the service of politics. Now that our Yugoslav neighbours have lost their king, it is with feelings of profound respect and of horror evoked by the crime that we offer the Yugoslav nation our sympathy in its bereavement.

"M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, who acted as host, also fell a victim to the murderous attempt. But on hearing the news of his death, we think of him, not as the antagonist who not long ago deeply outraged the feelings of our nation, but as the man whose father's heart had been already mortally wounded by the Great War and as one of the responsible statesmen of the great French nation. The Hungarian nation lowers its colours to France with respect and sympathy and would express the conviction that the dastardly attempt will prove unable to interrupt the work that must be carried on for the maintenance and expansion of European peace by the united efforts of all the statesmen of Europe."

Notwithstanding this extremely loyal behaviour on the part alike of official circles and of society, on the present occasion too, as so often in the past, the Czech press let loose a whole flood of calumnies against Hungary and the Hungarian nation, — calumnies which were unfortunately taken over by a section of the French press too. An endeavour was made to give the name of the Marseilles murderer a Hungarian sound, until it transpired that his name was Vlada Georgiev and that he was, not a Croatian exile, but a Bulgaro-Macedonian revolutionary.

An endeavour is being made also to turn the confessions of the two Croatians arrested at Annemasse against Hungary. The fact that there are Croatian exiles living in Hungary too, has never been denied by any Hungarian. Nor was there any reason to deny the fact, seeing that the Croatian exiles have found shelter in many

European States — also in France and Czecho-Slovakia. The Yugoslavia which after the fall of Béla Kun's communistic régime offered homes to hundreds of communists compelled to flee from Hungary and more recently to the national socialists who fled from Austria after the murder of Dollfuss, is really not entitled to object to that. The Croatian camp at Jankaháza, so much spoken of in the French and Czech press, was maintained at their own cost by Croatian exiles; and in any case the camp was broken up by the Hungarian authorities last April. The organs of the administration of justice in Hungary are very carefully on the watch to prevent Hungary being made the venue of persons plotting political crimes against Yugoslavia. On the very day of the Marseilles tragedy the Curia, the Supreme Court in Hungary, passed a sentence of exemplary severity on the Croatian terrorist Permeč, confirming the sentence passed by the court of first instance, which condemned the prisoner to fifteen years' penal servitude for having sent a bomb to Yugoslavia, to the address of the President of the Belgrade Court of Cassation. The Hungarian police authorities have officially ascertained that no passport was ever issued by them to the two prisoners under examination at Annemasse. Hungary was only a transit station for the Croatian exiles, whose headquarters and propaganda offices were in Switzerland and France. So far as concerns the confessions of the two Croatians who have been arrested, the reports relating to the same must be received with the utmost reserve, if only because — as is well known — their cross-examination (owing to the fact that the competent French officials do not know Croatian) is being conducted by high Yugoslav diplomats and police officers.

Under such circumstances we must most energetically protest against the campaign of calumny instituted with a very transparent object being once more started against Hungary, and against the suggestion that our country should be arraigned before the League of Nations on the charge of regicide. The political armoury of the Hungarian nation never included murder among its weapons. While protesting most decidedly against all insinuations, we at the same time were deeply grateful for the calm and dispassionate attitude of the British press, which among other things established the fact that the Marseilles tragedy was due solely to the internal political conditions of Yugoslavia. We were also extremely grateful to that section of the French press which warned French public opinion not to lose its composure and not to be cajoled by the calumniating insinuations, for without absolutely irrefutable evidence no one was entitled to charge any people or government — whether Budapest or Berlin or Rome was in question — of so dastardly and villainous a crime as the Marseilles murder.

## HUNGARIAN PREMIER ENERGETICALLY PROTESTS

Immediately before starting for Warsaw on a visit which — as is well known already — resulted in the conclusion of a cultural agreement between Poland and Hungary, Julius Gömbös, Prime Minister of Hungary, made the following statement with reference to the campaign of calumny against Hungary:

"I view the situation with absolute unconcern; and I have no qualms whatever about starting on my journey to Warsaw. There is no reason why I should have. Although the international campaign of calumny being conducted against us by a section of the press of certain countries which would fain make Hungary the scapegoat for the Marseilles tragedy, is now at its height, nevertheless I have no qualms whatever about leaving the country for a few days to pay my long-planned visit to the friendly Polish nation. For I know that what European public opinion wants to know is the truth — the whole truth and nothing but the truth: and from that Hungary has nothing to fear, — indeed, she must herself most energetically insist upon the truth being brought to light. Once the truth has been revealed, the rôle played by Hungary will be made clear and unmistakable to everyone, for it will be proved beyond a doubt that neither the Hungarian Government direct nor any Hungarian

official organs were implicated in this dastardly outrage (it would indeed be absurd to suppose that they could have been), and that there are not even any Hungarian nationals among those connected with the crime. Nor could there be, seeing that the spirit and temper at all times characterising the Hungarian people — a spirit and temper which during the whole course of Hungarian history refused to acknowledge murder as a political weapon — absolutely precludes the possibility of any Hungarian factor — whether official or private — having taken any part in the crime.

"This being the situation, Hungarian public opinion may without any misgivings whatsoever await the revelation of the real facts of the crime and all the developments that may ensue therefrom.

"The Hungarian Government is not looking on with folded arms either at the machinations of the foreign campaign of calumny being conducted against us or at the developments of the inquiries being carried on in the various countries. On the contrary, that Government has already taken the necessary steps to repudiate the unmerited and tendentious campaign of calumny and to provide for the criminal investigation being carried on with the utmost energy in Hungary too."

## A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS ON YUGOSLAVIA

In a speech made at a soirée of the Manchester University Students Union Mr. Rhys Davies, M. P., spoke of the impressions obtained during his visit to Yugoslavia.

The frontiers — he said — are closed with barbed wire entrenchments. Every railway line over which King Alexander travelled was guarded by soldiers placed fifty paces from one another.

Lamentable as the Marseilles tragedy is — Mr. Rhys Davies continued — "it by no means surprises us. The responsibility does not rest solely with the revolutionary organisations, but must be shared to a large extent also by the Serbian Government and by those who after the end of the Great War made it their object to subject to foreign rule against their wishes heterogeneous races. The Serbians were

made to rule over three and a half million Croats, whom they themselves admit to be far more cultured than they are. The Serbian Government has extinguished the last sparks of the national life of the Croats, the Slovenes, the Montenegrins and the Macedonians. In default of liberty of speech the only possible answer to a tyranny of this kind is the pistol.

"The situation in Yugoslavia — said Mr. Rhys Davies in conclusion — is like what we should have here if King George V. were by edict to suspend or abolish the Irish, Welsh and Scotch nations. Belgrade has deprived the nations mentioned above of the use of their mother tongues and has excluded them from the profession of schoolmaster and teacher, as also from other branches of the public service."

## MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BY THE CROATIANS OF AMERICA

In June, 1933, the Croatian National Council of North America — in agreement with and on behalf of more than 250,000 American citizens of Croatian origin and Croats living in the United States and in Canada, as also of other groups of Croats living in exile in other countries (South America, France, Belgium, etc.) — addressed a Memorandum to the League of Nations containing a picture of the conditions prevailing in Croatia, which render explicable even the events now engaging the attention of

Europe. We believe we shall be doing useful work if we give an abstract of the contents of that memorandum for the guidance of those who have failed to take a sufficient interest in that document and also of those who have so far not been familiar with the same.

### PAS AND PRESENT

The opening passage of the Memorandum establishes the following facts: — "At the present time the only power which keeps the discordant elements

together, is the brutal force possessed and controlled by the ruling section, while the centrifugal forces consist of the desires and tendencies of most of the other sections to free themselves from persecution and exploitation by the rulers”.

The history of the Croatian people and the Croatian State is very plastically epitomised as follows: — “For twelve centuries the Croatian people lived in its own national State. This State was in the beginning entirely independent; but after 1102 its independence of action was slightly restricted by the personal union with Hungary and later also by its becoming incorporated in the Habsburg dominions. During this whole period, however, Croatia preserved her individuality and her national diversity, as also her independence in internal affairs. In their struggle against the hegemony policy of Hungary and the centralistic endeavours of Vienna resulting in a curtailment of their national rights and privileges, the Croats took advantage of the development brought about by the Great War, which once more made their country entirely independent. This reacquired independence was however unfortunately of very short duration. As a consequence of treachery and deceit the Croatian people was betrayed into the suffocating clutches of Belgrade, whose first step after seizing the power was to abolish the independent State existence of Croatia and to annihilate the individuality of the Croatian nation. Croatia has been wiped off the map of Europe; her inhabitants have been converted into a subject people and her territory into a field of exploitation by the ruling class of Serbia”.

#### UNION NOT ACKNOWLEDGED BY MAJORITY OF CROATS

The Memorandum continues: — “The union of Croatia with the Kingdom of Serbia was concluded, on the Croatian side, by politicians who had absolutely no authorisation for such an act. The method of the union and even its earliest results were entirely adverse to the wishes and expectations of the Croats. For these reasons the act of the union was never ratified by the Croatian people, but was, on the contrary, overwhelmingly rejected by them, not only at the elections for the Constituent Assembly in 1920, but also at every other opportunity which they had before and since that time”.

“For immediately after the Proclamation of December 1, 1918,” — says the Memorandum — “Croatia was overrun by detachments of the Serbian army and gendarmerie, and a rule of terror and intimidation was introduced. The favorite means of this terror was and is the beating and flogging of the Croatian peasants and the incarceration of their leaders. The immediate motive for these atrocities was the fact that the Croatian people — in contrast with the majority of their politicians, members of the National Council SHS. — had a better sense of realities and of their national rights and declined to accept the arrangement of December 1. as final or legally binding . . .

“In November, 1920, at the elections for the Constituent Assembly, Croats reiterated this stand. More than three-fourths of all the Croatian votes were cast for parties — primarily the Croatian

Peasant Party — whose programmes included the non-recognition of the legality of the said act. This position, as all the later parliamentary elections showed, was never changed by the Croatian people”.

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF VIDOVAN

The Memorandum then gives the following description of the activity of the Constituent Assembly: — “However, when the Constituent Assembly was finally convened, more than two years later — the intervening time was utilized by the ruling clique to engineer the elections to its own advantage — the new Constitution was not adopted by a majority of two-thirds, but by a simple majority, only 223 out of 419 members having voted for its adoption. Out of 91 Croatian representatives only 11 voted for the new Constitution, while 51 members of the Croatian Peasant Party, faithful to the principle of non-recognition of the original act of the union, never took their seats in the Assembly.

“Eleven out of ninety-one, a little more than 12%!!! Yet in November and December, 1918, no cry was heard oftener than the assertion that there would be no “majorization” in the Constituent Assembly of either of the uniting peoples, — i. e. that no Constitution would be adopted unless it received the support of the majority of each, the Slovenian, the Serbian and the Croatian representation”.

#### EQUALITY OF RIGHTS

The Croatian Memorandum then tells us how the principle of equality of rights was carried out in practice: — “The Serbian ruling clique and the Serbian politicians had plenty of their own henchmen to place in the government service, and the question of qualifications was not considered one of importance. There were many instances of former clerks with only a couple of years of public school education displacing law-school graduates with 15 or 20 years of experience in the important office of district commissioner. Army, finances, railroads, public instruction, diplomatic corps and foreign service — all these departments of government were filled with Serbs, protégés of the Serbian politicians, and in none of these departments was there ever much of a chance for a Croat, unless, of course, he was willing to become useful, not to the people, but to the camarilla.

“In the Austro-Hungarian army there were always from ten to twenty commanding generals who were Croats. In Yugoslavia, which was supposed to be “their own” country to the Croats, there were at one time more than 80 generals, and not one of them was a Croat, although there still lived several of the former Austro-Hungarian high officers of Croatian nationality who had rendered, during the critical period of October and November, 1918, a great service to the cause of liberty of all the South-Slavic peoples”.

#### CROATIAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Under the heading “*Central European Conspiracy*” the Memorandum describes the struggle for liberty of the Croatian nation: — “The Croatian Opposition

was becoming ever stronger. The ruling clique of Belgrade felt itself really endangered, and particularly so when, through the efforts of Croatian deputies, one of their own number — R. Pashitch, the son of the former veteran Premier — had been publicly convicted for corruption, shady dealings, and misappropriation of public property. Then for the first time rumors of an impending suspension of the parliamentary principle began to circulate in Belgrade coffee-houses and newspaper offices.

"The resistance of the Croats, however, was still increasing. Using the Belgrade parliament as the medium through which they could be most easily heard, Croatian leaders were raising a cry of protest, which was becoming ever louder. The ruling camarilla was in a tight corner, but it was still far from being ready to give way to the will of the people. Instead, it decided: — "Parliamentarism must go, but, before this can be done effectively, Croatian leaders must first be put away . . . where they could hold no speeches and write no articles for the papers . . . Punisha Rachitch . . . on June 20 asked to be recognised by the speaker. Afterwards he seemed to change his mind. But at the direct urging by the speaker — also, of course, a member of the parliamentary majority — he went to the rostrum and, immediately upon arriving there, he produced a revolver, which he leisurely proceeded to empty into a group of Croatian leaders. Result of the shooting: — two Croatian deputies dead, three wounded, one of the wounded being the chief of the Croatian Peasant Party, Stephen Radić, who died from the consequences of the shooting a few weeks later".

#### LAMENTABLE PRICE OF "LIBERATION" CONCLUSIONS

Under this heading the Memorandum contains the following statements: — "Taxes paid by Croats were, and still are, from three to six times as great as the taxes paid by the inhabitants of Serbia with the same income and property . . . Due to such economic policies of the Serbian Government, Croatia, once a remarkably prosperous country, is today on the verge of economic ruin . . . Many Croatian cultural institutions and organisations were forcibly dissolved and their funds confiscated by the government. The standards of teaching in the public schools were deliberately lowered, a

great many of the high schools altogether abolished, and the standards of the University of Zagreb impaired by the refusal or restriction of necessary budgetary credits. Several of the most prominent professors of the University were dismissed, some because of their political convictions, some again simply in order to injure the cultural prestige of the Croatian nation in general and of its main university in particular . . . These were some of the means by which Belgrade hoped to equalize the cultural standing of Serbia with that of Croatia, whose civilisation is several centuries in advance of the Serbian."

The administration introduced by the Serbians is characterised by the Croats as follows: — "This apparatus was, moreover, filled with personnel — appointed for political reasons, as previously mentioned — so incompetent and so corrupt that in a short time a terrific chaos became supreme in all the branches of public life. Croatia, whose administrative machinery before the union was excellent, felt the change to the new system of inefficiency, incompetence and plunder-by-bribery most strongly".

Horrifying are the statements describing the tortures to which the Croats were subjected: — "A merchant, Javor by name, was hanged by one arm, while burning candles were applied to his naked body . . . In less than two years eight Croatian patriots lost their lives in the Zagreb penitentiary alone . . . Croatian intellectuals seemed to be especially obnoxious to the dictatorial government of Belgrade. One of them, the University Professor Milan Šufflay, whose inborn astuteness had prevented Serbian agents from bringing him to jail by the favorite method of the frame-up, was finally murdered by professional assassins hired for that purpose by the agents of the Government, members of the Zagreb police force. The same method was used in the fortunately unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Croatian leader, Dr. Mile Budak. Doctor Budak escaped death only because of his strong constitution; but, as a consequence of the terrible beating he received in that assault, he had to spend many months in bed, recuperating from the wounds and from the shock to his nerves. The latest victim is Jos. Predaveć, the representative of the Croatian Peasant Party, who was murdered."

### SERAING RESOLUTION OF CROATIAN UNION

Nothing throws a more striking light upon the background of the Marseilles attempt than the resolution passed at Seraing by the Croatian Union, which was made public in the April 16th. issue of the "Nezavisna Hrvatska Država". The text of this resolution runs as follows:

The Seraing Croatian Union, on April 1st., 1934, in the presence of all Members of that Union then in the territory of Belgium, passed the following resolution:

1. The dark day of December, 1918, is the cause of the treachery and deceit practised towards the Croatian people, which by command of Alexander Karageorgevitch has been made subject to Serbia.

2. Treachery and deceit have been practised because no one is entitled to deprive a people of its sovereignty without it having previously voted on the subject and exercised freely its right of self-determination.

3. For all this the responsibility rests with Alexander Karageorgevitch, who set foot in Croatia by force and is torturing and crucifying that country.

4. Alexander shall answer with his life for the martyr deaths of Stephen Raditch, Paul Raditch, D. Basharitchek, Milan Shufflay, Rozitch, Ch. Hranilovitch, Sholdin and numerous other Croatian leaders.

5. Alexander is responsible for all the lies spread



in foreign countries stating that "all is well" in Croatia, though as a matter of fact Croatian blood has been flowing — and is still flowing — in streams.

6. Alexander is responsible for the deaths of Oreb, Begovitch and others, seeing that he allowed them to be condemned to death.

7. Alexander is responsible for still allowing the propagation by the "Avala" Agency of the lies declaring that the Croatian people has acquiesced in the condemnation to death of Oreb and his fellows and that the Croatians of Zagreb have protested against the action of the Croatian insurgents and their leaders.

In view of all these facts we hereby sentence to death Alexander Karageorgevitch and the whole Belgrade Government. This sentence must be execu-

ted within the shortest time by the Croatian insurgents. For this purpose we address to Dr. Ante Pavelitch — the leader of the insurgents — the following summons:

"We request our Leader to immediately enjoin that the insurgent groups, in addition to complying with other orders, shall execute the above sentence.

"We desire revenge! We desire war! A war to the knife! We desire revolution! If we fail once, we shall try again a hundred times; and Croatia and the whole Croatian people shall create an independent Croatian State!

"The revolution shall come, even if the whole of Europe should shake in its very foundations! We offer the last drop of our blood; but we cannot wait any longer."

## ANTI-HUNGARIAN PROPAGANDA

The past few months have seen a very considerable increase in anti-Hungarian literature: if we may so call the large number of books, pamphlets and articles which have appeared in magazines and dailies, practically all over the Continent and England.

The writers' connections or the sources of their information can invariably be traced back to Little Entente official circles; and it seems likely that the recrudescence of anti-Hungarian propaganda is due to the fact that the leaders of the Little Entente are getting nervous. And yet they by no means necessarily represent the feelings and wishes of the majority of the people whom they govern and most certainly do not represent it when they claim that the Hungarian demands for a revision of the Trianon Treaty, however peacefully that may be attempted, means war.

But why should the Little Entente Leaders get nervous at Hungary's peaceful attempts at revision — which after all is Hungary's full right even under the terms of the Trianon Treaty, the strict adherence to which is the supreme claim of the Little Entente?

Do they doubt the honesty of the Hungarian policy of peaceful arguments for revision? Are they in their tremendous supremacy of numbers and technical war preparedness afraid of disarmed Hungary? Of secret armaments which, even if they were true, could not for 24 hours save Hungary from destruction?

We much rather believe that they are afraid of the sound, honourable and therefore convincing argumentation of Hungarian revisionism and now attempt to drown it under an avalanche of apparently scientific historic and economic argumentation and of false sentimentalism in favour of the so much needed world peace.

They know that if they now crush the awakening world conscience as to the true causes of continued disturbance in Central and Eastern Europe they may succeed in prolonging for decades the present unwholesome situation and put the blame for it upon Hungary or at the best upon a "scourge of God" and thus may continue to rejoice in their doubtful victory.

Hungary unhappily has not the resources of the three combined Little Entente States and cannot publish or distribute in millions of copies a rejoinder to all falsehoods broadcast about her; and even when she tries to do so, she is hindered by the malvolence of many powerful interests.

The danger of arguments of hatred was again visible recently, when Prague attempted to make a scapegoat out of Hungary and accused this country of responsibility for the murder of King Alexander and Barthou at Marseilles. It is claimed that Hungary has given refuge to Croatian immigrants and fantastic conclusions are drawn therefrom, forgetting that the same conclusion could justly be drawn from the fact that Germany, Belgium, France, Italy and Switzerland have also given refuge to Croatian and Macedonian refugees, that Germany is claimed to have financed the Nazi movement against Austria, and that the Yugoslav government gave a refuge to Nazis when they fled from Austria after the wanton murder of Chancellor Dollfuss. Does not the fact that there were so many Croatian and Macedonian refugees in practically all European countries, prove that something may be wrong in Yugoslavia, that they are by no means, now, the happy and liberated brethren.

In spite of all difficulties which the diffusion of true facts about Hungary and the fate of Hungarian minorities in the Little Entente States encounters, all Hungarians rest their hope in the wisdom and love of justice of the Western Powers.

They hope that a time will soon come when no onesided statement of the Little Entente will find a hearing, when it will become public knowledge that the Little Entente States grossly violate Treaty obligations internationally binding upon them and incidentally binding upon the great powers which were a party to these treaties.

The Little Entente likes to forget that international treaties stand above State laws and it is no breach to the Sovereignty of a State if, by its free and sovereign will, it accepts international obligations.

True, in the case of Rumania, her leaders tried to evade the undertaking of such obligations and Mr. Bratianu on behalf of Rumania at first refused to sign the minority Treaty of 1919 (Paris), and it was only after an ultimatum addressed by the Principal Allied Powers and intimating that the acceptance by Rumania of the minority Treaty in question was a *conditio sine qua non* of her territorial claims being recognised by the allies, that Mr. Vajda, who formed a new Rumanian Cabinet, condescended to sign this treaty which gave some kind of protection to the nearly 2 millions of Hungarians who were, against their will, subjected to Rumanian rule. (Temperley, History of the Peace Conference vol. IV., page 221.)

And yet what do we see? A constant breach of the minority obligations by Rumania and a constant denial of remedies required and vainly asked for by the victims.

If we pick out at random some statements found in the recently published Roumanian pamphlets, we could easily prove that their Governments violated the minority treaties because they did not insert in the new Rumanian constitution all principles of minority protection, and in some instances when their constitution gave a semblance of equality to the different races of their aggrandised Kingdom, it was by government decrees that the word and sense of the constitution was perverted.

What could be a more sacred right of a minority than their clinging to their own race? Several articles of the Rumanian constitution safeguard on paper

this right of religious, school etc. liberty, and nevertheless, by government ordinances Nos 98.405/1926 and 127.973/1927, the parents' desire as to which school their children should attend is not final, the decision being left to the State organs.

Endless are the complaints of the Hungarian minorities against all kind of vexatious measures, prohibition of the use of their language, differentiation in taxation, confiscation of their private property. And there is no relief. One proof only out of many thousands.

The private property of a Szekler community, about 62.800 yokes, had been confiscated by the Rumanian State. After endless argumentation between the parties concerned before the Council of the League, a compromise was arrived at on Sept. 8th 1932 at Geneva, by which the Rumanian Government undertook to restore one fifth of the property to the rightful owners. For nearly two years the Rumanian Government did nothing. On June 24th 1934 an Act of Parliament was supposed to put into effect the Geneva agreement. But how? In an entirely perverted way. Among other grievances, instead of leaving the management of the so greatly reduced estate — only 20% were left to them — to the rightful owners, the new law entrusts with the administration of the estate the prefect of the county — i. e. a government official.

Full information on a series of breaches of treaty and constitution are given in a short sketch of the actual situation of Hungarian minorities in Rumania, which may be ordered from the Printing and Publishing House "Pesti Hirlap" in Budapest.

## HUNGARY AND THE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

by

**Ladislav Ottlik**

**W**e may without exaggeration say that the Hungarian public followed breathlessly the debates in Geneva on the international protection of Minorities. There is surely no country in the world so profoundly interested in the maintenance and enforcement of what the late Aristide Briand called the "sacred" rights of national minorities, since something like one third of the whole Magyar race — 3,500.000 souls — now live under alien rule. So, while appreciating the peculiar position of Poland and while realising even that the Polish action may lead to the revision under Article 19 of the Covenant of the Minority Treaties and thus create a strong "precedent" to be invoked in support of the Hungarian claim to treaty revision: the Hungarian public noted with much anxiety that the general trend of the comments raised by the Polish move indicated a marked readiness on the part of important international factors to abandon the present system of international protection under the guarantee of the

League for a system of bilateral agreements to be entered into by the States immediately concerned.

It could hardly be claimed that the League system enjoys much popularity in Hungary, this being due to its failure to enforce the stipulations of the Minority Treaties. Nevertheless, it is realised that the Treaties under League guarantee have a considerable value "in being" the exact significance of which it would be easy to underestimate. It is feared therefore that their removal without putting anything of at least equal value in their stead might lead to consequences absolutely disastrous to the national minorities.

The proposal, tentatively put forth by Dr. Benesh, to solve the problem of minorities by way of direct bilateral agreements on the basis of "reciprocity", has been received therefore with interest in this country, although it is regretted that, after having suggested that Hungary too failed to comply with obligations incurred in this respect, the Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia preferred to side track Dr.

Eckhardt's proposal to ask for an impartial investigation by a League Commission on the spot.

The main Hungarian attitude, however, in regard to bilateral agreements embodying the principle of "reciprocity" may be outlined as follows: it is hardly to be expected that reciprocity could be enforced in law where there is no reciprocity in fact. The particular difficulties to be overcome will at once be realised if it is borne in mind that disarmed Hungary has to face the full strength of the Little Entente, that she could never dream of resorting to war in support of a legal grievance, and that the uneven distribution of minorities between Hungary on the one hand and the Little Entente States on the other, deprives Hungary of the possibility of enforcing her rights by retaliation.

Let us consult statistics. According to official results of the various Censuses held in the years 1930—31, there were:<sup>1)</sup>

691.923 Magyars (4.78%) in Czecho-Slovakia, as against.

104.819 Slovaks (1.2%) in Hungary;

465.800 Magyars (3.34%) in Yugoslavia, as against

60.742 Yugoslavs (0.7%) in Hungary; and

1,378.668 Magyars (7.7%) in Rumania, as against.

16.221 Rumanians (0.2%) in Hungary.

The Hungarians believe, therefore, that a system of reciprocal agreements could be expected to lead

<sup>1)</sup> We have quoted the official figures, not as if we believed them to be correct. It has in fact been repeatedly proved that nationality statistics in the Little Entente States are off the mark by hundreds of thousands. However, we have used their estimates in order to avoid a controversy on this point. The discrepancy in respective minority strengths in any case remains sufficiently obvious.

to satisfactory results only after this striking discrepancy in the respective strengths of national minorities has been corrected by way of a reasonable measure of treaty revision effected by common consent. Such a prelude to the conclusion of bilateral minority treaties, creating a balance in minority strengths, would be well calculated to lead to a final solution of this baffling problem, all parties to such agreements being equally interested in the granting of maximum minority rights. In no other way (that is at least the Hungarian opinion) can conflicting interests in this question be effectively reconciled to each other.

However, even if such a fundamental solution could not be attempted in present circumstances, it should not be inferred that Hungary is determined to decline to consider the proposed bilateral agreements. She is certainly prepared to grant to minorities under her control and to strictly respect all rights the granting and maintenance of which she proposed to demand from the Little Entente States. Failing treaty revision, however, she cannot and will not agree with the suggestion to abandon the present system of international protection. So long as the present state of things continues, Hungary will consider a system of bilateral agreements only on the condition that the new treaties proposed to supersede the old ones, should also be put under the guarantee of the League of Nations. In her present position of practical helplessness Hungary will not surrender the only weapon left to her, — the possibility of invoking the moral conscience of the civilised world embodied in the Covenant of the League and of the principles which it was meant to uphold.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

## SIR ROBERT GOWER ON SITUATION OF MINORITIES

In an Open Letter addressed to the Editor of the "Military and Naval Chronicle" (Chatham) which was published in the September 25th. issue of that journal, Sir Robert Gower, M. P., Hon. D. C. L. made a very interesting statement concerning the minorities debate at the Assembly of the League of Nations from which we quote the following passages:

"Sir, — I have received more than one letter asking me to state what my views are regarding the attitude of Poland towards the League of Nations on the "minority" question.

In reply, I desire to say that I regret Poland's action very much indeed. I am not, however, surprised at the position that has arisen, as, speaking generally, the record of the League of Nations on questions relating to racial "minorities" is indeed most lamentable. The rights of these "minorities" were expressly guaranteed to them in the post-War Treaties by the Allied and Associated Powers, and the "minorities" themselves were placed under the protection of the League of Nations. Each year a number of "minorities" petitions have been presented to the League. It is obvious that "minorities" would not take the extreme step of judicially accusing the countries in

which they live of illegality and oppression, save with great hesitation. In no case, however, so far as I am aware, has the League accepted fully any simple petition, nor has it taken any energetic "moral" or other steps against the countries which have violated the Treaties they have signed. The petitions are discussed and adjudicated upon in secrecy, and usually the League accepts "with thanks" the ex parte replies given to the petitions by the treaty-violating governments. There have been exceptions, such as in the case of "minorities" in Poland.

There is consequently a feeling of despairing helplessness and hopelessness amongst the "minorities" of Europe. The situation is prillions ofith danger, as, without doubt, the existence of megnant 'w'minority" subjects suffering from an intolerable sense of injustice and oppression cannot tend to make the peace of the world anything but insecure.

The League should carry out the duties which it has accepted under the Treaties and without fear or hesitation use all the powers it possesses to secure for racial "minorities" their Treaty rights.

I appreciate that what I have said has no direct t beala upon the Polish questiofromsave that it does goo exprin the loss of influence wihgue ch the Leaf N ngationsi is, unfortunately, suffering."

## INTOLERABLE SITUATION OF MAGYAR MINORITIES REVEALED TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The event at the sitting of the Sixth (Political) Committee of the General Assembly of the League of Nations next in importance to the presentation of the proposal of Poland — subsequently withdrawn — relating to the generalisation of minority protection, was the speech of Tibor Eckhardt, the Hungarian Delegate, and the long debate which followed.

After establishing the fact that under Article 3 of the Covenant of the League of Nations the minority question is within the competency of the Assembly too and that the protection of minorities is the duty of the League, *Eckhardt* emphasised that under Articles 44 and 47 of the Treaty of Trianon Hungary may claim a peculiar right in respect of the protection of Magyar minorities living in the Succession States. When Hungary was summoned to sign the Treaty of Trianon, she did so only in view of the solemn and formal promise contained in the Covering Letter of M. Millerand, President of the Peace Conference, annexed to the text of the Treaty which was signed by him on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers. The text of this promise runs as follows: — "As to the isles of Magyar population passing under another sovereignty, the Treaties for the protection of minorities already signed by Roumania and the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State and ratified by Czecho-Slovakia guarantee their entire safeguarding."

The Hungarian Delegate thanked the organs of the League for continuing under circumstances of constantly increasing difficulty to serve the idea of minority protection with the greatest goodwill and the most generous intentions. The situation, on the other hand, still continued to be exceptionally difficult. He had no wish to make the competent organs of the League responsible; but there could be no doubt that today the "fox intellect" so severely censured by Carlyle was once more gaining the upper hand.

In his opinion the President of the Council, Benesh, in his opening speech had forgotten the biggest liability item of the League's balance-sheet — the decadence of minority protection — and had failed to draw the attention of the Assembly to the situation of unrest arising therefrom. The gravest symptom of this situation recently in evidence was that the "sacrosanct" provisions of the minority treaties were being more and more completely neglected and ignored. There were States, such as Switzerland and Luxemburg, in which, though those States were not bound by any treaties, perfect equality of rights prevailed. And there were other States which had undertaken solemnly to control the protection of minorities in order to secure considerable areas of territory and were nevertheless systematically oppressing their minorities and making the guarantee of the League absolutely illusory.

It was particularly in Central Europe that the protection of minorities showed a rapid and continuous decadence. This was the case in Rumania, where more than 50% of the Hungarian inhabitants severed from their mother country are living in an intolerable situation. Every article of the Paris Minority Treaties had been infringed,

and the treaties had been converted into "scraps of paper". In support of this statement the Hungarian Delegate quoted all the articles of the treaties in turn, contrasting the provisions of the same with the procedure adopted by the Rumanian authorities.

In this connection Eckhardt called the attention of the Committee also to the general situation prevailing in the Danube Valley, describing the same as follows: — "The economic and political dislocation is being aggravated by a continually increasing flood of complaints lodged by the minorities. The ruined peasantry, the Churches and religious orders illegally deprived of their property, the thousands of schoolchildren with no schools to attend, the civil servants driven from their posts — the complaints of all these elements are constantly increasing in number and volume and are making themselves heard beyond the frontiers; they alarm us and make our hearts ache."

The Rumanian Foreign Minister had suggested the remedying of the situation by a "spiritualisation of the frontiers"; in reply the Hungarian Delegate would urge that the first step in this direction must be taken by the Rumanian Foreign Minister. The beginning must be made with the "spiritualisation" of the inner barriers existing between the Rumanian nationals belonging to the various nationalities living in his country. All that Hungary demanded of her neighbours was a loyal application of the minority treaties; but that depended upon Rumania; and only Rumania could take the initiative.

"The sublime idea of nationalism can never provoke oppression; and a civilised nation can never become the prison of its minorities. A civilised nation represents the element of organisation for the whole world; its duty is to enrich the human community by its own special contributions, the values latent in it, and its individual qualities. A sublime nationalism — which is far from restricting itself to oppressing other peoples or national minorities — shows a respect for the individual values of every other nation equivalent in measure to its self-respect. This constructive nationalism finds the "reality" of its aims, not in the oppression of others, but in a complete and far-reaching development of its own creative forces. These are the principles underlying the national policy of Hungary; consequently it is not only her right, but also her duty, to require the application of these principles in the treatment of all Hungarians, wherever they may happen to be living."

At the close of his speech Eckhardt declared that his object was not to create antagonisms, but to contribute to remedy the trouble and to determine its sources. Hungary did not ask for anything she was not ready spontaneously to grant to others. She did not demand new rights, only the carrying into practice of the moral laws binding on every human being. It was the intolerable character of the situation that had impelled the Hungarian Government to realise that it was incumbent upon it — from both the national and the humanitarian point of view — to ensure an effectual protection of the Magyar minorities. That Government was firmly resolved

to continue on the path of international law; and for that purpose it would in the future use every means ensured it under the Covenant and the Treaty of Trianon.

In answer to the replies of Antoniadé, Fotitch and Benesh *Eckhardt* expressed his gratitude to Baron Aloisi and to Mr. Eden, whose speech made during the debate on the generalisation motion of Poland had in his opinion once more shown that the great British nation was a disinterested champion of all just causes. The breach of *all* the provisions of a treaty placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations — he continued — was without doubt a matter to be included in the general discussion of the minority question. The "*droit de regard*" to which Hungary is entitled under Articles 44 and 47 of the Treaty of Trianon does not mean that Hungary desires to interfere direct in the work of controlling the protection accorded the Magyar minorities; it means that, as acknowledged in the treaties, it is the peculiar interest of Hungary that she should be able to control through the League of Nations the manner in which this protection is effected in practice. As against Antoniadé, the speaker showed that the fact that the Magyar minority living in Rumania has submitted only a few memorandums — and Hungary not a single memorandum — does not by any means involve the tacit acknowledgment of the satisfactory character of the present

state of things; for the reason why Hungary had so far abstained from doing so was that she did not desire to add to the sufferings of our racial brethren. The Hungarian Delegate was of the opinion that an honourable and loyal settlement of the problem was not only desirable for the purpose of doing justice to the cause of the Magyar minorities, but also a *sine qua non* of peace. "Can we ever achieve a solution of the Danube problem" — he asked — "in this atmosphere — I might even say, climate — in which we are living and which is heavy from all the clouds overhanging the illstarred Danube Valley?" *Eckhardt* finally accepted Benesh's proposal based on the principles of reciprocity, equality and relativity and declared that he would be delighted if an arrangement could be brought about on that basis between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia and the other two States of the Little Entente respectively. In respect of procedure he suggested that both sides should request the Council of the League to delegate a commission of enquiry (*commission d'enquete*) to study the situation of minorities on the spot in all four countries and to present to the Council a report on the matter which should enable the Council to take such measures as it considered useful and necessary for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of the minority question of Danubian Europe satisfactory to all parties alike.

## HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS AND ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár

by

**Alexander Fest**

**T**he Reformation impelled the Hungarian Calvinists to take an interest in England, which had become Protestant too.

As early as the sixteenth century we find a record of a theologian who in the course of his journey visited England too. It is recorded by Peter Bod that in 1571 *Matthew Skaritz*a travelled to distant "England and her most famous towns". However, it was not until the third decennium of the seventeenth century that our Protestant theologians began systematically to frequent the universities of England. The political connections between Transylvania and England strengthened the ties brought into being by the community of religious interests. And our students had no difficulty in making their way from Holland to England. It would appear that the habit of doing so first became fashionable early in the seventeenth century.

*Paul Medgyesi* and *John Tolnai de Dal* were the founders of the Puritan movement in Hungary; they had become acquainted with the movement in England. Since the days of that movement it has

been a tradition that our Protestant theologians should study in England. *Medgyesi, Susan* (*Zsuzsanna*) *Lorántffy's* chaplain-in-ordinary, fought by word and in writing for the presbyterian or rather puritan ideas; he translated several English theological works into Hungarian, and by his personal influence was able to revive the movement when its powerful enemies were about to completely suppress it.

However, the work done by *John Tolnai de Dal* was more important still. On February 9th., 1638, he and nine other Hungarians — who with the exception of *John Molnár* had all reached England by way of Holland — made a formal contract for the propagation of puritan ideas. For the introduction and popularisation of the new ideas no one did so much as *Tolnai*, who during his stay in England, which lasted several years, thoroughly imbibed the puritan spirit. And after his return, in the teeth of the opposition of the ecclesiastical and secular powers, he propagated these ideas in Transylvania and in Hungary proper. Prince *George Rákóczi I*

sent the daring reformer to Sárospatak; but Tolnai could not remain there long. His teachings were regarded as dangerous; and he himself was persecuted in terms of resolutions of several synods. He hastened back to Transylvania, where he found patrons in the persons of Medgyesi, Bisterfeld and András, who had been invited there by the Prince. Apparently, however, the cause of the new reformers was lost. The Szatmárnémet Synod, convened in 1646 by Stephen Katona de Gelej, the powerful Bishop of Transylvania, put the reforms of Tolnai under a ban, and unfrocked the reformer himself. The Church had triumphed over the new teachings introduced from England, which were later suppressed also by the secular power. The Prince was well aware of the part played by the puritan movement in bringing about the civil war; and George Rákóczy II. was horrified when he heard of the events in England and of the execution of Charles I. The Conservatives had no difficulty in winning him over to their cause.

The puritans had not much to hope for in Transylvania. However, there was all the more to be expected from the Dowager Princess, Susan Lorántffy, who after the death of her husband became the most zealous patron of the followers of the new spirit. Medgyesi's influence was as strong as ever; he won over to his teachings also Zsigmond (Sigismund), the Dowager Princess's younger son. Tolnai was again teaching in the Sárospatak college; while the endowments established by Susan Lorántffy facilitated the journey to England of the Protestant theologians. It was at Sárospatak that puritanism first struck deep root; and — for a time — it was the Sárospatak College that fostered the Anglo-Hungarian connections.

The new spirit made headway however also in the trans-Tisza region. In 1662 *George Csipkés de Komárom*, minister in Debrecen, translated the work by Amesius on "English Puritanism", which had been translated into Hungarian eight years previously by Telekibányai. Then Debrecen also began to yield to the new teachings. Debrecen theologians also followed the example of those from Sárospatak in visiting the English universities.

Thus the connection between the Protestant Churches of England and Hungary, which down to the Puritan movement had been merely sporadic and fortuitous, about the middle — and still more in the second half — of the seventeenth century became a tradition. That is the importance from our point of view of the puritanism of Hungary. The tradition was carried on — also after the collapse of the movement — by the Reformed theologians of Sárospatak, Debrecen and Transylvania. Hun-

garian students were at home in London and Oxford and occasionally in Cambridge too. Scholarships were given exclusively for students to visit English universities; while on the other hand the English Church repeatedly showed the greatest readiness to assist the sister Church of Hungary. It was puritanism that brought the two Churches into close touch; their connection was strengthened and made more intimate by a community of interests.

It was Transylvania in particular that strove to widen the connection. "Serious-minded and frugal Transylvania sent us, not her youths, but her men, to learn our language and our theological science. This intercourse was without doubt due to a large extent to the policy pursued by Transylvania. With the change of political conditions the connection became less and less close; but it has never been completely severed".

A characteristic record of the political and church intercourse between England and Transylvania is contained in the anecdote told by *Michael Cserei*: "The same year there came back from Constantinople the famous English orator Vilhelmus Baron Paget, who after seven years of untiring labour as between the German and Turkish Emperors had at Karlovitz made peace; who on his journey through the Turkish provinces and through Transylvania, through Hungary and in Vienna and throughout the whole Empire until he reached England, was everywhere received with great pomp and with salutes of cannon. On reaching Transylvania, clever man as he was, he studied the Papist persecution of the Protestants and having put all his experiences in writing presented the matter to the Emperor in Vienna, saying openly: "Unless Your Majesty redress these matters or if You continue to allow the Papists to persecute the Protestants of Transylvania, I can assure You that England will never fight again on Your Majesty's side against the French". The Emperor promised to do everything in his power . . . When he arrived in Fejérvár, the orator sent his younger brother to the Governor's residence to greet the Governor, who begged him to stay to dinner, Nicholas Bethlen, Stephen Apor, and the "cameralis commissio", Count Sceau, also being present. The "commissio" having toasted the Queen of England, the next toast was that of Stephen Apor, who, seeing that the Cardinal was his chief patron, began to toast Cardinal Kollonitch. Count Sceau stopped him, saying: — "*Domine Comes, quid facit? quid nobis cum Cardinale Collonics? Vivat Serenissima Angliae Regina! nam salus nostra est ex Anglia*". Poor Stephen Apor was alarmed, and asking for another glass drank both to the health of the Queen of England. Then it occurred to him

that she was better even than Kollonitch". The Lord Paget spoken of above, in Hungary — though more particularly in Transylvania — met several Protestant theologians who had been to England.

As we see, the community of religious interests created a very strong tie between the Churches of England and Hungary. Reformed theologians were the first initiators of that uninterrupted connection which during the seventeenth century became a tradition; at first that connection remained isolated in character, confined to church matters; but the political intercourse later on — particularly in Transylvania — proved able to deepen and strengthen it. Of these early connections we have numerous records in addition to those dealt with in outline above. We have descriptions of the London of those days by Hungarian young men which are of value also as illustrating the history of English culture. In 1618 and 1619 *Martin Csombor de Szepes* travelled over the whole of Western Europe. What he tells us of the life and Capital of the English, shows that he possessed the sense of observation and a sound judgment. Noteworthy is the Latin verse of *John Adami* on the sights and wonders of London, which was later translated into English. Particularly eminent among the Hungarians who settled in London was *John Hunyadi*, who taught in Gresham College, and *Paul Jászberényi*, in whose school the English king himself took a personal interest. We have records also of two Transylvanian magnates who — like the majority of the theological students — crossed over to England from Holland. In 1632 *Gabriel Haller* spent a few weeks in London; while *Nicholas Bethlen* was in London in 1663, in the company of his younger brother and his tutor.

So far this continuous intercourse did not produce any cultural effects, seeing that the Hungarian theologians who visited England concentrated their interest solely on ecclesiastical matters. Nevertheless these early connections were not without their significance. During the next century, indeed, the threads become thinner, but the weaving still goes on. We shall later on show how these connections subsequently came under the influence of English intellectual life, of English science and literature.

During the eighteenth century severe restrictions were put on foreign travel, which was at times rendered almost impossible. But it was no longer possible to shut Hungarian students out from foreign countries. Though the number of "peregrinating" theologians declined considerably, and the majority made their way to Germany, many nevertheless reached England. In Transylvania the cause of the Reformed theologians was espoused by the Telekis. In the dedication of Peter Bod's "Hungarian Athe-

nias" we are informed that *Michael Teleki*, Chancellor under Michael Apaffy, the last of the independent Princes of Transylvania, had during a period of 18 years sent 18 students "to the schools of Belgium and England, for the object of seeing, hearing and learning, providing them with eighteen thousand florins as travelling expenses". And his son, Alexander Teleki, in 1704 applied to the King for permission to beg for assistance from "our co-religionists in England" to rebuild the College at Nagyenyed which had been burned down. The name of the Telekis was inseparably connected with the fate of the Reformed Church of Transylvania. They always interested themselves in church and school; and many young men visited foreign universities under their patronage and with their material assistance. As we have seen, their attention was diverted very early by the church connections to England; but they too waited until the close of the eighteenth century to establish a cultural connection with that country — that being the period when the intellectual life of Hungary became open also to the more general influences of English culture.

During the course of the eighteenth century — though more particularly during the second half — individual Reformed students made pilgrimages to England from Transylvania and Hungary — mostly from Debrecen. In 1793 Robert Townson while in Debrecen met four or five Hungarians who had studied in English universities. He too had heard of the practice followed by Reformed theologians of travelling to Holland, Switzerland or England to complete their studies. It will perhaps suffice — instead of a long list of names and data — to mention the most eminent of the theologians who visited England. Of those from Debrecen special mention is due to *Nicholas Sinai*, *Samuel Szilágyi*, *Michael Benedek* and *Isaiah Budai*; the best known of those from Sárospatak being *Joseph Rozgonyi*, a friend of the grengarat Huian poet *Csokonai*, of whom Kazinczy tells us that "he imbibed the air of true freedom in England." We must make special mention of *John Uri*, the famous orientalist who went from Leyden to Oxford, where for fifteen years (from 1770) he was engaged in arranging the oriental manuscripts of the Bodleian Library. In other words, the traditional connections between the English and Hungarian Churches did not come to an end even at the close of the eighteenth century. Our Reformed theologians visited the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (and occasionally that of Edinburgh) at a period when the attention of the leading Hungarians was being concentrated on the culture of England.

It goes without saying that the attention of the theologians was concentrated on the products of

religious literature. As early as the seventeenth century English ecclesiastical works began to be translated into Hungarian, mostly from the original English text. The translators included *Paul Medgyesi*, *George Kórocz*, *John T. Iratosi*, *Stephen T. Debreczeni*, *Matthias Diószegi*, *Samuel Köleséri*, *Stephen Lovász de Nánás*, *John Petkó*, *John (Patai) Balogh*, etc. Later on too our theologians were only too ready to translate from the works of "English doctors". The works of Doddridge were translated by *Francis Tatai* (1761), and *Samuel Némethy* (1783); one of Mason's works was translated by *Gabriel Fulöp de Ór* (1792), while *Joseph Péczeli*, the first of our poets who knew English, and *Samuel Mindszenti*, a member of Péczeli's intimate circle, also translated from English. Bunyan's great work, the famous product of English puritanism, appeared in Hungarian relatively late. These few examples suffice to show that there was a certain productivity in evidence in the translation of ecclesiastical works. All the more surprising is the indifference shown towards secular literature and *belles lettres*. We have no trace of that literature having been known to the students who visited England. Many persons must have read Milton's famous polemical 'toets; this is proved by the large numbers of the uViefensio' preserved in our libraries; but certainly vDy few knew the poet of "Paradise Lost". It was etfarmil the current of thought reaching Hungary np ortenna had drawn the attention of our poets

and writers to the works of Pope, Young, and Milton, that our Reformed theologians began to interest themselves in English literature proper. Then they began to read the works of English writers — often in the original.

*Samuel Szilágyi* and others record of *Stephen Fazekas* that he too translated from Young's "Night Thoughts"; while *Francis Hunyadi (Szabó)*, Bishop of Debrecen, translated a work of Milton's ("The Sale of Joseph", Pozsony, 1795). Robertson was translated into Hungarian by *John Tanárky*, etc.

All these circumstances to a certain extent prepared the soil to receive English cultural and literary influences. In our opinion the traditions of the Reformed Church of Transylvania must have merged with peculiar ease in the current of thought of the age of enlightenment. The Telekis had long shown an interest in the connection between the Churches of England and Hungary, and it is probably not a mere accident that three brothers belonging to that family should have visited England when foreign travel became a tradition with our magnates. And we have records of another Transylvanian magnate — *Adam Székely, Count of Borosjenő*, superintendent of the Reformed schools of Transylvania — having also been in England. It may be that the later anglo-mania ("anglolatry") prevailing in Transylvania, which originated principally among the magnates, was to a certain extent rooted in the older church connections and in the still older political connections too.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

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

### ROYAL VISIT TO SOFIA

The visit to Sofia of the late Yugoslav King did not result in bringing about the great sensation regarded as inevitable by certain quarters — viz. the adherence of Bulgaria to the Balkan Pact. The Belgrade "Pravda" (Oct. 2) endeavours to explain away the non-fulfilment of the ardent wishes of those who expected this event by pretending that during the negotiations political questions were not even broached. It may possibly be so, seeing that during the diplomatic pourparlers preliminary to the visit it transpired that Yugoslavia has so far declined to comply with even the most insignificant of the political conditions stipulated by Bulgaria — viz. that demanding the acknowledgment of the Macedo-Bulgarian minority numbering some 6—700,000 souls, as also the enforcement of their elementary rights. In addition to this negative point the economic, transport and cultural "results" already made public by the official report include some deserving to be specially referred to — e. g. the agreement relating to the railway connections between Vidin and Negotin and between Gyusevo and Kumanovo, which agreement however is of importance for the present only in point of principle, seeing that according to a statement made on October 1st. by Foreign Minister Batolov the question of the opening of new lines of communication between the two countries involves protracted financial and technical investigations deferring the solution of that question for years. This

statement allows of many interesting inferences, seeing that it is only a question of the building of short sections of lines in both cases — of the section only 30 kilometres long between Vidin and Negotin and of the equally short section from Kumanov to the Bulgarian frontier!!!! It would seem that under given conditions the Balkan mills grind exceeding slowly!! Yet hitches of this kind do not in any way act to the prejudice of the fact that during the past twelve months the indubitably difficult and delicate question of a peaceful settlement by conciliation on both sides of the antagonism between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia which had previously been regarded as beyond repair, has been treated as the most important point in the policy of the two countries, the negotiations in Sofia having brought that question nearer to a solution. Should it prove possible in the future to reconcile the diplomatic interests of the two Slav countries with the promise of an eventual territorial compensation to be granted to Bulgaria elsewhere, and to reduce those interests to a common denominator, the result must be ultimately to endanger the European possessions of Turkey, as also the Greek possessions in Thrace and Macedonia (Saloniki!), to dissolve the Balkan Pact and to establish a Southern Slav hegemony throughout the Balkan Peninsula. In its October 3rd. issue, the "Národni Listy", M. Kramar's organ, emphasising the exceptional importance of the royal visit to Sofia, adopted a tone of jubilation while declaring that „the fate of the Balkans is in the hands of the Slavs”.



# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

### THE CZECH AUTHORITIES PLACE THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE MAGYAR AND SLOVAK MINORITIES UNDER AN EMBARGO

On September 21st. the Prague Prefecture forbade the appearance of the "Prágai Magyar Hirlap", the organ of the Hungarian (Magyar) Parties of Slovakia and Ruthenia for a period of three months. The "Prágai Magyar Hirlap" has been in existence since 1922; it has at all times defended the legitimate rights of the Magyar minority in a tone of courage which however has never exceeded the limits prescribed by law. From the very outset the Czech censor had a very strict eye on this paper, which was confiscated on the average once a month. In the middle of September, 1933, the paper was placed under an embargo for three months on the basis of the novel to supplement the Act passed in re the Defence of the Republic. Then, when it was again allowed to appear, the censor was even severer in his control, confiscating it on several occasions for articles dealing with purely domestic affairs, the internal affairs of the Czech parties. We must however note that the "Národné Listy", the organ of the Czech National Democratic Party now in opposition, has been far more frequently confiscated than the Hungarian paper; nevertheless, its appearance has never been prohibited and is not likely to be. This flagrant breach of Articles 7 and 8 of the Czecho-Slovak Minorities Treaty deserves the particular attention of the League of Nations, which has already before it the memorandum of the Hungarian deputies and senators of the Prague Parliament protesting against last year's interdiction of the "Prágai Magyar Hirlap".

A few days prior to the interdiction of the "Prágai Magyar Hirlap" the "Národné Noviny", the organ of the Slovak National Party, was placed under embargo by the Pozsony Prefecture. This paper has been in existence for 66 years; during the Hungarian régime it was an intransigent organ of Slovak nationalism. Yet it never occurred to the Hungarian authorities to interfere with the paper. Indeed, those authorities treated it in the most courteous and chivalrous manner. In proof of this statement we herewith quote a passage from the speech made by Martin Rázus, Evangelical minister, National Assembly deputy representing the Slovak National Party, on the occasion of the celebration of the seventieth birthday of Andrew Hlinka, leader of the Slovak Catholic People's Party:

"In the year 1917— during the Great War— the following incident happened. Our beloved friend Škultéty, editor of the "Národné Noviny", was unable to find any setters. It looked as if the appearance of the "Národné Noviny" would have to be suspended. Then our dear friend Škultéty heard that in the cellulose factory under State supervision there were two workers who were compositors by profession. So off he went to Beniczky, the famous deputy sheriff of the county. He told Beniczky that he had no setters, but that there were two in the cellulose factory who could save the "Národné Noviny". He begged Beniczky to place these two workers at his disposal. And, you will ask, what did proud Beniczky do in these days of an antagonistic Hungarian régime? He deferred to the wishes of our dear friend Škultéty and with a generous gesture, without the slightest hesitation, placed the two compositors at his disposal. One thing more: during a period of many decenniums the Hungarians never once interdicted the "Národné Noviny". This fact should be

borne in mind by the rulers of today, who are leaping joyfully over the grave of the "Národné Noviny"!!"

We believe all comment on this speech is superfluous.

### MONSTER POLITICAL TRIAL: IMPEACHMENT OF FORMER CZECHO-SLOVAK ŽUPAN (SHERIFF)

The most important event of recent weeks in the political life of Slovakia, the Highland province severed from Hungary, was the trial of Bazovszky, which began on October 1st.

In externals this trial shows a very close resemblance to the great trial of 1929 — the trial of *Tuka*, a former professor in the University of Pozsony and Vice-President of the Slovak Catholic People's Party, member of the National Assembly, who was impeached for having written an article published on January 1st., 1928, in the "Slovák", the official organ of Monsignor Hlinka's People's Party, in which he said that in the relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks a state of "ex lex" would ensue on October 21st., 1928, unless by that time the Czechs gave Slovakia full autonomy, seeing that the assembly of Slovaks held at Turócszentmárton (Turčiansky Svätý Martin) only voted for a union with the Czechs on condition that the relations between the two peoples should be re-adjusted after a lapse of ten years. *Louis Bazovszky*, advocate, of Losonc, the first Czech župan (sheriff) of the former County of Nógrád, and one of the most prominent leaders of the Slovak National Party, has been placed in the dock for having written an article — published on July 24th., 1933, in the "Národné Noviny", and entitled "Observations in re the Revision of the Peace Treaties" — in which he described revision as a "categorical imperative".

So both trials owed their origin to newspaper articles. However, seeing that on such a ground it would barely have been possible to pass a draconic sentence, the Czech administration of justice charged *Tuka* with sedition as organiser of the "Rodobrana", an affiliation of the Slovak People's Party, and into the bargain also with espionage. In the fifth week of the trial Czech agents in Vienna "discovered" a witness in the person of a concierge of the name of *Christina Schramm*, whose evidence — combined with that of a person called *Belánszky*, who was not even sworn — sufficed to get *Tuka* sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour. Later on it was discovered that for this service *Christina Schramm* was being paid a "bounty" of 250 schillings a month, the sums being remitted to her (through Colonel *Soukup*, of the Czech general staff) by the Czecho-Slovak War Ministry. And the charge against *Bazovszky* is that he conspired with various individuals both at home and abroad for the purpose of detaching Slovakia from Czecho-Slovakia and re-annexing it to Hungary; the "witness for the crown" to prove this statement being a certain adventurer of the name of *Vince Mihalus*, who has been recalled for the purpose from abroad, though he has already served all shades of tendencies from communism upwards.

The indictment — comprising about 150 pages — charges *Bazovszky* and five associates of his with various acts contrary to the provisions of several clauses of the Act dealing with the protection of the Republic. The incriminated article referred to above contains the following passages:

"A revision of the treaties of peace must sooner or later ensue. This has long been evident to politicians watching the events in international politics.

"The economic situation of Europe is very closely connected with the so-called Central European — or rather, Danube Basin — problems. Now the Danube basin can never be healthy without a revision of the treaties of peace. It was really amusing to hear of the heroes of the national history of Slovakia (a satirical gibe at the tiny group of so-called "Centralist Slovaks" in the service of the Czech Government. Ed.) being impelled to arrange anti-revisionist demonstrations. It was like the little boy whining at table and saying he is not going to eat the soup . . .

"For our Slovak nation — continued Bazovszky — it would be simply fatal to continue to play the ostrich and bury our heads in the sand so as not to see the shadows of coming events. Whenever it is a question of the adjustment of the Danube riparian problems, or of a partial revision of the treaties of peace, or indeed of a new demarcation of frontiers, we are naturally very nearly concerned. Our Slovak nation has already been ignored once — when the treaties of peace were signed; we had no representative, so that the so-called "Turócszentmárton Declaration" was omitted from the text of the treaty. It is to this silence that we must attribute the process of utter impoverishment that has overtaken Slovakia during the last fourteen years, that impoverishment being accompanied by a proportionate enrichment of the provinces originally forming parts of the kingdom of Bohemia. The Slovak nation must find ways and means to inform the world at large of its existence. We must no longer tolerate the Slovak problem being discussed abroad without Slovakia. We demand that the Czech nation should offer full compensation for all the losses inflicted by it on Slovakia."

In his pamphlet entitled "For the Information of Monsignor Hlinka's Slovak People's Party and of the Slovak National Party" Bazovszky establishes the following facts:

"The Czechs have reduced Slovakia to beggary, have deprived it of its means of living, have cajoled the Slovak exiles — particularly those living in America —, have counterfeited the Turócszentmárton Declaration; they deluded the public opinion of the world and the Versailles Peace Conference (or rather the diplomats who took part in the Conference) and are still throwing dust in the eyes of the world by the aid of material means stolen from Slovakia . . . They have declared — as if they were saying the most natural thing in the world — that they are not prepared to yield a single inch of the territory of Slovakia. These anti-revisionist declarations are heard in Geneva; and the whole world will be of the opinion that the Slovak nation is the happiest nation on earth, pampered and treated to every luxury and only incited against the Czechs by a few hired agitators. The real picture of Slovakia is utterly unknown to foreign diplomats; there is no one to supply foreign countries with proper information: indeed, the first person — D. Béla Tuka, a highly cultivated university professor — suited to supply information in certain foreign Catholic quarters was thrown into prison by the Czech nation and is now lying there ill and feeble and suffering terribly from the effects of the punishment meted out to him."

The indictment further charges Dr. Bazovszky with having, in 1932, written a pamphlet addressed to the Slovaks of America and entitled "Message to Our Slovak Brethren in America". In this pamphlet he said: "Brethren in America, listen to what I have to tell you!! In Slovakia there has been no spring for years past; and our children have long forgotten to sing the old Slovak song "Hoja bunda hoja . . ."; in our schools there is no more joy, and our children are being alienated from our nation and educated in a Czech spirit. There are no more blooming flowers in the forests and the fields; our gardens no more produce fruit for the Slovak nation; and every drop of our Slovak blood — the sweat of our brows — is feeding the arteries of the Czech nation."

During the trial Bazovszky declared that he was not in a position, either physically or mentally, to offer any defence. He was dangerously ill, was unable to concentrate his thoughts, and could only read a few words from a piece of paper. In these few words he called in question the competency of the court. The letters referred to in the indictment were the creations of Vince Mihalus's imagination. He had been embittered by the critical economic situation prevailing in Slovakia; but he threw the blame for that situation, not on the whole Czech nation, but on certain individuals.

Then Clementis, counsel for the defence, endorsed the objection raised by the accused, who had declared the delegation of the Pozsony District Court to be illegal. When the decision of the superior tribunal in re the delegation of the Pozsony Court was handed to Bazovszky, the latter was seriously ill and lay in a state of nervous and mental collapse in the prison attached to the Pozsony District Court in a cell notorious for its lack of comfort and for its noisomeness and filth and vermin, whence he demanded to be transferred to a hospital. He filed

his appeal against the decision of the superior court within the time limit prescribed by law; but he was visited in his cell by Grimm, magistrate, who informed him that unless he withdrew his appeal he would be left in the cell and would not be removed to a hospital. Under the influence of this pressure the sick man withdrew his appeal, though under such circumstances such withdrawal could not be regarded as valid.

However, the court — notwithstanding all these circumstances — dismissed the objection to its competency, then on the basis of the reports of the medical experts adjourned the trial for a period of six months, at the same time ordaining that the accused should be liberated on bail. But the Public Prosecutor appealed against the liberation of the accused, thus prolonging the sufferings of the invalid.

This trial deserves to be taken cognizance of by the public opinion of Western Europe. Why, the mere fact that a man who during the years immediately following the establishment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic acted as confidential agent of the Prague Government in Slovakia should have been kept in prison for a whole year pending his trial and should be charged with the most serious political offences, is a striking illustration of the antagonism existing as between the Czechs and the Slovaks, as also of the disillusion today permeating even those Slovaks who at the outset had expected the union with the Czechs to improve the lot of their people, — though they were soon compelled to convince themselves that they could not expect anything of the kind. When the trial is resumed, it will come to be known whether the charges brought against Bazovszky by the Czech Public Prosecutor are well-founded or not? But even in the event of their proving groundless, — as appears extremely likely — the mere fact that the Public Prosecutor of the Czech State presumed the possibility of their being well-founded is eloquent testimony that the Czech State authorities do not trust the loyalty even of those Slovaks whom they at first chose as their collaborators.

## RUMANIA

### UNEXPECTED RESULTS OF "BLOOD ANALYSIS"

In four counties of Transylvania severed from Hungary nearly four million Magyars are living in a compact mass. Of this pure Magyar population known as "Szeklers" the Rumanians assert that they are of Rumanian origin and have only in the course of time become magyarised. Rumanian scholars are propounding all kinds of scientific theories respecting the Rumanian origin of the Szekler-Magyars. One of these theories declares the racial composition of a considerable proportion of the Szekler villages is the same as that of the Rumanians of Transylvania. Of the ignominious failure of this "scientific" theory we read in the "Keleti Ujság" (No. 209, September 14th., 1934). The result of the analysis of the blood of 500 Szekler inhabitants of the village of Zetalka (Udvarhely County) carried out in the Kolozsvár Institute of Public Hygiene shows that that blood is not the same as that of the Rumanians of Transylvania, but corresponds to that of the inhabitants of Debrecen in Hungary. We read of this unprecedented procedure also in an Italian daily, which speaks of the attempt to employ scientific methods as a means of denationalisation, and mockingly observes that it would be wise to be chary of resorting to blood analysis, for that may ultimately show that the Rumanians are not the successors of the ancient Romans.

### NAME ANALYSIS USED TO DEPOPULATE MINORITY SCHOOLS IN TRANSYLVANIA

The minority denominational schools must fight hard cultural battles year after year to keep their old pupils and secure new ones. In Transylvania — as everybody knows — Magyar pupils whose names do not sound

sufficiently Magyar may not enter Magyar denominational schools. As we read in the *Brassói Lapok* (No 209, 14th. September), not one of the 90 pupils attending the Roman Catholic girls' secondary school at Kolozsvár whose names were analysed, was accepted as Magyar by the Ministry of Education. So many of the applicants wishing to enter the Saxon elementary school at Kolozsvár were rejected by the Ministry of Education that, for lack of a sufficient number of pupils, the school is thinking of closing.

### FREE USE OF LANGUAGE

The Arad police authorities are engaged in carrying into effect an ordinance which is alleged to have been published at an earlier date. Under this ordinance the Magyar language may not be used alone on posters (placards), it being obligatory to print the texts of posters (placards) in two languages, that being done in such manner that the Rumanian text shall occupy three-fourths and the Magyar text only one-fourth of the poster (placard). The ordinance prescribes further that the letters of the Rumanian text shall be three times as large as those of the Magyar text. The provisions of the ordinance extend also to the notices of prices displayed in shop-windows and to shop-signs too. ("Erdélyi Hirlap", September 26th., 1934.)

### EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY

The Brassó County ("Judetul Brasov") School Inspectorate has by a single stroke of the pen abolished all the Magyar sections of the State elementary schools in the county. This measure in defiance of the most elementary considerations of pedagogy is also a breach of § 7 of the Elementary School Act. The General Assembly

of the Hungarian Evangelical Diocese of the County of Brassó has branded as inhuman and illegal this measure, which compels children of 6—7 years of age to acquire all material knowledge of practical subjects, not in their mother tongue, but in a foreign tongue. ("Erdélyi Hirlap", September 23rd., 1934.)

## YUGOSLAVIA

### UNPLEASANT ADVENTURE OF BRITISH TOURISTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Two British tourists — Alfred Geest Gunter, student of Edinburgh University, and Charles Suad Campbell, London student — on August 2nd., passed through Szeged in their own car and proceeded to cross the Yugoslav frontier with the object of continuing their journey in the Balkan Peninsula. On the car, in addition to the Union Jack, they carried a small Hungarian pennant which had been presented to one of them last year on the occasion of the World Jamboree. The moment they crossed the frontier, the Serbian frontier guards seized hold of the car and, snatching the Hungarian pennant, tore it to pieces, and then forced the two Englishmen — despite their energetic protests — to accompany them to Horgos, where, after being for hours subjected to a searching scrutiny and to all kinds of chicanery, they were finally allowed to proceed. They did not continue their journey as originally planned, but returned to Budapest, where they indignantly told their friends of the brutal treatment inflicted on them — a treatment which, they said, would not have been their lot even among the Zulus.

## THEATRE ♦ LITERATURE ♦ ART

### KODÁLY'S "PSALMUS HUNGARICUS" CONDUCTED BY TOSCANINI

The Budapest musical season has just been opened by a powerful overture — the concert given under the direction of Toscanini, the greatest conductor in the world, assisted by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, one of the best in the world, and the Budapest Municipal Choir, which recently, in Vienna, displayed its eminent musical knowledge, the soloists being Elizabeth Schumann, Richard Mayr, Enid Szántó and Andrew Rösler, a select quartet of singers who added lustre to the performance. The pieces performed were Beethoven's immortal Ninth Symphony and the "Psalmus Hungaricus" (Hungarian Psalm), the grand creation of Zoltán Kodály, the eminent composer who occupies a distinguished position among the modern musicians of Europe. In the columns of the "Pesti Napló" the illustrious musical critic Aladár Tóth, writing of the concert, gave the following appreciation of the "Hungarian Psalm":

"The concert opened with Kodály's "Psalm". It was as if all the demons of passion, pain and rebellion had suddenly been liberated when the orchestra, at a sign from Toscanini, struck the first chords. Voices crying for justice and calling on the name of God in their holy anger rising to Heaven seemed to be rending the stormy fabric of the dark Hungarian firmament. Already in this first grand vision we felt the ineffably grand harmonisation of Toscanini's Italian and Kodály's Hungarian temperament, of their pathos and their dramatic energy.

"The Psalm is a succession of visionlike musical images of the kind. And it is not for nothing that in the history

of Italian music Toscanini represents the *dantesque* spirit: where it is a question of calling into being great visions, he is quite in his element!! And indeed we were compelled involuntarily to think of Dante when this gifted conductor with an incredible power of expression conjured before us out of the sounds of orchestra and chorus grandiose visions of the sordid army of schemers, of towns pulsating with the hubbub of hatred, avarice and dissension. of a people whispering soft prayers or rising in a revolt of despair and finally with a victoriously renewed faith shouting the triumph of justice.

"This unforgettable interpretation was "dantesque", — though not only in the feverish, deeply burning glow of the visions, in their sentimental impregnation and their dramatic superheat, but also in the peerless plasticity of the several images, in their compactness and in their formal isolation giving them the character almost of terzinas. It was not till Toscanini's genius showed us that we became conscious of the hells and purgatories and heavens displayed to our mental vision by Kodály in this masterpiece — Hungarian hells and purgatories and Hungarian heavens . . .

"And how clear and noble the outlines opening before us of the personality of the psalmist, of the poet-prophet who has passed thro the three stages of damnation, purification and transfiguration. What a boundless wealth of feelings and impulses and passions — from pious supplication to apocalyptic curses, from tormenting desire to the redeeming transcendent harmony of faith in God — was woven by the orchestral fantasy of Toscanini round the tenor solo of the prophet calling for his people."

## B O O K S

"*Peasant Europe*," by H. Hessel Tiltman (Jarrolds: London, 34 Paternoster Row, E. C. 4. Pp. 282. 18. s. net.)

The author, whose name is very well known in political literature, here paints an interesting picture of the agrarian States of Central and Eastern Europe. The value of the book is particularly enhanced by the fact that it has been written on the basis of personal experience and investigations on the spot. Its object is to make the reader familiar with the conditions and standard of living of the peasantry in those States and with the great changes in those conditions brought about by the Great War and the Treaties of Peace which followed. The Peace Treaties, we are told, "based upon the principles of self-determination, denied all freedom and security to whole peasant nations such as the Ukrainians and Croats, while in other areas, such as "Greater Rumania", minorities numbering millions were handed over, without consultation and against their wishes, to the care of nations a hundred years behind them in culture and development". A little farther on the writer continues: — "These things, as I learned in those valleys and plains, occupy an even larger place in the thoughts of the peasant masses than the disastrous collapse of agricultural prices which heralded the worst agrarian depression in history" (p. X.). These are remarkable words, of importance particularly to those who in connection with the remedying of the troubles of Central Europe would fain exclude the political questions.

Then the author takes in succession the several agrarian States. Owing to lack of space we are unfortunately unable to deal with each several moment, and must confine ourselves to a few characteristic examples strikingly illustrative of the conditions and ideas prevailing in the respective State. Of especial interest is, for instance, all the author has to tell us concerning the state of things ruling in Yugoslavia, that "political fiction". In his opinion the discontent and extreme embitterment of the Croatian peasantry is quite comprehensible, for "under Austro-Hungarian rule the ancient and civilised Croat nation, while politically unwilling and divided provinces of the "ramshackle empire", enjoyed considerable privileges, at least so far as Croatia was concerned" (p. 41). Then the author describes in detail all the rights enjoyed by the Croats during the period of union with Hungary, as also the endless list of grievances suffered by them under the Serbian régime. "The fifteen years" — he says — "which have passed since that event, have brought to the Croats, and all other minorities within "Yugoslavia", the bitterest disappointments with which any people have been confronted in post-War Europe" (p. 42).

Of remarkable interest — and peculiarly characteristic — is what he writes on his experiences in Rumania: — "A nation in which corruption has been exalted into a flourishing industry was called upon to absorb whole provinces formerly governed by Austria, Hungary and Russia, many of the inhabitants of which had been accustomed to a standard of culture and life unknown under the old Regat" (p. 107). It is a natural consequence of this state of things that "Rumania has, in the past twenty years, made no progress whatever from the agrarian point of view" (p. 108). This statement is founded, not only on the writer's personal experiences, but also on the works of Rumanian writers and on Rumanian statistics, the exhaustive analysis of the latter offering the reader an extremely sad picture of the situation of the Rumanian peasantry. That situation is further aggravated by "the most corrupt bureaucracy in all Europe", which is dominated by the system of "baksheesh" and makes it impossible for the poor peasants to get even the simplest matter settled.

How different is the tone in which the author speaks of Hungary!! He shows the greatest appreciation of the highly-developed agriculture of the country and of the considerable progress in evidence in this field. His stay in Hungary convinced him that the question of primary interest to the people at large was that of the revision of the Treaty of Trianon. This "represents, not the aspirations of an ambitious

government, but the deepest convictions of the Hungarian people... Every agriculturist questioned on this point during a journey from one end of the present-day Hungary to the other, whether estate-owner, small holder or labourer, expressed the view that this question lies at the very root of the economic problems affecting Danube basin — and as unanimously demanded "justice". He convinced himself by investigations on the spot that "from the viewpoint of the economics of a predominantly agricultural State, there is abundant justification for the belief that, without revision, Hungary is condemned to perpetual poverty". Notwithstanding all the troubles and disasters that have afflicted the Hungarians, the situation in that country is nevertheless better than that prevailing in the Succession States: — "I can vouch for the fact that whereas the standard of husbandry in Hungary is steadily rising despite all handicaps, the standard of farming and the living conditions of the peasants in the ex-Hungarian regions, owing to the neglect and mal-administration, is just as steadily falling."

These few comparisons from the pen of an eyewitness are characteristic of the whole of Central Europe. No better or more useful book could possibly be found for the use of those desirous of becoming familiar with the economic and political conditions ruling in that territory.

(E. Sch. P.)

"*The Ethnical Minorities of Transylvania*", by Transylvanians: (Eyre and Spottiswoode: London, 1934.)

Seeing that the public opinion of Western Europe is beginning to get a more and more correct view of the situation of the Magyar minority living under Rumanian rule, the Rumanians find it necessary to do something to justify the minority policy of the Bucharest Government. This is the object of the publication of the pamphlet by "Transylvanians" bearing the title "The Ethnical Minorities of Transylvania." The fact that the author is concerned with propaganda and not with the truth, is shown already by the superficiality with which he deals with the statistical data. Thus, he puts the number of Magyars, on the basis of the Rumanian Census of 1930, at 1,353,675. The fact that a few lines later this number is reduced by 100,000 may be excused as being the result of a misprint or something of the kind. But it is really difficult to find an excuse for the author giving us two entirely different figures when dealing with religious matters. In this latter chapter we are told that of the Roman Catholics 600,000, of the Members of the Reformed Church 717,162, of the Lutherans 32,500, and of the Unitarians 72,000 are Magyars, these data supplied by the author aggregating 1,421,662. Which of these three figures is the correct one? *Neither*. The work of Ewald Amende entitled "Die Nationalitäten in den Staaten Europas" says that the number of Magyars in Rumania may be estimated at 1,924,000 (p. 385). We believe that these contradictions are in themselves sufficient to completely discount the value of the pamphlet; therefore we refrain from entering into a detailed discussion of the same. We would merely point out, as illustrating the real situation, that on pp. 13—14 of his work the author asserts that the Transylvanian minorities enjoy absolute liberty of the press and that a censorship or any other such preventive measure is an unknown quantity in Rumania, this being ensured also under the Constitution. As against this assertion it will suffice to remind our readers that in the course of the last few months, for instance, the July 3rd. issue of the "Erdélyi Lapok" was censored, and that indeed the issue of the "Magyar Hírlap" published in Nagyvárad was forbidden for 3 days from July 21st., that of the "Friss Ujság" (also published in Nagyvárad) for 3 days from July 24th., and that of the "Erdélyi Lapok" for 3 days from July 27th. (E. Sch. P.)

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

## ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

The Economic Council of the Little Entente, which — as is well known — holds a meeting once every quarter, will begin to sit in Belgrade on September 24th. According to a report issued by the Rumanian Press Bureau ("Argus") the first question to be discussed at this conference will be that relating to the manner of putting into practice the economic agreements concluded between the States of the Little Entente, difficulties arising from the fact that these agreements have so far not ensured Rumania any advantages whatsoever. This is particularly true of the trade between Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia, which shows a development exceptionally unfavourable to the interests of the former State, seeing that in return for the concessions made by Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia has given practically no compensation at all. This circumstance may be ascertained from the mere fact that the trade carried on under the Rumanian-Czecho-Slovak commercial treaty, which in terms of the said agreement should have shown a balance of 25% in favour of Rumania, in the Rumanian trade balance shows a deficit of 300 million lei.

A glaring light is thrown upon the co-operation between two States of the Little Entente, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia, by the lawsuit brought against the State of Rumania by the Czech factories. At the last Little Entente economic conference an agreement was concluded between the two States, in terms of which Rumania promised the same reduced transport rates on the C. F. R. railways to Czech industrial commodities as were enjoyed by the Rumanian manufacturing industries. On a protest being made by the Rumanian manufacturers an exchange of diplomatic notes took place, in the course of which the Czecho-Slovak State waived all claim to the promised reductions. But the Czecho-Slovak manufacturers insisted upon receiving the advantages guaranteed, which had been taken into account when calculating their prices. The matter was brought before the courts and was decided in favour of the Czech manufacturers, Rumania being sentenced to pay the difference in the costs of transportation. The Bucharest Government is now asking Prague to refund the sum in question.

The Little Entente economic conference has not yet been successful in bringing about a commercial agreement between Rumania and Yugoslavia, because Yugoslavia is not willing, even in principle, to make concessions to Rumania.

Commercial relations between the little entente states are the subject of an article contributed to the "Prager Presse" (September 24th.) by Dr. Niederle, Czecho-Slovak diplomat and Secretary-General of the Little Entente Economic Council. The writer informs us that in the first two months of the present year the trade between Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia reached the same level as that recorded for the last nine months of the previous year. The results of the trade between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania are less satisfactory in character, Czecho-Slovakia having only been able to attain the level of the previous year, that being due to the lack of Rumanian export goods suitable for the use of Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia is not making any efforts to increase her export trade to the two other countries owing to the decline in their solvency — a decline which in its turn is the consequence of the low level of the export trade of those countries.

A striking illustration of the lack of vitality of this organisation is offered by the case of Rumanian fruit import trade to Czecho-Slovakia. Whereas Czecho-Slovakia grants Yugoslavia a 50% reduction of freight charges, it does not extend that benefit to Rumanian fruit exports. Moreover, the Czech authorities do not accept as adequate the certificates of soundness (of fruit) issued by the Rumanian authorities, subjecting the consignments of Rumanian fruit to a fresh examination at the Czech frontier and charging exporters therefor a further sum of 750 Czech crowns. ("Ellenzék", No. 220, September 26th., 1934.)

## A U S T R I A

### BUDGETARY DEFICIT IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1934

The Public Audit Office has fixed the budgetary deficit for the first half of the year at the sum of 72.65 million schillings. The actual expenditure exceeded the amount foreseen in the Estimates (720.4 million schillings) by the sum of about 70 millions. Of this sum 24 millions represented excess expenditure under the head of public security service, and 28.4 millions excess expenditure under the head of social insurance, the volume of unemployment having been in excess of the original estimate. The revenue of the Post Office services shows a shortage of 11.8 million, that of public super-taxes a shortage of 15.7 million, and that of the tobacco régime a shortage of 4.7 million schillings as against the estimated amounts. The items of surplus revenue are those booked under the heads of "contribution from the City of Vienna" (15.9 million schillings) and of "inland revenue office" (3.5 million pengö). Of the deficit of 72.65 million schillings the sum of 55 millions was secured by Treasury Bills and the rest out of Exchequer reserves. The amount appropriated in the first half of the year for the purpose of creating opportunities for work, has been secured out of the receipts from the premium lottery. Under normal circumstances, during the second half of the year the receipts are usually so far in excess of the expenditure that a considerable proportion of any deficit arising during the first six months is counterbalanced. However, the increased expenditure under the head of public security service — mostly due to the July insurrection — augmented the aggregate deficit, which at the end of September was estimated at the amount of 140 million schillings.

## C Z E C H O - S L O V A K I A

### TWO ITEMS SHOWING DECLINE OF INDUSTRY IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The unfavourable state of the Czecho-Slovak leather industries is best illustrated by the fact that of Czecho-Slovakia's 284 leather works 150 have closed down.

According to the report of the State Statistical Bureau 7.95 million hectolitres of beer were brewed in Czecho-Slovakia last year. This quantity is 3.66 million hectolitres short of the output of 1929. The number of breweries still working is 426, that meaning that 15 have closed down since 1924. It is worthy of note that since 1929 the exportation of beer from Czecho-Slovakia shows a decline of 72.5%.

## HUNGARY

### RESUMPTION OF "COMPENSATION" NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND YUGOSLAVIA

On August 22nd., the negotiations relating to the regulation of exchange traffic in goods between Yugoslavia and Hungary which had been interrupted by the already familiar frontier incidents, were resumed in Budapest. During the past three years there has been a noteworthy decline in the exchange of goods between the two countries. Whereas the balance of the compensation trade between the two countries in 1933 still showed a balance of 1.9 million pengő in favour of Hungary, the trade carried on during the first half of the present year — owing to the arbitrary suspension of the compensation agreement by Yugoslavia — shows a balance of 1 million pengő in favour of Yugoslavia.

### HUNGARY'S SHARE IN AUSTRIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

The aggregate value of Austria's imports in August was 84.6 million schillings, — as against a value of 86.4 million schillings for the corresponding month of 1933. The share of this amount falling to Hungary was 9.7 million schillings (10.7%). The aggregate value of goods imported into Austria during the first eight months of the year was 733.4 million schillings, — that meaning an increase of 11.9 million schillings as against the amount (721.5 million schillings) recorded for the corresponding period of 1933. The quota of imports falling to the share of Hungary during these eight months was 79.2 million schillings (as against 83.1 million schillings in the previous year). The value of the goods exported by Austria during the month of August aggregated 71.2 million schillings (as against 66 million schillings for August, 1933); the share of this amount falling to Hungary was 9.4 million schillings (as against 5.5 million schillings in 1933). The total value of the goods exported during the first eight months (January-August) of the year was 547.2 (as against 470.7) million schillings: the share of this amount falling to Hungary was 61.4 (as against 48.7) million schillings.

## RUMANIA

### ECONOMIC SITUATION OF RUMANIA

A special Balkan Number of the "Europäische Revue" (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt: Stuttgart-Berlin) publishes an essay on the above subject from the pen of G. Tasca, former Rumanian Minister of Commerce, at present Professor in the Bucharest Commercial College.

This essay gives the data of Rumania's imports and exports, establishing the fact that during the period from 1929 to 1933 the quantity of *agrarian produce* exported from Rumania and the value of the same showed the following development:

Year	Quantity of Produce (in tons)	Value of exports (in lei)
1929.....	7,065.000	28.960,000.000
1930.....	9,215.000	28.522,000.000
1931.....	10,047.000	22.197,000.000
1932.....	9,057.000	10.356,000.000
1933.....	8,777.000	14.101,000.000

On the other hand, the quantity and value respectively of the *industrial products* imported into Rumania during the same period (1929—1933) show the following development:

Year	Quantity of Industrial Products (in tons)	Value of imports (in lei)
1929.....	1,102.000	29.628,000.000
1930.....	805.000	23.043,000.000
1931.....	560.000	15.745,000.000
1932.....	450.000	11.953,000.000
1933.....	467.000	11.592,000.000

Thus, whereas in 1929 Rumania had to export 6.5 tons of commodities for every ton of goods imported by her, by 1933 the quota of exports had risen to 15.4 tons per ton of imports; and, whereas in 1929 the value of every exported ton was 4.100 lei and that of a ton of imported goods amounted to 29.000 lei — i. e. to six times the value of a ton of exports, — in 1933, on the other hand, the value of every ton exported was only 1.600 lei, while that of every imported ton was 26.000 lei — i. e. sixteen times the value of the same quantity of exports.

It is to this circumstance that Tasca attributes the ruin of Rumanian agriculture. In 1929 the annual value of the national income represented a sum of 11.546 lei per head of population; by 1933 the quota had sunk to 5.327 lei. The result is that the purchasing capacity of the Rumanian peasantry declined to the lowest possible level.

The decline in the prices of agrarian products affected also the public finances of the country. It resulted in a decrease of the public receipts under the heads of *customs duties* (from 5.718,000.000 lei in 1929 to 1.886,000.000 lei in 1933), of stamp duties (from 4.312,000.000 lei in 1929 to 1.945,000.000 lei in 1933), and of direct taxes (from 8.600,000.000 lei in 1929 to 3.510,000.000 lei in 1933).

The decline in prices reacted also on the development of the Rumanian balance of payments. In 1930 the deficit shown by the Rumanian balance of payments was

5.896,000.000 lei; the deficit for the year 1931 amounted to 3.620,000.000 lei, declining in the year 1932 to the sum of 354,000.000 lei.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### AGRARIAN DEBTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Under this head statistics have been issued by the Belgrade Bankers' Association: according to these statistics the aggregate amount of farmers' debts still outstanding in 1933 as due to the Chartered Agrarian Bank in the territory (Serbia and Montenegro) belonging to the sphere of activity of that Association

	dinars
was .....	739,079.313
that due in the same territory to other banks that due to banks in the Voivodina District (Bácska: Banate) .....	500,666.675
that due to the Serajevo Bankers' Association (Bosnia and Herzegovina) .....	565,947.545
that due to the Zagreb Bankers' Association (in the territory of Croatia and Slavonia) .....	982,948.177
so that the total amount of agrarian debts due at that period in the whole territory of Yugoslavia was.....	645,681.308
As against this amount, the savings deposits of farmers in the whole country represented (on September 26th., 1934) a sum of..	3.534,323.018
that meaning that the net indebtedness of the Yugoslav farmers amounts to .....	2.210,073.600
	1.324,249.418

## S P O R T S

The early autumn season was not so full of sporting events as last summer. It was only in the fields of athletics and football that there was any particularly bustling activity. So far as football is concerned, that is quite natural, for the teams use the summer months mostly for the purpose of taking a rest — at most undertaking tours not involving particular fatigue —, real life in this field not beginning again until the autumn.

### ATHLETICS

The outstanding athletic event of this season was the Second Hungarian—Czech Meeting. The Hungarian clubs in pre-War days too were always glad to welcome Czech athletes, who on more than one occasion proved able to teach their Hungarian rivals useful lessons — especially in medium and long distance running and in pole jumping — despite the fact that otherwise athletics were more highly developed in Hungary. The idea of these international matches was broached in 1930; and last year an agreement was concluded between the two Athletic Associations to the effect that the representative athletes of the two countries should compete with one another once a year, alternately in Hungary and Bohemia. The first match was arranged last year in Prague; it was opened solemnly in the presence of a big crowd, and ended in the victory of the Hungarian athletes — by 77.5 to 55.5 points.

The second match was arranged in Budapest. The Czechs sent their best athletes to represent their colours; but at the meeting held on September 22nd. and 23rd. the Hungarians won a crushing victory by 96 to 37 points, — that despite the fact that the Hungarian team contained a number of second-strings. This meeting was opened with formalities similar to those which marked the first meeting: the teams exchanged gifts, while the band played both the Czech and the Hungarian national anthems, the crowd standing bare-headed.

Very good results were achieved at the Hungarian—Czech Students Meeting held in Prague on October 3rd. and 4th., which ended with a victory of the Hungarian athletes by 83 to 62 points.

The first Hungarian—Greek Meeting held in Athens on October 6th., and 7th. added fresh laurels to those already obtained by the Hungarian athletes. At the

meeting held in the splendid marble stadion the Hungarians scored a victory by 100.5 to 67.5 points.

The most interesting event of the meeting arranged by the Hungarian Athletic Club (M. A. C.) on September 27th. was the attempt made by Nicholas Szabó, Champion of Europe, to break the 2000 metres record. Despite the lack of suitable pacemakers Szabó ran a grand race, breaking the previous record by 4.8 seconds, the new record being 5 mins. 32 secs.

### FOOTBALL

The outstanding event of the new football season was the superb victory of the Hungarian representative team over that of Austria. The match was played as a round of the Central European Cup, so that the victory over the Austrian "Wundermannschaft" (Wonder Team) is of particular importance. The Hungarian team started poorly, but eventually won by 3 goals to 1, that involving a change in the order of the teams competing for the Central European Cup, which now stands as follows: 1. Italy, 2. Hungary, 3. Austria, 4. Czecho-Slovakia, 5. Switzerland.

### SWIMMING

At the meeting held in the Covered Swimming Pool on the Margaret Island on October 12th. Ladislav Csik won the 100 Metres Free Style race in a time equivalent to the European record (58.4 secs.) previously held for three years by Stephen Bárány. By this splendid result Csik once more showed that he is today without doubt the fastest swimmer in Europe.

### FENCING

Hungarian fencing circles were deeply moved by the tragic death of Lucien Gaudin, who on several occasions won the fencing championship at the Olympic Games. The Hungarian Fencing Association — through the Foreign Ministry — requested the Hungarian Legation in Paris to place a wreath bearing the Hungarian tricolor — as a token of the sorrowful sympathy of Hungarian fencers — on the bier of the eminent French fencer.