# DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

VOL. I, NO 7. B U D A P E S T DECEMBER 1934

PUBLISHED BY THE "PESTI HIRLAP"

SUBSCRIPTION: ONE MONTH 50 FILL ONE YEAR 6 PENGŐ

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EDITED AND PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE HUNGARIAN FRONTIER READ-JUSTMENT LEAGUE

## **GENEVA RESULTS**

by

#### Elemer Szudy

n his return from Geneva, in answer to a question addressed to him by a journalist as to the impressions he had gained during the discussions before the League of Nations, the Hungarian Foreign Minister remarked, briefly but pregnantly, that "those days would furnish material for a romance".

And indeed, when we recall the debates carried on in a feverish, superheated atmosphere — the secret conventicles in lobbies and hotels, the intrigues and frantic exertions — which in the maelstrom of the League of Nations surged round the Yugoslav-Hungarian conflict, we cannot help feeling as if these events and the changing moods accompanying them had left the frame of reality and had become a rapid succession of instantaneous projections on the screen of memory. Now that the days of anxious excitement are over and we are in a position to record the decided moral and political success scored by Hungary, we cannot but utter a sigh of relief, for enormous values had been at stake. And indeed — to quote the words of M. Laval, French Foreign Minister — "we were within an inch of war"; we were within an ace of having the soil of Europe once more drenched with the human blood shed by the conflict of passions.

It is peace — the peace of Europe — that rises triumphant out of the din and the war-laden fumes of the Geneva controversy; it is the peace of humanity that has been saved, not only by the resolute determination and solidarity of the Western Powers, but also by the loyalty and the generosity of the Hungarian people. The attainment of this result was due primarily to the generosity of the Hungarian people; and that in itself is sufficient ground and reason to enter a considerable item in our favour on the assets side of the moral balance-sheet. It is moreover beyond doubt that our national honour and our moral integrity has passed through the ordeal intact and without a stain; for the resolution taken does not impute any responsibility to Hungary or the Hungarian Government, while the allusion to possible omissions on the part of individual Hungarian authorities is after all only an extremely vague reference expressed in a conditional form and leaving the question of responsibility open. The investigation of the question is in any case regarded and declared by the resolution to be Hungary's own affair, so that the convention does not infringe our State sovereignty.

However, the most important item to the credit of Hungary in the moral balance-sheet is the fact that she battled for peace, our efforts to that end being seconded also by those of our friends who today are most in our thoughts. With the events already at a certain distance the fact may be established that from the very first moment until the very last the spirit of Mussolini dominated the discussions; and the great man living in the Palazzo Venezia at the foot of the Capitol proved a worthy apostle of the Pax Romana idea represented by him in harmony with the traditions of his Latin blood and the programme inspired by his gigantic mind. The attitude adopted by him proved a factor of unshakable and unalterable decisiveness in the discussions; and never before had we realised to such an extent and so direct the influence attaching to every impulse of his genius in the chaos of international disputes — an influence and an authority backed by the power of a nation of forty-two million souls welded into a single unit. The delegate sent to represent the new Italian Kingdom in the international Senate at Geneva pleaded our cause with the logic of Roman law and the strength inherent in the Pax Romana idea. His presence contributed very largely to eliminate our sense of desolation and to support the idea which was the real object of the charges brought by the Little Entente — the idea of revision. The drafters of the charges would fain have quenched the ever increasing brilliance of this dazzling ideal by besputtering it with the blood shed at Marseilles. The representative of Italy however found a way to divert the attacks from this question and from the object which has so far employed only ideal moral, legal and political means applied in a spirit of unadulterated purity of purpose.

The fact must also be established that in the struggle to maintain peace Great Britain too was impelled to abandon her attitude of isolation and to utilise her whole power and authority to preserve peace and advocate the cause of a country in Central Europe which has been torn to pieces. The fact must

be established that the sympathy of the public opinion and the political world of Great Britain — a sympathy which is ever on the increase — exercised a favourable influence upon the attitude of the British Foreign Secretary and produced effects the beneficial influence of which made itself felt in Geneva in the most critical hours of the controversy.

Nor must we forget that other friend of ours who espoused our cause with the whole authority of her position as a Power and as a State that has renewed its historical status, dealing with the question at issue and displaying an attitude perhaps even more openly in our favour than any other Member — we mean Poland. There was a period when we were the only people in Europe to advocate the cause of dismembered Poland; and the Polish people would seem not to have forgotten the days when Hungary was the only place of refuge for its persecuted leaders.

This is the moral balance-sheet of the events in Geneva. In drawing up the political balance-sheet the chief point to be emphasised — as explained above — is that our antagonists failed to attain the object they had in view, - that they failed to compromise the idea of revision and the movement towards a peaceful revision, thus failing to politically force Hungary to her knees. Yet — though not openly confessed — this was the central object of their endeavours. That this was the case, was shown by the whole character and tone of the speeches made in Geneva by the Little Entente; particularly by the tone and manner in which the question was dealt with by the intellectual leader of the whole campsign, Benes. He was the attorney of the whole manoeuvre, — the stage manager and the initiator of the press campaign which was started with the object of sullying the national honour and moral integrity of Hungary in the eyes of the public opinion. of the world. It is to be hoped, however, that the Geneva campaign — the manoeuvre initiated by Benes in connection with the Marseilles attempt for the purpose of humiliating and punishing the Hungarian people — was the last desperate effort of this Prague policy. And the failure of this scheme involved also a decline of the Little Entente dictatorship which has for fifteen years weighed heavily on Central Europe, — though chiefly and primarily on Hungary —, without ever finding anything to counterbalance it in Geneva. On the present occasion this dictatoriship was outvoted; and the outlines of the European forces opposed to it were thrown into relief. It would seem as if the only thing wanted to enable this anti-Entente to display its whole weight and its solidarity was an open attack upon Hungary. There can be no doubt that the Hungarian

cause and Hungary were for weeks in the focus of world interest. In every corner of Europe it had to be acknowledged that despite our territorial dismemberment we are still an important factor in the European balance of power, — that without us or against us that balance of power cannot be maintained, — and that our salvation and our recovery are sine qua nons of a better future for Europe. The days in Geneva afforded a splendid opportunity for the irresistible might of historical justice to plead before the League of Nations for the cause of revision, and for the Italian-Hungarian demonstration to make everyone feel the omniprescence of that idea - an idea in which lies the root and remedy of all the troubles and evils, not of Hungary only, but of the whole of Europe.

This mighty revelation was the greatest and most productive political asset in the balance-sheet of Geneva.

We would in conclusion refer to the words of the Rumanian Foreign Minister, M. Titulescu, in which he offered Hungary "the right hand of peace". The Minister once more indulged in his favourite phrases and spoke of the "spiritualisation" and "devaluation" of frontiers. Hackneved phrases which ring familiar to our ears; colourless and vague: we feel that there is nothing behind them, and that they are mere empty unsubstantial forms. But why not "devalue" frontiers?! Nowhere would such an issue be welcomed more cordially and with greater pleasure than in Hungary; for the Hungarian revision policy has surely not been really doing anything else for the past fifteen years but endeavouring to remove the obstacles impeding the realisation of that issue. But for the achievement of that end it is not enough that one of the parties should show benevolence and make efforts; what is wanted first of all is that the Hungarian minorities living under a foreign rule — of whom some four millions are in the territories severed from Hungary - should at last be granted the rights and liberties ensured them under the minority treaties and due to them as elementary human rights. Should we perceive any gratifying improvement in this respect, - should we find that M. Titulescu's symbolical "right hand of peace" brings with it, not only words, but deeds too -, we shall believe and feel convinced that the desire to "devalue" is a serious and sincere one and not merely a ballon d'essai suitable perhaps for a moment to cajole international public opinion but representing no value whatsoever for those who are familiar with the real situation.

And why not "spiritualise" the frontiers? though we must first have human rights and equality as citizens for the Hungarian minorities!!

# DR. TIBOR ECKHARDT'S GREAT SPEECH BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

of Nations held on December 7th., 8th. and 10th., at which Yugoslavia's complaint relating to" the responsibility of the Hungarian authorities arising in connection with the terrorist actions initiated against Yugoslavia' was discussed, our readers have already been informed by the reports of the world press. We nevertheless consider it our duty to publish almost in extenso the speech made by Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, the Delegate of Hungary, for we believe that familiarity with this speech will make it easier for our readers to understand the attitude adopted by Hungary, not only in respect of the Yugoslav complaint, but also of many other problems of vital importance:

"The unfounded charges put forward by the Yugoslav Government against Hungary in its Note and in its Memorandum — of which Hungary has been the subject to-day — will be able neither to warp my judgment nor disturb my calm. I shall take good care that this is so, first from my sense of duty to the Hungarian nation, which has never lost its calm and its moderation, even when faced with systematic, and always unjustified, provocation. Next, I consider that my fundamental duty is to serve the cause of general peace, and, for that purpose, to arm myself with patience. My task is not easy, for we are concerned with a campaign which has been going on for many weeks past and which puts a severe strain upon the legitimate susceptibilities of the Hungarian people. That campaign is directed against national honour, a possession dearer to Hungary than all else. It has brought upon us unjust attacks before the League of Nations. In the last few days, moreover, it has led to persecutions of ever-increasing severity, which have aroused, not only feelings of horror among the Hungarian people, but the anxious attention of the civilised world as well.

"Notwithstanding all this, we master the bitterness by which we are filled. We have learnt to do so during the last sixteen years, and I shall observe the moderate and disciplined attitude which I owe to the traditions of the Hungarian people and to the high prestige of the League of Nations.

"I shall be guided by that conciliatory spirit the efficacy of which we have to our deep satisfaction been able to appreciate during the present session in connection with an extremely complicated problem. That means that, so far as I am concerned, I shall

refuse to follow the representatives of the Little Entente along the dangerous path they have chosen in attacking Hungary without cause and without reason.

"I wish first to make a declaration concerning the Marseilles crime. I have no need to dwell on the horror and indignation aroused in the soul of Hungary by any and every act of terrorism, whatever its origin or its victim. Even in the present atmosphere, vitiated as it is by attacks, I cannot do other than translate into words as solemn as I can summon the deep emotion felt by the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian nation at the news of the immeasurable loss sustained by Yugoslavia. In the fiery tempest of war, the Hungarian people learned to appreciate the courage and devotion of their loyal adversary. The fierce struggle we had to maintain has left no bitterness in the Hungarian soul, which is chivalrous by nature; on the contrary, the manly qualities of King Alexander imposed respect upon us. The untiring ardour with which he worked for the prosperity of his kingdom earned for him the esteem of the Hungarian people. Animated by these feelings, I say as clearly and definitely as I can that the Hungarian Government and the whole Hungarian people reprobate with indignation the outrage of Marseilles and join in the sentiments of horror and disgust which that revolting crime has called forth throughout the civilised world."

#### **HUNGARY'S ENERGETIC AND DECIDED PROTEST**

The Hungarian Delegate then described the situation of the two thousand Hungarians expelled from Yugoslavia. This part of his speech will be found in another page of the present number. Then he said:

"My first duty is to enter a firm and solemn protest against the unjustifiable charges by which an attempt is made to lay at the door of the Hungarian Government or its authorities any measure of responsibility, however small, for the ignoble crime committed at Marseilles, for which we ourselves feel the utmost horror. I protest formally against any attempt to use King Alexander's assassination for the purposes of an unworthy political intrigue directed against the honour of Hungary. For Hungary, indeed, it is not only a question of her relations with the three States of the Little Entente and of the allegations that the facts adduced in the Yugoslav request are such as to endanger good-neighbourly relations with

Hungary; what is of vital interest to Hungary and her Government is to defend the honour of the Hungarian nation against political manoeuvres which have no other object than to compromise her good reputation and moral integrity.

"From the very first day when the circumstances of the crime were still plunged in the most complete obscurity, we found with surprise the Czechoslovak papers launching against Hungary calumnies so grave that their purely fictitious character must today be recognised even by that Press itself. In twenty-four hours it was proved that the regicide Georgijev, then known as Kelemen, was a Hungarian. Before forty-eight hours had elapsed, an official of the Czechoslovak Legation at Budapest arrogated to himself in Hungary rights that belong to the authorities alone. From the outset it was apparent that the real object was to defame Hungary and not to discover the unbiassed truth.

"Manoeuvres like these we have witnessed from time to time in the past; their purpose was in all cases to make Hungary feel that she was disarmed, delivered bound hand and foot to the mercy of one and all.

"I shall to-morrow communicate to the Secretary-General, for the Council of the League, the Hungarian Government's Memorandum replying to the main points in the Yugoslav Government's request of November 22nd, and to those in the Yugoslav Memorandum bound up therewith.

"It is clear from our memorandum that none of the charges in the Yugoslav Government's request will bear investigation, and from our enquiries conscientiously carried out we draw the conclusion that the entire Yugoslav indictment is nothing but a house of cards. I wish, however, in view of the Yugoslav Government's allegations, to give you the real truth by word of mouth.

"Let me then remind you of the discussions in the Council on June 5th last concerning the incidents on the frontier between Hungary and Yugoslavia. The situation on the frontier between the two countries was at that time becoming intolerable. There were over thirty serious incidents in which Yugoslav frontier guards made use of their arms; as many as fifteen Hungarians, all of them innocent, found their death. Relations such as should exist between friendly neighbours were strained to the uttermost; but, instead of resorting to reprisals, the Hungarian Government brought the matter before the League of Nations with the object of restoring normal relations. That attitude produced the result for which we had hoped. Direct negotiations between Hungary and Yugoslavia, as the Yugoslav delegate has told you to-day, led to a friendly agreement on July 21st, 1934. The charges put forward by the Yugoslav Government in its communication of June 4th ceased, therefore, to be the subject of discussion between the two Governments, and the Hungarian Government did not fail to take and loyally to execute, in accordance with the spirit of the agreement, all the measures mentioned in its reply of April 26th., 1934, to the Yugoslav Government as having been either already put in hand or as being contemplated for the future.

"Here are the measures as defined in the Hungarian Government's Note of April 26th:

"1. The Hungarian Government informs the Yugoslav Government that, long before the action initiated by the latter, it had taken the necessary measures for the evacuation of Janka Puszta by the Yugoslav political refugees and *emigres*.

"2. The Hungarian Government states in the same note-verbale that it is prepared to accede to the Yugoslav Government's request — namely, that it will remove from Hungary all Yugoslav emigres who have abused the hospitality they enjoyed in Hungary.

"As the Yugoslav Government repeats its charges in its Note of November 22nd., and also in its last communication, the purpose of which is to support the former Note with so-called proofs, I am constrained to mention the measures taken by the Hungarian Government to give effect to its Note of April 26th., and also to take account of the Belgrade agreements by which a satisfactory settlement was found for the question of the frontier incidents.

"The most serious of the Yugoslav Government's accusations is that concerning the residence of the Yugoslav *emigrés* at Janka Puszta, their criminal activities and the supposed assistance and complicity of the Hungarian authorities.

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT JANKAPUSZTA

"To these charges I need merely reply by stating the following facts: Janka Puszta was never a camp. It is a small farm which was inhabited by thirty to forty Croat emigres. The lease was, of course, a matter of private law and was based on a contract between private individuals. So true is this that, having decided to disperse the emigres living on the farm, the Hungarian Government was only able to do so by bringing pressure to bear on the emigrés through the local authorities, and inducing them to leave the farm of their own accord. As a result of these measures, the winding-up of Janka Puszta began in April last. It had necessarily to be carried out by stages - first, the termination of the lease and, second, the sale of the farm products. On October 1st., 1934, the whole concern had been wound up. The departure of the Croat inmates of Janka Puszta began as soon as the Government gave its instructions. It was carried out as speedily as the possibility of finding new means of livelihood for the *émigrés* allowed. Some of them settled in other communes or farms where they succeeded in finding work. Others were deported to Nagykanizsa to look for work there. It has been proved that at least half the emigres who had lived at Janka Puszta did, in actual fact, leave Hungary during the period between the spring and September of the present year. On October 1st., a new farmer was installed at Janka Puszta and the old lease was terminated for good and all.

"My conclusion from what precedes is that the Hungarian Government has completely satisfied the desiderata expressed by the Yugoslav Government. The existence of the farm of Janka Puszta therefore does not admit of a verdict against Hungary in connection with the events of Marseilles, which we ourselves deeply deplore.

"To the Hungarian Government's knowledge, no State took measures of equal severity against the Yugoslav emigres before the assassination of King Alexander at Marseilles. It is therefore manifest that to accuse any Hungarian authority of assistance or complicity in connection with the farm of Janka Puszta is purely gratuitous. On the contrary, by taking the measures I have mentioned, the Hungarian Government gave the clearest proof of its goodwill — a goodwill that has always existed — and of its efforts to prevent any incidents likely to disturb relations of goodneighbourliness and good understanding between Hungary and Yugoslavia.

#### SIX CHARGES - SIX ANSWERS

"What, in the face of this attitude, are the charges made by the Yugoslav Government in its request of November 22nd? I may sum them up under six heads.

"1. The Hungarian Government is charged with organising and training on Hungarian territory the Yugoslav *émigrés* for the perpetration of terrorist outrages. To that charge my reply will be brief and categorical. Never has any Hungarian civil or military authority been engaged in training or organising Croat refugees living either at Janka Puszta or elsewhere.

"2. The second charge is that the Hungarian authorities aided the Yugoslav refugees to procure arms, ammunition and explosives. To that I reply that the Croat refugees never received any arms or ammunition, either at Janka Puszta or elsewhere, from the Hungarian civil or military authorities, and that they have never had a chance of procuring such arms in Hungary. Again, no Croat emigre has ever been able to procure explosives in Hungary by legal means.

"3. The third charge is that Hungary afforded the Yugoslav *émigrés* material assistance. That is entirely baseless. The Hungarian civil and military authorities have never supplied the Croat *émigrés* with any material resources. Apart from a general accusation, the Yugoslav memorandum contains no concrete evidence of any kind concerning these imaginary subsidies. It is not, therefore, possible for me to consider such charges in detail.

"I would emphasise the point that the accusation regarding the silver coins said to have been struck by the Hungarian State Mint for the members of the Ustasa is a fantastic invention.

"4. The Hungarian authorities are accused of having issued passports to the Yugoslav terrorists. In this connection, I am in a position to state that the official enquiry, opened in Hungary after the Marseilles outrage, has already established decisively that the Croatian refugees did not, and would not have been able to, obtain Hungarian passports lawfully.

"5. The fifth accusation in the Yugoslav request is that, in preparing for and even in perpetrating their terrorist acts, the Yugoslav refugees were in touch with the Hungarian civil and military authorities.

I make the most formal protest against the Yugoslav Government's statements imputing to Hungarian official persons, or Hungarian army officers, any rôle, or even any intention whatsoever which could render them materially or morally responsible either for preparing the outrage, or for any kind of terrorist activity, or for this odious plot, or which could even cast the slightest moral reflection on them.

"6. The Yugoslav Government also claims — this is the sixth accusation — that the question which arises is that of drilling and training professional criminals, and that it is necessary also to consider the facilities and protection afforded to the criminals on Hungarian territory. In this respect, attention should be drawn to the fact that, of the many outrages committed in Yugoslavia during the past five years, the Yugoslav Memorandum mentions only twenty, perpetrated by Croats against the Yugoslav State on Yugoslav territory. In most of these cases, the Yugoslav Government itself does not trace any connection with Hungary, and in the few cases in which they applied to the Hungarian Government. either for information or to request it to take certain measures, the Hungarian Government has never failed to comply with the Yugoslav requests.

"I cannot, nevertheless, pass over in silence the fact that, in some cases in which the Yugoslav Government asked us to take preventive measures, mainly to prevent the unlawful crossing of the frontier by Croat refugees, the Hungarian Government's efforts were hampered by the attitude of the Yugoslav frontier guards, who not only refused to co-operate in any way with the Hungarian authorities, but themselves facilitated the clandestine crossing of the frontier.

"The foregoing clearly shows that the right of asylum accorded by Hungary to the Yugoslav refugees did not exceed the limits of this right as generally understood in all States — namely, that the presence of persons seeking refuge from political persecution should be tolerated. There is no doubt that, after the suppression of the Stamboulinsky peasant movement, there was as much Bulgarian immigration into Yugoslav territory and also Ukrainian immigration into Czechoslovakia as Croatian immigration into Hungary.

#### **HUNGARY'S RESPONSIBILITY**

Eckhardt then proceeded to give a summary of the exchange of Notes between Hungary and Yugoslavia between 1931 and November, 1934, emphasising particularly that the Hungarian Government had never failed to communicate to the competent Hungarian authorities the desires of the Yugoslav Government respecting the struggle against the terrorists and to inform Belgrade of the answers of those authorities. In 1931 the Hungarian Government had taken the initiative; whereas the Yugoslav Government had not considered it necessary to meet the wishes of Hungary respecting the placing at the disposal of the Hungarian authorities of the information in the possession of the Yugoslav authorities. After a few observations on the evidence of Mihalus, the Czech confidential agent, to which we shall return later, the Hungarian Delegate continued as follows:

"In short, the Yugoslav Government's communication which followed the submission of the Note dated November 22nd from M. Yevtitch, Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, summarises, in its Chapter X, the alleged responsibility of the Hungarian authorities for terrorist action directed against Yugoslavia in the form of three points:

"1. The choice of the criminals (it is alleged) was made on Hungarian territory from among terrorists long and carefully trained in special camps for the perpetration of acts of this nature.

"It is, however, irrefutably proved that the Marseilles crime was not organised in Hungary and that the assassin, Vlado Georgiejev, has never been in Hungary and has not had any relations with Hungary. It is also an indisputable and undoubted fact that the crime was not hatched in Hungary and that no preparatory act in connection with the crime was accomplished in Hungary even by the regicide's accomplices. On the contrary, it should be remembered that the criminal act was prepared by a secret terrorist association existing in Yugoslavia and that the conception, preparation and consummation of the assassination occurred outside Hungary. King Alexander was, indeed, as far as we know, sentenced to death by the resolution of the International Organisation of Croat Refugees — a resolution adopted outside the frontiers of Hungary. The Croat newspaper Nezavisna Hrvatska Drzava published the whole text, and a little later the newspaper La Macedoine did the same. On the strength of this news, the whole Press throughout the world commented on the sentence. At several Croat meetings held in America, the King's death was announced. Subsequently, the International Organisation of Croat Refugees instructed the Ustasa to carry out this decision.

"It follows, therefore, from what I have just said, that Hungary was the scene of neither the conception, nor the preparation, nor the execution of the crime, and that, as no act connected with the Marseilles crime was committed in her territory, she has not the slighest responsibility for this crime.

"2. The second point, from which the Yugoslav Memorandum endeavours to deduce Hungary's responsibility, may be summed up in the affirmation that the criminals were allowed freely to leave Hungarian territory, in possession of Hungarian passports.

"I have already had occasion to mention the steps taken by the Hungarian Government to evacuate the farm of Janka Puszta and also to cause the Croat emigrés to leave Hungarian territory. In taking these steps, the Hungarian Government desired to prove that, in view of the results to which the Belgrade negotiations of July last had led, it was actuated by the most cordial spirit of conciliation towards Yugoslavia, and that it was acting in accordance with the wishes of the Yugoslav Government itself.

"In fact, the Hungarian Government has always endeavoured to establish neighbourly relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary, and its intentions are the same to-day.

"As far back as 1926, the Hungarian Government

proposed to the then Yugoslav Government the conclusion of a treaty of friendship, conciliation and arbitration between the Kingdoms of Hungary and Yugoslavia. The Hungarian Government's draft contained a clause of non-aggression; the particular article read as follows:

"The Contracting Parties undertake mutually to refrain from attack or invasion and declare that they will in no case resort to war..."

"It was on October 20th., 1926, that M. Hory, then Hungarian Minister at Belgrade, handed this draft treaty to the Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Nincic. I regret to have to say that thee Hungarian Government's proposal was not favourably received by the Yugoslav Government.

"To revert to the second point from which Yugoslavia endeavours to deduce Hungary's responsibility. I desire to state that it is following on the measures taken by the Hungarian authorities that the three Croat emigrés, at present under arrest in France for participation in the Marseilles outrage, left Hungary with the other political emigrés. With regard to passports, I would merely refer to what I said just now — namely, that the official enquiry opened in Hungary after the Marseilles outrage has already conclusively proved that the Croat emigrés did not obtain and could not have obtained Hungarian passports by legal means.

"3. All this shows how unfounded the assertion of the Yugoslav Government is, that the Marseilles crime appeared to be the culmination of the terrorist action inspired and abetted for years on Hungarian territory.

"The truth is the exact contrary, and I feel it my duty to tell you that the Marseilles crime is merely a symptom of that bitter revolutionary frame of mind to which the Yugoslav regime has given birth. It is, therefore, in the domestic circumstances of Yugoslavia that the true causes of that horrible crime are to be sought.

"I may sum up by stating that I deny the unfounded charges brought by the Governments of the Little Entente, and denounce their action as an attack upon Hungary's moral integrity, and a political manoeuvre which I can leave, with a good conscience, to the judgment of the Council of the League.

In most cases recorded in history it has been the Anglo Saxon spirit which has endeavoured to preserve the dignity of justice and to defend the moral order against outrage. And the Danube problem — with the Hungarian question as its focus — is just as much a question of morality and legal order as it is of economics.

# EXPULSION EN MASSE OF YUGOSLAV HUNGARIANS

s a consequence of the Marseilles attempt the Yugoslav Government filed a complaint against terror with the Council of the League of Nations. This action was taken by the Government of that country which during the whole course of its history has at all times regarded terror as one of the chief instruments and a practically indispensable appurtenance of government and politics, - which from the very first moment of the formation of the Southern Slav State has applied that instrument to ruthlessly oppress the national minorities -Hungarians, Macedo-Bulgarians, Albanians, Rumanians, Turks and to a certain extent Germans, and during later developments also the Croatians, the "brother people". And while the complaint of the Yugoslav Government was being discussed at the meetings of the Council, to the accompaniment of a rattling of sabres on the part of the Little Entente, the Belgrade Dictators set loose a veritable avalanche of terroristic actions by the unprecedentedly cruel expulsion of more than 3000 defenceless persons. A large proportion of the peaceful and innocent victims — 90% of whom were Magyars by nationality — were literally dragged from their beds during the night and were not even allowed to take with them the most indispensable clothes and other belongings. Their movables were simply kept back and for the most part carried off immediately after the "deportation" of the proscribed persons. But the houses and lands of the persons expelled, equipments of their farms and of their workshops too, were left without owners. Not merely were these persons given pilgrims' staffs; they were provided also with beggars' wallets. The inhumanity and the unsystematic character of the work of expulsion is shown by the circumstance that in very many cases parents were put across the frontier without their children, and husbands without their wives; and vice-versa. Nor was any regard shown for old men and women or invalids either. Helpless old men and pregnant women in a serious condition of health were dragged to the stations and thrust into railway wagons as if they had been animals or inanimate objects. And the arbitrary character of the procedure is illustrated further by the fact that the persons expelled include also men who according to the evidence of their papers have done military service in the Yugoslav army, an indubitable proof of their having been considered Yugoslav nationals.

If we may credit the stories told by the persons

expelled, their number includes also people who were first taken on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the murdered King Alexander and then at a minute's notice — though shortly before they had been considered as loyalists — thrown over the frontier. We are told also that the Hungarians who are still tolerated are being constantly harassed by the authorities and persecuted in particular by a ruthless exaction of taxes imposed with the openly avowed intention of bringing about their material ruin.

No exact statistical data relating to the persons expelled are yet available; but we may roughly establish the fact that those persons may be divided into *four* categories:—

- 1. The first category includes those who, provided with passports as Hungarian nationals, were only staying temporarily in Yugoslavia on visits to relatives or on business. The expulsion of these persons may be taken exception to as a breach of the usages of hospitality and owing to the brutality of the procedure adopted.
- 2. The second group includes those who have been living for years past in the territory of Yugoslavia on the basis of regular permis de domicile and permits to undertake work. The said permits granted in the ordinary way by the Yugoslav authorities to the members of this group for the most part poor persons having only limited possibilties of earning were invalidated at a moment's notice, the holders being within a few hours put over the frontier.
- 3. The third probably the largest group consists of those who have for decenniums been living in Yugoslavia, have applied for release from Hungarian citizenship and also in the prescribed manner for admission to Yugoslav citizenship, on the ground that when the change of regime took place — and indeed previously to that event they were permanent residents in the territory annexed to Yugoslavia. However, the Yugoslav authorities have not yet adjusted the question of these applications, despite the provisions contained in Articles 3-6 of the Minorities Protection Treaty, of Articles 61-66 of the Treaty of Trianon and indeed of the pertinent clauses of their own Nationality Act passed in 1928, as also despite their having in many cases extorted considerable amounts from the applicants by promises of a grant of citizen-
- 4. In the fourth group may be included those who after much trouble and at the cost of considerable

material sacrifices had succeeded in securing Yugoslav citizenship, as also those who — having served in the Yugoslav army — possess a right to Yugoslav citizenship which is entirely beyond dispute.

And these unfortunate victims were collected indiscriminately and with inhuman cruelty deported from the country, - indeed, the work of expulsion is still going on. And when these unprecedented expulsions en masse aroused the indignation and protests of the whole civilised world, instead of withdrawing the warrants of expulsion and thereby rendering possible the return of at least a considerable proportion of the persons expelled, the Yugoslav Government employed the press deprived of its freedom of action to put forward an explanation and justification of the expulsions which is a diametrical contradiction of the facts and the truth. For through the press dependent upon its favour the Yugoslav Government declares that it was driven to effect the expulsions by way of retaliation for the recent expulsions en masse of Yugoslav nationals from Hungary and for reasons of State security. In answer to this statement, already on December 9th. the following dementi was issued by competent Hungarian quarters:

"The control of foreigners is effected by the Hungarian authorities without distinction of nationality. The number of Yugoslav nationals who owing to a lack of the qualifications prescribed by law could not be given permis de domicile or were expelled the country, is on an absolutely normal level and does not exceed the average number of cases affecting nationals of other countries or reported in other years. The number of Yugoslav nationals deported in the year 1934 is altogether 66. The number of cases in which permis de domicile have been withdrawn is 31."

Now as concerns the plea of State security we would ask whether the safety or security of Yugoslavia rests on so shaky a basis as to be in danger from helpless old men, sick women and children — from children like the four-year-old Judith Várossy, who was living with her grandparents at Zombor because her widowed mother was unable to provide for her and was expelled from Yugoslavia by special warrant also as "an element undesirable from the viewpoint of State security"?

Apart from these perversions, in its December 14th. issue the semi-official "Vreme" published an old-wives'-tale to the effect that the Hungarian authorities were treating the Yugoslav nationals residing in Hungarian territory to a veritable reign of terror, that the Orthodox (Greek Oriental) priests of the Serb religious communities had been interned in a monastery at Szeged, and that at the same time orders had been given to close several Serb churches. These reports too originated from the same source of calumny as all the others and are nothing but mere inventions the evident object of which is to counterbalance the indignation of the public opinion of the civilised world and to palliate the otherwise inexcusable procedure of the Yugoslav Government. To counteract these absurdly groundless charges the Hungarian Press addressed to the Yugoslav authorities and the Yugoslav Press open letters calling upon them to prove their statements — under the control of the foreign press and the public opinion of the world — by the production of protocols, photographs, names and places, as had been done by the Hungarian authorities and the representatives of the foreign press who had made enquiries on the spot. The same step was taken also by the Hungarian broadcasting service, which - in answer to the invented charge to the effect that Hungarian broadcasting stations placed along the Yugoslav—Hungarian frontier were being employed to call upon the Hungarians in Yugoslavia to defend the Hungarian national idea — offered the sum of one million dinars to any person able to prove in a satisfactory manner the existence of any such broadcasting station. These absurd charges — the products of an implacable hatred — have collapsed in the light of truth as completely as the tendentious calumnies cast in the teeth of Hungary by the Little Entente in connection with the Marseilles murder.

In this connection it should be noted that Hungarian society has displayed the utmost charity and generosity in espousing the cause of the refugees. So far the action undertaken by society has resulted in the collection of more than 300,000 pengo in cash and of large numbers of gifts in kind. The Hungarian towns and counties are rivalling one another in their efforts to adequately provide for the needs of the persons expelled from Yugoslavia.

Finally, we regard it as a pleasant duty to express our most heartfelt and warmest gratitude to that section of the foreign press which has raised a voice of protest against the cruel expulsion of thousands of Hungarians. This refers in the first place to the Italian and the British Press, and at the same time also to the five Members of the British Parliament - Sir Robert Gower, Mr. W. Mabane, Mr. Lovatt Fraser, Colonel Wedgwood and Sir C. Rawson who in the House of Commons branded the procedure of the Yugoslav Government as inhuman and urged the intervention of Great Britain on behalf of the deportees. But our gratitude is due most particularly to the British Government and to Sir John Simon, Foreign Secretary, for it is due exclusively to their energetic intervention that though not entirely suspended — the work of expulsion has been slightly mitigated in violence and the number of persons expelled reduced. May we hope that this invaluable support will be thrown into the scales with equal stress also when the persons expelled return to their hearths now left unoccupied and apply for a fair compensation for the losses inflicted upon them?

The effect upon British public opinion of the expulsions may be seen best from the leading article published in the "Times" on December 8th. The leading British journal establishes the fact that there are very large numbers of people "whom the present European situation has cast hither and thither like flotsam thrown ashore by the sea. The wrecks due to the Great War have been added to by the broken existences rendered homeless by the changes of frontiers", Then the article continues: "—Although Yugoslavia deserves sympathy in the terrible blow inflicted upon her, a considerable part of that sympathy has been forfeited as a conse-

quence of the behaviour of her Government towards the Magyar inhabitants. If we may credit the things told by the refugees, we find that the procedure followed during the work of expulsion showed but little regard for the decencies generally observed by civilised governments." According to the "Times" it is a lucky thing that Yugoslavia's decision to expel the whole Hungarian colony has been revoked, though it believes that this "policy of provocation" has in any case been the cause of very much pain and trouble to the innocent peasantry. It cannot but injure the good name of the Yugoslav authorities if the charges of "inhuman outrages" brought against their organs are substantiated.

#### BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION AND THE EXPULSIONS

During the meeting of the British Lower House on December 12th. there was a lively discussion concerning the expulsions of Hungarians from Yugoslavia. This discussion is eloquent testimony to the spirit of humanity, for which Hungarians are so deeply grateful, inspired in the public opinion of Great Britain by this fresh injustice. "The Times" published the following report of the debate:

In reply to Mr. Mabane (Huddersfield, L. Nat.), Sir R. Gower (Rochester, Gillingham, U.), Mr. Lovat-Fraser (Lichfield, L. Nat.), Col. Wedgwood (Newcastle-under-Lyme, Lab.), and Sir C. Rawson (Brighton, U.).

Sir J. Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Spen Valley, L. Nat.), said: - It is a fact that during the past two or three weeks a considerable number of Hungarians—between 2.000 and 3.000 in all-have been expelled by certain Yugoslav authorities from Yugoslavia. According to my information, the persons concerned were of Hungarian, or at any rate not of Yugoslav, nationality, and the provisions of the treaty with Yugoslavia for the protection of minorities would not therefore apply to them. Nevertheless His Majesty's Government were impressed both by the hardship to those concerned and by the importance of avoiding anything which might further embitter the dispute which had been referred to the Council of the League of Nations; and they accordingly made representations to the Yugoslav Government to bring these expulsions to an end. The Prince Regent, on his return to Yugoslavia on December 8, at once ordered that the expulsions should cease, and I am informed that they have ceased. I do not know whether any of those expelled have yet returned or whether they desire to do so.

Mr. Mabane. — Is the right hon, gentleman aware that without respect to the merits, the manner in which these expulsions have been carried out is

against all British canons of justice and fair play, and will he represent to Yugoslavia the intense indignation felt in this country against the Yugoslav authorities?

Sir J. Simon. — I think that the answer I have already given will explain to the House in rather more moderate terms (cheers) the advice we thought it proper to tender to a friendly nation. (Cheers.) I think it is true, as I have already said, that hardship was involved in some cases. Inasmuch as the matter rests with me, I am sure that my hon, friend will agree with me that the best course, in the interests of peace and good relations, is to be very well satisfied that it has ended.

Mr. R. J. Davies (Westhoughton, Lab.). — In view of the excellent results that have accrued by the intervention of the Government in stopping the expulsion, would it be too much to ask whether the Government would make arrangements to see that these people may return to their homes in Yugoslavia?

Sir J. Simon. — I am much obliged to my hon friend. That matter has not escaped our attention, and he will observe in my first answer that I do not know whether any of those expelled have yet returned or whether they desire to do so. It is obviously undesirable (the right hon. gentleman was understood to add) that we should seem to press those who are willing to make other arrangements. But the matter has not been overlooked.

Col. Wedgwood. — Could the right hon. gentleman add to the service which be has rendered to humanity by obtaining permission for those who have been deported to return if they wish to do so?

Sir J. Simon. — That is what I mean when I say that the matter has not escaped our attention.

# "REVISIONISM AND TERRORISM ARE TWO COMPLETELY OPPOSITE POLITICAL IDEAS"

Probably no one has ever given a happier definition of the substance, objects and significance of the Hungarian revision movement than Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, who in his speech at Geneva explained the essence of that movement in the following terms:

"Making use of the worst lies of Mihalus Vinco, the Yugoslav request asserts that terrorism is one of the political weapons of the Hungarian revisionist movement. This is a deliberate calumny, against which I protest most strongly. Revisionism and terrorism are two completely opposite political ideas. In the present territory of Hungary there are hundreds of thousands of Hungarians who were forced, by the cruel execution of the unjust provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, to leave their native land, and in many cases to abandon all their property. There are three and a half million Hungarians living separated from their brothers of Hungary - nearly half of them quite close to the frontier — enduring that minority life of hardship of which I was obliged to give some details at the last League Assembly, and which, unfortunately, has assumed a truly tragic aspect during the last few days. I ask you, In the midst of all the persecutions, have these Hungarians ever lowered themselves to engage in terrorism? Why does the Yugoslav request seek to insinuate that there is a connection between Hungarian revisionism and Croatian terrorism, notwithstanding the fact that, even if the abominable methods of Croatian terrorism proved successful, their success would be of no importance or significance whatsoever from the standpoint of the revisionist policy? Is it not known that the Hungarian Government and public opinion in Hungary have frequently pointed out that the Hungarian revisionist movement has no aspirations towards Croatian territory, and that our only wish, so far as that territory is concerned, is to establish friendly and neighbourly relations with it?

"The Croatian revolutionary movement, Croatian terrorism, has no roots in the Hungarian revisionist movement. It has only been in existence for a few years 'Such is the oppressive atmosphere in which, under the weight of an insupportable burden, the Croatian revolutionary movement came to birth.

"It cannot, indeed, be denied that, at the beginning, the injustices of the Treaty of Trianon provoked a violent and desperate reaction in the soul of the Hungarian people, whose vital interests were very gravely injured. An irredentist movement developed wherever there were any Hungarians; but, even in the early years of the new situation, and in the most difficult circumstances, the Hungarian Government was always sufficiently strong, courageous and persuasive to cut short any ill-judged enterprise. From the international standpoint, it must be counted in favour of the revisionist policy of Hungary that it has transformed irredentist aspirations into a peaceful and constructive policy, and has secured for this policy of moderation the unanimous support of the Hungarian people. The revisionist policy is the only one that can ensure peace; it seeks to gain its ends through international co-operation. It is based upon the Covenant of the League, and reprobates any resort to violence. It is to the revisionist policy that Hungary owes her domestic calm in this highly revolutionary period, and the unparalleled stability she enjoys among the countless difficulties of the present time; it is that policy that gives the nation hope, courage, strength and patience to await better days. The Hungarian nation and all its Governments have been able, in a very grave situation, to maintain the moral equilibrium of the Hungarian people and to preserve peace in the troubled valley of the Danube — a peace upon which the tranquillity and peace of Europe largely depend. Even the countries bordering upon Hungary, the States of the Little Entente, have reason to be thankful to her for pursuing that policy; it is one which ignores all threats and looks to honourable agreements to remedy the troubles of the Danube Valley, and which alone can ensure a lasting peace in that area, to the advantage of all its peoples.

#### CORRECT INTERPRETATION OF REVISIONIST ARTICLE

In the concluding part of his speech the Hungarian Delegate returned twice to the revision question, making the following statements:

"At the end of his speech on Friday, M. Beness thought fit to refer to Article 10 of the Covenant and to draw the conclusion that, "in the present

instance, the territorial integrity of a Member of the League was threatened, or at any rate not respected".

"The representative of the Czechoslovak Republic may perhaps permit me to remind him—there are some things which are unfortunately forgotten only too soon—that, in the first drafts of the League Covenant, the text of Article 10 also included the provisions which were finally inserted in Article 19, with the difference that, unlike the present Article 19, the original text referred expressly to the territorial clauses of the treaties.

"It was thus the intention of the authors of the Covenant that the provisions of Article 19 should form the counterpart of the stipulations of Article 10 and should thus be incorporated in that article. It is therefore utterly futile to attempt to interpret Article 10 in the restrictive sense which M. Benes endeavoured to apply to it in his speech on Friday and which would close the door to any pacific revision of the treaties in accordance with Article 19.

"In the course of his speech. M. Benes also made another observation which calls for an explanation on my part.

"In my speech on Friday, I showed that the revisionist policy is based upon the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is inspired by the noble

ideal which presided over the creation of that truly international institution; its action is constructive and pacific and it has always brought its national interest into harmony with the general interest of Europe. No nation of goodwill would have anything whatever to fear from Hungarian revisionism.

"One of the greatest, if not the greatest, statesmen of our time referred to the revisionist policy as an active policy of peace as opposed to the decadent policy of peace, which by its stubborn conservatism will ultimately give rise to serious conflicts.

"If you ask me, Mr. President, as to the real reason why it has hitherto been impossible to reach a better agreement between Hungary and the countries of the Little Entente; if you ask me why, sixteen years after the great war which threatened the ruin of the whole of mankind, the Danube Basin has still not found real peace while, I am convinced, all the nations aspire to peace, I can reply by stating a single fact.

#### "YOU WILL GO THROUGH HELL!"

"A great ambassador of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy left for the instruction of his successors the following lesson, which he had drawn from history and from the long experience of a busy life: after gaining a victory in war or on the field of diplomatic battle, the first thing to be done is to obtain a sincere reconciliation with the adversary.

"What has been the Hungarian nation's experience for the last sixteen years? Has a single act of appeasement been recorded? The post-war period is full of events which snow that, far from desiring reconciliation with Hungary, our neighbours have aimed at condemning Hungary, an active and valuable factor in international life, to play a purely passive and inert rôle in the policy of Europe.

"I regret that M. Benes, who plays such an active part in the life of the League of Nations and who has rendered such eminent service to the cause of peace, in cases where he was not directly concerned, should never have been capable of adopting an objective point of view where Hungary was concerned. I will remind him of his statement at Prague on October 22nd, 1921, to the Hungarian Minister when, for the second time in that year, he addressed threats to Hungary: "You will go through hell".

"I must agree that since that time M. Beneš has done everything he could to convert that statement into fact. The present campaign, which has been unloosed against Hungary, is the anteroom of that hell. But M. Beneš has forgotten that, in order to

make Hungary go through the ordeals of hell, he must himself lead the way. The States of the Danube Basin have so many imperishable bonds in common and depend to such an extent upon each other that the misfortune of one destroys the happiness of the others. On the other hand, it is equally true that, in order to proceed to a better future, our efforts must be combined in order at last to create true peace.

"The Roumanian representative, supported by his Czechoslovak colleague, has to-day made a statement which I cannot for one moment leave unanswered. He expresses his desire that a rapprochement should take place between Hungary and the countries of the Little Entente. I affirm that the Royal Hungarian Government has always been a partisan, in principle, of co-operation between the Danube States, and it has on many occasions stated that this was its firm desire. But, in order that this rapprochement may become a fact, it is not sufficient to utter certain words at Geneva expressing such a hope; these words must be followed by acts in the Danube Basin. I am glad that M. Titulescu desires to arrive at the spiritualisation of frontiers; but would it not be simpler to begin at home and to efface the difference of treatment between the nation which forms the majority and the Hungarian minority? Hungary is prepared to reply to and associate herself with every sincere effort for improving the present position and, in so doing, she will not be held back by the ill-treatment she has just received from the Governments of the Little Entente".

# MAGNA CARTA — GOLDEN BULL

# (INTELLECTUAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HUNGARY IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)

by

#### Alexander Fest

he opinion ruling today with regard to the Golden Bull—the prime source of Hungarian public law — is that alike in form and in spirit it came into being quite independently of the English Magna Carta, and that practically no serious connection can be shown to have existed between the England and the Hungary of those days. Recently, it is true, tentative attempts have been made to show that the origin of certain conceptions in the Golden Bull transplanted to Hungary from a foreign atmosphere is to be traced, if only in an indirect way, to the development of English law and the English Constitution; but these attempts — notwithstanding many striking observations — have proved unable to weaken the general historical and legal opinions and views.

This very important question — as to whether there is any causal connectionby between the Magna Carta and the Golden Bull, the two oldest forms of constitution in Europe — has not yet, it would seem, been definitively solved, - particularly when we attempt to reconcile the general opinion with all we know about the contemporary intellectual connections between England and Hungary. In the present essay I would confine myself exclusively to the narrow path — here and there interrupted and broken — marked by the intercourse between England and Hungary in my effort to find the connecting link between the two famous charters of liberty; and if a collation of the scarce and isolated data and an estimation of their value, together with a demonstration of the logical interconnection of the facts, serves to facilitate the building of the bridge spanning the distance between the Golden Bull and the Magna Carta, we shall expect historical science to answer the question whether it considers the plane of contact between Hungary and England broad enough to justify our presuming an influx of the English spirit in far-distant Hungary? And then will ensue of itself s solution of the muchdisputed question as to whether the resemblance between the two ancient Constitutions is a mere freak of chance, — two similar but completely independent expressions of a great intellectual movement — or whether we must really look for the influence of the English mind in the form and substance of our ancient Constitution?

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In February, 1199, Pope Innocent III. wrote letters to the Bishop of Győr and the Abbot of Bakony (Zirc) dealing with an "unheard-of forgery" committed in Rome, in the Papal Library, by Master L. of Tarvis. The forgery had been reported to the Pope, who commissioned the Bishop of Győr and the Abbot of Zirc to take the evidence under oath of Master P., Provost of Esztergom, and Master Robert "the Englishman", who were both familiar with the matter (or even accomplices of the forger), and find out by whose orders or advice and by whose aid the crime had been committed. At the same time the Pope begged King Imre to assist in the work of taking the evidence of the said persons.

Who was this "Magister Robertus Anglicus"? No such name is to be found in our records. But the Chronicle of Albericus, Cistercian of Trois Fontaines — to which we shall return later — also speaks of "magister Robertus", containing the following re-cord: "—Anno 1227. In Hungaria Robertus vir bonus et religiosus de Leodiensi dyocesi natus, factus fuerit archiepiscopus Strigoniensis." If the "Magister Robertus Anglicus" mentioned by Pope Innocent III. is the same as the "magister Robertus" of Albericus — as I myself, independently of the researches of others, believe to be not only probable but quite certain, - then by the aid of our records we can follow the career of "magister Robertus" step for step as he rose to the highest Church dignity. According to a deed dating from the days of Andrew II. in 1207 he was Provost of Szekesfehervar and royal chancellor. His advancement was a rapid one. He would seem to have enjoyed, not only the special favour of his king, but also the confidence of the Pope. In 1209 he was Bishop of Veszprem and as such played an important role not only in the ecclesiastical but also in the political life of Hungary. In 1212 he was in Rome, having been delegated by King Andrew II. to further the conclusion of an agreement between the Archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa. In 1215 he was at the Lateran Synod together with John, Archbishop of Esztergom, and

Uriah, Head Abbot of Szentmarton; while in 1216 the Bishop of Veszprém obtained permission from the Pope to crown the Queen of Hungary, — a circumstance to which he would seem to have attached great importance, seeing that in 1220 he appealed to Pope Honorius III. for a confirmation of the right. In 1218 or 1219 he was again in Rome. In a letter written in March, 1218, the Pope summoned him to his presence; and Robert obeyed the summons, though from the letters it is impossible to ascertain the exact time of Robert's journey to Rome. When, after the death of Bernard, Archbishop of Spalato, Guncellus was elected to take his place, the Pope entrusted the Bishop of Veszprem — our Robert — with the work of investigating the previous life and reputation of Guncellus, also sending the pallium to the new archbishop by Robert. And, just as he enjoyed the confidence of Popes Innocent III. and Honorius III., Robert must also have enjoyed the special favour of the Hungarian king, who sent the Bishops of Veszprem and Gyor to accompany his brother-in-law — Berthold, Archbishop of Kalocsa, younger brother of Gertrude — on his pilgrimage in foreign countries. All these merely desultory moments show clearly that this Robert, Bishop of Veszprem, a prelate of high authority possessing exceptional scholarship and erudition and very highly connected abroad, was the confidant of the Pope and the Hungarian king too. The events of his term of office as Archbishop of Esztergom are familiar from history, the conversion of the Cumanians, the story of the interdict, his journey in Transylvania, and other moments in his long life which are however not in place in this essay.

What do we know of the origin of Robert, Bishop of Veszprem and later Archbishop of Esztergom? This question is still obscure, for — as may be seen from what has been said above — there is a difficulty which we are quite unable to bridge over. The only record telling us of the origin of Robertus is the Chronicle of the Cistercian Albericus of Trois Fontaines. There we are told that he came from Luttich ("de Leodiensi'dyocesi natus"). The wellknown letter of Pope Innocent III. dated 1199, on the other hand, calls him "magister Robertus Anglicus". Thi contradiction is self-evident. If our Robert was really "Anglicus", he could not have been born in Luttich. This epithet points to an English origin; it was in general use at this period particularly by English "clerks" studying in Paris. It would be exceptionally strange if this epithet were used to designate, not the land of birth, but the place of education. How is the contradiction to be explained? We have records of frequent connections between England and Flanders from the eleventh century; and we know of Flemish settlements in England -- or more particularly in Wales — in the days of Henry II.: but to explain our Robert as having been a Flemish settler in Britain would be very forced and improbable. Nor is there more ground for the supposition that Robert was perhaps educated in an English university (of course it could only have been Oxford), and that that was why he was called "Anglicus". At the period in question the schools of Oxford were far behind those of Paris in fame and in number of students; and the English themselves — particularly well-to-do young nobles — failed to find satisfaction in Oxford, Paris thus becoming the traditional and well-frequented Alma Mater of the English of those days. Pope Innocent's letter speaking of Robert as "Anglicus", there can be no doubt whatsoever that he was an Englishman; for he was known in Rome, where he had been a visitor to the Papal Library in the company of Master P., Provost of Esztergom. That the word "Anglicus" refers to the English origin of Robert, cannot possibly be called in question. For why else should he have been called "Anglicus"?

Starting from the presumption that the epithet "Anglicus" is more authentic evidence of the origin of Robert than Albericus's Chronicle, we would fain discover the cause of the chronicler's error, though we know how often the persons recording the events of the Middle Ages were led astray by the multiform geographical terms and in particular by the names of towns. The suggestion of Robert having been born in Lüttich may perhaps be attributed to the deficient geographical knowledge of the chroniclers or to mistakes occurring in their works. Otherwise it would be extremely difficult to understand the numerous contradictions in respect of geographical terms found in the chronicles. However, the name 'leodiensis' itself was very likely to give rise to a confusion. There are many similar names of towns recorded in the annals of this period, — e. g. Leodonium vicus, today Lons-le-Sonnier, in France; the ancient form of the name of the town of Leeds (Loiden. dioc.) in Yorkshire, as also the Abbey of Ludens, where we find a Cistercian monastery, as we do in medieval Leeds. Then, again, in Middle English the word "leod" forms the first part of numerous compound substantives. But, however that may be, it is much easier to understand a chronicler making a mistake than to doubt the authenticity of a Papal letter which may claim to be regarded as a deed. We repeat: Robert was known personally in Rome, as we see from the breach of rules committed in the Papal Library; so — on the basis of what is the more authentic record — we must regard him as really "Anglicus" or English in origin.

Our supposition is founded, not only on what has been said above, but also on the historical background of which we have attempted to give a brief outline. Though we know of no English "clerk" having settled in Hungary during the Middle Ages, it is remarkable that we should find an "Anglicus" who rose by degrees to the highest dignity in the Church in Hungary just at the period when the Margaret who hadbeen educated and crowned as Queen of England was Queen of Hungary. This is no mere coincidence. I believe I am not mistaken in presuming that Robertus Anglicus, the young Paris Magister, was a member of the brilliant and numerous suite which followed Margaret. We have seen that even in the third year of her widowhood, when she was already preparing to go to distant Hungary, Margaret was surrounded by Normans and Englishmen. Is it not natural to suppose that there should be also an English "clericus familiaris" in the Court of the former Queen of England? and why should this role not have fallen to the share of our mysterious Robertus Anglicus? If we inquire after Robertus Anglicus in the Court of the King of Hungary, in the days of Bela III., we find that he was in Esztergom in 1199, when he received the letter from the Pope, while during his term of office as Provost of Székesfehervár and Chancellor he was once more in the Court of the King of Hungary (from 1207 to 1209); then follows the oftrepeated career of the "clericus familiaris", — bishopric and prelatic power. That he continued later on also to maintain his connections with the Court, is shown by the deeds of Bela IV. It was the aged Archishop Robert — then a man of great authority — who baptised Bela's son Stephen. Robert was familiar with three generations of the royal house, whom he served and often directed.

We shall not inquire — nor would it be possible to do so — as to the part played by the Bishop of Veszprem in the drafting of the Golden Bull. At this period the later Archbishop of Esztergom was undoubtedly one of the most influential members of the Hungarian episcopacy. As Church dignitary and broad-minded stateman he must surely have followed the events in England too. Whatever the old epithet "Anglicus" may mean, we may be quite sure that it suggests at least a personal interest in the stormy atmosphere which in England lowered over the struggles between the king and his archbishop. In Rome he had an opportunity to inform himself personally — doing so indirectly of course also through the legates sent from and to Rome what was happening in London and at Canterbury. It is difficult to imagine that this experienced "Anglicus" stateman should have known nothing of the conflict raging round the Magna Carta or of the famous charter of liberty itself. In 1215 he took part in the Lateran synod in Rome. Another visitor to Rome at this time — a visitor who stayed there for months — was Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, author of the Magna Carta. At the synod — as we have seen — an upheaval was caused by the English question too, by the war which had just broken out afresh between the king and his archbishop. Is it possible that Robert should have known nothing of these things? and is it not possible that our "Anglicus" prelate and John, Archbishop of Esztergom, made the personal acquaintance of the celebrated Archishop of Canterbury?

According to Fraknoi, Robert "played a considerable part in the work of calling the Golden Bull into existence". Ifretrogressive deductions have any foundation, this statement may be accepted. We know that the Archishop of Esztergom had the Golden Bull renewed; and we know also thet he made Bela IV. swear to observe the provisions of the Golden Bull: — "Noveritis nos litteras juramenti domini Bele regis super forma compositionis servande inter venerabilem dominum Jacobum prenestinum electum, Apostolicae sedis legatum et dominum Andream, Illustrissimum regem, patrem nostrum, quondam facto, et nuper solempni sacramento et aurea bulla firmate, juravimus in hunc modum..."

In his eyes the Golden Bull must have borne same character as a source of law as the Magna Carta did in those of the Archbishop of Canterbury. We cannot draw a parallel; and we can hardly talk of "the Langton of the Golden Bull": but that he must have been one of the principal factors responsible for the drafting of the Golden Bull, does not seem too bold a conclusion to draw from all we know of Robertus "Anglicus".

Before summarising the points established above, we would refer to one more little known moment of the Anglo-Hungarian connections. In 1220, fifty years after the murder of Thomas a Becket, there was a grand celebration in Canterbury of interest to the whole Christian world: the mortal remains of the famous Archbishop were laid to rest in a spot of a more dignified character than that to which they had previously been consigned. From contemporary records we are fully familiar with the exceptional dimensions of the celebration. So many pilgrims visited the place that there was not a single room to be had even in the neighbouring villages. Thousands of devout pilgrims bivouacked in tents or in the open air. Large numbers — secular and ecclesiastical persons alike — went to England from the Continent too. One of the English chronicles mentions specially three of the high Church dignitaries who undertook the long journey in order to be present at the celebration in memory of the great dead, — the Papal Legate Pandulph, whose work in connection with the Magna Carta conflict is well known, William, Archbishop of Rheims, and a Hungarian archbishop. This datum, of great interest in itself too, is to be found in the Chronicle of Walter of Coventry, a compilation from older records which however contains material not in other sources relating to certain periods (1170-77 and 1201-25) and for that reason constitutes a valuable supplement to the chronicles of those days.

Walter of Coventry tells us that the Hungarian archbishop was present at the world-famed celebration organised by Stephen Langton in Canterbury. He was the guest of the author of the Magna Carta two years prior to the issue of the Golden Bull, and was in the English archiepiscopal city at the same time as the Papal Legate Pandulph, who advised King John to issue the Magna Carta and then — as already related — took a copy of the great charter of liberty to Rome: can we then doubt that, even if he had not done so previously, on this occasion the Hungarian archbishop made himself familiar with the Magna Carta, during the course of his personal intercourse with Stephen Langton, its author?

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We have shown that our prelates — John, Archbishop of Esztergom, Robert, Bishop of Veszprem, and Uriah, Head Abbot of Szentmarton — must have had an opportunity, at the Lateran synod, five years prior to the issue of the great English charter of liberty, to obtain information relating to the struggles leading up to the Magna Carta and to the famous charter of liberty itself. The Crusades — the protracted siege of Damietta — a few years later provided a renewed opportunity for intercourse between a Hungarian prelate (Thomas, Bishop of Eger) and English barons; and that fact also makes it indubitable that Hungarians were familiarised with the substance and spirit of the Magna Carta. A year later the journey to England of a Hungarian archbishop created and strengthened ties of friendship with the author of the Magna Carta in Canterbury, the famous scene of the strenuous struggles between Church and State... Of the three prelates concerned in the Golden Bull we know from what has been said above that they most certainly had an opportunity to familiarise themselves with and to study the English charter of liberty, the classical corner-stone of English constitutionalism. Is it conceivable that while drafting and discussing the Golden Bull these three prelates should not have thought of the English charter of liberty, or that when codifying the constitutional liberties of Hungary certain ideas should not have been transplanted from the Magna Carta? Then again there were certain connections by marriage between the Arpad Dynasty and the House of Plantagenet (we must not forget that Andrew II.'s step-mother had previously been Queen of England), while the "clerks" returning home from Paris brought back with them elements, not only of the French spirit, butthough certainly to a lesser extent—of the spirit of the English people too. In view of these powerful and productive influences is it not natural that we should trace the new ideas of the Golden Bull — particularly the jus resistendi — to an origin in the West? or would it be an anachronism to speak of the English spirit manifested in the Golden Bull? Again, who was better fitted to introduce the new spirit — in any case not altogether unfamiliar to Hungarians — than the prelate who was English by origin, the profoundly erudite and highly cultured "Robertus Anglicus"?

I believe the data put forward by me will throw a certain light on a much-discussed question of an age so rich in ideas and cultural influences. And the light of detailed research encourages and perhaps entitles us to guess the existence of an intellectual life deeper and more kaleidoscopic than that previously known to us. To us ages wrapped in the obscurity of distance are like the world of metaphysics, — richer and more mysterious than we imagine them to be. Maybe Hamlet's words might be applied to these ages: —

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, Than are dream'd of in your philosophy."

# POLITICAL MOSAIC

# THE HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SPEAKS OF GENEVA, OF HIS AIMS AND RESULTS

On his way back from Geneva Kalman Kanya, Hungarian Foreign Minister, received a correspondent of the "Reichspost", the official organ of the Austrian Government, and made a very interesting statement concerning what had happened in Geneva.

"My object in going to Geneva" — he said — "was not to play the man of terror and oppose every proposal for a compromise of however judicious a character. My object was, on the contrary, to do everything in my power on behalf of the Hungarian Government to avert the danger of war, which is generally believed to have been present. As to who harboured warlike intentions, I should prefer for the moment not to make any detailed statement. The only object I had in view in Geneva was to enforce the peaceful policy of the Hungarian Government in the Marseilles dispute too. Naturally there were limits to our readiness to accept a compromise. These limits were fixed by our unalterable determination not under any circumstances to acquiesce in any settlement of the affair not in harmony with the honour of the Hungarian people. I believe I may without exaggeration establish the fact that my conduct in Geneva was fully in keeping with these fundamental principles. I refrained from every action calculated to hurt Yugoslavia. But I did everything to prevent the attainment of the real political aims latent in the campaign of incitement which had been carried on against us for weeks.

"As concerns the results of the discussions I may briefly sum them up as follows:

- "1. The exertions made by our enemies to bring us to our knees in the revision question, proved abortive:
- "2. Hungary was not subjected to any reprimand— as indeed we should naturally never have allowed her to be:
- 3". In its resolution the Council of the League of Nations refrained from all idea of interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

"It is extremely noteworthy also that both countries — both Yugoslavia and Hungary — have by the resolution of the Council of Nations been called upon to refrain in the future from all hostile acts whatsoever likely in any way to interfere with friendly relations between the two countries. It is superfluous to stress particularly that this summons refers primarily to the expulsion of Magyars from Yugoslavia".

Foreign Minister Kanya then protested against the misinterpretations published in certain organs of the international Press when commenting on the Geneva resolution. And in conclusion he said:

"Hungary will in the future too endeavour to attain her national aims exclusively by peaceful means. I should like to express the hope that Yugoslavia will defer to the warning addressed to her by the League of Nations advising her to refrain from all hostile acts. In that case the tension existing at present between

the two States will surely before long relax and with goodwill on both sides correct neighbourly relations will develop".

# BENES'S METHODS

A striking light is thrown on the intrigues carried on against Hungary during the past fifteen years by the fact that for the object of collecting data for the Yugoslav Memorandum submitted to the League of Nations on November 22nd. the Czech-Slovak authorities on November 19th. — in Pozsony — crossexamined Mihalus, Czech confidential agent. In his speech the Hungarian Delegate Eckhardt referred to this case in the following words:

"The statement made by the Czechoslovak national, Mihalus Vinco, before the Pressburg District Court refers to even earlier facts. The ungrounded statements in the Yugoslav request are confused; they are practically unconnected, so that, for the purposes of political manoeuvring, they have had to be summarised and set in a framework in order that, not only the present Hungarian Government, but the whole history of Hungary since the world war and her heroic struggle, in circumstances of exceptional gravity, carried out with honour and moderation and with due regard to the interests of Europe, shall be calumniated and besmirched. This is the purpose of the biassed statement of Mihalus Vinco on November 19th., 1934 — that is to say, several weeks after the Marseilles outrage. With unusual prolixity and in confused terms, Mihalus Vinco, in the course of insignificant proceedings, supplies information regarding all the existing and non-existing organs of Hungarian life. He describes as terrorist leaders almost without exception all present and past Prime Ministers and all leading political personages in Hungary. He does not hesitate to lie in stating that they had some connection with Croat terrorist associations.

"The fact that Mihalus Vinco was a paid political agent and a common spy could hardly have escaped the notice of the authors of the Yugoslav Memorandum, since the Memorandum refers to this fact in detail. M. Benes has associated himself unreservedly with the Yugoslav request and is therefore certainly aware of the statements by which Mihalus Vinco betrayed his own role and the espionage in which he engaged for payment. M. Benes may perhaps, however, be unaware that this same Mihalus Vinco, who has endeavoured to make people believe that Hungary is a centre of terrorism, made a few years ago a similar statement, but on that occasion in regard to Czechoslovakia. I would ask M. Benes' permission to draw his attention to the proclamation signed by this same Mihalus Vinco which declared, in the autumn of 1928, that the independent Slovak Republic had been founded. This proclamation was sent to all the Governments of the world and contains serious accusations against Czechoslovakia.

"I would ask M. Benes to consider whether this international spy, prosecuted by the police of two

countries, is a man whose words deserve credence. If so, I think he had better first undertake the defence of Czecho-Slovakia against the serious accusations levelled against his country. If not, I would respectfully ask him, Is it admissible that a whole nation and the men who have governed this nation for fifteen years should be pilloried because an international adventurer and a spy has chosen to propagate lies about them? Our dignity forbids us to enter into an examination of such lies, and I would simply remind you that for a second time within a relatively short period the Yugoslav Government has referred, in connection with the activities of Croat emigres, to the statements of an individual whose reputation is anything but honourable.

"Those who have no traditions fall back on propaganda. And this is pernicious propaganda that is being conducted with the deliberate aim of harming Hungary. The Hungarian nation, however, proud of its age-long history, finds inspiration in its noble traditions, when, in spite of hostile propaganda and threats, it does not depart from the path leading towards its national ideal, and endeavours at all times to make this ideal harmonise with the general interests of Europe and the noble ideal of world peace"

#### BENES'S JOURNAL AND MIHALUS

Probably no better portrait of this man has ever been painted than that given in the evening edition of the "Lidove Noviny" — a paper appearing in Brünn —, the December 5th. (1934) issue of which contains the following article:

"—The annexes of the Note include also the protocol of the Pozsony (Bratislava) Court relating to the evidence of a man who can surely not claim to be allowed to figure among honest men as a paragon of chivalry. However, criminology does not obtain its knowledge of the methods of thieves from conversations carried on with moral professors of theology; and if we desire to find out anything about the underworld, we must obtain our information from persons living in the same environment. In the protocol recording the evidence of that man readers familiar with criminology are immediately struck by the fact that the person giving evidence knows considerably more than he says for record in the protocol, while in other places he endeavours to supplement his information in an unsatisfactory manner on many important points by meaningless chatter."

This is what we are told of the "witness for the crown" by a paper which is regarded as the Czech mouthpiece of M. Benes. Yet this did not prevent the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister from annexing the evidence as supplement to a State document of exceptional importance and of practically decisive significance in a question of peace or war.

## HOW YUGOSLAVIA SUPPORTED THE BULGARIAN AND ALBANIAN EMIGRÉS

A special correspondent of the "Pester Lloyd" in Sofia has written an article concerning the excesses permitted by the Yugoslav authorities in connection with the support accorded by them to the Bulgarian emigrés living in Yugoslavia: we quote the article in question as of peculiar interest at the present juncture:

"After the peasant insurrection in Bulgaria in 1923 hundreds and thousands of Bulgarian insurgents crossed the Serbian frontier and not only found hospitality in Yugoslav territory but were allowed to carry on their work of organisation undisturbed. They made frequent raids into their own country, attacked the Bulgarian frontier villages, robbed, pillaged and murdered the innocent inhabitants, and then were permitted to return unimpeded to Serbian territory. These raids became particularly frequent after the horrible attempt against the Cathedral of Sofia in 1925, and resulted in the death of more than 200 persons. On the day preceding this outrage an attampt was made on the life of King Boris in the Pass of Araba-Konak, two members of the royal suite being killed, while the king himself escaped without injury. The leaders and inspirers of the traitors were the former Bulgarian ministers Alexander Obov, Kosta Todorov, Nedelko Atanasov and others, who all used Yugoslav passports and resided, not only in Yugoslavia, but also at Prague and in Paris, where they quite openly met official persons of high rank and wrote articles in depreciation of their own country in papers very closely connected with the Government. The maintenance for years of the large numbers of refugees (emigres) cost no end of money; the leaders referred to above had large sums of money at their disposal, lived in great style and manifestly played important political roles. The Bulgarians now ask why the Bulgarian Government did not protest publicly

against these machinations of the *emigres* and why it did not file a complaint against Belgrade and Prague with the League of Nations, the supreme forum of the community of nations? The analogy is self-evident, with the difference perhaps that during the period between 1923 and 1925 the Bulgarian State was in far greater danger than Yugoslavia is at present".

To the points put forward by the correspondent of the "Pester Lloyd" on the basis of authentic data we would only add that the far-reaching support accorded by Yugoslavia to the Bulgarian emigres is exactly paralleled by the assistance in defiance of international law given in the past by the Yugoslav Government to the Albanian emigres living in Yugoslavia and to their leader, Zogu, the present king of Albania, who invaded that country with troops organised for the most part by the aid of Yugoslav money and provided with Yugoslav arms, and thus secured the power in that country. This analogy is of course for very comprehensible reasons — passed over in silence by the Yugoslav Press; nor did the Czech Press - a worthy rival of its Yugolav fellow in the work of inciting hatred of Hungary - make any mention of the halfopen, half-secret support which, according to the three memorandums submitted to the League of Nations by Poland on January 21st., April 6th. and August 2nd respectively, was accorded by the Czech Government to the Ukrainian emigres in their work of preparing a series of attempts committed in Polish territory.

# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### LAMENTABLE CULTURAL CONDITIONS AMONG HUNGARIANS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

During the debate on the Budget held recently in the Prague Parliament, Charles Hokky, Christian Socialist (Magyar) Deputy, whose speech was published in the December 2nd. issue of the "Hirado", gave the following description of the cultural conditions among the Hungarians of Czecho-Slovakia: - "As concerns the cultural budget, all that is allotted to the Hungarians out of the whole sum amounting to billions is 0.25%, whereas they are justly entitled under Articles 8 and 9 of the Treaty of Saint-Germain to 5.5%. The "Slovenska Liga" (Slovak League) has established 170 schools in Magyar districts, while since the foundation of the new State more than 200 Czech schools have been built. In Ruthenia 17.400 Magyar children are crowded into 100 schools and are being taught by 210 teachers. Each Magyar school in Ruthenia has 80-90 children crowded into it. But when we examine the data relating to the whole territory of Ruthenia, we find that the 3318 Czech children there have 306 Czech teachers to teach them, that meaning that there is one teacher for every 11 Czech children attending elementary schools . . . We proposed to collect funds for the establishment of a Magyar Teachers Training College in Ruthenia, but the Ministry of the Interior forbade us to collect. This is an open breach of the Treaty of Saint-Germain. But it is not an isolated case. The establishment of "city schools" (Bürgerschulen) is rendered possible

by Law 189 of 1919; but the Directions for the carrying into effect of the same have not yet been issued, while it is not in force in the territories of Slovakia and Ruthenia. At Nagyszöllös, where there are 400 Magyar children of schooling age, I have tried in vain to urge the establishment of a Magyar "city school", though the parents have also applied for the establishment of such a school. This year the "city school" maintained by the Evangelical Community at Kassa was also closed. We must once more protest against the embargo placed upon cultural products originating from Hungary, particularly seeing that it is quite absurd that in a civilised State books should be placed under a ban and obstacles placed in the way of learning and training. Not even "widows' mites" are granted for the support of the theatre; though it is surely a breach of good taste to deprive the Magyars of Magyar endowments. I would in this connection call the attention of the Minister of the Interior to the case of the employees of the town of Munkacs, some 19 of whom are said to be threatened with dismissal because of an alleged failure to pass an examination in the State language. The persons in question have passed an examination in Ruthenian, — old officials, who are going to sue the town and will levy heavy charges on the corporation. This is a very grave matter, particularly in the case of Munkacs, because that town, which in pre-War days used to give loans to other towns (e. g. to Nyiregyhaza), is now being swamped by an ocean of debts. We are expected to show the utmost loyalty in everything. And we are loyal too; only we must be entitled at least to request the redress of the injustices committed against us. Even if our only grievance were the manner in which the question of citizenship is managed, that would be enough in itself. It is unheard-of

that a person who has resided here for 50—60 or even 70—80 years and was born here, should on the basis of an old law now obsolete be told that he has no citizenship. Pupils born here have to apply for permis de domicile. Insane persons born here are turned out of asylums because they have no citizenship. A day-labourer who has been living here for the past 30—40 years and almost lost his eyesight in the Great War, has been desprived of his disablement allowance because he has no citizenship".

#### "PROTECTION OF THE REPUBLIC"

How readily Hungarians are accused of the crime of espionage, is shown also by the criminal trial in which, on November 17th., the Rimaszombat District Court passed sentence on Madame de Tornallay, a distinguished Hungarian lady, and her "accomplices". Madame de Tornallay was arrested early in 1934 under the Protection of the Republic Act, was confined in the depth of winter in an unheated tent, was maltreated and kept in prison for months until finally the Court referred to sentenced her to 14 days' imprisonment, her three "accomplices" being acquitted. The Public Prosecutor having filed an appeal, not only against the acquittal, but also against the accused being set at liberty, the accused had to spend a further two weeks in prison. Of peculiar interest as illustrating the Czecho-Slovak methods in political trials is also the procedure taken against the owner and Editor of the 'Kassai Ujsag'', Dr. Koves. Dr. Koves was arrested about a year ago. The trial began on November 28th.; and by desire of the prosecution the Court ordered that the proceedings should be secret. For that reason the general public proved unable to obtain any information relating to those proceedings. It was under such circumstances that the Court on November 30th. passed sentence, condemning D. Koves to three years' imprisonment. A considerable stir was caused by the arrest immediately after the trial of the two advocates for the defence, Dr. Nogrády and Dr. Tanzer, it being alleged that they had procured evidence from Hungary in an illegal manner. Two days later Dr. Tanzer was set at liberty; but Dr. Nogrady was kept in prison. - It was under the Protection of the Republic Act that the Czech frontier police arrested the Polish Princess Matilda Sapieha, who is alleged to have given expression to anti-Czech feelings in an altercation with a railway porter on her way through the country to Hungary, where she had been invited to attend an aristocratic wedding.

#### CZECHO-SLOVAK MEASURES AGAINST THE HUNGARIAN BROAD-CASTING SERVICE

The police authorities at Ungvår posted a proclamation forbidding more than one person to listen in at the same time either in houses or in the street to foreign broadcasting programmes. This ordinance is aimed really against the Hungarian broadcasting service, whose news relating to events in Geneva was in the opinion of the Czecho-Slovak authorities calculated to be adverse to the Republic and the Little Entente.

## RUMANIA

#### MAGYARS OF TRANSYLVANIA DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL TREATMENT

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Rumanian Magyar Party held at Kolozsvar on November dealt exhaustively with the grievances which have recently threatened the very existence of the Magyar minority in Rumania as a consequence of the language tests and dismissals of public employees, of the language examinations of teachers, of the censorship and state of siege, of the temporary administrative commissions, of the system of "name analysis", and of the danger menacing

the existence of bank and other clerks and industrial workers under the National Labour Protection Act. After a discussion of the grievances the Executive Committee passed a resolution establishing the following points:

"The Executive Committee of the Magyar Party representing the Magyar minority living in Rumania expresses its utmost horror when establishing the fact that various laws, combined with a continuous scries of measures taken by Government and the authorities are daily infringing in the most conspicuous manner the obligation of equal treatment and systematically undermining and destroying the foundations of existence of all grades of the Magyar population. The Executive Committee would point out, further, that for months past certain organs of the Rumanian Press have been publishing articles unceasingly agitating against the Magyars, without criminal procedure having in any single case been taken against them. The Censorship on the other hand prevents the ventilation in the press of the most crying grievances of the Magyar minority. The Executive Committee protests also against the illegal measures which render impossible, not only the cultural activity of the Magyars, but also the free practice of religion, by forbidding the building of churches and the holding of legal sessions of church institutions. The Executive Committee demands, not only that the breaches of law already committed should be put an end to, but also - on the basis of the principle of equal rights and equal treatment — that the younger generation of Magyars should be given employment in the State and other public offices in numbers in proportion to the contribution of the Magyars to the public charges and to their quota in the population, and in keeping with their cultural standard." ("Magyar Nep", Vol. XIV., No. 47, November 24th., 1934.)

#### A FEW DATA RELATING TO SITUA-TION OF HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Below will be found a few cases taken at random illustrating the unceasing chicanerie inflicted — in particulary during recent weeks — on the Hungarians allotted to Romania.

The column to the memory of Francis Kölcsey (1790-1838) - author of the Hungarian National Anthem and one of the glories of Hungarian literature - which stood in the square behind the Reformed church at Szatmar has, on the initiative of the Anti-Revisionist League, been taken down and transferred to the Reformed cemetery ("Keleti Ujsag", No. 234, October 13th., 1934). The Town Council of Arad — despite the protests of the representatives of the Hungarians -- has passed a resolution to remove from their present position in one of the public parks of the town and to place in a closed room of the Hall of Culture the statues erected in memory of great Hungarian sons of the town - Gregory Csiky, dramatist (1842-91), Gabriel Fabian, writer and translator (1795-1877), and John Darányi, philanthropist -, the reason advanced for this action being the desire to "place the statues in safety", that "they might not offend the nationality feelings of the Rumanian inhabitants." The resolution of the Town Council was the result of the affair of the Fabian statue, which was first thrown down by unknown persons and then replaced by the Town Council. That it is a question of deliberately and expressly removing the memorials of Hungarian (Magyar) culture, is proved strikingly by the fact that only a few weeks previously the German minority of Arad and Ujarad was allowed to set up a memorial tablet to one of its celebrated writers ("Aradi Kozlony", No. 238, October 24th., 1934).

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During the month of November a further flood of punishment was let loose on the Hungarian journalists in Rumania. Some months ago a journalist of the name of Kálmán Kahán resident in Maramarossziget published in his

paper an article translated by him from the Bucharest daily "Curentul" dealing with the Hungarian revision movement on the basis of information received from London. In another article he dealt exhaustively with the now familiar anti-Hungarian demonstrations in the County of Torda. For these two articles the Rumanian court passed sentence of two months' confinement on the journalist, who has appealed against the sentence. ("Szamos", November 10, 1934.) For a verse entitled "Transylvanian Song" Gregory Sarközy has been fined 1000 lei by the Kolozsvár military tribunal. The verse was published in April, 1934, in the Nagyvarad daily "Erdelyi Lapok", the said paper being forbidden to appear for a period of 8 days for having published the same. ("Kolozsvari Esti Lap", November 13, 1934.) For an article of his on the Rumanian Census published in the"Keleti Ujsag" Béla Javor, journalist resident in Kolozsvar, has been sentenced by the Kolozsvar Court of Law to 15 days' confinement and a fine of 2000 lei. The sentence has been confirmed also by the court of second instance. ("Romania Nova", November 17, 1934.) Dr. Andrew Vuchetitch, editor-in-chief of the "Déli Hirlap", a journal appearing in Temesvar, who - following the reports of the Rumanian daily "Patria" - had written about the abuses which had become rife in the public offices and had published an article from the Rumanian daily "Vestul" dealing with the revision question, has been sentenced by the Temesvar Court of Law to 6 months' confinement, a fine of 10,000 lei and three years' civil disablement. ("Keleti Ujsag", November 19, 1934: "Déli Hirlap", November 18, 1934.) For an article about the "name analysis" effected in the schools a Kolozsvar journalist of the name of Aladár Bakos has been condemned by the Kolozsvár King's Bench - which in its capacity as court of second instance increased the sentence of 1 month's confinement passed by the court of first instance - to three months' confinement and a fine of 4000 lei. ("Brassoi Lapok", December 7, 1934.)

At the end of November Rumanian doctors visited two towns and several villages in the County of Harom-szék and with the assistance of the authorities forced the inhabitants to undergo a blood test, taking samples of blood from the persons chosen for the purpose, though they were not entitled to do so by any legal provision. This "blood analysis" survey is in connection with the scientific experiment initiated for the purpose of proving that the composition of the blood of the Szeklers is identical with that of the Rumanians; though there is really not much sense in such an investigation, seeing that a person's "nationality" is not a matter of blood, but of feeling.

The Kolozsvár military tribunal has sentenced Charles Kürthy and Stephen Lakóczy, Reformed ministers in the County of Szatmár, to 3 days' imprisonment and fines of 500 lei each. For the authorities had ordained that the Magyar colours decorating the wall of the Reformed church at Dabolc should be obliterated, though the carrying out of the ordinance must result in the destruction of the valuable frescoes to be found in the church.

The stones and other building material required for the building of the Greek Oriental Church at Szekely-keresztur are being carried by Szeklers from distances of 30—40 kilometres. It should be noted that at Szekely-keresztur — apart from a few officials — there are no Rumanians belonging to the Greek Oriental Church. ("Ellenzek", November 20, 1934.)

At Algyogyfürdő (County of Hunyad) "persons of unknown identity" have removed the roof of the Roman Catholic chapel and begun to pull down the walls too, This act of vandalism is also a manifestation of that national intolerance which we meet continually ("Ellenzék", No. 247, October 27th., 1934).

#### YUGOSLAVIA

### CROATIAN MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO REGENCY (COUNCIL)

As is well known, after the tragical death of King Alexander more than 200 eminent members of the public life of Croatia addressed to the Regency (Council) a memorandum the full text of which was first made public in the columns of the "Reichspost" on December 7th. Although stressing the point that the Croatians too acknowledge the State, the signatories to the memorandum nevertheless feel impelled to establish the fact that the vast bulk of the Croatian nation do not consider the present situation as at all desirable. The State is a veritable hotbed of abuses; and there are very few citizens who have not experienced the effects of those abuses in their own persons. The first thing to be done is to restore a state of legality and to materially mitigate the excessively severe laws at present in force. In its present form the censorship is absolutely intolerable and exceptionally injurious. Public meetings must be permitted without restriction of any sort; and such meetings must not be made the privilege of any single party. The independence of the judiciary must be ensured; and - at least by way of experiment - the State Protection Act and the activity of the State Protection Courts must be suspended. The memorandum further demands the immediate release from prison of Vladimir Macek, the leader of the Croatian people, a far-reaching amnesty and the restoration of the confiscated property of political prisoners, it being thereby emphasised that the police, gendarmerie and army are fully sufficient to maintain the order of the State and that the irresponsible elements must be brought under control. The indispensable concentration of all the popular forces cannot be realised except by a fulfilment of these demands.

The Croatian memorandum — the signatories of which included men like Bauer, Archbishop of Zagreb, Meštrovič, the world-famed sculptor, Svryuga and Mazuranič, former Ministers, Tartalja, former Ban, and Krbek, formerly Mayor of Zagreb — was soon followed by another drafted by 50 men figuring in the public life of Serbia which approves of the demand of the Croatians for a concentration of national and political forces but at the same time urges the introduction of a system of government which, supported by the united forces and the confidence of the whole people, would be calculated to extricate the country from the present grave crisis.

Here we have therefore to deal with a programme for a settlement really modest in character which has very little in common with the radical demands of Maček and the other political leaders of the Croatian people and with the well-known "Zagreb Points".

The two memorandums were passed over in silence by order of the highest quarters — by the Yugoslav Press; and it was only early in December that the "Glasnik I. N. S." — the official organ of the Government Party, the Yugoslav National Party — dealt seriously with the memorandum submitted by the Croatians, the signatories of which it simply dubbed "defeatists". What it chiefly casts in their teeth is that they proclaim the great work of the martyr king to be a fundamental mistake and indeed a bad achievement and once more strive to enforce separatistic endeavours in State policy. Their action — says the "Glasnik" — is particularly reprehensible in view of the fact that they represent only a tiny group (?) separated by a great gap from the people as a whole (??). The Yugoslav National Party brands and condemns the dangerous attempt and will inflexibly continue the policy it has so far followed.

So everything will be as before. How long that will last, is a question which the future must be left to decide. For the moment people in Belgrade insist as rigidly as ever on abiding by the fiction of Yugoslavism — of a united nation — which serves so well to mask the pan-Servian ambitions. History, however, teaches us that a people which, like the Croatians, desires to live has never been effaced by brute force and the power of might.

#### NOTEWORTHY FINDING OF ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

When the change of regime took place, the bulk of the private property of Hungarians in the three Succession States belonging to the Little Entente was sequestered. This is what happened also to the lines of the Bars-Pakrac Railroad Co. Ltd., which were seized — together with the whole park of wagons and all the immovables — by the Yugoslav Government, which simply forgot to offer compensation. The Mixed Commission delegated by the

League of Nations to deal with the complaint of the interested parties recently took a decision, in terms of which in lieu of compensation for the period from January 1st., 1923, to the end of the present year the Yugoslav Government is required to pay 175.000 gold francs a year over a period of 41 years and in addition - during the period of validity of the company's concession, i. e. down to November 3rd.. 1975 - in lieu of payment for use of the railway yearly 22.5% of the gross receipts of the same. This percentual participation in profits of the company must not be less than 218.000 gold francs a year; and every year a separate account of the receipts must be handed in. This finding is a stigma on the illegal and unfair procedure of the Yugoslav authorities and at the same time evidence in justification of the Hungarian attitude - it being merely a recurrence of what has happened in almost every case in which the breaches of law and right committed by the Little Entente have been submitted to Arbitral Tribunals or to the Permanent International Tribunal sitting at The Hague, the findings having been in favour of the Hungarian attitude.

# BOOKS

#### SITUATION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Recently the Hungarian Frontier-Readjustment League issued a monograph containing some 144 pages and entitled "Memorandum Respecting the Situation of the Hungarian Minority in Czecho-Slovakia". The author — one of the many thousands of Hungarian refugees who have been compelled by the arhitrary régime in Czecho-Slovakia to abandon their native country — gives us, on the basis of carefully sifted and reliable data and with a painful objectiveness, a thrilling and moving picture of the grave situation of Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia.

The first chapter of the book describes the situation of Hungarians in political life, in the State administration and in local government, as also in the ecclesiastical organisations of Czecho-Slovakia, and in addition the intolerable chaos prevailing in the question of nationality and citizenship. In this connection the author establishes the fact that the oft-lauded democrarcy of the Czechs is merely — mock-democracy.

The second chapter offers a comprehensive survey of the methods of czechisation, - the dismissal of Hungarian officials, employment of large numbers of Czech officials in districts inhabited by Hungarians, land reform, the ruining of Hungarian banks, systematic "fleecing" methods in Slovakia and Ruthenis, and an economic war of destruction claiming its victims, not only among the members of the Magyar and German minorities, but also among the Slovaks and Ruthenians. In connection with the policy of reducing the educational possibilities of the Hungarian minority, the Prague Government has forbidden all cultural intercourse between Czecho-Slovak nationals who are Magyars in tongue and the Hungarians living in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Dismembered Hungary, while even the autochonous furtherance of Hungarian culture has obstacles thrown in its way by various measures of Government which continually outrage the national feelings of the Hungarians. On this point the Memorandum provides a succinct survey supported by abundant data.

The third chapter deals with the Czecho-Slovak Censuses and their methods. The latter have been subjected to a severe yet objective criticism — with particular reference to the curtailment of the language rights of the Hungarians in Pozsony (Bratislava), Kassa (Košiće) and Ungvår effected last year.

On the basis of all that has been said, the fourth chapter comes to the conclusion that in its treatment of the Hungarian minority the Czecho-Slovak system of government infringes all the Articles of the Minorities Treaty concluded with the Allied and Associated Powers at Saint-Germainen-Laye on September 10th., 1919, thereby both legally and morally undermining the legal foundations upon which Czecho-Slovakia was built. Now that the procedure of the League of Nations for the protection of the minorities has proved completely abortive, the author declares that the only way to a solution of the problem of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia is the aplication of the principle of nationality in a manner for the moment enabling that section of the Hungarian minority numbering roughly a million souls which is living in a compact mass along the Czecho-Hungarian frontier to be re-allotted to the mother country. This re-incorporation must be effected by peaceful means under Article XIX. of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The supplement annexed to the Memorandum contains numerous statistical tables, diagrams, texts of laws, excerpts from newspapers etc. in support of the complaints to be found in the text of the book. And finally the supplement contains three maps, — the first showing the ethnographical conditions of the territories of pre-War Hungary allotted to Czecho-Slovakia, the second graphically illustrating the denationalisation and czechisation of the districts of Slovakia and Ruthenia inhabited by Hungarians, while the third offers a survey of the effects of the enforcement of land reform and the transmutation of the compact Hungarian settlements by an admixture of Czech and Slovak colonists.

# POLITICAL ECONOM

#### AUSTRIA

#### INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF AUSTRIA

On November 21st. Dr. Schuschnigg, Austrian Chancellor, had two conversations with Mussolini, at which Berger-Waldenegg, Austrian Foreign Minister, and Suvich, Italian Foreign Secretary, were also present. These pourparlers once more confirmed the policy of a close understanding between Austria and Italy; The fact was established that the Italian-Austrian-Hungarian protocols signed in March, 1934, had contributed to an improvement of the economic situation of Austria. It was ascertained further that the agreements between the three States were not in the least exclusive in character and could be extended to other countries willing to accept the conditions forming the basis in principle of those agreements. It was also acknowledged finally that it would be useful to strengthen the cultural intercourse between the two States by new agreements relating to the establishment in Rome and Vienna of cultural institutes.

By invitation of the Austrian Chancellor the Hungarian Premier, Gombos, and the Hungarian Minister of Agriculture, Kallay, took part in the shooting party arranged in the State forests in North Styria. The object of this meeting was to give an opportunity for renewed discussions between the two heads of government and between the Hungarian Minister of Agriculture and Stockinger, Austrian Minister of Agriculture, who had recently treated

with Kallay in Budapest.

Dr. Schuschnigg, Austrian Chancellor, and Berger-Waldenegg, Austrian Foreign Minister, arrived on December 13th. in Budapest, where they stayed three days. The central event of their official programme was the discussion between the Austrian statesmen, the Hungarian Prime Minister General Gombos and the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Kalman Kanya. According to the communiqué issued on this occasion questions of common interest to both countries and the international situation were the themes of discussion. The Austrian visitors were received in private audience by the Regent, Admiral Horthy, who gave a lunch in their honour. At the dinner given by him the Hungarian Prime Minister made a speech in which, among other things, he stressed the fact that the period which had elapsed since the signing of the Rome protocols had shown that the original conception has been correct and that this was the only path which the Austrian and Hungarian peoples could follow if they desired to fulfil their European mission in the valley of the Danube. In his reply Dr. Schuschnigg declared that both Austria and Hungary were bent on securing a peaceful and undisturbed development and were by no means pursuing a policy of closed doors.

#### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA AN "INDUSTRIAL CEMETERY"

Speaking before the Socio-Political Committee of the House of Deputies of the effect exercised upon the industrial establishments by the economic crisis, Meissner, Minister of Public Welfare, used the phrase "industrial cemetery" and pointed out that between 1928 and the end of March, 1934, no fewer than 644 factories - i. e. 5.4 % of the total number - had definitively suspended operations. Of the other 11.159 factories in March 1.158 were not working; nor is it sure whether or when they will be able to resume operations. Even if we take into consideration the new factories established since 1928, there are 15% (1.802) fewer establishments active today than in the year 1928. Of the 17 smelting works which were in working in 1925 only 5 were still active in 1933. Since 1928 the number of workers employed in the mining industry has declined from 110.324 to 85.862. In 1928 the 10.803 factories in working employed altogether 1,005.000 persons: whereas the number of workers employed at the end of March, 1934, was only 655.000. The grave economic crisis has made its detrimental influence felt also in respect of population statistics; just as badly as in the years of the Great War. Whereas in 1933 the number of children born alive was 333.253, in 1933 the number of such children had already declined to 287.623. The number recorded for 1933 corresponds to that recorded for 1915. Between 1931 and the end of June, 1934, the number of births decreased by 104.655. The Minister further established the fact that since August, 1934, there has been a renewed increase of unemployment.

#### RUMANIA

#### RESULT OF RUMANIAN INLAND LOAN

The amount ultimately resulting from the Rumanian inland loan was 3.740,000.000 lei. The Government has decided that out of this amount the sum of 2 billions will be allotted to the army, 350 millions to agriculture, 220 millions appropriated for school and church pusposes, 125 millions allotted to the Ministry of Public Health, and 250 millions to the Bank of Issue. This result was due partly to "gentle pressure", as may be seen from the following cases: - The priests and ministers of the minority Churches were required in the course of their sermons to call the attention of their congregations to the obligation to subscribe the loan. On the villages inhabited by Magyars it was simply levied, the inhabitants of each several village being required to subscrive definite fixed amounts in lei. In this way the township of Biharpüspöki (Episcopia-Bihorului) - a parish with a population consisting almost entirely of pure Magyars - was required to subscribe 900.000 lei. The Arad police summoned a chemist and a textile manufacturer belonging to minorities to subscribe 200.000 lei each; and when the said persons declared their unwillingness to subscribe more than 2000 lei, they were immediately expelled from Rumania. It was only after infinite trouble and intervention that the two victims deported to the Hungarian frontier succeeded in obtaining permission to return.

## YUGOSLAVIA

#### INTERESTING AND INSTRUCTIVE REPORT

The December, 1934, report of the Chartered Yugoslav Company for the Export of Agrarian Produce - while referring to the grave situation of agrarian production among other things establishes the fact that during the course of the past five years the agricultural area under cultivation has increased by 213.354 hectares to 7,231.038 hectares, that representing an advance of 3.04%. Despite the disastrous slump in the price of wheat there has been an increase also in the area sown with wheat, which in 1933 amounted to altogether 2,127.297 hectares. The same has been the case - also despite the development of market prices - with the territories sown with maize,

which by 1933 had advanced to an aggregate area of 2,637.740 hectares, as against 2,380.838 hectares in the year 1929. In contrast to this striking increase, the area of land sown with industrial plants however shows a decline — from 153.471 hectares in 1929 to 102.996 hectares in the year under review - although the unlucrative character of wheat-growing might be expected to encourage farmers to indulge instead in the far more profitable business of growing industrial plants. Thus, although the various international conferences held in recent years as one means of solving the grave problem of wheat growing and marketing suggested an adequate reduction of the areas sown with wheat as the best expedient, we find that Yugoslavia — even despite the resolutions taken at these conferences — is continually increasing the territories sown with wheat and other cereals.

#### YUGOSLAV FILM THEATRES

According to the statistics published by the Yugoslav State Film Board the number of film theatres operating in the territory of Yugoslavia is 319. That means 1 film theatre for every 43.000 inhabitants. The largest share is that claimed by the Danube Banate (some 110 = on the average 1 for every 21.000 inhabitants). In the Save Banate there are 62 (1 cinema for every 42.000 inhabitants); and in the territory of the Drave Banate (Croatia and Slavonia) 46 (an average of 1 cinema for every 24.000 inhabitants). The smallest quota of film establishments is that of the Zeta Banate - altogether 9: here the disproportion is a very great one — 1 cinema for every 101.000 inhabitants!! Of the films produced in 1933 573 were foreign and 190 Yugoslav products: that meaning that altogether 763 films were shown that year. There are only 62 cinemas in the whole country which have performances every day. In Hungary, on the other hand, the number of film establishments in activity in 1930 was 558. And the comparative proportion is better than that in force in Yugoslavia, even if we exclude the large number of cinemas functioning in Budapest: for even then the average proportion of cinemas will be 1 for every 16.000 inhabitants.

# SPORTS

As a result of the unusually warm weather it has so far been impossible to start activity in every branch of winter sport. It is only skaters and players of ice hockey who are enabled — thanks to the excellent artificial ice rink in Budapest — to do any really efficient work. In nearly all other branches of sport the usual season of winter rest has set in; only footballers are still active, most of the leading teams having gone touring in foreign countries.

#### **ATHLETICS**

In the field of athletics "all is quiet", so that we have no fresh events to record. It will however not be without interest to utilise the present opportunity — now that the season is over — to compare the Hungarian records with those of world athletics:

	World Record	Hungarian Rec.
100 metres flat race	10.3 secs.	10.5 secs.
200 ,, ,, ,,	20.6 ,,	21.0 ,,
400 ,, ,, ,,	46.2 ,,	48.4 ,,
800 ,, ,,	1 min. 49.8 s	ecs 1 min. 52.0 secs.
High Jump	206 centimet	res 196 centimetres
Long Jump	798 ,,	749 ,,
Pole Jump	437 ,,	403 ,,
Throwing the Discus	5242 ,,	5073 ,,

The above data are striking testimony to the highly developed state of Hungarian athletics; for they show that the athletes of the Hungarian nation — a people of barely eight million souls — have achieved records very little below those of the world.

#### **FOOTBALL**

The autumn season of the First League closed early in the present month. The position of the leading clubs shows the following order of rank: — 1. Ujpest, 2. Ferencearos, 3. Hungaria, 4. Bocskay.

The match between the representative teams of Italy and Hungary was played on December 9th. in Milan, in the San Siro Stadion. Though the Hungarian team scored the first goal and the first half-time showed a drawn game (2—2), the match eventually ended with a victory of the Italians by 4 goals to 2.

#### FENCING

On December 8th, and 9th, the Austrian Fencing Association arranged a meeting to decide the Vienna Foils

and Epee Championships. The Foils Championship was won by Losert, the eminent Austrian fencer, second and third places being secured by two Hungarians, Zirczy and Ujfalussy. The Epee Championship was however won by the Hungarian Szekelyhidy, who did not lose a single assault and showed brilliant form.

#### SHOOTING

During the present month the most important event in the pigeon-shooting world of Italy — the International Championship — was held at Bordighera, one of the most beautiful spots in the Italian Riviera. The competition — which lasted three days — drew very large numbers of Italian, French, British and Austrian competitors. The only representative of Hungary was Dr. Alexander Lumnitzer, winner of many World and European Championships. Though he was only able to start at the last moment and thus took part in the competition practically without any previous training, Lumnitzer nevertheless succeeded in winning the event, thus gaining fresh laurels for Hungary. His splendid victory is particularly valuable in view of the fact that he competed with a Hungarian gun and Hungarian cartridges.

#### ICE HOCKEY

On December 8th. the Klagenfurt Ice Hockey Club — which last year won the Austrian Championship — played a match on the Budapest artificial ice rink. The Austrians, who had evidently had but little previous training, failed to withstand the vigorous Hungarian attacks, the final result being a victory of the Hungarian team by 7 goals to 1.

#### **UNIVERSITY SPORT**

Entries for the International University Games to be held in Budapest next year have been received from Egypt and Lithuania too, which cuntries have never yet competed in thes Games. Luxembourg — which country has already failed to appear on two occasions — has written a most cordial letter announcing her intention of without fail sending a considerable number of students to compete in Budapest. Everything seems to promise that the Budapest International University Games will vie with the big Olympic Games in point of the number of competitors.

Editor-in-Chief ELEMER SZUDY. Managing Editor: Dr. ERNEST FLACHBARTH. — Editorial Offices and Management: Zrinyi-utca 1. Budapest, V. — Issued and printed by Légrády Brothers. Responsible for the publication. Ferdinand Hanák. Responsible for the printing. Árpad Kertesz.