

were never justified in their complaints of oppression.

All unbiassed Rumanian historians admit that the Rumanian people owe the first beginnings of their national culture to the Hungarians; it is to the Hungarians that the Rumanian language owes its first monuments — the first books printed in Rumanian —, as also the liberation from Slav influences which must eventually have led to their utter slavisation; it is to the Hungarians that they owe both the first products of their vernacular literature and the preservation of their national existence.

In Transylvania today the Rumanian régime — after abolishing the Hungarian university in Kolozsvár and closing in succession a whole series of Hungarian secondary schools with a storied past — has reduced those schools which are still

in existence to a condition of utter incapacity owing to their being deprived of the endowments serving to support them. For the purpose of rumanising the Hungarian children the Rumanian State establishes Rumanian schools in villages inhabited only by Hungarians.

Yet the Hungarians were not under any special obligations; whereas Rumania was allotted Transylvania *on certain well-defined conditions*, such as the obligation to respect the rights of the minorities and to grant *Széklerland autonomy*.

We may safely say that during their rule of a thousand years the Hungarians did not subject the nationalities living under their control to anything like the sufferings and outrages which the Hungarian minority living in Rumania has had to suffer during the last fifteen years.

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

CONCERNING THE DANUBE VALLEY PROBLEM

The Governments of certain States are taking advantage of Italy being at present occupied with the Abyssinian campaign, to suggest a new solution of the Danube Valley problem without her co-operation, and to attempt to force Austria and Hungary into a political system which would best serve the interests of the Little Entente States. These endeavours were stated undisguisedly during the conversations begun in London after King George's funeral and continued, later on, in Paris.

In the course of these conversations M. Titulescu, Rumania's Foreign Minister, suggested that the much-discussed treaty which is to ensure Austria's independence should be guaranteed by Soviet Russia instead of Italy. This idea of the present controller of Rumania's foreign affairs is in a line with the pro-Soviet policy of which he has recently been an enthusiastic advocate, concerning the usefulness of which however an important section of Rumanian public opinion has its doubts. Were Rumania to become a thoroughfare for the Soviet and a gate for the Soviet's invasion of Europe, the danger of the red flood of Bolshevism overwhelming the whole social system of the country would be great. It is not without good reason that M. Bratianu and his *confrères* so strenuously oppose the conclusion of a treaty between Rumania and Soviet Russia, and that, as is said, King Carol's Russian policy is not in accord with that of his Foreign Minister.

Czecho-Slovakia supports M. Titulescu. Her Premier, M. Hodža, — whose excursions into foreign politics have not met with the approval of those Socialist Parties in the Prague Parliament which were formerly Dr. Beneš's vanguard — is said by unanimous press reports to have emphatically declared on the occasion of his recent visit to Paris, that Soviet Russia would have a great rôle to play in supporting the edifice of Central Europe.

Today, it is no secret that since concluding a treaty with the Soviet in the spring of last year, the Czechs, true to their old traditions, have thrown themselves again into the arms of Russia and of Pan Slavism.

They do not seem to mind that the new banner of Pan Slavism does not bear the double-eagle of the Czars, but the five-pointed star of the Soviet. As may be seen from the memorandum submitted to the League of Nations by the Slovak National Council, a report of the contents of which will be found in another column of this issue, Czecho-Slovakia takes the Soviet's military support so seriously that every preparation is being made to be ready to receive the Russian military planes.

It would be superfluous to explain what a dangerous game Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia are playing when they ally themselves with the Soviet, and think even of giving Russia a rôle in Central Europe as a suggested guarantor of Austria's independence. It is a dangerous game, not only because it may expose their peoples to the horrors of Bolshevism, but also, and to an even greater extent, because it would open the road for the Red Army to Warsaw, Berlin, Budapest, and Vienna. We must not forget that Vienna is only a few kilometres from Dévény — at present in Czech hands —, and if the Soviet aeroplanes and mounted troops reach that place, who is to assure Austria, Switzerland, Italy and even France, that the Russians will not wish to continue their march westwards?

In contrast to her two Little Entente allies Yugoslavia instinctively realizes the danger threatening European civilization from Russia. In the course of the Paris conversations Prince Paul, Regent of Yugoslavia, made a point of drawing the attention of the French statesmen to the risks entailed in Russia's guaranteeing Austria's independence. As the leading Orthodox Slav State now in Europe, Yugoslavia in many respects plays the same rôle in fostering Pravoslav traditions as did the Russia of the Czars, and apart from any reasons of foreign policy, she cannot be expected to move along the same lines as atheistic Moscow, the greatest enemy of the Pravoslav faith. It is not likely that M. Hodža will be able to bring the responsible factors in Yugoslavia to change their attitude in this delicate question.

But the Russian question is not the only one in which are latent seeds of discord between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania on the one hand, and Yugoslavia on the other. The attitude of the latter towards the problem of Habsburg restoration is widely different from that of her two allies. Yugoslavia's opposition to a restoration is certainly stronger than that of her allies, if only because of Croatia; for everybody knows by how many ties the Croatians, whose pacification Belgrade has not yet managed to accomplish, were linked to the Habsburg dynasty before the Great War. It would appear that Prince Paul's representations in London were not without their effect on the attitude of the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg.

According to this important member of the Austrian Government, Austria reserves her decision and her complete freedom of action in the question of the restoration, but has no intention of entering into an undertaking which would upset the peace of Europe. Austria refuses to give any statement renouncing a possible restoration of the monarchic form of government, a demand to all appearances formulated primarily by Yugoslavia; but she will not take any decisive steps without first consulting the European Powers. (This, as one of Prince Starhemberg's statements made to the leader of Austrian legitimists proves, by no means signifies that the consent of the Little Entente will be asked.) Prince Starhemberg has also repeatedly declared that it is premature to talk at present of a Habsburg restoration. All this, however, has not dispelled Yugoslavia's suspicions. By virtue of the ties which — in contrast particularly with Prague — bind Belgrade to Berlin, it cannot be questioned that Yugoslavia will weigh her relations, not only with Russia, but also with Austria, differently from the other two States of the Little Entente.

A recent report from the Belgrade correspondent of the "Times" states that Yugoslavia considers Italy Austria's protector, and sees no reason to follow the advice of the Powers who first wished Yugoslavia to seek a *rapprochement* with Italy, then later on expected her to join in applying sanctions against Italy, and now try to persuade her to offer economic advantages to an Austria who has not taken part in the application of sanctions; that having sacrificed her Italian markets, Yugoslavia cannot afford to lose her best customer, Germany; that unlike Great Britain, France has not compensated Yugoslavia for the losses caused by the sanctions; and, finally, that Belgrade was astonished to learn of the friendly reception accorded in London to the representatives of those Powers which had refused to apply the sanctions. Yugoslavia, therefore has many reasons to be dissatisfied, and, as the correspondent of the "Times" goes on to declare, M. Hodža's plan is in Belgrade considered a chimera.

Of what does this plan consist? The particulars are very vague. According to a statement of his in the "Petit Parisien", the Czecho-Slovak Prime Minister desires to bring about a *rapprochement* between the various States of the Danube Valley in the fields of both economy and politics, and in such a manner that in economic questions the Little Entente would approach the signatories of the Rome Pact (Italy, Austria and Hungary), while in the field of politics a whole series of agreements and treaties would regulate intercourse between the Danube States. According to information received by an important English newspaper, M. Hodža is anxious, in the first place, to establish a *rapprochement* between the Little Entente and Austria, but would leave the way open for Hungary and Bulgaria, even for Italy and Germany, to join in. So far as the concrete side of the plan is concerned, M.

Hodža ascribes an important rôle to a wheat-centre to be established in Vienna for the distribution of the surplus grain produced in the Danube States. Why does M. Hodža wish to establish this centre in Vienna, when the natural and economic centre of the Danube Valley is Budapest? Besides this plan, the Czecho-Slovak Premier, in complete agreement with M. Litvinov, would like to add a clause to Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations making the imposition of sanctions automatic; in which case a separate treaty guaranteeing Austria's independence would be unnecessary. No official reports are available; but the newspapers are correct saying that M. Hodža's conversations with the French Government did not go beyond an exposition of his plan, and that the Government listened to it without adopting any attitude in the matter, this would mean that the Quai d'Orsay does not regard it very optimistically.

The widely different opinions held by the several States of the Little Entente concerning this Czecho-Rumanian plan to side-track Italy while she is engaged in Abyssinia, and, in the interests of Prague and Bucharest, give a leading rôle to Russia in the adjustment of the Danube Valley, explain adequately why that plan suffered shipwreck before it was properly launched. Both in Paris and in London the importance of re-establishing the Stresa front is fully recognized.

Shrewd attempts have been made by certain Little Entente statesmen to create a rift between Austria and Italy and to explain the visit of Dr. Schuschnigg to Prague in January as the sign of a weakening of Austria's loyalty towards Italy. The best answer to this was the meeting that took place in Florence between Baron Berger-Waldenegg, Austrian Foreign Minister, and Signor Suvich, Italian Foreign Secretary. The meeting, at which the two statesmen discussed all the problems of the day common to the two countries, was conducted strictly in the spirit of the Rome Pact.

The problem of the Danube Valley is hardly to be solved without the co-operation of Germany, one of the greatest buyers from and sellers to that territory. Germany has already declared that she will never accept any preferential tariff treaties between the States of the Danube Valley concluded without her participation.

If after all this we examine Hungary's point of view, it is clear that General Gömbös, Prime Minister, hit the nail on the head when he said that until the Abyssinian question had been settled, it would be premature to talk of the adjustment of the economic difficulties in the Danube Valley. M. Kánya, quoted this statement of General Gömbös' when, on his way home from London through Paris and Vienna, related to Baron Berger-Waldenegg, Austrian Foreign Minister his impressions — another sign of the cordial relations between Austria and Hungary. M. Kánya also said that he was "willing to study with the greatest care and good-will, and in conjunction with all the interested parties, any acceptable plan for a Danube Pact". M. Kánya made a similar statement at a meeting of the Parliamentary Foreign Committee on February 13th. On this occasion he said that the Hungarian Government was "willing on the basis of equality to examine carefully any proposal reconcilable with Hungary's rightful interests which leaves open the possibilities of peaceful evolution, guarantees the protection of the minorities, and does not impose upon us obligations exceeding those contained in the peace treaties".

As Bulgaria is geographically also a Danube State, we must briefly mention that her neighbours consider

the time has arrived to try again to force this country into the Balkan Pact. After King Boris' conversations in London and Paris, however it is evident that Bul-

garia will not be willing in the future either to join that system.

— y —

SOME EXCERPTS FROM THE MEMORANDUM RECENTLY SUBMITTED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BY THE SLOVAK COUNCIL

The Slovaks protest most indignantly against their native land being converted into a basis for the Soviet airmen and demand their re-incorporation in Hungary.

On January 20th last, in behalf of the Slovak National Council, Professor Francis Jehlička, President, Victor Dvorčák, Vice-President, and Francis Unger, submitted to the League of Nations a Memorandum *in re bolshevism and the Slovak problem.*

From this Memorandum we have selected the excerpts given below:

*

„A glance at the map of Europe suffices to enable us to understand the significance — from the strategic and the political point of view — of the admission into Slovakia of Soviet airmen.

The glorious scheme of converting Czecho-Slovakia into a basis for Soviet airmen determines in advance the role to be played by a country surrounded on all sides by Germans, Poles and Hungarians respectively.

Nor must we forget that the population of Czecho-Slovakia — 13.5 million souls — is so heterogeneous that it lacks all possibility of cohesion...

Czecho-Slovakia is showing an exceptional rapidity in making her preparations to serve as a basis for the Soviet airmen, — providing landing fields and underground hangars and oil reservoirs etc. The work is being done in forced shifts, particularly in the eastern part of the Republic, in Slovakia, which separates Hungary from post-War Poland. The construction of the principal aerodrome for the use of the Russian fliers at Užhorod (Ungvár) is finished; others are being built at Mukačevo (Munkács), Rahovô, Selo-Slotvina, Pistány (Pöstyén), Vajnory and Trencsén all places situated in Slovakia and Ruthenia.

A leading *motif* of Czech foreign policy is that the Czecho-Slovak State cannot subsist except as a continuation of the territory of Soviet Russia.

Seeing that Beneš's Republic is for the moment separated from Russia by Poland (East Galicia), Czecho-Slovakia has to content itself with maintaining an air connection with the Soviet. But — thanks to the help of Rumania — this connection has already been realised. That is a fact. Soviet Russia has military forces in the territory of Slovakia, whence that country can with the greatest ease reach Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest and Vienna.

There is no doubt that in the event of war the four countries most immediately threatened by the air forces of the Soviet would endeavour first of all to obtain possession of Slovakia. Thus Slovakia will be the first battlefield of the next war. And Slovakia thus becomes the key to the European problem.

The recent Czech manoeuvres, the object of which

was the defence of Slovakia, show beyond a doubt that the main object behind the strategic plans of the Czech general staff is to defend Slovakia to the neglect of Bohemia and Moravia.

Only — we must confess — this scheme has a slight hitch — viz, the supposition that the threatened States will remain indifferent in the event of its being effectuated by the Czechs."

*

„And in this situation we can readily understand why the Slovak people, which was incorporated against its will in a hybrid State brought into being by the Great War and based upon the lie which was the cause of its establishment (the lie which informed the world that "the Slovaks were Czechs"), protests energetically against the bolshevist invasion. Nothing is more alien to our people than the bolshevist idea or a "Czecho-Slovak" national feeling.

The largest Slovak Party — the "Slovak People's Party" under the leadership of Monsignor Hlinka — has told President Beneš what it thinks of the admission of the Soviet into Slovakia. 'We have no liking for the hand' — so wrote the "Slovak" on December 15th, 1934 — "which had the presumption to erect a statue to the Judas Iscariot who betrayed Jesus Christ".

An in this connection we would refer to the evidence given by André Tardieu, who has proved that the Slovaks and the other peoples incorporated in this notorious Republic — which peoples by the way for a majority of the population — are subjects of that State against their will. Nothing proves that fact more clearly or strikingly than the words written by M. Tardieu in his book "La Paix" — "we had to choose between a plebiscite and the existence of Czecho-Slovakia".

At the Peace Conference we were however simply ignored and allotted to the Czechs "*sine nobis*" — it being only a question of the poor Slovaks whose existence was not even suspected by the treaty-makers. They believed Beneš, who simply denied our existence.

Now, however, it is no longer a question of the Slovaks only, but of the whole of Europe. And this Europe must surely take note of the dangers threatening, not only its economic system, but its very civilisation. And, should there be among the peoples of Europe sub-conscious sensitiveness or jealousy or demands, at the sight of the bolshevik danger those peoples must sink their jealousy and waive their demands — for that danger is no longer merely *ante portas*, but is already in the very heart of Europa."

*

„Immediately after the Uruguay scandal the peace of Prague was seriously ruffled by the painful affair of the theft of documents from the Soviet Legation. On November 28th, 1935, the Soviet Legation in

Prague was the scene of a grave act of robbery. A bolshevik employee of the name of Kosimov stole the list of the agents of the Moscow Third International and sold that list and the Russian secret code key to Germany.

Between that date and January 8th, 1936, on the basis of the stolen list 500 bolshevik agents were arrested and imprisoned in Germany. The same list was used in Yugoslavia as pretext for the arrest of 50 persons who were all high functionaries familiar with the important secrets relative to the security of the Yugoslav State. These persons included Dr. Linicky, A. M. Komarovsky, A. Vinicky, Captain Petrov (Serbian), O. V. Dimitriev (diplomatic messenger), Pepeskál, Macherowskaja, and a well-known Belgrade doctor of the name of Hnilicky.

In connection with its report of these arrests the "Slovak" published a long article with the following characteristic title, — "Bolshevik Propaganda Forge Discovered in Prague".

"It is in Prague, not in Vienna, that the wires are concentrated which the Moscow Bolshevik International holds in its hands for the purpose of upsetting the balance of Europe", — so wrote the "Slovak" in its January 8th issue. "The main point is that it is through Prague that Moscow moves its pawns — its agents, as also that the list, of those agents was kept in the Soviet Delegation in Prague. Now, should the Moscow Government attempt to clear itself by arguing that these agents are not in its service, but in that of the Third International, — we would ask why this list was kept in that legation which represented the Soviet Government in Prague?"

And we would also ask why the Prague Government surrendered Kosimov — the man who stole the documents — to the Soviet Union despite the fact that there is no treaty of extradition in force between Czecho-Slovakia and that Union?

For us Slovaks there are only two possible alternatives. Either to accommodate ourselves to the policy dictated by Beneš and further the bolshevisation of Slovakia leading inevitably to the bolshevisation of the whole of Europe, or with might and main to resist the attempt being made upon ethics, civilisation and the peace of the world.

Yes, to resist the assault on the peace of the world; for it is only natural that the neighbouring States, not being willing to allow the intrusion of this Asiatic infection, will endeavour to rid the body of Europe of the noxious abscess festering there.

Or we might appeal to the expedient of insurrection. It is true that people who are weak must fain control themselves; and particularly those whose power of resistance has been already broken by seventeen years of Czech oppression. The apparent tranquillity reigning in Slovakia today was bought at the cost of ruthless reprisals. For we must tell you that the Czech gamekeepers in Slovakia were originally poachers; and the force employed by them is far more brutal than that of an old established police softened by routine. You ask why the Slovak people has tolerated all this without rising in revolt? The answer is given by the prisons crowded with Slovak patriots and by the tale of our political exiles.

It is impossible to shout for help. The press is shackled by the system of previous censoring. And, should an unfortunate editor allow himself to reveal the truth of the situation, he could not do so without being sentenced to a few months' imprisonment and having his paper placed under embargo. And the public prosecutor, who is censor too, always has the odds on his side.

Nevertheless, the Slovak people, though materially disarmed, is not morally disarmed too; it is only waiting for political complications in the international situation and for a general mobilisation to provide it with arms. According to a military expert who spent several years in Prague as the military attaché of a friendly Power, in the event of war the value of the Czecho-Slovak army is nil. Seeing that the Czechs constitute only 40% of the army, the said military expert is of opinion that they would not be strong enough even to keep in check the Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ruthenians and Poles constituting 60% of the Czecho-Slovak army.

The first solution is nothing for us; for we are not bolshevists and have no wish to further the bolshevisation of Europe. There remains the other solution, which when occasion offers will enable us to liberate ourselves from the yoke of our pro-bolshevik oppressors."

*

"In the Memorandums submitted to the League of Nations the Slovak Council has repeatedly stated that geographically and historically Slovakia belongs to Hungary, from which country it was unjustly severed against its will and in defiance of its vital interests. The Treaty of Trianon treated us even more harshly than it treated the Hungarians themselves, seeing that it killed us, whereas it only dismembered their country.

The Slovak Council begs once more to appeal to the League of Nations and to call the attention of that body to the Covering Letter dated May 6th, 1920, and signed by M. Millerand, which declared that the decisions contained in the Treaty of Trianon were not final but were subject to revision the moment any occasion arose for such revision. The Slovak question is indubitably an occasion of the kind hinted at. It is the unjust and unnatural situation created by those very Paris treaties of peace that the Soviet would exploit in its struggle against the peace and intellectual life of Europe. I am in hurry to penetrate into Europe while Slovakia is still in the hands of the Czechs. Why wait any longer? When the Russian fliers leave Slovakia to drop their bombs in Warsaw, Vienna and Budapest, it will be too late. The catastrophe must be prevented.

The Czech-Russian corridor must be abolished; Slovakia must be separated from Bohemia. There must be no common frontier joining Bohemia to Russia such as is desired by both those countries. But there must be a common frontier joining Poland to Hungary!

Subject to a formal guarantee of the rights of the Slovak nationality Slovakia must be re-annexed to Hungary, — the country to which that province was united for a thousand years and to which it gravitates geographically too. The inhabitants of Slovakia are longing to belong to Hungary, — a spiritual necessity, which could easily be proved beyond a doubt by a plebiscite.

Seeing that we Slovaks, being a small people, cannot aspire to create an independent Slovak State, we must restore the connection with Hungary which united us with that country for a thousand years. The sad experiences of the oppressive and grasping system of the Czechs has taught us to realise that "*extra Hungariam non est vita*".

In thus desiring to ensure our life as a people, we believe we are doing a service to the whole of Europe and to the Christian civilisation which is threatened with extinction by a Red Pan-Slavism..."

WHY DOES BULGARIA NOT JOIN THE BALKAN PACT?

After King George's funeral, King Boris of Bulgaria took advantage of his sojourn abroad to hold conversation in London, as well as in Paris, with leading circles and with statesmen of other countries present. In connection with this visit the question of Bulgaria's joining the Balkan Bloc has again been raised by the European press. Certain western countries are of the opinion that they are serving the cause of peace by advising Bulgaria to do so. King Boris had the opportunity of dissipating the anxiety concerning Bulgaria's attitude. It was easy for him to do so, for everybody knows that Bulgaria is disarmed, that her policy towards her neighbours is loyal and peaceful, and that she has not refused to conclude bilateral treaties of non-aggression. It is impossible, however, for her to join the Balkan Bloc; because the principle of equality was not applied to her when at the time of the conclusion of the Balkan Pact she

was not invited to join and furthermore to do so would mean a grave renunciation of her rights to a Bulgaria baldly crippled by the peace treaties.

Bulgaria would be very happy if her neighbours, in order to ensure co-operation, would show a better frame of mind, but until this happens, the only policy she can pursue is League policy. As far as the internal situation is concerned, events go to show that consolidation is on the best way towards realization. Damian Veltchev's trial is approaching its close. The reports circulated in the foreign press about the danger of Bolshevism lack all foundation. It is true that the Communists who have been declared lawless in Bulgaria, have attempted to exploit the troubled situation and to secure a better chance for their agitation, — however the authorities have strangled every movement of theirs right from the start.

SIR ROBERT GOWER IN HUNGARY

On February 25th Sir Robert Gower, Chairman of the Hungarian Group of Members of the British Parliament, arrived in Budapest on a visit to his Budapest friends, the ultimate object of his trip being to study on the spot the further development of the Hungarian question. On his arrival he was met by a large number of his personal friends and admirers. On February 26th Sir Robert Gower went to the Foreign Ministry, where he was received by *Baron Gabriel Apor*, Permanent Under Secretary.

The guests at the lunch given in Sir Robert's honour in the *Gellért Hotel* by the "Hangya" Hungarian Co-operative Society included the following prominent members of Hungarian public life: *Archduke Joseph Francis*, *Stephen Winckler*, Minister of Commerce, *Count Maurice Esterházy*, former Prime Minister of Hungary, *Julius Kornis*, Vice-President of the House of Deputies, *Roland Hegedüs*, former Minister of Finance, *Prof. A. B. Yolland*. After toasting *King Edward VIII.* and the *Regent of Hungary, Dr. Elemér Balogh*, Member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament, welcomed *Sir Robert Gower* in a speech containing the following passages: — *Eden*, the British Foreign Secretary, in a speech delivered in *Geneva* had declared the primary object of British policy to be the prevention of all quarrels and contentions. And in his recent exposé he had spoken against the policy of a blockade, for the peoples longed for peace. *Without sincerity, justice and fairness there could not be any reconciliation* or a way out of the crisis. A pacification of Central Europe *without revision was out of the question*. This silver lining to the cloud had come from Britain. It was to the everlasting credit of Sir Robert that he had been one of the first to start the process; and the Hungarian nation would never forget what he had done. This movement on the part of Great Britain had decisively influenced the public opinion of the world too, for which reason, in the event of his efforts being crowned with success, the whole of Europe must be grateful to Sir Robert. For the cause at stake was not the cause of justice merely or that of Hungary in particular, but the cause of the peace, security, tranquillity and economic prosperity of Europe generally.

The words spoken by *Dr. Elemér Balogh* were

greeted with loud applause; and when Sir Robert rose to reply he was most cordially cheered. He assured his hearers that *the majority of the Members of the British House of Commons fully realised the gravity of the situation into which Hungary had been plunged and quite appreciated the difficulties which Hungary had to contend*. The British nation had always felt a sincere sympathy for Hungary, for it regards the Hungarians as its traditional friends. Sir Robert then dealt with the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, which he regarded as *merely provisional*. In this connection he referred to *the motion which he and his friends had submitted to the British House of Commons, which had it printed and placed on the Order of the Day*. That motion he and his friends were responsible for; and they were all of opinion that *the provisions which had so badly hit Hungary were unjust, oppressive and rigorous*. They believed that these provisions must be revised to enable Hungary to recover those territories of *Older Hungary which were essentially Hungarian*. Those responsible for the said Motion did not — Sir Robert continued — regard the question *from the Hungarian point of view*. In their opinion all existing injustices must be redressed. And they sincerely wished the relations between Hungary and the Little Entente States to be based on understanding and friendly feelings. However, a sine qua non of that was *the stability of peace*, in the real, not the restricted, sense of the word. Sir Robert then explained that in his humble opinion *the nations concerned must not exceed the limits of possibility*, but must negotiate in a spirit of amity, inspired by a fervent desire to do all in their power to solve the principal question. It was evidently just as eminently in the interest of the Little Entente States as it was in that of Hungary that the present situation should be replaced by co-operation. This solution could be realised by mutual goodwill. In conclusion Sir Robert Gower informed his hearers that the parliamentary group of which he was Chairman would do everything in its power to further an amicable agreement. *The unfortunate situation at present in force gravely affected the whole of Europe*. He felt convinced that Hungary would on her part too leave no stone unturned to achieve the object which he had referred to.

On February 29th Sir Robert Gower called on

Premier Julius Gömbös, with whom he spent a considerable time. His Hungarian friends did everything in their power to render the eminent British politician's stay in Hungary agreeable. Lunches in his honour were given by Archduke Joseph Francis, Sir

Geoffrey Knox, British Minister in Hungary, Dr. George Lukács, former Minister of Education, and Dr. Ottó Légrády, Editor-in-Chief of the "Pesti Hirlap"; and on Friday, the 28th, a dinner was given in his honour by Professor Arthur Yolland.

THE NEW HUNGARIAN MINISTER IN LONDON

On the recommendation of the Hungarian Foreign Minister the Regent of Hungary has recalled Count Ladislas Széchenyi de Sárvár-felsővidék, Hungarian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, and has entrusted the charge of the Royal Hungarian Legation there to Dr. Constantin Masirevich, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, who as Minister will represent Hungary in

Great Britain. Dr. Masirevich, who for some time prior to the War was attached to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in London, is one of Hungary's most distinguished diplomats. In the capacity of Minister he has hitherto represented Hungary in three important capitals, Vienna, Prague and Berlin.

— y —

CROATS OF AMERICA SUPPORT CROATIA'S NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

With unflagging ardour the Croats continue to fight for their national rights, and they do so, not only within the confines of Yugoslavia, but also in foreign lands. Recently the Croats living in America sent a memorandum signed by their President, Mr. Persić, and Mr. Dosem, Secretary-General, to the various governments, as well as to various scientific institutes and cultural organizations. In the memorandum, amongst other things, they pointed out that Croatia, in consequence of a manifest misapplication of the Wilsonian principles lost her thousand-years-old independence after the War, and that ever since the chief aim of the Belgrade Government has been to

suppress the national feelings of the Croats. At a congress recently held in Chicago the supporters in America of Croatian independence protested against the attempt of the Serbs to deprive Croatia of her right. They also appealed through the League of Nations to the conscience of the world. The national cause of the Croats and their struggles to uphold it are just and right. Therefore they demand the withdrawal of the Serb troops from Croatian soil and, simultaneously, the establishment of a free and independent Croatian State.

— y —

A SERBIAN DIPLOMAT'S BRAVE STAND IN THE MATTER OF MINORITIES AND REVISION

The bed-rock of Little Entente policy is an unconditional adherence to the treaties guaranteeing the *status quo*. It was only Dr. Masaryk who sometimes deviated from this rigid attitude of rejecting a *limine* every solution by way of compromise. He did so in some of his unofficial statements, which, however, were immediately disavowed by the Czecho-Slovak Government. Now it is from Yugoslavia that the voice of understanding is heard.

"Every Yugoslav Government" — writes M. Ivan Yovanovitch — "must scrupulously fulfil the minority commitments given to the Great Powers. *No Yugoslav Government must allow the rights of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia to be less than the rights of the national minorities in Hungary.* Neither of the Governments ought to stand on the principle of reciprocity. International obligations should be strictly observed, even in the case of the minorities, and exceptional measures are right only when the minorities in question do not behave loyally towards the State whose citizens they are...

"As regards the future, the following conclusions may be drawn. *The question of the minorities must sooner or later come up before the Great Powers. The peace treaties are faulty even from an ethnographic point of view. Ignorance, political interests mixed*

with historical traditions, and the emotions aroused by the war-trumpets and the devastation of the battle-fields, left their mark on the peace concluded in Paris. But peace treaties are not eternal. A peace treaty at the time of its conclusion is the best solution possible for one party and the very worst possible for the other. It was like that before Versailles, and it was like that in 1919 and 1920. It would be difficult to find a single important peace treaty from the eighteenth century to the present day in which the ethnographic boundaries have been rightly drawn, or with which both belligerent parties were completely satisfied. There have always been some who were not satisfied, and as a rule the treaties were modified after a certain lapse of time. Hitherto, unfortunately, it has always been war that modified them. Let us hope, however, that in the future their revision will be achievable in a peaceful way, by means of compromise and negotiation. It the League of Nations puts the crowning touch to its past endeavours by preventing the provocation of a war, the future will be brighter.

"Then the Democracies dominating the League will be able to apply their democratic principles and methods to international relations in the interests of a brighter future for the peoples of Europe and the progress of civilization. By doing so they will be

stronger and surer guarantees of world peace than dictatorships are."

M. Yovanovitch's statements are certainly evidence of a much more enlightened attitude than that of his compatriots, and they deserve to be unanimously applauded as the expressions of a sincere desire for reconciliation. They deserve this all the more, because hitherto there has not been a single Yugoslav politician daring enough to approach the problems in question with such exemplary unbiassedness and manly frankness. With unshakeable confidence M. Yovanovitch looks to real Democracy to provide a solution of all the problems the insoluble nature of which threatens the peace both of Europe and of the whole world and is a stumbling-block in the path of consolidation. Yes, but where does real Democracy begin and of what does it consist? So far all we have seen is that it was just the so-called democratic States that fabricated the arbitrary Paris peace treaties and have since most rigidly opposed any revision of those treaties in keeping with justice — that is to say, with the principle of self-determination preached during the war by the Entente, and with the vital demands of the down-trodden nations. And it is just those democratic States that have brought the League pro-

tection of the minorities to the very verge of failure. Even the Yugoslav Democracy mentioned by M. Yovanovitch has done no better. It was Yugoslav Democracy that made pariahs of the national minorities by depriving them of their civil rights; that, in flagrant violation of the minority treaties, dispossessed them of their private schools by confiscating their funds; that drove the minority public officials and employees out of their posts, and that, by a system of unparalleled over-taxation, ruined the former prosperity of the minorities. Then as regards the insoluble nature of the Croatian problem; it was the same Serb Democracy that casting aside the Protich-Stoyan Autonomist Constitution Bill, used terror and corruption to carry through the centralistic Vidovdan Constitution in 1921, and with the assassination of Stephen Raditch in the Skupstina on June 20th 1928 wrecked every chance of an honest Serbo-Croatian compromise. This sort of Democracy is not the real thing; it is not the panacea that M. Yovanovitch and millions of the oppressed are seeking as a cure for the ills that have accumulated, nor will it redress the grave wrongs, errors and injustices that have been committed.

— y —

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

HUNGARIAN COMPOSERS CONCERT CANCELLED

The business people in the village of Kéménd arranged a public evening party on February 1-st, and invited M. József Cselényi, the well-known composer of Hungarian songs from Budapest to give them a performance of his songs. The composer actually arrived in Kéménd and the public was looking forward to his appearance with great expectation, the more so as the concert had been previously authorized by the District authorities in Párkány. It was only shortly before the opening that the public was informed of the fact that M. Cselényi would not appear, as the District authorities had suddenly withdrawn their permission. The writ issued by the District chief ordered M. Cselényi to be arrested in the event of his making an attempt to appear after all. Arriving at the last moment, this order caused much excitement and ill feeling among the audience. After the remarkably fine-sounding statements made at the recent election of the new President, such regulations are not very easy to understand.

Another composer of Hungarian songs, himself a Czecho-Slovak subject, has received the same treatment. The Sporting Club of Vágsellye asked Dr. George Mihola, the well known composer of Hungarian songs, to produce some of his own songs and tangos in a programme connected with dancing. The appearance of Dr. Mihola was awaited with great interest by the guests of the evening, many of whom had to come from the neighbouring districts to hear him. It is easy to understand therefore the painful sensation caused by the decision of the District Chief, M. Cernánsky, which was handed to the committee shortly before the ball was due to start. Referring to certain

administrative causes for the prohibition of Dr. Mihola's appearance, the District Office declared that the entertainment was to be considered as a dance and not a cabaret performance, so that Dr. Mihola's appearance was not desirable.

— y —

HUNGARIAN PUPILS MUST ADDRESS THEIR HEADMASTERS IN "CZECHO-SLOVAK"

Great surprise was caused among the Hungarian population of the town Somorja by the unusual conduct of M. Kelemen Blahó, the newly appointed headmaster of the municipal school. As soon as the new headmaster entered his office he ordered the pupils of the Hungarian section of his school to greet him henceforth in "Czecho-Slovak", and to use Czecho-Slovak in their official intercourse with the school authorities. The municipal authorities have decided to take steps against this violation of the free use of Hungarian. ("Prágai Magyar Hirlap", February 12th.)

— y —

MORE ARRESTS IN CZECH-TESCHEN

In Czech Silesia, not far from the village of Louk, during the night of October 27th unknown persons broke the windows of a number of Czech schools; in some places they even set fire to the buildings. The Czech authorities have so far arrested eleven persons in connection with this affair; in the course of further official investigations a map was discovered in the "Polonia" Hotel in Teschen showing the town as lying within the boundaries of Poland. Thereupon the authorities arrested the hotel-keeper, two servants, and the sheriff of a village inhabited by Poles.

—y—