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# THE BOLSHEVIK PERIL IN THE DANUBE VALLEY

by

*Andrew Bajcsy-Zsilinszky*

When in 1933 he returned from England, where he had been delivering a series of successful lectures — in London and elsewhere — Count Bethlen said that the Hungarian question, and with it the whole problem of the Danube Valley, ought to be settled before Germany and Russia were able to exert a decisive influence on that territory. Who would have thought then that in two short years the European situation would be so radically different? Not only that Germany's and Soviet Russia's endeavours to obtain a hegemony would turn, one after the other, in the direction of this tragic area, but also that their positions would be so much stronger and their differences so much more acute? It makes our blood run cold to think of the terrible possibility that Hungary may be the battlefield on which German and Russian imperialistic aspirations will try an issue.

Who would have dreamed a few years ago that Russia would ever be a Member of the League of Nations and a decisive factor in European politics? Who could have guessed that the Soviet system would achieve in Central Europe what the Russia of the Czars failed to accomplish even at the cost of millions and millions of Russian lives, viz. that Russia would gain a footing in Central Europe and build military air-fleet bases in the Slovak territories wrested from Hungary?

No matter what the reasons were that provided the Soviet with ways and means of establishing this close political and military co-operation with Czecho-Slovakia. The bitter facts are enough at the moment. The lost opportunity of re-organizing Central Europe while the Russian might was farther from the Danube Valley, can never be recalled. But let us, and the rest of Europe, take a lesson from the facts of the case.

Compared with a few years ago the situation in Central Europe is that the Soviet's advanced military front is in Slovakia. Russia's arrow — like advance across Czecho-Slovakia has met with no opposition either on the part of official Czecho-Slovakia or of a Europe organized in the League

of Nations. On the contrary, the Russian advance is the direct and natural outcome and consequence of the Russo-Czecho-Slovak pact, which again is the fruit and consequence of the Franco-Soviet treaty. Official France has always denied that this treaty is of the nature of an alliance, and M. Laval, it is true, did slightly modify Barthou's original text; but for all that, in essentials and interpretation it is at least dangerously like a treaty of alliance. And Great Britain — alas! — has ratified it.

We understand, or believe we understand, the points of view that played a part in inducing Great Britain to sanction the revival of the old Franco-Russian alliance in a new form. When Britain ratified the Franco-Soviet treaty she was at loggerheads with Italy over the Abyssinian question, and was to an increased extent dependent on co-operation with France, that having in any case been, in principle, the unswerving policy of all British Government after the war. And surely the British view of the treaty was to a certain measure influenced by the fact that Japan's attitude towards Manchuria and her aggressive designs on China had brought to maturity the idea, or at least created the appearance, of Great Britain's and Soviet Russia's interdependence in the political and diplomatic entanglements of the Far East.

But looking at the matter with Hungarian eyes, it is hard to escape from the troubling thought that the germs and possibilities of a terrible danger to Europe have been scattered in the heart of that continent, not so much by Soviet Russia's League membership, as by the fact that the Soviet's political and diplomatic support has been allowed to play too great a rôle through the medium of the Franco-Soviet and the Czecho-Soviet pacts. It has been entirely forgotten, not only that Russia by reason of her vast extent and the fabulous prolificness of her population is an increasingly menacing world power, but also that she is the spiritual and material head and moving force of the Third International. And however



sound a political tenet it may be that the interests of foreign policy must not be subordinated to ethical views of life, we must accept the rule with reservations where the Soviet is concerned. And if there is a country whose individual historical evolution and the peculiar mental attribute of its people make it wholly incapable of forging in the fires of revolution standards of life acceptable to the nations of Europe — that country is Russia. The Russian psyche still bears the indelible stamp of Mongol rule, an anti-European something which Dostoeffsky, himself perhaps the most typical interpreter of the Russian genius, proclaimed with the fanaticism of a prophet to be Russia's mission. This anti-European spirit has been only reinforced in the Soviet system. Lenin's and Stalin's peculiar Russianized Marxism and the world-revolutionary organization of the Third International have multiplied a hundred-fold the inherited anti-European political and spiritual tendencies of the Russian psyche and Russian life on which the race has been nurtured for centuries. Who will be able in given circumstances to draw a sharp line between Russia's growing influence on Central European politics and the Bolshevik ideology which, even if at present it plays a subordinate rôle in Soviet propaganda, will naturally always be ready to awake again, more ardent than ever, and go into action?

Official French circles deny that Russian propaganda and Russian money had anything to do with the recent peculiar and alarming developments in France's domestic politics.

But to put a question: Even if Soviet propaganda had no immediate hand in the French elections and their later developments, who would venture to deny that Soviet Russia, the accepted, nay the cherished child of Geneva, the Soviet Russia which was fulsomely lauded by the late M. Barthou and which is linked to France by bonds of alliance and of other treaties concluded last year, was not able by the suggestive force of *rapprochement* and co-operation to influence the French masses without any direct interference, and thus help to advance the Communist Party? This is so obvious that I venture the opinion that unless that Soviet had been dragged into European politics, the Socialists would hardly have secured a relative majority in the Front Populaire and the French Chamber; nor would the extreme left wing and the Communists have acquired such a preponderance.

The semi-official organ of the Quai d'Orsay, the "Le Temps" on June 15th published an interesting and frank leader entitled "Le Mirage de la constitution Soviétique". This article treats of the internal evolution of Soviet Russia and the relation of the U. S. S. R. to bourgeois Europe, that is to say to the world of the middle classes everywhere. It says that the return of Stalin's system to one of "a perfect democracy" is a mirage. The

article, which was written to dispel false illusion, ends with the words: — "*Le fond demeure tel que Lénine l'a établi: la Russie soviétique reste un État soi-disant prolétarien dont toutes les forces tendent à consolider ce qui fut acquis par le bouleversement de 1917, et qui entièrement soumis à la III. Internationale communiste, trouve toujours sa raison d'être dans l'effort soutenu pour préparer et organiser la révolution universelle.*"

It is no light matter when the semi-official organ of France ruled by the Socialists feels impelled to warn the French nation against the illusions inspired in the masses by the so-called new Soviet Constitution. And it may also be considered an important and striking circumstance to find, in the first month of the Blum régime, the semi-official press declaring that Stalin is faithful to Lenin's policy, and that the new Constitution has not abandoned the old Bolshevik aim, preparation for and the organisation of a world revolution.

In these circumstances it may safely be said that all the countries and nations that cling to their western pattern of civilization are in the same boat. All are permanently threatened by the sword of Damocles of the possibility of a Bolshevik world revolution. Quite recently Mr. Lloyd George wrote that ninety millions of China's inhabitants are under Bolshevik rule. The Nanking Central Government has never been able to obtain the mastery over masses of that dimension. Mr. Lloyd George goes farther and prophesies that if Chang-Kai-Chek is not able to pay the armies of the Nanking Government because of the deprivations of bands of Japanese smugglers and the losses they are causing to China's public finances, Bolshevism must inevitably spread in the territories administered by the Nanking régime. This prophecy is to be taken seriously, for once already Russia nearly succeeded in bolshevikizing the whole of China. The country was saved from that disaster by the efforts of this very Chang-Kai-Chek, his companions and soldiers. And even if Japan's expansion in Asia is not desired by Britain and is indeed very dangerous for the British Empire, neither is it desirable that Soviet Russia should lay hands on China. British public opinion, and that of Europe too, must remember well the dangerously widespread Bolshevik agitation of 1926 which led to the first and hitherto only general strike in world history, which was fraught with such peril for Great Britain that only the matchless courage, presence of mind, and ready action of her inhabitants were able with the greatest effort to save the country from an internal social collapse.

Since then, of course, the Soviet has suffered a few reverses. Her agents had to clear out of England, she had to abandon her great gains in China; and in recent years the German-Soviet





From „L'Europe Menacée. L'Armée Soviétique en Slovaquie. Appel du Conseil Slovaque à la Société des Nations et au monde civilisé. Genève 1936.”



friendship which for so long seemed to rest on stable foundations, has gone to pieces. On the other hand, Russia has continued to arm, and is probably thoroughly armed by now. The Soviet has become a Member of the League of Nations, and a Member whose influence is formidable. She has concluded treaties amounting to alliances with France and Czecho-Slovakia, and if appearances are not deceptive, a similar Russo-Rumanian pact is under way. And all this has been done with Great Britain's knowledge and consent!

Where will this lead if the Third German Empire continues to grow, stronger politically? Then France and England will forget the danger of Bolshevism and remember only the aid that the Soviet represents.

Not long ago Dr. Jehlička, President of the Slovak National Council, submitted to the League of Nations a well-documented memorandum about the Bolshevik peril in general and the fact in particular that Slovakia which was wrested from Hungary has now become not only the political, but also the military base of the Soviet's aggressive expansion towards the west. With a whole series of irrefutable facts Dr. Jehlička proves that the Czecho-Slovak Government, with the name of Europe on their lips and boasting of their European spirit, have lent themselves to the reckless and fatal undertaking of introducing into Central Europe a Russia Asiatic to the core. By allowing the construction of Soviet air-fleet and military bases in Slovakia it has given a foothold to that Bolshevism which the semi-official organ of the French Government itself accuses of organizing and making preparation for a world revolution.

In the present welter of confusion and uncertainty nothing would be more reassuring to the countries honestly desirous of peace — amongst others to Hungary — than if Britain and Italy made friends again. The independence of the Danube Valley must be maintained at all costs, but it cannot be maintained without Great Britain's ef-

fective co-operation. Whether that co-operation is to be direct or indirect, what matters to Hungary and the rest of the countries loving liberty and prepared to defend western civilization, is that Great Britain's will and arm shall be one of the principal factors in European evolution, and that a reorganization of the Danube Valley shall not take place without Britain's love of justice and her efforts to maintain equilibrium having free scope. We Hungarians may await future developments with hope, or at least with well-founded confidence, if we know that Great Britain will not withdraw her arm from the Danube Valley, the interests of which are not so far removed from British interests as at the first glance they may seem to be. Through the Danube Valley Russia can make her way to the Mediterranean and upset its equilibrium, which is of such great importance to the British Empire. The Mediterranean is Britain's assured route to India and its equilibrium might be established more firmly than ever, were Italy and Britain to become friendly again.

We in Hungary were particularly gratified when Sir Austen Chamberlain visited Budapest and Vienna, regarding his sojourn here as a sign of Britain's lively interest in the Danube problems. We should like to think that that interest will not fag. It is quite certain that Hungary could participate much more actively in the re-organisation of Central Europe were she convinced that Britain did not propose to announce again her indifference to the problems of the Danube Valley. Needless to say, it is impossible to imagine that the Soviet's expansion in Central Europe can be checked, that is to say gradually and steadily pushed back, without Great Britain's help. When friendly relation and co-operation between Great Britain and Italy are restored we are convinced that the spiritual and international foundations will be laid of a Europe in which justice and humaneness will prevail more than they do now.

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# AN ARBITRARY AND ONE-SIDED FRONTIER ADJUSTMENT

by

*Imre Prokopy*

*former High Sheriff of the County Bács-Bodrog and the town Zombor*

Ever since the Paris peace treaties have felt the ravages of time and the mistaken work of the treaty-drafters has been so badly mauled by the *faits accomplis* created by the action of Germany and Austria, the politicians and press of the Little Entente have been treating Hungary to a veritable drumfire of hostility and hatred. This concentric attack is aimed, not only against our demand for equality in respect of armaments, but also — perhaps primarily — against the revision endeavours of which M. Titulescu and his friends are constantly telling us that they mean warr. This open threat is supported by the thesis — already so hackneyed and trite — of the inviolability of treaties; a thesis put forward by persons who seem to forget that they were the first to infringe the treaties by ignoring the provisions which they found to be disagreeable — a procedure just as antagonistic to the spirit and letter of the treaties as the action of Austria and Germany in one-sidedly deciding to enforce equality in respect of armaments which they attack so bitterly, or as the occupation by German troops of the neutral Rhine zone.

One of the articles published in our April number gave a summary of the various breaches of treaty committed against Hungary during the fifteen years that have passed since the conclusion of the Armistice. For that reason we shall confine ourselves on the present occasion to giving an account of a case in which *individual action resulted in a frontier adjustment in favour of one of the Succession States which, though only trifling in dimensions, was in effect an arbitrary amendment of the frontiers demarcated by the Treaty of Trianon.*

This partial readjustment of the frontier was effected on the confines of Szabadka on August 21st., 1921, — i. e. 14 months after the signature of the Treaty of Trianon — on the initiative of *Paja Dobanovatzki*, the Sheriff of Szabadka, by Serbian troops under the command of the Serbian General *Milosav Damianovitch*. The story of this frontier-readjustment by force of arms was told by General *Damianovitch* himself in a letter dated October 24th., 1930, which he wrote to *Marko Protitch*, Greek Oriental Priest living in Szabad-

ka, who then published the letter (which is a document of historical importance) with some comments of his own in a book of his which appeared at the end of 1930 with the title "*Zlatni dani Subotice*" ("The Golden Days of Szabadka").

This frontier-readjustment — or rather this demarcation and military fortification of a new frontier line deviating from that determined by the decision of the Peace Conference and the provision of the Treaty of Trianon — was effected under the direction of Brigadier-General *Damianovitch*, in the following manner: —

The *Serbian troops* occupying the line of demarcation drawn in the district between the Danube and the Tisza to the right of Baja and the villages of Csávoly and Mélykut and passing through Tompa, across the Tompa pasture-lands and the Dobó heathland as far as Rőszke, on August 21st., 1921, received orders to withdraw to the frontier line demarcated in the Treaty of Trianon. The section of this frontier line in the part of which lying north-west and north from Szabadka and north-east in the direction of Horgos the frontier readjustment referred to was effected, is described as follows in the Treaty of Trianon (Part II., Article 27): — "*a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Kun-Baja, cutting the Szabadka—Bácsalmás railway about 1½ kilometres east of Csikéria station, cutting the Szabadka—Kiskunhalas railway about 3 kilometres south of Kelebia station, and passing south of Horgos and its station, and south of Rőszke-szentmihálytelek.*"

The tracing on the ground of the frontier line thus determined is provided for in Article 29 (Part II.) of the Treaty of Trianon, which runs as follows: — "*Boundary Commissions... will have to trace these frontiers on the ground... They shall have the power, not only of fixing those portions which are defined as a line to be fixed upon the ground, but also, where a request to that effect is made by one of the States concerned, and the Commission is satisfied that it is desirable to do so, of revising portions defined by administrative boundaries; ... They shall endeavour in both cases to follow as nearly as possible the descriptions given in the Treaties, taking into ac-*



count as far as possible administrative boundaries and local economic interests. The decisions of the Commissions will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned."

The above-quoted provisions of the Treaty of Trianon therefore would have enabled the Yugoslav State to apply to the Boundary Commission in question for any slight readjustment of frontiers it might have regarded necessary. According to Article 43 of the Treaty the Boundary Commission consisted of seven members, five of whom were nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers, one being nominated by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and one by Hungary.

This was however not the solution adopted by the Serbians; on the contrary, they took a rapid decision and, having recourse to force of arms and anticipating the decision of the respective Boundary Commission, which did not arrive in Szabadka until April 7th, 1922, created a *fait accompli* by the arbitrary partial readjustment of the frontier effected on the confines of Szabadka.

When, on August 21st, 1921, Dobanovatzki, Serbian Sheriff of Szabadka, received official intimation that the Serbian troops were to retire from the line of demarcation fixed much farther north to the frontier line fixed in the Treaty of Peace, he immediately gave orders to the effect that all the live stock in the territory to be evacuated was to be driven to Szabadka, the other movables (timber, equipment of schools, furniture of foresters' and rangers' houses etc.) to be conveyed to the territory lying within the frontier line in the 2000 carts requisitioned in Szabadka and the adjoining farmsteads. The same procedure — really nothing more or less than pillaging — in defiance of the provisions of international law was followed by the Serbians when evacuating the Baja triangle too, whence they removed everything removable, inflicting upon the inhabitants losses amounting in value to about 2.5—3 million gold crowns for which no compensation was ever offered.

After having issued this first order, Dobanovatzki called upon General Damianovitch, telling him that the Serbian inhabitants of the territory to be evacuated, *fearing the vengeance of the Hungarians (sic!)*, were preparing to flee and expected the Serbian authorities to afford them protection and assistance. The two men then went to the spot and decided "to undertake the role of the Peace Conference and to demarcate the new northern frontier of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State on our own responsibility, to save the hinterland of Szabadka and Kelebia... the inhabitants of which, as a selfconscious part of our people, had for centuries preserved their names and maintained their claim to the territory in the north" (sic!). In this connection we would note by the way that of the total number of the inhabitants (roughly 10,000) of the extensive groups of farmsteads known by the names of Kelebia and Felsőkelebia 8000 were Hungarians and only 2000 Germans, Bunyevatz and Serbians. The latter were living in compact masses (150—200 souls) only in the so-called "Serb alley" belonging to

Felsőkelebia, — that being apparently the "self-conscious group" of Serbians which had to be saved at all costs from further slavery under the Hungarian yoke" by an arbitrary readjustment of the frontier.

In the territory in question, with the assistance of the Serbian inhabitants, the same day they demarcated "the new frontier ensuring the security and undisturbed work of Szabadka" which in this section alone extended the area of Szabadka and of the S. H. S. State respectively determined in the Treaty of Trianon by a strip of territory 8 kilometres long and 1.7—3 kilometres broad — i. e. some 16—18 square kilometres in area. When after having done their work the two men returned to the town, General Damianovitch called upon Lieut.-General Pavlovitch, commander of the Szabadka garrison, to whom he made a report of the happenings and suggested that for the better safeguarding of the more favourable new frontier just demarcated the Serbian troops which were to retire the following day (August 20th.) should be reinforced by detachments from the Szabadka garrison. "For to surrender Kelebia would mean to deprive our country of an excellent outpost of defence against the enemy".

So Brigadier-General Damianovitch himself felt the insufficiency of the ethnical and economic arguments adduced in support of the territorial claim and for that reason hastened to supplement the same by putting forward the all-important argument of military and strategical interests. It was under the pressure of the weight of this argument that Lieut.-General Pavlovitch consented to the suggestion, giving Damianovitch instructions to ask for two mounted companies from General Dragutin Okanovitch, commander of the cavalry division.

These were the events that preceded the measures taken the following day (August 20th.) for the military occupation of the territory within the new frontier line fixed the previous day and for the definitive seizure of the same.

Next morning, at 7 a. m., General Damianovitch drove with Sheriff Domanovatzki to the "Zorka" chemical factory in Kelebia, where the two mounted companies placed under his command were waiting for him. As soon as they reached the northern fringe of the "Serbian alley" of Kelebia, they found a full-strength company of Hungarian soldiers detached for the purpose of occupying the Trianon frontier line under the command of a captain whose name is not given by Damianovitch.<sup>1</sup>

Damianovitch sent for this captain and with the help of Sheriff Dobanovatzki, who knew Hungarian perfectly well, as interpreter informed him that all further advance had to be suspended, seeing that this strip of territory formed part of the line which was to be occupied by the Serbian troops. The captain protested against the action of the Serbian general and, showing on the map in

<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. John Völgyi, former Chief Clerk of Szabadka, who was an eyewitness of all the events, the commander of the company of Hungarian soldiers was Captain Ary.



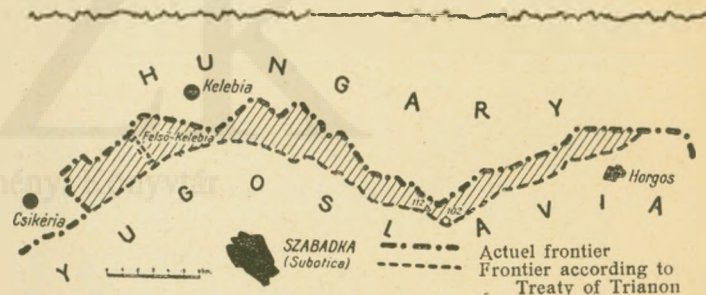
his possession the exact line which under the Treaty of Trianon he had been ordered to occupy, declared that he would certainly carry out the order he had received. Damianovitch hereupon suggested that the captain should settle the question by a friendly agreement, particularly seeing that *this was the frontier line which would in any case be eventually fixed as definitive by the Boundary Commission*. The captain however insisted on carrying his orders into effect. In the meantime the Hungarian company had deployed into line and begun to advance; but only a few minutes later *the Serbian cavalry arrived too*, the Hungarian company being in consequence compelled to immediately cease advancing. What happened then, is told by General Damianovitch in the letter referred to in terms belying the courtesy due even to an enemy: — "The captain became as white as a linen rag (*sic!!*) and stammered that he "was compelled to yield to force but would protest in Paris!!" Hereupon we declared that they might protest in Paris as much as they liked, but in the meantime, until the decision of Paris arrived, we had to loyally demarcate the frontier line lest unfamiliarity with the same should lead to hostilities between the troops facing one another. And the captain eventually admitted that there was every reason for a loyal agreement, particularly as in any case the line demarcated was not definitive in character, — the real motive being however that we were far stronger from the military point of view and he could not know what was behind the mounted company. As soon as we succeeded — through the captain yielding — in averting the danger of a conflict, we felt justified in taking every possible measure for the protection of our interests... We then suggested to the captain that the work of exactly fixing the frontier line could be done jointly; to which he agreed".

From the description given by Damianovitch too the fact may be established that the Hungarian captain merely yielded to force and, reserving all rights in due form, only took part in the work of fixing the frontier line because *he was assured that it was only a question of the fixing of a temporary frontier*.

The fixing of the frontier line — designated by the Serbs for the purpose of misleading the Hungarians as merely provisional — was effected the same day on the section stretching to the west of the Szabadka—Kelebia railway line as far as Csikéria on the Szabadka—Baja line; *the frontier line one-sidedly demarcated the previous day being, to use Damianovitch's words, "pushed farther outwards to the advantage of the Serbs."*

The following day (August 21st) the work of fixing the frontier line was continued on the section stretching to the east of the Szabadka—Kelebia railway line as far as Horgos. On this section the Serbian troops first occupied the so-called Körös-line, from which two weak Hungarian detachments were — by the method which had proved so effective the previous day — compelled by the superior odds of the Serbs to retire. "By

*the occupation of this line"* — wrote Damianovitch — "*we secured for Szabadka all that could possibly be taken from the Hungarians*". Then came the turn of the so-called "hajdujárasi dülök" (Hajdú Hundred Balks). Here the two Hungarian detachments occupying the points marked 102 and  $\Delta$  112 on the Austro-Hungarian military maps were compelled to evacuate the position occupied by them on the Trianon frontier by the Serbian infantry battalion present there having by order of Damianovitch simply outflanked the Hungarian position and having then occupied the new frontier line fixed by Damianovitch situated behind that position. On this occasion too the withdrawal of the Hungarians was preceded by "negotiations" (*sic!!*) which were however unsuccessful because the Hungarian commander — a first lieutenant — referring to the orders he had received refused to comply with the demand made by the Serbs that he should evacuate his positions. The situation, which as a consequence of the defiance of the Hungarian lieutenant had become critical, was again saved by the appearance of Serbian cavalry; for — as Damianovitch wrote in terms of scornful contempt of his opponent which are anything but chivalrous — "when the first lieutenant saw the mounted squadron, he grew pale and trembled so much that he was unable to mark any single place on the map in his hand and in his alarm was unable to utter a sound... It was to this well-



considered procedure alone that we owed the removal without striking a blow of the last Hungarian detachments which had penetrated far into the confines of Szabadka."

The final scene of this arbitrary frontier-readjustment was that in the Pap — or Fekete — homestead<sup>2</sup> situated in the Szeged corner of Csongrád County, then under occupation by a small Hungarian detachment under the command of a first lieutenant which had advanced from the Dobó homestead lying on the former line of demarcation. Here too the Hungarian commander was forced to retire by an outflanking movement and by the unexpected arrival of cavalry.

The "heroic deed" referred to above was the last scene in the one-sided frontier-readjustment action in defiance of international law and treaties alike initiated by Sheriff Dobanovatzki and supported by military forces under the command of three Serbian generals which the author of the book, *Protitch*, in the intoxication of success, speaks of as "*the d'Annunziad of Kelebia*"; evidently re-

<sup>2</sup> Damianovitch did not remember exactly at which of the two homesteads the events described happened.



ferring to d'Annunzio's surprise attack upon Fiume.

On the following day, August 22nd, *the British Colonel Gosse protested against the arbitrary action of Damianovitch.* The protest was answered by Lieut.-General Pavlovitch sending Colonel Gosse to General Vashitch, commander of the Ujvidék army corps, — that being really equivalent to sending him on a wild-goose chase. For having taken this step Colonel Gosse is called "friend of the Hungarians" by Damianovitch; evidently because he was apparently unable to conceive it possible that anyone should protest against these excesses and brutal breaches of treaties purely out of conviction and in the name of conscience, decency, truth and law.

*And in any case the veto filed by Colonel Gosse had just as little effect as had the protest of the Hungarian Government.* In the atmosphere of unbounded hatred and insatiable vindictiveness then prevailing, Hungary — always treated as a scapegoat — never had a chance of having her wishes, however modest and trifling they might be, considered at all; she always met with rigid repudiation, as is proved by the perfunctory inquiry, discussions and findings of the Boundary

Commission at Szabadka on April 7th, 1922, and later on the spot, which at all points ratified the one-sided, arbitrary frontier-readjustment referred to above, thereby allotting to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State an area of more than 10,000 cadastral yokes — at least 60 square kilometres — of territory which was Hungary's by right also under the Treaty of Trianon.

In conclusion, as for the vituperations of Damianovitch, the Hungarian officers concerned — and indeed Hungarian soldiers generally — need no apologist. The glorious history of a thousand years of brilliant achievements in the face of innumerable vicissitudes and blows of Fate speaks in their favour; and therefore these attempts at belittling depreciation throw aspersion, not on the Hungarian soldiers, but on those who have not shrunk from uttering them. During the Great War the Serbians too had opportunities galore to experience the heroic bravery of the Hungarian soldier, as also to witness his manly character and his noble way of thinking — a way of thinking that found expression also in his readiness at all times to acknowledge the sterling military qualities of the Serbian people, never descending to a use of the weapons of revilement and reproach.

## NICOLAUS DE HUNGARIA WAS FIRST STUDENT KNOWN BY NAME AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY

by

*Dr. Alexander Fest*

*Reader in Budapest University*

The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University has published in the "University Gazette" the official organ of the University, a list of the names of those who are to receive a doctor's degree. The first name on the list is that of His Eminence Cardinal Justinian Serédi, Primate of Hungary. At the same time the degree of Honorary Doctor was conferred on Mr. Eden, British Foreign Secretary, General Chatwood, former Commander-in-Chief of the British army in India and Mr. Gilbert Murray, professor of the Oxford University and a famous linguist. His Eminence Cardinal Serédi received his degree on 24th, June amidst traditional Oxford ceremonies. The University orator,

Mr. Cyril Bailey, set forth the Prince Primate's merits in an eloquent Latin speech. "I think" — he said — "that nobody is more worthy to receive the degree of Doctor of Laws than Cardinal Serédi who has made a study of the sources of ecclesiastical law from the Synod of Nicea to the present day, and has published the fruits of his researches in seven volumes. Oxford is particularly happy to welcome His Eminence, as the Prince Primate of Hungary, Archbishop of Esztergom, and President of the Budapest University, at the tricentenary jubilee of which the representatives of the Oxford University were present last year." We



think, that the essay written by one of our distinguished collaborators on the occasion of the conferring of the Hon. Ph. D. on Hungary's Primate at Oxford may be of special interest.

In the twelfth century the fame of the schools in Paris drew young men eager for learning from every civilised country to France. The lectures of Abailard, the brilliant dialectician, caused a veritable migration of scholars, which, in turn, was responsible for the unprecedented development of the Paris "*universitas*". But the Paris school did not mean so much perhaps to the youth of any nation as to the English. If we take the names of the great English scholars and statesmen of the twelfth century, especially of the second half, we usually find in their biographical data the stimulating influence of that school. But not only students who were there in great numbers, for many professors of famous Paris schools were Englishmen, who, far from his home, was the spiritual guide of the youths from different foreign countries. It is interesting to note the meeting of Englishmen and Hungarians in those schools in the twelfth century.

The first Hungarian scholar whose studies in Paris have been recorded was Lukács, later Archbishop of Esztergom. Somewhere about 1158 he was to be found in Paris, where he was studying ecclesiastical law at the school of the English Gerard la Pucelle. A fellow-student of his was Walter Map, who in his work "*De Nugis Curialium*" makes interesting mention of the Archbishop's astonishing gift of prophecy.

During the reign of Béla III, when the Hungarian King consciously sought intellectual links with the West, it seems that Hungarian scholars were regularly in the habit of attending the Paris seats of learning. At least this would seem to be proved by the muchquoted letter from Stephanus Tornacensis to Béla III in which he informs the King of the death of „*adolescens Bethlem*". In that letter the names of three other Hungarian scholars, Jakab, Mihaly and Adorján, are mentioned, who at that time were studying in Paris. From Stephanus's information that Bethlem was buried in a churchyard near St. Genevieve the conclusion may be drawn that the Hungarian students were in the St. Genevieve school which was a favourite *coenobium* of the English too. (When the Paris University was divided into "*nations*" the English and the Hungarians belonged to the same "*nation*".)

The Hungarian Students were therefore able, not only to absorb the teachings, ideas, and way of thinking of great English masters in Paris, but to live in the society of their English fellow-

students, so that the Paris school was the first place where the Hungarians — through the medium of their student sons — came into contact with the English world of intellect and had the opportunity of absorbing knowledge, ideas, and thoughts the roots of which were set in the soil of English intellectual life. For this reason we may consider Paris the spot where English and Hungarian intellectual intercourse first began.

But it was not only in Paris that English and Hungarian students became acquainted and grew friendly. They also met at the famous University of Oxford. We have data — in my opinion the fact is not sufficiently appreciated — to prove that towards the close of the twelfth century (that is to say at a period when we knew little about the University) a Hungarian scholar spent three years of study at Oxford (1193—1196). His was the first Hungarian name to be put on record at Oxford University: Nicolaus de Hungaria. His sojourn there is particularly interesting because the King of England, Richard I, paid for his schooling. This mark of royal favour had surely something to do with the ties of relationship then linking the English and the Hungarian dynasties. The Queen of Hungary was the widow of the young King Henry, and therefore sister-in-law to Richard I. she was the wife of Béla III from 1186 till 1196. Many interesting data concerning this tie have come down to us, but the scope of this article does not extend beyond the first Hungarian links with Oxford University.

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Germany has just celebrated the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Johannes Müller — known to the whole world by the name of Regiomontanus as a great astronomer and "polyhistor". On this occasion it is fitting to mention that Regiomontanus spent some years of his life in Hungary at the court of Matthias Corvinus, the great King of the Hungarian Renaissance (1458—1490). Regiomontanus lived two years at the court and was engaged in sorting the Greek manuscripts acquired by the King. Matthias rewarded him royally, giving him 8000 florins, which at that time was an enormous sum, and a pension for the rest of his life. Like Albrecht Dürer, the famous painter of Hungarian extraction, Regiomontanus also went from Hungary to Nürnberg. From thence he was called to Rome by Pope Sixtus XI to make preparations for a reformation of the Calendar. He died in Rome at the age of forty. That the last years of his life were free of care was due to the generosity of Hungary's great King.

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

## JUNE THE FOURTH

### Notes on the "Trianon Anniversary"

On June the Fourth just sixteen years ago Hungary was forced to sign the Treaty of Peace. That sad Edict — which has detrimentally affected all the Danube Valley — would seem to have found an echo in the event just recorded. According to several foreign papers the meeting of the chief of staffs of the Little Entente chiefly concerned itself with the occupation of Hungary in case of a European conflict.

An *Occupation of Hungary* therefore! No attempt has been made to conceal the fact. We can hardly believe our senses. Is this really possible, after what has happened — after the Little Entente having so severely condemned Italy for unlawfully attacking Abyssinia, — after all those thundering catchwords about collective security and mutual assistance that made the great Palace in Geneva echo with the sound, — after the Little Entente States leading the van in proclaiming those catchwords? Since the establishment of the Succession States we have repeatedly experienced classical examples of inconsistency on their part; but we have never heard anything like this present case. To proclaim peace, security and mutual assistance on the one hand and prepare for occupation against disarmed, defenceless and dismembered Hungary on the other hand, — this is surely a signal victory for the new European spirit and that democracy of which they have always been so proud, — so signal a victory that we cannot but bow before it. If this is what ten million warriors had to die for, — if this is the liberation and equality of the peoples which Wilson was so anxious to present mankind with, then the Great Visionary may rest quietly in his grave...

Some terrible chaos and inexplicable confusion of ideas has taken possession today of politicians and diplomats and of the whole public life of Europe. To us it seems that this is a crisis, not of peoples but of individuals who have been raised to positions of responsibility by chance and the freak of fortune, — who have been placed by blind chance at the head of nations and countries and are now at a loss where to begin or what to do with the power and responsibility allotted to them by Fate in a measure far exceeding their strength and their abilities. This is the reign of a bad conscience which — particularly here, in the Danube Valley — has paralysed the human forces of an unshackled settlement and with the obstinacy of moral vertigo chases phantoms and worships fetishes.

One of these fetishes worshipped by by the Little Entente is the *status quo*. So far we have interpreted this attitude to be in any case based upon reciprocity. Now, however, with the Bucharest discussions behind us, it would seem that we must revise our views; for at those discussions the term *status quo* received a new interpretation. This new interpretation is to this effect: *status quo for all countries except Hungary*. Translated into the language of everyday life, that means that Hungary reduced to one-third of her original area cannot feel safe in the possession even of her present territory; and that she could never presume to reckon on the satisfaction of her legitimate claim to a revindication. Such are the results ensuing from the Bucharest meeting of Heads of State and General Staffs.

To these grave decisions we are unable to reply with the means of war; for we have no such means

at our disposal. Nevertheless we have one argument which is far graver and will be heard at a far greater distance than the threatened display of all branches of the military forces: by way of reply to the military discussions in Bucharest we would refer our readers to the discussions continued for a whole week in the Hungarian Capital by the "*Intellectual Co-operation Commission*" — which might be called the living conscience of the League of Nations. During these discussions the thousand years' cultural mission of Hungary was revealed in its full historical perspective, together with the heroic services rendered by that country in defence of Christian culture and the undisturbed development of Europe.

Men of mighty eminence such as Paul Valéry, Madiaraga, Ojetti, Thomas Mann, Bonnet, Georges Duhamel and many others, spoke in rapture of the marvellous moral and cultural achievements of Hungary and unanimously established the fact that the Hungarian nation has always done its duty by the Christian idea and civilisation. We feel impelled to quote the very words of Paul Valéry, who said: — "Hungary is a rich source of rythms and spontaneous creations; but at the same time she abounds in marvellously abstract intellects too. There is no other country in the world where ancient culture has had a more evident role than in Hungary, though the Hungarian language is in no way connected with the Latin language".

And indeed the humanistic ideal ruled over the Budapest discussions as a cultural ideal; and the traditional leading role of Hungary was revealed also in the general recognition and appreciation of the fact that in that country the ideals of humanism have always been held in the highest honour. One of the earliest forms of the Renaissance was familiar in the Court of King Matthias Corvinus; and the Hungary which at that early age — nearly five hundred years ago — was able in the purest language of science and art to speak on behalf of and to further the development of Europe generally, has won an unimpeachable right to continue to live her life in the basin of the Danube — her ancient home — according to the laws of her national genius. Those distinguished representatives of European intellectual life who ascertained these facts solemnly and decidedly on the occasion of the Budapest discussions, have issued what is practically a new historical diploma in praise of the Hungarians, the validity of which will be just as eternal as is that of the Corvin Codexes or of the verses of Janus Pannonius.

It is this historical diploma that we now wave in the eyes of Europe as a reply to the Bucharest menace, appealing for a revision of the sentence passed upon us in Trianon. We ask for a new, more honest sentence in keeping with the most elementary rules of international procedure. For, had the peace negotiations been really negotiations and we had not been prevented from voicing our cause and the justice of our pleading — and if our representatives had been given a serious hearing —, we are convinced that what followed — the disintegration of Hungary — would never have ensued. In the face of drawn bayonets we were however forced to take cognizance of the sentence prepared in advance and to obey the



cruel commands of the victors. And ever since — from that sad day sixteen years ago until today — the life of the Hungarians has been one long round of subordination and suffering and humiliation. We have at all times been forced to set the clock of our life by those who not only acted as our judges but making the three and a half million Hungarians who have been subjected to their rule pass through the treadmill of sufferings and persecution, have constantly endeavoured to make even Dismembered Hungary and the Hungarians left in her possession conscious of the superiority of their political and military power.

However, despite the tragical appearances we cannot any serious injury. Hungary has already a serious and strong public opinion behind her all over the world; and today her endeavours to obtain a revision are fostered abroad, not by elements moved by a momentary impulse, but by convictions based upon the most serious political realities. The fact that Great Britain has actually undertaken to sponsor the abolition of the anti-Italian "sanctions", thereby returning, by a gesture raising her higher than ever, to her previous broad survey of existing problems,

originated undoubtedly from the sage consideration that in the given situation British interests also require that all the consequences should be liquidated without delay, the only possible ultimate stage being a sound and honest reform of the League of Nations calculated to heal all the throbbing wounds from which Europe is now suffering.

Under such circumstances this threat of war against Hungary sounds veritably like an anachronism. We regard it as a grave political aberration, — not only from the point of view of the general temper prevailing in Europe, but also because nothing is farther from the minds of the peoples than the thought of war, — and we believe this applies just as much to the countries of the Little Entente as it does to the great West European States. The Bucharest decision of the General Staffs may be booked as merely a saddening record of the present politically decadent age; and we are sure the time will come — perhaps sooner than they except — when this aberration will be made good by those very peoples in the name of which — though probably without moral authorisation from them — the blunder was committed.

## THE CRISIS OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

For more than eighteen months the Little Entente press had been remarkably down on the Polish Foreign Minister. Articles which had evidently been inspired from the highest quarters appeared practically every week announcing the inevitable fiasco of his policy and prophesying his early fall. All the greater was the alarm felt in Little Entente quarters when on the occasion of the recent Polish Cabinet crisis the new Premier retained Beck as Foreign Minister; so that Little Entente people were forced to take cognizance of the fact that the foreign policy of Poland would continue to follow the tendency which had previously proved so successful. The mistrust of Prague and Bucharest and their suspicion of the "machinations" of the Polish Foreign Minister so repeatedly aired in the Czech and Rumanian press was however only aggravated by Beck's visit to Belgrade, which was primarily an act of courtesy and a return of the visit paid to Warsaw five years ago by Marinkovitch, then Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs. We cannot therefore be surprised at the misgivings with which people in Prague and Bucharest watched the two-days' negotiations of Colonel Beck and his host, M. Stoyadinovich, which in addition to the development of the reciprocal trade of the two countries naturally extended also to all questions at present in the limelight of international politics.

As to whether any agreement was reached — and if so, on what points — during the course of this purely informative exchange of views, we can only guess. On such occasions the foreign press of each country usually regards as fact — or at least as probable — what it considers advantageous from the particular point of view of that country. The only positive moment to be gathered from the usual toast, from the various statements made by the two statesmen and from the official *communiqués*, is that Poland and Yugoslavia are prepared to take part in the important international discussions about to be opened, only as parties of equal rank with the others, refusing to accept any control or patronage, certain that the principal subject discussed during the said negotiations was that of the necessity of a common defence against the increasing threat of a bolshevik danger and of the establishment of that common line of defence

against bolshevism which is in the interests of both States alike.

That Beneš — who by stagemanaging the Czecho-Slovak-Russian treaty opened the way into Central Europe for the Red Army — and Titulescu — who in his horror of revision is prepared to undertake even the risk involved by the Soviet army marching through Rumanian territory — are not enchanted with this action on behalf of Europe initiated by Beck or with the possibility of Yugoslavia's joining in that action, and that they are afraid that the much-vaunted indissolubility of the Little Entente might possibly suffer from an agreement of the kind, is shown by the haste with which Titulescu went to Belgrade after Colonel Beck had left. This sensational "flying excursion" had two objects. On the one hand Titulescu desired to obtain information respecting the objects of Colonel Beck's visit and respecting the results of the negotiations with M. Stoyadinovich; and on the other hand he wished to secure the attendance of the Yugoslav Premier at the Bucharest Conference. That this latter object failed, is indubitable evidence of the fact that the attempt to bridge over the differences of opinion in certain very important matters existing for some time past between the Member States of the Little Entente, failed this time too, and particularly that all endeavours to settle those differences have proved abortive.

### THE MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE AT BUCHAREST

The latent and open differences between the States of the Little Entente were not entirely eliminated at the Bucharest Conference, if only because the surprising absence of the Yugoslav Premier and Foreign Minister made it impossible to pass resolutions equally binding on all three States and exceeding those already in existence. The meeting, which was held with much ado and theatrical pose, was therefore more by way of a demonstration, — a new and perhaps in its dimensions more powerful demonstration of the boasted "close co-operation and complete unity" which the Little Entente says has existed ever since its creation. In spite of the stereotyp loud promises, the toasts of the statesmen, and Krofta and Titulescu's statements



and conversations reported in the *communiqué* issued, it is obvious that the united front has been broken through in places.

The "*Le Temps*", the semi-official organ of the Quai d'Orsay was right in saying that the tottering of the war alliances, the developments in Britain's policy, the internal crisis in France, sanctions, the question of a re-organization of the League of Nations, the uncertain situation in Austria and the question of the *Anschluß*, Germany's arming and the Rhine problem, and even the question of the Habsburg restoration, have created such oscillations in the States of the Little Entente that certain standpoints have undergone modification which hitherto seemed final. The authors of the official *communiqué* wisely kept silence on these important questions, partly because they did not want to anticipate events and partly because they could not agree about them. The only subject on which they were unanimous was their attitude towards Hungary, i. e. their determination to keep the frontiers as they were and to respect the peace treaties. How weak their unity on other points is, may be seen from an article in the "*Curentur*" from the pen of a well-known Rumanian publicist, *Pamfil Seicaru*. In his opinion the Little Entente would do well to take an inventory of its assets now and then, and cancel from the balance of its alliance certain items figuring as assets which today have no value. The policy of the Little Entente at present is united only where Hungary is concerned. On all the other questions of European politics it was easy at the outset for the Little Entente to pursue a uniform policy, but in recent years such profound changes have taken place in international politics that it is impossible to determine a policy that would satisfy all the Succession States.

And if, in spite of all this Beneš calls the Little Entente the "pillar of Central Europe", and Titulescu, declaring that the aims of the Little Entente and the Balkan Alliance are similar, boasts in a threatening manner that 70 million soldiers safeguard the *status quo* from Prague to Ankara, all we have to say is that the most brilliant flights of rhetoric will not serve to hide the cracks in that pillar, and that Rumania's security would be in a bad way if Titulescu's bluff — had to defend it. How different from all this sword-rattling and threats was the composure with which Kánya, Hungary's Foreign Minister, defined the peaceful aims of Hungarian policy and Hungary's readiness to co-operate on terms of real equality.

#### THE CATASTROPHE AT COTROCENI

The celebrations arranged in honour of the Little Entente Heads of State were interrupted by the horrible mass-catastrophe caused by the collapse of the Cotroceni grand stand which resulted in 400 deaths and serious or slight injuries to more than 1000 persons. However, despite the awful catastrophe the gala parade was continued and the ceremonies arranged for the following day were held notwithstanding — these ceremonies including the launching ceremony at Turn-Severin in connection with the trip on the Lower Danube. The latter ceremony was not attended by the Yugoslav Regent Prince Paul, who on the day following the Cotroceni catastrophe returned to Belgrade — a circumstance which is certainly not a very encouraging or convincing symptom of the complete harmony so energetically stressed or of the unswerving solidarity so often voiced, — even were we to interpret this striking gesture merely in the light of an attempt to comply with the courtesy and external appearances which is obligatory under circumstances of the kind.

The Bucharest papers published exhaustive reports of the monstrous abuses responsible for the catastrophe,

which abuses reveal to the full the disgusting corruption rife in public conditions in Rumania. In a leading article published in the June 11th. issue of the "*Kronstädter Zeitung*" we are told that the chief cause of the mass-catastrophe was the fact that the building of the grand stand had been entrusted by the town authorities to a *croupier* and a funeral undertaker, whose tender was the cheapest and who endeavoured to insure themselves against eventual losses by using only old — mostly rotten — timber and instead of iron clamps and iron straps employed mostly scrap iron and rusty wire for the construction of the grand stand. A further circumstance typically characteristic of the conditions prevailing in Rumania is that all the papers relating to the matter of the grand stand disappeared *en bloc* from the town-hall and that the reports issued by the public authorities continued days after the catastrophe — when the whole world knew all about the terrible dimensions of the same — to speak of "only a few deaths" and 60—80 injured. Equally characteristic is the fact that the members of the notorious "iron guard" whose excesses are so well known utilised even this awful mass-catastrophe as a pretext for anti-minority atrocities.

The unexampled unscrupulousness responsible for this catastrophe caused the greatest indignation all over the country — that indignation being naturally echoed also in the press. According to the "*Dreptatea*" the collapse of the Cotroceni grand stand was the consequence of the prevailing system of lies and robbery. Lies are always being used to hide the truth from the king. And in the pages of the "*Universul*" the president of the Anti-Revision League, *Stelian Popescu*, dealt with the catastrophe and in this connection furnished the following description of conditions in Rumania — a description veritably dumfounding in character: — "The public life of Rumania" — says Popescu — "is characterised by mean servility and criminal superficiality. The total lack of any senses of responsibility is becoming more and more evident in the leaders of public life, whose pockets are empty when they start out on their careers but are so heavy when they retire from the public arena that they can scarce carry them... Strange indeed must have been the feelings aroused in our distinguished guests by the horrible spectacle of June 18th!! and how can we except our allies after what has happened to continue to repose confidence in Rumanian organisations? Unless Government applies energetic measures of retaliation, it must not expect a single Rumanian citizen to have confidence in it". Really no comment is needed on this conclusion of a man perfectly familiar with conditions prevailing there!!

#### Dr. SCHACHT AT BELGRAD

The Balkan tour made by *Schacht*, Governor of the German Imperial Bank, — and in particular his negotiations in Belgrade — have unnerved Yugoslavia's allies. They are afraid that the strengthening of the commercial ties between Germany and Yugoslavia and the constant increase in the volume of the trade between the two countries may involve also political consequences. As things stand today, Germany has already moved to the head of Yugoslavia's imports and exports lists. Not long ago, the investment in the Zenica iron and steel works effected by the Krupp Works — combined with an order from those Works of machinery representing a value of 200 million dinars — made a considerable stir; and quite recently further orders for railway material of the estimated value of 400 million dinars were placed with the manufacturing industry of Germany by the Yugoslav



State Railways (the entering of the equivalent of which on the clearing account will completely settle the sum due to Yugoslavia under that account), denote the enormous upswing in evidence in the commercial relations between the two States. This upswing was furthered considerably also by the "sanctions" policy of the League of Nations; for Yugoslavia failed utterly to find compensation for her lost Italian market in her trade with her allies — in particular with France and Czecho-Slovakia — and was thus forced willy-nilly to turn to the German market. The further enhancement of the mutual trade which shows a constant increase was the object of the agreement concluded in the presence of Schacht between the German Clearing Office and the Yugoslav National Bank in respect of clearing matters; such is also the object of the German-Yugoslav Bank to be established in Belgrade by the private parties concerned, though with the assistance of the two Governments. Under such circumstances we shall find nothing incomprehensible in the statement of the "Times" (June 12th. and 13th.) to the effect that the object behind the continuous increase in German exports to Yugoslavia is not only to develop trade between the two countries, but far more to draw Yugoslavia into the sphere of interests of German policy.

#### GENERAL STAFFS IN COUNCIL

The grave importance and the dimensions of the Little Entente military preparations is shown by the fact that the conference of the General Staffs of the three Member States which opened on June 15th. was still in session when this paper went to press — June 22nd. The agenda and immediate object of the con-

ference has been kept a close secret, of course, and the next official *communiqué* is not likely to disclose them. But it is safe to guess that the negotiations, which are by no means unimportant from the point of view of European peace, are directed primarily against Hungary, who because of her open and defenceless frontiers is powerless to defend herself. This has been correctly stated by a section of the foreign press. The "*Kölnische Zeitung*", for instance, writing of the British Foreign Secretary's speech of June 7th., says that the occupation of Hungary played the chief rôle in the joint military plans. The "*Berliner Tageblatt*" says that the conference of the General Staffs is for the purpose of elaborating not means of defence, but means of offence, for certain French papers which are usually well-informed about the doings of the Little Entente report that plans are being made in Bucharest to effect a military occupation of Hungary the minute any European troubles arise. That this is no empty guesswork may be seen when we read the article in the "*Lidove Noviny*" of June 11th. which amongst other things contains the following threats: "*The Hungarians are beginning to realize that an armed conflict in the Danube Valley would be the interest of all countries except Hungary, for by all the laws of geography the scene of the decisive struggle would certainly be the Great Plain of Hungary.*" If then we wish to find out who are a constant menace to the peace of Europe, but especially of the Danube Valley, it would be well to devote more interest to the conference of the Little Entente General Staffs in Bucharest.

## KÁLMÁN KÁNYA HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON CZECHO-SLOVAK DEFENCE OF THE STATE ACT

On May 13st M. Eugene Szontagh put a question in the Upper House to the Premier and the Foreign Minister, asking them what measures they intended to take in connection with the provisions of the Czecho-Slovak Defence of the Republic Bill which run contrary to international treaties. M. Kánya, Foreign Minister replied that the matter was under consideration and that he reserved his answer until it had been thoroughly investigated. The Bill having meanwhile become law the Hungarian Foreign Minister made the following statement in the Upper House on June 22th:

"There can be no doubt that this Act makes it possible in Czecho-Slovakia — *on the plea of protecting the interests of the State — to deprive landed proprietors of Hungarian nationality even of that part of the landed estates expressly placed under the protection of Article 250 of the Treaty of Trianon which has been left in their possession by the Czecho-Slovak Land Reform measures.*

"For Article 250 of the Treaty — *which the Peace Conference itself declared to be indispensable — is intended to ensure the utmost protection under the guarantee of international tribunals* in respect of the future too for the property of Hungarian nationals situated in the extensive territories transferred to Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia and to guarantee the inviolability of their possession and all the rights connected therewith.

"In this connection we cannot feel reassured by even the declaration of the Act to the effect that *the provisions of international treaties remain in force*

*intact.* For it is well known — and I regret to have to once more establish the fact in this House — that the Little Entente States *did not allow their measures of agrarian reform taken some time back to be in any way affected or prejudiced by the provisions of Article 250.*

"In any case in my last speech before the House I referred particularly to this fact and *reminded my hearers that recently too the Little Entente States have shown repeated signs of the endeavour to provide, that the legal protection by international law provided for under Article 250 shall become absolutely illusory.*

"The Czecho-Slovak Defence of the Republic Act provides that *no foreigners shall be allowed in future to stay in the frontier zone except with the approval of the military authorities.*

"The Czecho-Slovak authorities are in the habit of regarding as foreigners — and will certainly place under the working of this provision — the thousands of Hungarians living in the severed territories whose citizenship *for no fault of theirs is still* — more than fifteen years after the putting into force of the Treaty of Trianon — *a moot point,* — being so because their nationality as Czecho-Slovak citizens has, despite the relevant provisions of the treaty of peace, *not yet been acknowledged.* I would inform the House that the Hungarian Government is fully aware that the Czecho-Slovak Nationality Act contains *several provisions the practical application of which is a direct menace to the interests and rights of the*



*Hungarian minority living in Czecho-Slovakia.* For the said Act expressly permits *the expropriation of any landed estate lying in the so-called frontier zone.* Nor must we forget what must be the result to the minorities of the provisions which in the case of certain industrial undertakings and plants *make it possible without giving any reason for the action to withdraw at a moment's notice from owners branded as "unreliable" all concessions and stipulate that no persons found to be "unreliable" from the point of view of national interest may be employed in certain undertakings.*

"It is sure, indeed, that according to the amendment made during the debate on the Bill *religious or racial considerations are not in themselves sufficient ground for declaring persons to be "unreliable" from the point of view of national interest; but on the other hand the value of this new paragraph is materially lessened by the circumstance that it only cites parabolic criteria in illustration of the meaning of the term "unreliability".*

"Of late I have heard it said repeatedly — and that from many quarters — that this Act *is not directed against the Hungarians.* Whether this statement is true or not, *is not a question into which I propose to enter.*

"The Hungarian State will at all events *keep a constant eye on the effects of the practical application of the Act, which must ensue very shortly. And, should the Government be impelled to establish the fact that the practical application of the Act involves an infringement of the right and interests of Hunga-*

*rian nationals in Czecho-Slovakia which are guaranteed by international treaties, it will by way of protest against such procedure in defiance of international law have recourse to all the means available for the purpose of legal redress.* And should these means of legal redress prove futile, — provided such a course proves necessary —, the Hungarian Government *will avail itself also of all other available means of defence against any and every infraction of the rights guaranteed Hungarian nationals in international treaties.*

"Should the *Hungarian minority living in Czecho-Slovakia suffer any grievance in connection with the putting into force of the Act, in particular in respect of the rights guaranteed that minority in the Minority Protection Treaty concluded at St. Germain in September, 1919, it will naturally be the business of the Hungarian minority in question to have recourse to the legal redress guaranteed it under that treaty for the purpose of protecting its rights and interests and if necessary to apply to the League of Nations.*

"I must confess openly that after the experience we have so far in respect of the protection of minorities by the League of Nations *we cannot cherish any great hope of any petition that might be submitted in this matter achieving its object; and for that reason I do not regard it as impossible that if circumstances make such procedure desirable the Hungarian Government will be impelled itself to submit to the League of Nations a memorandum in defence of the rights of the Hungarians of Slovakia.* Such procedure is perfectly feasible."

## HEAD OF HUNGARIAN EX-SERVICEMEN'S DELEGATION RECEIVED BY KING EDWARD VIII.

For the first time, representatives from countries which fought against Britain in the Great War were present at the London Conference of the British Ex-Servicemen's Alliance.

The head of the Hungarian Ex-Servicemen's delegation, Count Takács-Tolvay, made a speech at the conference, urging that the tragic events of past years should be forgotten. Nothing short of a mutual understanding of each other's troubles and sorrows would ever restore to all of us our lost friendships and our lost prosperity.

King Edward expressed a wish to see the heads

of the foreign delegations. His Majesty therefore received Lieutenant-General Count Takács-Tolvay, head of the Hungarian delegation, in Buckingham Palace. General Sir Maurice Walford, President of the British Ex-Servicemen's Alliance, was present at the audience, which lasted twenty-five minutes. The king was very gracious, and spoke of his visit to Budapest, on which occasion he had been pleased to accept from Count Takács-Tolvay the badge of honour of the Hungarian Ex-Servicemen's Alliance. King Edward spoke warmly of his memories of Budapest.

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## BRITISH MINISTER IN BUDAPEST ON GROWING STRENGTH OF LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

Sir Geoffrey Knox, Great Britain's Minister in Hungary, paid a visit, at the invitation of the Reformed Church College, to Sárospatak, that ancient Hungarian educational centre, to view the English department of the College. On the occasion of the British Minister's visit Dr. Kálmán Szily, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Education, also went down to Sárospatak. M. Géza Farkas de Farkasfalva, chief superintendent of the Cis-Tisza Calvinist diocese, addressed the British Minister, emphasizing the fact that the mission of the English boarding-school was to give its inmates an education that would fit them to serve the cause of co-operation with

the great British nation. We are proud — said M. Farkas de Farkasfalva — that His Majesty King Edward has some Hungarian blood in his veins, and that our thousand-years-old Constitution is, after England's, the oldest in Europe.

In his reply Sir Geoffrey Knox stressed the importance of co-operation among the nations of Europe. Those of the pupils — he said — who were going to a British university would have an excellent opportunity of strengthening the bonds that already linked the two countries. And they would see that their compatriots who had been in Britain before them had paved the way for them by leaving behind them



pleasant memories of gentlemen, sportsmen and real friends.

The pupils of the secondary school living in the College welcomed Sir Geoffrey with "God save the King". On behalf of the senate of the College, its

staff of professors, and the students Count Paul Bethlen, D. Ph., secular curator of the College, addressed a welcome to the distinguished guest, after which he gave a short summary of the history of the College.

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## HONOURS CONFERRED ON BRITONS IN HUNGARY

The Faculties of Law and Arts of the Szeged Francis Joseph University of Sciences have conferred on *Sir Robert Gower*, leader of the pro-Hungary group of British M. P.s, and on *Mr. Rhys Davies*, treasurer of the group, the degrees of Honorary Doctor of Law and Honorary Doctor of Arts respectively. The two distinguished British politicians received their degrees on 13th. June in the presence of the Archduke Joseph and several other prominent men in Hungarian public life. Dr. Thury, Dean of the Faculty of Law, in his speech enumerated Sir Robert Gower's merits in the struggle against the unjust Trianon Treaty, while Dr. Zolnay, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, spoke of Mr. Rhys Davies's works "Modern Hungary and the Peace Treaties" and "The Croats under Yugoslav Rule". After the members of the Senate had with a handshake accepted the two British politicians as doctors, and the latter had taken the customary oath and received their illuminated diplomas, Sir Robert Gower expressed their thanks for the honour conferrer. In the course of his speech he laid stress on the psychological affinity between the English and the Hungarians, which was shown by history and the evolution of their legal systems. The old Hungarian laws were almost identical with the English ones. The Peace of Trianon was conceived in a cruel and unjust atmosphere. Those who made it did not know what they were doing. In future

the spirit which must prevail was one that would give redress to Hungary and enable her to take her place among the nations. In conclusion, Sir Robert Gower promised that the members of the pro-Hungary group would do all in their power to further that end. — Mr. Rhys Davies, in his speech, spoke of Alexander Petöfi, Louis Kossuth and Francis Liszt as three of the world's greatest men. At the banquet which followed the ceremony Sir Robert Gower, replying to the toast proposed by Dr. Theodore Surányi-Unger, professor of the Faculty of Economics, said that nothing was more pleasant than to recall the past of Hungary. After a past of that kind — he said — the Hungarian nation might hope for splendid future. Mr. Rhys Davies also pointed out that although the Hungarian nation was confined to a small territory, it was great in spirit, and therefore he believed in the future of Hungary.

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Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, has conferred upon *Mr. Louis C. G. Clarke*, Curator of the Cambridge Archeologic and Ethnologic Muzeum, the Middle Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit in recognition of the fact that quite recently Mr. Clarke gave a whole room of the University Museum over to the objects of archeologic interest discovered during excavations in Hungary.

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## HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN BERLIN

Dr. Valentine Hóman, Hungarian Minister of Public Education, spent a week in Berlin from May 24th to May 31st. The object of his trip was to return the visit to Budapest, in the October of 1934, of Herr Rust, German Reichsminister. In Berlin Dr. Hóman visited amongst others Herr Göbbels, and the two statesmen had a conversation on the questions of cultural policy affecting both countries. Premier Göring gave a dinner in honour of the Hungarian visitors. Herr Hitler received Dr. Hóman and Dr. Kálmán Szily, State Secretary in the Ministry of Public Education, together.

During his stay in Berlin the Minister of Public Education had an opportunity to inspect several scientific institutes, amongst others the Dahlem Institute bearing the name of Kaiser Wilhelm, Professor Sauerbruch's and Professor Stöckel's clinics, the Potsdam Training Institute of National Politics and the Reich sport fields. Dr. Hóman naturally paid a visit to the Berlin Collegium Hungaricum. The most

outstanding event of his sojourn, however, was surely when the Faculty of Arts of the Berlin University conferred upon him the degree of Honorary Doctor. Dr. Hóman, as we know, is not only a politician, but also an eminent historian. As the greatest authority on the Hungarian Middle Ages and the pioneer in Hungary of the new trend in history-writing, he is well-known and admired even outside his own country. In his speech Dr. Breloer, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, particularly stressed these merits of the Hungarian Minister of Public Education, saying that the Faculty had conferred on Dr. Hóman the degree of Honorary Doctor because "he had given a new direction to the writing of history in his own country."

As a result of the Hungarian Minister of Education's trip to Berlin a cultural agreement was signed between the two countries according to which a mixed German-Hungarian Committee was formed, which is to meet once a year in Germany and Hungary alternatively.

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## M. LUKOV, WAR MINISTER BULGARIA'S MAKES INTERESTING STATEMENT

In June, on the occasion of the military parade in Safia, a correspondent of the "Pesti Hirlap" had a conversation with M. Lukov, Bulgaria's War Minister. To the journalist's question whether it was true that

Bulgaria was going to introduce conscription, the Minister said: — "I do not feel at liberty to answer your question. At present we are not considering that problem. Neither political nor financial circumstances



permit us for the moment to do so. We cannot increase the strength of the army, so we limit it strictly to the peace footing that was determined for us. That we are striving to modernize military training and our equipments is only natural, but it is being done strictly within the limits proscribed..." In connection with the great military parade the Minister said: — "Yesterday's parade was merely a solemn gesture before the King and the nation. There was no question of its being a military demonstration, for civilians and students took part in it." When the Hungarian reporter began to speak of the political movements and conspiracies that have been so frequent of late in the Bulgarian army, the Minister replied: —

"They are all over now for good. We have done away with politics in the army and shall see to it that it never crops up there again. Politics paralyze the moral force of any army, while a military spirit free from the taint thereof enhances it. Politics in the army can only be productive of mischief." Later on in their conversation M. Lukov spoke about the Hungarian soldiers, whom he had come to know and admire during the Great War. "Our destinies — he said — are similar, our sympathy should be mutual. It is to be hoped that feelings of mutual respect and esteem will draw the two nations closer in future". With these words the interview ended. ("Pesti Hirlap" June 14.)

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## PRESIDENT OF SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL ON SOVIET PERIL

At the invitation of the German Academy Dr. Francis Jehlička, university professor and President of the Slovak National Council, delivered a lecture in the big lecturing-hall of the Munich University on the danger threatening Europe from the region of the Northern Carpathians. In his introduction Dr. Jehlička said that *Bolshevism as a system of philosophy was a menace to the whole of European culture and civilization*. It was urgently necessary — he said — for all the nations and states to join forces against Bolshevism, the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the human race. In 1920 the waves of that peril from the East had wellnigh succeeded in overwhelming Europe. It was only the heroism of the Poles that prevented the catastrophe. *At the time of the Soviet-Polish war the Czechs had done everything to support Bolshevism. Amongst other things they had refused the Hungarian army that wanted to hasten to the aid of Poland, permission to pass through Slovakia*. The Czech authorities had confiscated the ammunition dispatched by France to the Polish army. *The then Czech Foreign Minister had sent a message to the Russian general in command of the troops under Warsaw to say that he was willing to open the frontiers of Slovakia to the Red Army*.

Now, under much more favourable circumstances,

Stalin and Litvinov wanted to do what could not be done in 1920. In the interval the Red Army had been enormously enlarged and developed. The Czecho-Soviet military pact had made it possible for the Bolsheviks to advance without a gun being fired into Slovakia, which lies on the southern slopes of the Carpathians, and so across the mountains which hitherto had proved a mighty and unsurmountable barrier against the invasions of barbarians from the East. Hungary which for a thousand years had stood guard on the peaks of the Carpathians, was threatened, not only by the Czechs, but also by the Red Army.

The Czechs — continued Dr. Jehlička — had resolved upon that attack against Europe merely in order to keep their present possessions which they had acquired by an artful exploitation of a situation for the moment favourable to their aims and with the machinations of a Macchiavelli. The only answer to the notorious Czech slogan "Let Europe perish if Bohemia remains!" was "Let Europe remain even if Bohemia perishes!". The question had to be put: Was it more important that the Czechs remained in possession of their lands, or that Europe with all its culture and civilization should remain?

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## IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA ALL HUNGARIAN PASSENGERS AND TRAVELLERS ARE LIABLE TO IMPRISONMENT

For the information of Hungarians travelling to Czecho-Slovakia a semi-official *communiqué* was issued on June 20th.

Past experience has prevailed on many Hungarians travelling abroad to avoid going to Czecho-Slovakia owing to a well-founded fear that *they may be subjected to chicanery and even be liable to arrest*.

Of late there have been rumours that in Czecho-Slovakia today *those Hungarian nationals who during their residence in that country behave in an unexceptionable manner and even prior to their visit to Czecho-Slovakia never took any part at all in politics, are being treated as political criminals*.

In well-informed quarters it is stated in this connection that there is no reason for any excessive

alarm; but it is certain that *a journey to Czecho-Slovakia is fraught with danger to very many Hungarian nationals*. For it is an undoubted fact that most Czecho-Slovak authorities and courts of law interpret Article II. of the 1923 Defence of the Republic Act — which contains provisions for the punishment of any conspiracy against the territorial integrity of the Republic — to mean that *every Hungarian national travelling to Czecho-Slovakia may be accordingly treated as suspicious and may eventually even be imprisoned*.

In particular those Hungarian nationals are exposed to all kinds of chicanery and persecution who are *members of some partiotic Hungarian organisation, party or association*. However, the greatest danger



threatens those *who have performed or are still performing "levente" (school corps) service* under the Hungarian Physical Education Act, — those who belong to ex-servicemen associations or are members of any Hungarian club or political party *whose programme includes the revision of the Treaty of Trianon*. When we take all the above possibilities into account, we see that the list includes so comprehensive a category that *there is scarcely a single Hungarian national not liable to be called to account in Czecho-Slovakia on the above pretext*.

There can be no doubt that the best way to avoid arrest and to prevent all chicanery is *not to enter the territory of a State which does not guarantee us the*

*liberty due to us under international law*. It is a well-known fact that *many Hungarian nationals have already been committed to Czecho-Slovak gaols and have undergone long terms of confinement*, though when they entered the country never even dreamed that they could be called to account by the Czecho-Slovak authorities as "political criminals".

Minors and simple citizens have fallen victims to their purses having contained certificates of membership of clubs or to their cigarette-cases having been found to contain "Levente" cigarettes, — or to ill-wishers in Czecho-Slovakia having supplied information denouncing them as members of patriotic clubs and associations.

## HOW MINORITIES LIVE

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### THE FRONTIER ZONE ACCORDING TO THE NEW CZECHO-SLOVAK ACT

The new Czecho-Slovak Defence of the State Act renders it possible to put into force already in times of peace as against the inhabitants of the frontier zone measures which are diametrically opposed to the oft-stressed "democratic character" and "love of liberty" of Czecho-Slovakia and are indeed such as even dictators shrink from having resort to.

According to § 34 no building whatsoever can be constructed in the frontier zone except with the previous approval of the military administration. Such approval is also a *sine qua non* of the transformation of forest-land into territory of another character — and vice-versa. Where the military administration may consider such a course necessary, an owner will be required to execute the transformation of an already completed building stipulated by the authorities or at least to tolerate such transformation being effected. The Ministry of Public Works may in agreement with the Ministry of National Defence ordain that high-tension electric lines — particularly such as cross the frontiers of the country — shall be cut off and the technical equipment removed as required. The State administration of justice may have such work done also at the cost of the owner. Should such procedure be urgently necessary in order to further the defence of the Republic, *landed estates in the frontier zone may be expropriated by the State. No foreigners may be granted permission to sojourn or reside in the frontier zone without the approval of the military administration*.

According to § 49, should "foreigners" — this including fictitious persons and proprietaryships too — acquire estates, property or other material rights (excepting only mortgage rights) in the frontier zone or obtain a lease or tenancy of such, they must report such acquisition to the provincial office. This requirement relates also to mining, water, shooting and fishing rights too. The provincial office may with the

approval of the military administration impose upon the acquirers such restrictions and conditions as it may think fit, or *may order the rights thus acquired to be ceded within a short limit of time to Czecho-Slovak nationals* or to the State — to the organs of the territorial self-governing bodies, or to fictitious persons or associations specifically exempted from the obligation of registration (§ 50). Should the owner in question fail to comply with these instructions, on the proposal of the provincial office the local court may sell the right in question at his (the owner's) cost as provided in the regulations governing voluntary auctions. The provincial office may however ordain the application of some other method of liquidation and may indeed annul the right in question. The relevant Order in Council may on the other hand determine exceptions to the rules fixed in the voluntary auction regulations (§ 51). These latter provisions in no wise affect the validity of international treaties.

In terms of the Executive Decree, 55 of the 106 political districts in Bohemia (47.4% of the whole area of this province), 22 of the 53 in Moravia and Silesia (46.7%), 48 of the 79 in Slovakia (62%), and 12 of the 14 in Ruthenia (94.8%) are in the frontier zone. As may be seen in the map on page 21, exactly 56.5% of the territory of the Republic is in the frontier zone, which comprises almost all the areas inhabited by the Hungarian, German, Ruthenian, and Polish minorities.

Under the Executive Decree the building in the frontier zone of *inter alia* churches, theatres, exhibition halls, roads, buildings with tall chimneys, hotels, shooting-lodges, tourist hostels, watchtowers, etc., etc. is subject to the previous approval of the military authorities. Similarly, all licences issued to messengers, porters, hawkers, chemical works producing poisons for medicinal purposes and other preparations, hotels, irons, people engaged in the extermination of rats and mice and other vermin, ragmen, bureaus supplying information *resp.* the solvency of borrowers, travelling offices, private detectives, film companies, etc. must be first approved by the military authorities. In this way numerous phases of minority civil life will be controlled by the military authorities, even if — as in the instances above-mentioned — those phases have nothing to do with the interests of the army or the Defence of the State.



## SECOND STAGE OF BAZOVSKY TRIAL

On June 8th the Court of Second Instance in Pozsony (Bratislava pronounced judgment on Louis Bazovsky, the well known Slovak Autonomist and the first Czecho-Slovakian župan of the county of Nógrád, and his five companions, who were charged with a political offence. Our December issue contained a report of the trial. The Court of Second Instance have raised the sentence pronounced on Anthony Pavlička, a lawyer of Besztercebánya (Bánska Bystrica), from 12 to 18 months' imprisonment, but has acquitted Paul Németh, a teacher of Rozsnyó (Roznava). The Court in Pozsony did not find the charge that Bazovsky and Pavlička had been trying to separate Slovakia from the Republic by violence proven but sentenced them for trying by violent means to achieve Slovakia's independence. Pavlička's counsel for the defence and the Public Prosecutor both lodged a plea of nullity. Dr. Durčansky, counsel for the defence, published part of the material pertaining to the case in the form of a pamphlet, which was however confiscated by the Public Prosecutor after Dr. Durčansky's flat had been searched.

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## WIFE OF LUTHERAN PASTOR ARRESTED

Although the arrest of minority citizens on political charges is a matter of everyday occurrence in Czecho-Slovakia, the whole of Slovakia was startled to learn that the wife of the Rev. Charles Hoffmann, Lutheran pastor of Gölncibánya, had been arrested at the beginning of June and imprisoned in the district jail at Rimaszombat. The arrest is all the more perplexing as the authorities have not seen fit hitherto to give any reason for it.

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## RUMANIA

### FOUR HUNGARIAN JOURNALISTS FORBIDDEN TO WRITE FOR YEARS

The Court of Cassation, the highest Court of Justice in Rumania, has confirmed the judgment sentencing Miklós Krenner, the doyen of the Hungarian journalists in Transylvania, to 2 months' imprisonment and to the suspension of his political rights for 5 years, and forbidding him to pursue his occupation as journalist for a period of 3 years; — all because of one article. Recently a striking number of Hungarian journalists have been forbidden to continue their work. Thus in Szatmár, Albert Figus, one of the editors of the "Szamos", is not to be allowed to take pen in hand for 3 years, and the newspaper has been ordered to dismiss him without delay. The "Ujság", another Szatmár daily, was also ordered to dismiss two Hungarian journalists upon whom a similar sentence had been passed (Brassói Lapok, May 29).

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## REGISTRY OFFICE RUMANIANIZES HUNGARIAN FAMILY NAMES

In Szatmár the Registry Office is changing Hungarian family names without any legal warrant. Kovács is registered as Covaciu, Csengery as Cengheri, Cseh as Ceh, and Szilágyi as Silaghi. This procedure is diametrically opposed to the provisions of the new Rumanian Name Act and the reassuring statements made in connection with it by Cabinet Ministers. ("Brassói Lapok", May 22.)

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## HUNGARIAN CHILDREN THRASHED FOR SPEAKING IN HUNGARIAN OUT OF SCHOOL HOURS

In the State elementary school at Bonyha (Bachnea) the Hungarian children are being beaten for speaking Hungarian, or singing Hungarian songs, during playtime or in the streets out of school hours. It happened recently that several school-children had been playing in the meadows, and on their way home began to sing a Hungarian folksong. Their teacher turned on them, threatening to beat them if ever they dared to sing Hungarian songs again. The next morning the teacher thrashed six of the little Hungarian children for their "crime" of the previous day. ("Kéleti Ujság", May 30.)

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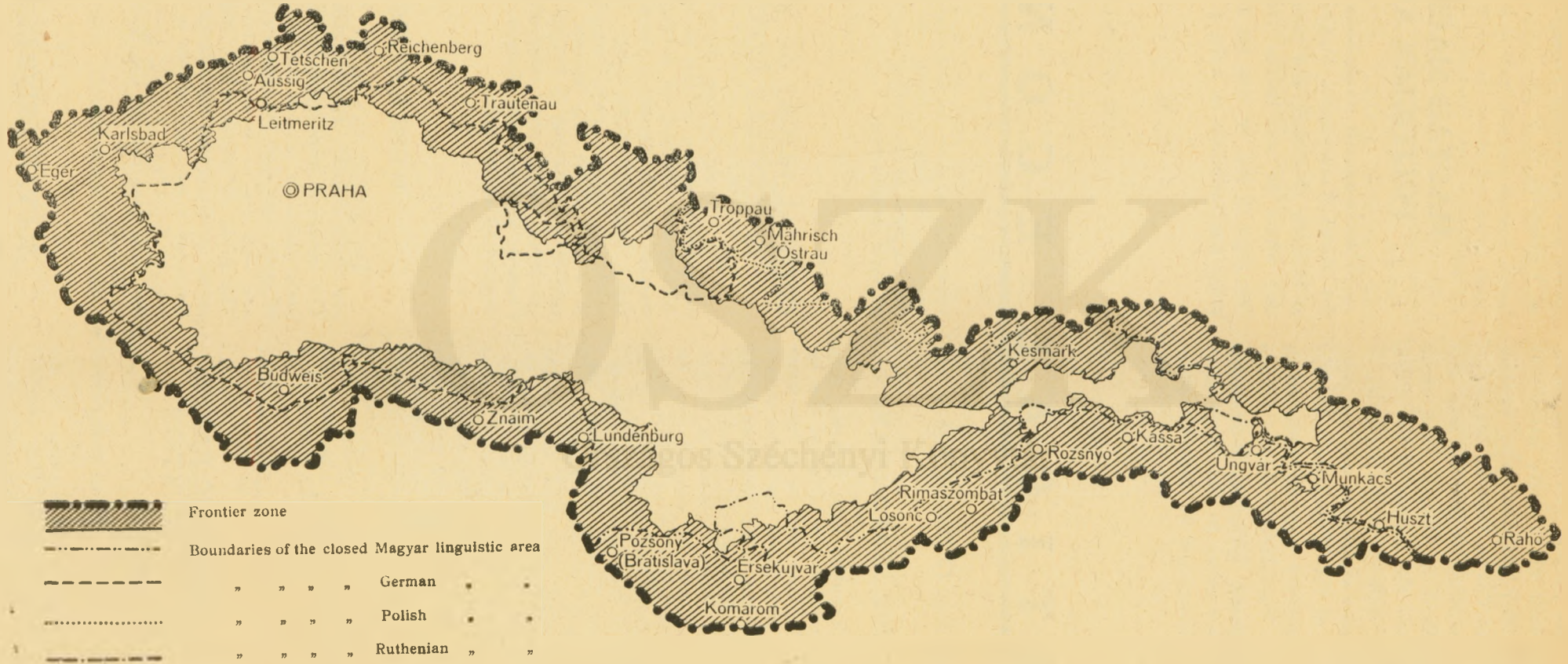
## YUGOSLAVIA

### CROAT NATIONAL MOVEMENT LAUNCHES

The Yugoslav Dictatorship not only introduced a system of the most ruthless censorship of the press, but has also with its aid suppressed the newspapers it did not approve of. This is why the Croat national movement led by M. Maček has had no organ for years. The gap will now be filled by the "Hrvatski Dnevnik", a daily the first issue of which appeared in the latter half of May. It was 16 pages in extent and was printed in 30,000 copies. The leader in the first issue, "Croat National and Peasant Movements", was written by M. Maček himself. The gist of it was that Croat popular politics was against tyranny whether foreign or domestic.

What M. Maček's views on the subject of a sound solution of the Croat question are, may be gathered from a statement of his in the "Populaire" of May 27th. In it he explains that the old Serb Opposition and the present Government Party had proposed to liquidate the Dictatorship on the basis of the Constitution of 1931, while the Croats, on the other hand, were of the opinion that the Administration system of January 6, 1929 with all its consequences was utterly illegal, so that *de facto* Yugoslavia had no Constitution. Therefore a national assembly to draw up a Constitution must be elected by honest ballot







and the decision left to the people, who would surely draw up a Constitution with which every nationality would be satisfied. The only question was whether Belgrade would understand this in time. In conclusion M. Maček expressed his satisfaction that the men who had now got the upperhand in France were those who had always recognized the justice of the Croat cause and had lent their support to the struggles of the Croat nation. M. Maček's statements and the comments of a collaborator of the "Populaire" to the effect that Yugoslav Democracy was disappointed in M. Stojadinović, as were Yugoslavia's sincere friends in France, were so unpleasant for the Government circles in Belgrade that according to the "Populaire" of May 30th, the issue containing M. Maček's state-

ments was suppressed through the length and breadth of Yugoslavia.

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## MAGYAR MACEK PARTY POLITICIAN ARRESTED

Shortly ago Dr. Ivan Nagy, a former candidate of the Maček Party and a Magyar by race was arrested at Ujvidék (Novisad) and taken to Óbecse (Stari Becej) where he was beaten almost to death. After a few days in jail he was set at liberty. The Yugoslav press was forbidden to write a word about this matter.

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

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

### DEFENCE OF THE STATO LOAN

The Defence of the Republic loan is being subscribed now in Czecho-Slovakia. In terms of the relevant Act of Parliament the loan will be of two types — 3% and 4.5% bonds. Both kinds are to be repaid within 50 years from 1938, in uniform annuities as the lots are drawn according to a special amortization plan. The 3% bonds will carry special privileges. Their interest, for instance, will be exempt from revenue tax — an unprecedented thing where State bonds are in question. Besides this, subscribers to the 3% Defence of the Republic loan are to enjoy an extensive amnesty. This means that if the moneys used to pay for the bonds were incomes, revenues, or capital hitherto not declared, they and the returns on them for the year 1935 will be exempt from revenue, income, turn-over and luxury taxes. Furthermore no criminal proceedings will be instituted against investors who did not declare those revenues, increments and incomes in 1935 or the previous years. This Act of Parliament was sponsored by Government at the time with the explanation that circumstances made adequate armaments imperative. This naturally meant increased and extraordinary outlay which could not be covered by the Budget. The sums required had therefore to be produced by means of a loan.

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### CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY URGES FURTHER DEVALUATION OF CZECH CROWN

In their programme of work the Czech Social Democrats, the second largest Party in the Government coalition, are now urging an increase of the amount of money in circulation, which they consider disproportionately small. They also demand a more elastic credit policy, which in given circumstances would make a further devaluation of the Czech crown possible. An extension of the credits needed for in-

vestments, as well as the elimination of the disparity between the Czech crown and the English pound, for the purpose of furthering exportation, is also an item of their programme.

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### CRITICAL PLIGHT OF WATERING-PLACES IN WESTERN CZECH PROVINCES

The Czecho-Slovak Minister of Commerce has pronounced a ban on the payment of credit advances to German visitors. In consequence the spas in the western Czech provinces, such as Karlsbad, Marienbad, Teplitz-Schönau, etc. which depend almost solely on visitors from Germany, will find themselves in a sad plight this season. The proprietors of the spas in question met in Prague to discuss what was to be done, and sent telegrams to Dr Beneš and Premier Hodža asking them to take steps to avert the impending catastrophe.

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### WHEAT PRICES DOWN

The leading men in the Ministry of Agriculture are again studying the question of a wheat monopoly. The measures concerning a wheat monopoly are, we understand, to remain unchanged. The market prices of grain and also the producers' prices of rye, barley, and oats are to be maintained at their present level. The price of wheat which the producers are to receive, on the other hand, is to be reduced. With these measures a two-fold object is to be served: a limitation of the wheat growing areas and an elimination of the risks incurred by the State through its purchase of wheat.

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### „SLOVAK PRIVILEGE,, ABOLISHED

The "Národný Listy" reports that the Ministry of Trade and Commerce has withdrawn until further notice the "Slovak privilege" where certain com-



modities are concerned. This privilege was that for public contracts in Slovakia the tenders of Slovak firms were to be accepted if they did not exceed other tenders for the same quality of goods by more than 5%. This was how Slovak industries were compensated for the disabilities suffered in consequence of the one-sided State support enjoyed by the heavy industries in the Czech provinces, the discrimination against Slovakia in freight rates, unequal taxation, the meagreness of State investments in Slovakia, etc. The withdrawal of the privilege is obviously intended to ensure that the materials and tools needed for building public edifices shall be supplied mainly by the Czech provinces.

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## HUNGARY

### NEW BAUXITE FIND

The prospecting for bauxite which has been going on for years in the county of Baranya in the south of Hungary has now led to surprising results. In the Nagyarsány hills a rich stratum of bauxite has been discovered which is estimated roughly at over 200,000 wagon-loads. The quality is the best ever found in the country, for from 65 to 70 percent on the mineral is said to be suitable for the production of aluminium. Wenn all the machinery is in full work the mine will give employment to 500 people. The annual production is estimated at about 8000—10,000 wagons.

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### EXPORT APRICOTS AND PEACHES TO BEAR GOVERNMENT STAMP

The Government has ordered that all apricots and peaches exported are to bear a Government stamp. At least 24 hours before lading the Foreign Trade Office must be asked to inspect them. Only apricots and peaches perfect in shape and with no more than 5% of external faults are to receive a Government brand. The packages are to be tied with bands bearing inscriptions in Hungarian and in the language of the importing country.

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## RUMANIA

### GREAT DECLINE IN TRADE BETWEEN RUMANIA AND FRANCE

A comparative study of official statistics reveals that the exchange of commodities between Rumania and France is declining steadily. It will be seen that in the first two months of 1936 imports from France did not amount in value to more than 16,358,000 francs, as compared with 34,058,000 francs in the same period of the previous year. Exports from Rumania to France show the same rapid decline; for whereas last year exports in the first two months amounted in value to 16,358,000 francs, they did not exceed 7,218,000 francs in the same period of the current year. (These statistics do not include the figures of the trade with the French colonies, as so far no

statistics under that head have been made public.) Rumania's trade balance with France shows a surplus of 9,230,000 francs in the first two months of the current year, whereas it was 25,938,000 francs in the same period of 1935. What is most striking is that in spite of friendly alliance and economic agreements the export of raw petroleum to France is growing steadily less. ("Temesvári Hirlap", vol. V, No. 127, June 5.)

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### CZECH EXPORTS TO RUMANIA DAREUX

The Rumanian foreign trade department has now published its report on trade with Czecho-Slovakia in January, February, March, and April. The report shows that the importation of Czech goods has fallen off considerably. Compared with last year fewer import licences have been issued, because the Banca Nationala is short of Czech currency. The report of the Czecho-Slovak export-import department on the quantity of goods exported to Rumania between January 1st and April 30th, comparing this period with the same one in 1935, has also just been published. It shows that between January 1st and May 1st of the current year Rumania imported Czecho-Slovak goods of the value of 40,000,000 Czech crowns, while the value for the same period in 1935 was 70,000,000 a decline of 30,000,000 Czech crowns for the first four months of this year.

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### EXTRA IMPORT QUOTAS FOR GERMAN COMMODITIES IN RUMANIA

Germany's exportation to Rumania came to a standstill in the second quarter of the current year, because in the first quarter imports to the value of 40,000,000 lei, charged to the next three months quota, were sanctioned, and the National Bank of Rumania deducted this sum from the quota for the second quarter of the year, so that only 150,000,000 lei were at the disposal of importers. On the proposal of the parties interested a further quota of 500,000,000 lei has been sanctioned, so that 650,000,000 lei will be at their disposal for the second quarter of the year. In distributing this quota the requirements of the armament industries will be satisfied first, and then, the importation of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods is to be permitted.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### APRIL TRADE BALANCE

Yugoslavia's exports in April amounted to 286,500,000 dinars, as against 368,200,000 in the April of last year. Imports totalled 325,900,000 dinars, so that they were about the same as in April last year. The trade balance for the first four months of the year shows a loss of 264,300,000 dinars compared with last year's profits in the same period of 140,200,000 dinars.

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# S P O R T S

## OLYMPIC GAMES

The countries of Central Europe will be well represented at the Berlin Olympic Games. According to reports Hungary is to send at least 200, Yugoslavia 250 and Austria 198 competitors.

## ATHLETICS

Hungarian athletes have never prepared for an Olympiad with so much ambition and such diligence as for the Berlin Games. Hitherto Hungary was not able to show good results except in the branches of athletics requiring manual skill. Now we have runners who warrant serious hopes of success in Berlin. The leaders of Hungarian athletics have arranged several preliminary tests hitherto at which Hungarians have had the opportunity of pitting their strength against Austrian, Polish and Italian competitors. Among the results obtained mention must be made of Szabó's 1500 metres time (3 mins. 53 secs.), Bácsalmási's pole vaulting record (404 centimetres) and Várszegi's javelin throw of 68.23 metres.

## FOOTBALL

The match between Hungary's and Italy's representative teams took place on May 30th. It was watched by enormous crowds of Hungarians and over two thousand Italians. The Italian team won by 2 goals to 1. The standard of play was rather low, for neither team had been well selected. This was particularly observable in the play of the forwards.

In our last number we mentioned the regrettable circumstance that certain countries, above all Rumania, carry a spirit of hatred into the sphere of sports. The most recent instance is the following. The Rumanian football team, which numbers no fewer than eight Magyars among its members, won the Balkan Cup. On this occasion the organ of the extreme Rumanian nationalists, the "*Universul*", instead of praising the achievements of the players, launched out in a wild attack against the representative team for no other reasons than that the majority of its members were Magyars. Apart from the fact that sport tactics of that kind are anything but sportsmanlike, and incomprehensible to western Europeans, in our opinion they do not serve Rumania's interests either, for if the Magyar players are left out next time, it may easily happen that the Rumanian team will have to rest content with the last place.

According to the "*Gazeta Sporurilor*", when two English players shouted a few words in English to each other at the F. C. Liverpool—Ripensia match, one of the spectators, a man belonging to the better classes, cried out: — "*Vorbeste românește boue*", which in English means "Speak Rumanian you oxen" ("*Deutsches Tageszeitung*", June 11). This little intermezzo is indicative of the tone prevailing among the crowds interested in sport in Rumania.

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## TENNIS

The Davis Cup tournaments are drawing to a close. Of all the Central European countries Yugoslavia alone has contrived to remain unbeaten, and will now play in the European finals against Germany. Let it be said that every single member of the excellent Yugoslav team is a Croat, and the Croats may well be proud of the fact that their players have achieved European fame.

## MOTORING

On June 21st. the Royal Hungarian Automobile Club held its first Budapest *Grand Prix*, which was a brilliant success in every respect. The perfect arrangements, the many difficult and dangerous bends in the track which put the routine and skill of the competitors to the test, and the presence of Europe's best racers and prizewinners contributed to make the first Budapest Grand Prix one of the most interesting races in Europe. What made the race more than usually interesting was that it was not the speed of the machines so much as the skill of their drivers that decided the race on a track full of such difficult and often extremely dangerous bends. The Italian Nuvolari's victory was due in the first place to his routine as a driver and his clever race tactics. His average speed on the 250 kilometre track was 112 kilometres an hour, although he did not use his fastest machine.

The results were:

1. Nuvolari (Alfa Romeo), Italy.
2. Rosemayer (Auto Union), Germany.
3. Varzi (Auto Union), Germany.
4. Tadini, Italy.
5. Stuck, Germany.
6. Dobson, England.
7. Hartmann, Hungary.

Among those to give up the race were Chiron, Caracciola, Brauchtisch (all using Mercedes-Benz machines) and Martin, England — all well-known names.

## ROWING

At the international rowing races held on Europe's most ideal water, the 2 kilometres long and absolutely straight Rotsee. The Hungarian "*Pannonia*" eight won by two full lengths, while Mamusich and Györy ("*Hungaria*") secured a victory for the Hungarian colours in the non-cox pairs.

## SAILING

Two years ago the first big sailing race was held on Lake Balaton for the Blue Ribbon of the Balaton. The interest shown in this event is greater than ever this year and has surpassed all expectations. Besides the full Hungarian list of competitors, German and Austrian groups have entered, that serving to enhance the classical quality of the race. The distance is 160 kilometres, which with a favourable wind may be sailed in 18 or 20 hours. The start is on July 17th. at 8 A. M. from Balatonfüred.