

DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

VOL. IV., No 8.
B U D A P E S T
JANUARY 1937

PUBLISHED BY THE HUNGARIAN FRONTIER
READJUSTMENT LEAGUE

SINGLE COPY 50 FILL.
SUBSCRIPTION:
ONE YEAR 6 PENGÓ

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And so say all of us *Baron Forster*

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"BUTTER PREFERRED TO GUNS" AND SO SAY ALL OF US

by

Baron Paul Forster

Former Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

Budapest, 27th January.

No Statesman of the world is better qualified, nor more justly entitled to make the above statement than Mr. Anthony Eden. The present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could refer to the peaceful policy of all British Governments since the close of the world war. He could mention the fact that the British Empire carried out, even to a dangerous limit that disarmament policy which the Versailles Treaty prescribed and he could most justifiably claim for himself that since his tenure of office he has not ceased to concentrate all his efforts upon the maintenance of Peace.

And surely no one could dare to deny that the people of the world are grateful to the Foreign Secretary for his statement since it embodies all hopes and vital interests of mankind.

But how does it then come that in spite of the efforts of all British governments of the past fifteen years or so that aim of the civilized world has not yet been realised? Surely the fault can not lie with the masses of the people themselves. The horrors of the war are still too vividly in the memory of those who took an active part in it and for these as well, as for the younger generation, the widespread publicity given to the new and formidable weapons of modern warfare, reputedly threatening with annihilation beautiful and flourishing capitals and millions of people, the prospects of a new conflagration cannot be tempting. There is everything to lose for all; and even for the most optimistic war fanatics hardly anything to win.

And yet: when all seems to agree, when it is realised that some very serious efforts can no more be postponed, that the world should be brought out of the present impasse, everybody, but above all the world press ought to give its most earnest attention to the appeal made by Mr. Eden to the Foreign Press Association at its annual dinner on the 12th of January 1937. A year about which Mr. Eden, in his speech in Parliament said: "that if 1937 be a year of acutely difficult international problems and of that there can be no doubt, it is also a year of international opportunities."

It is therefore up to the press which moulds far more than reproduces public opinion to assist Mr. Eden in his efforts.

The Foreign Secretary at the press dinner also expressed the conviction that

"surely the world is not so bankrupt that it can find no way of giving practical force to what, it seems, is the common aim of us all."

A little later he said:

"If progress is to be real, we must wish to see it realized both in the political and in the economic sphere — the one reacts upon the other. Unless there is political confidence there can be no real economic recovery in Europe. Moreover, economic distress is in itself a danger to peace. All friends of peace, therefore must see to wish that distress relieved."

We hope the Foreign Secretary will forgive us for quoting his words, (as they appeared in the Times columns), also in this paper, attempting to give an answer to his query

"how is this — of giving practical force to what is the common aim of all — to be achieved?"

Our answer could naturally be a drop merely in the ocean of controversies even if it were representing the opinion of all Hungarians, while naturally it is only an individual opinion (perhaps supported by good many of us in this part of Europe.)

The answer is simple enough. The mistakes of 1919 and all subsequent years should be radically corrected and that road followed which the present British Foreign Secretary initiated some time ago and to which policy he has several times given unmistakable expression: a policy of evolution instead of that of rigidity. He thus followed in the footsteps of Briand, Stresemann, Mr. Ramsay Mc Donald and Signor Mussilini.

They all made honest efforts to improve the political atmosphere of the world and the "Locarno" pact, for the time being, did intense good. Ultimately however the Pact had to fail because it left important problems unsolved, while the Four Power pact remained an unrealized and vain hope possibly for similar reason.

Another policy which filled the world with hope and was supported by most statesmen was the effort to make the League of Nations the forum for the settlement of international difficulties. Even the most faithful and most stubborn supporters of the League have realized by now, that that institution has ingloriously failed in its attempt to solve serious problems. It is of little use to dwell over the mistakes of the past and, to facilitate finding the remedy, it is hardly advisable to enter into academic discussions as to whether the lack of power to enforce the League's findings is responsible for the failure or if the organic fault of the actual covenant, which made the League more an instrument for the rigid maintenance of the *status quo* than an organ for sane evolution. Perhaps, nay probably, it was not always the lack of good will on either side which was responsible for the failures of the past but it was rather a misfortune, as if an epidemic had stricken the world, blindfolding some and preventing them from seeing the simplest truth and plain facts.

Nothing is settled which is not rightly settled, once said Lincoln and nothing can be settled in Europe, or in fact in the world, so long, as we endeavour to cure the evil by superficial medicines which might be useful to make the visible signs of the disease fade away for the moment, but do not tackle the evil at its roots and eradicate it once for all.

There are cases of course where the disease is stronger than we are and in these cases it breaks forth in spite of all superficial quacksalvery. *Mutatis mutandis*: Germany one sidedly denounced those stipulations of the Versailles Treaty which it considered an infringement of its sovereignty. The result was to create a lot of bad blood on all sides, and even in Germany itself, on account of the feeling that prevailed there, that in spite of all profession to the contrary it is still discriminated against at its own disadvantage.

Yes, by all means let the League be reformed but not by strengthening the measures of sanctions against those who were the less fortunate in 1919, but by returning to the principles which were the basis of the covenant, and were intended to constitute a remedy for dangerous and untenable international situations.

Any effective reform must, however necessarily fail if the working out of it be entrusted to the League itself, the organ which amply proved its incapacity for good work, and particularly if there be left out of the reform those important States which have not joined the League, or have left it for, what they considered to be good and legitimate reasons. Nor would it be right to assume that the unwillingness of outsiders to co-operate is based on sheer, or unfair selfishness. We should on the contrary give them credit for that which we ask for ourselves — a belief in their honesty and integrity.

After all it must not be forgotten that 1919 left on the devastated battle grounds of Europe two entirely different groups of nations: the exuberant and saturated victors and the other group of disappointed ones. Such however, it can be

claimed, is the fortune of wars. That may be so, but real peace requires fairness for all, equality of sovereign rights and as the importance of economics overshadows political considerations, equal chances to all.

It is said, both as regards economics and politics, that there must necessarily be a return of confidence before any real progress can be made. This is true, but why should one group of powers be distrusted when all they ask for is equal treatment and equal chances in the fight for existence. It is clearly wrong to mistrust those who simply, in plain and unmistakable words demand equality at a time when others continue in the spirit of 1919. It has always been for victors to tender a friendly hand to the defeated.

Monsieur Blum has made yet another pacifist speech on the 24th inst — but this again was so characteristically surrounded by safety valves that it is hardly probable that Herr Hitler will be able to go further than he has done before offering all possible guarantees to France on the question of the Franco-German border and that of peaceful co-operation between the two countries.

Germany has, besides, already guaranteed the integrity of Belgium. And Belgium seems to be satisfied with these guarantees and, if we are not mistaken, wishes to carry on an independent foreign policy of her own. To all appearances Belgium is not yet convinced that the recent French foreign policy can increase her own security but she seems to fear that she may become entangled in a French adventure.

This consideration leads to that of another slogan which, it is to be hoped, is but a dream of the past, that of collective security.

As it was advocated by its supporters it had the appearance of being of an innocent nature but in fact it was nothing less than a means of maintaining the *status quo* as against evolution. The idea was rendered the more pernicious by reason of the Franco-Russian alliance which is greatly responsible for what is considered to be a danger in England, that of the splitting of Europe into two camps that of Fascist and Antifascist.

Collective security is an utopian dream or a mask for the selfish, which it must necessarily be so long as it is based upon the *status quo*. No sane politician can expect any collective security pact to be of lasting value as long as it is based upon two sets of powers: saturated ones on the one hand and dissatisfied ones on the other.

If it is once recognised, as it seems to be to day, that Versailles was a grave error and that general Smuts, J. M. Keynes and the many others were right who strongly criticised the Peace Treaties and pointed out the dangers inherent in them, it is clear that it is high time for radical measures to be adopted with a view of mending the situation. No palliatives or half measures can avail, nor can the use of slogans like the one of collective security. If some power is required to guarantee the maintenance of a situation which is unfairly discriminating against others it hinders the economic resurrection of those powers which lost everything by reason of the treaties.

Another problem which hinders the appeasement of the world is the obvious danger of separating Europe into two adverse camps the one Fascist and other Antifascists.

Mr. Eden's thesis that the internal policy of every country is a concern of their own must be accepted. But at the same time no country can be allowed to meddle with other countries affairs, or be allowed to make subversive propaganda, or incite to acts of sabotage and the like.

No one can believe that Fascists or Nazis have committed such acts abroad which in the case of communist propaganda is undeniable. A Canadian visitor to this country has given us the appalling news that since President Roosevelt recognized the Moscow government Soviet money has been lavishly used for communist propaganda in Canada and that there are now scores of bolshevik press organs in that particular British Dominion. It would not be surprising if similar happenings are threatening other parts of the world as well.

Liberty of speech can also be abused and can degenerate into license — but the same measure should be used against every political system which does not correspond to the true standards of democracy. It is inconceivable that the Valencia

government should be supported and recognized as a democratic one after it has abolished religion, has persecuted priests, has destroyed churches, in a country, where we have every reason to believe that the masses of the peoples are sincere christians and faithful to their religion.

In Hungary we believe in democracy and in liberalism which we not only preach but also practice and that towards all our citizens irrespective of nationality or creed. What we ask for is our full and rightful sovereignty, for equal treatment and for equal chance.

No „Locarno“, no Four Power pact and above all no collective security can bring the blessings of Peace to this world without justice and fair play, at the same time being given regard to and unless the selfishness of small groups of people be replaced by a just and sincere desire for co-operation in order to secure the good of all and the common interests of mankind.

Let us undo the mistakes of 1919 and 1920 and rearrange the world by honestly applying those principles which were the aim of the world war —: those of liberty and equality and the right of self determination for the Hungarian people as well as for other nations.

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THE NATIONALITY POLICY OF THE PRE-WAR AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

by

Observer

An important part of the radio speech delivered on 22nd January by the Czecho-Slovak Premier, M. Milano Hodza was about the minorities.

In his opinion there was no State in Europe that might set an example to Czecho-Slovakia as regards liberal, democratic minority policy. In Switzerland and Belgium the problem is not one of minorities. A fair and liberal minority policy is of vital importance to Czech nationalism in particular, for political independence had always been the latter's chief aim. It was just the nationalists by principle who knew very well that even the slightest departure from the sentiments of national liberty was apt to be the source of very serious crises in the state. It was not in the smallest degree to the interests of Czech nationalism and Czecho-Slovak nationalism as a whole that the State should be kept in permanent unrest through the evolution of a centre of political crises. The regulation of administrative routine was certainly not analogous with what in the history of Czech politics lived on as an odious memory of "*Punktationen*" (contracts) and attempts at compromise. These "*Punktationen*" and attempts at compromise

had their origin in the Hapsburg Empire, because the Constitution of the old Empire did not meet the reasonable requirements either of its citizens or of State policy.

No one had ever accused, or would ever be able to accuse, the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution of not allowing sufficient scope to the fullest national aspirations, or of not being an adequate guarantee of the independent development of the different ethnic groups in the State. It was the duty of the Government to see that the Constitution was not a mere scrap of paper, but a living proof of the political and moral maturity of the Czecho-Slovak people.

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The warning addressed to the Czech Nationalists by M. Milan Hodža — to the effect that it is not in the interests of the Czecho-Slovak State to have to continuously face crises due to its nationality policy — must be endorsed by us too, though we believe that it was very belated.

But the statements of the Czecho-Slovakian Premier's concerning the nationality policy of pre-war Austria and Hungary challenge contradiction.

Although we also admit the imperfections of the whole system of nationality policy pursued by the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy of old, it was nevertheless incomparably more favourable to the nationalities than is the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution.

In *Austria* the famous Article 19 of the Constitution guaranteed "to every racial stock the inviolable right to preserve and develop its own nationality". This provision deserves special attention, because — in contrast with the post-war Minority Treaties and the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution — it did not stop short after guaranteeing liberty and equality to the single individuals comprising a nationality, but also recognised racial stocks, i. e. the several nationalities as collective units. Administration in Austria rested on the so-called "double-rail" system, meaning that the legislative right were exercised on the one hand by the Vienna Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*) and on the other jointly by the parliaments of the "Kingdoms and Countries" (provinces) and the Emperor. Part of the laws were enacted by the Vienna Central Government, the rest by the self-governing departments of the provinces. Now, seeing that Bohemia with its Czech majority and Moravia were also provinces, the Czechs, through the medium of a self-governing National Assembly not only had their share in the autonomous legislature and administration, but were also the real masters in those fields during the last few decades of Austria's existence in the Monarchy.

A few examples will serve to show what the Czechs owed to that system during the years of Austrian "oppression".

In *Bohemia* Law Nr. 17 of 24th February 1873 decreed the establishment for German as-well-as Czech schools of special local and district school-boards. This meant that the Czechs were themselves administering Czech educations in the villages and districts, that is to say, *they were enjoying local and district educational autonomy*. Provincial Law No. 46 of 25th June 1890 created two nationality departments — Czech and German — within the bosom of the Provincial Board of Education, and invested them with the right to settle all matters concerning the Czech and the German schools. With this measure the Czechs acquired educational autonomy throughout the whole of Bohemia. An ordinance issued by the Minister of Justice on 3rd February 1890 decreed that 26 of the councillors in the Prague Supreme Courts of Justice *had to be judges who spoke both Czech and German*, while only 16 were not obliged to speak Czech. This in practice meant that all matters submitted in Czech to the Supreme Courts were dealt with in that language. Then Provincial Law No. 20 of 20th March 1891 split the Provincial Board of Agriculture into two nationality departments, the members of which were elected severally by individuals belonging to the same nationality. Ordinance No. 9826 issued on 19th August 1894 by the Minister of the Interior and an ordinance issued by the Minister of Public Works on 7th January 1914 divided the Chamber of Physicians and the Chamber of Engineers

respectively into two departments — a Czech and a German one. All this shows that *where the autonomy of the bodies representing education, agriculture, medicine and engineering was concerned, the principle of national self-government was enforced*.

In *Moravia*, Provincial Law No. 40 of 19th May 1897, following the pattern of the above-mentioned Czech Law No. 20 of 1891, also divided the Board of Agriculture into a Czech and German department. In terms of Law, No. 4 ex 1906 of 27th November 1905 (*Lex Terek*) even villages or political districts had to be educationally divided in two if there were both German and Czech schools in them. The Provincial Board of Education was also divided into a Czech and a German department, each of which, within its own sphere of authority was entitled to pass resolutions independent of the other. Worthy of note is also the provision contained in Provincial Law No. 1 ex 1906 of 27th November 1905, which stipulates that all *rapporteurs* in the Provincial Assembly on matters pertaining to Czech schools and the Czech educational institutes maintained by the province had to be Czechs. In conclusion we would mention that by a gubernatorial proclamation dated No. 87, 21st October 1905 the Chamber of Physicians was also divided into two departments, and that by the rules of procedure approved by the Ministry of Justice in an ordinance dated 20th April the committee memberships and other offices in the Chamber of Lawyers were divided equally (1 : 1) between the two nationalities, and the same rights were guaranteed to the Czech language as a language of procedure in the Chamber as to German.¹

Most of the laws mentioned above were the results of negotiations inaugurated in Bohemia in 1890 by the Czecho-German Compromise Conference and in Moravia in 1898 by the Permanent Committee elected by the Provincial Assembly. It is therefore incomprehensible that M. Hodza not only refuses to hear of negotiations towards a compromise or of "*Punktationen*", but even thinks he can dismiss them with scathing sarcasm.

In Hungary, in conformity with the doctrines of Liberalism, Law XLIV of 1868 (Nationality Act) also granted lingual rights to the single individuals comprising nationalities, but those rights were much more precisely defined than in the post-war Minority Treaties. In the model autonomy guaranteed to the Serb and Rumanian Greek Oriental Churches, the Hungarian State granted genuine religious and educational self-government to the Serbs and Rumanians, who were almost the only adherents of those denominations. The ancient "Saxon University" (a foundation) with its great wealth over which it had absolute rights, and the complete freedom of the Saxon Lutheran Church of Transylvania from any control by the Lutheran Church of Hungary were also species of national autonomies. And the Croats were actually recognised as a political nation in Law XXX of

¹ The above data are taken from an excellent work entitled "*Das Nationalitätenrecht des alten Österreich*". (Wien—Leipzig, 1934) from the pen of Professor Hugelmann of the Vienna University.

1868, which granted an autonomy to Croatia-Slavonia so extensive as to be unparalleled in Europe even to the present day. That country was self-governing in the spheres of religion, education, internal administration and justice. In those matters legislature was exercised by the Zagreb National Assembly (Sabor) and the laws were enforced by a national Government at the head of which stood the Ban, who was responsible to the National Assembly. In the Hungarian Parliament a Minister without Portfolio represented Croatian interests. What joint matters remained were attended to by separate Croatian departments in the Budapest ministries. The Hungarian Government appointed its officials in Croatia from among individuals domiciled in that province and the language used by the civil servants in their official capacity was Croatian. The delegates sent up by the Zagreb Sabor to represent Croatia in the Hungarian Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament made their speeches in Croatian. The language of command in the Croatian regiments of the Hungarian National Defence Army was Croatian. And, lastly, the laws of 1910 gave Bosnia and Hercegovina, which were jointly administered by Austria and Hungary, extensive self-government. These laws guaranteed the preservation of the national type of the races in those parts, i. e. their collective unity, and in the districts created to serve National Assembly election purposes the number of votes to which the different denominations, in other words, the nationalities of which they consisted, were entitled was precisely fixed.

Now let us see on what foundation the legislature of nationality rights rests in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic. The Constitution, in the framing of which the Hungarians, Germans, Ruthenians and Poles had no say at all and the Slovaks only through the medium of representatives appointed by and enjoying the favour of the Prague Government, merely incorporates the meagre provisions of the Minority Treaties, and even the only in a certain arbitrarily modified form. The fundamentally important provision contained in Article 8 of the Minority Treaty, for instance, which declares that legal equality is not sufficient, but that minority citizens must really enjoy equal treatment, is not to be found in the Constitution. Several other important provisions of the Minority Treaty were incorporated in the Constitution with the reservation that they applied to minority citizens only within the limits of the general laws of the land. In other words, a loophole was left open, and a modification of the relevant provisions of the Constitution may be effected at any time by means of an ordinary Act of Parliament.

Apart from this, nothing else except the question of the use of minority languages before the juridical and administrative authorities was regulated precisely by Czecho-Slovakian legislature. A Language Act (No. 122) was passed on 29th February 1920, and a Language Ordinance enforcing it (No. 37) issued on 3rd February 1926. Long though the latter is, the gist of it may be summed up in a few words. The principle is that minority citizens are entitled to lingual rights in juridical districts where they constitute 20% of

the population. The principle itself is not anything new, for in 1868 the Hungarian Law No. XXX regulated the lingual rights of the nationalities on this basis. Here we must emphasise the point that the Language Act and Language Ordinance are being very loosely applied, especially in the Hungarian districts. The Czecho-Slovakian State has not even thought it necessary to formulate the conditions subject to which the Republic is bound to establish Hungarian schools in Slovakia and Ruthenia, that is to say in the provinces where the Hungarians dwell.

All this shows that where the rights of the minorities are concerned, the Czecho-Slovakian State is no improvement on the old Austrian and Hungarian legislature, but a very decided retrogression. And this, in spite of the fact that the Czechs, who at the time in question so often accused Austria and Hungary of oppressing their minorities; the Czechs who in the first rapture after the creation of the Republic promised unspeakable happiness to the minorities; the Czechs who incorporated in their Republic millions of Germans and Hungarians who in 1919 were still the staple elements of the countries to which they belonged, and thus particularly sensitive to ill-treatment; the Czechs who in the Minority Treaties undertook legal obligations of an international nature the like of which had never hampered pre-war Austria and Hungary, would have been doubly bound to frame model minority laws, before which the old Austrian and Hungarian ones would have paled into insignificance.

From this point of view it is interesting to study the statements made to the Paris Peace Conference by Edward Benes, the present President of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic. From David Hunter-Miller's diary² we learn that Benes's note of 20th May 1919 was read in the New States Committee, in which note it was stated that Czecho-Slovakia would adopt Switzerland's fundamental principles, would introduce general franchise on a proportional basis, establish schools at her own expense for each of the minorities in villages where the number of children justified it, give the different minorities posts in public offices where both languages were to be spoken, establish polyglot courts of justice and allow the Germans to use their own tongue in the courts of justice and in local (village and district) administration. The official language of the State was to be Czech, but in practice German was to be the second language of the country with equal rights in the administration, courts of justice and the Parliament. The legal as well as the actual position of the minorities in Czecho-Slovakia is exactly the opposite of all this. The only promise kept was the one about the general franchise.

Whereas the laws of which mention has been made above insured national autonomy on a personal basis in Austria, and the autonomy of the Croats on a territorial basis in Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia adopting centralism from the very outset not only rigidly refuses to consider the idea of

² "My Diary." Vol. XIII, pp. 79—80.

nationality autonomy, but even imposes much narrower limits on administrative self-government than formerly Austrian, to say nothing of Hungarian, legislature did.

The most characteristic of all was the treatment meted out to *Ruthenia*. Article 2 of the Minority Treaty drawn up on 10th September 1919 guaranteed to that Province the most extensive self-government in matters pertaining to religion, education and local administration, furthermore a separate National Assembly with a Governor responsible to it, and civil servants recruited from among the inhabitants of the Province. Over 17 years have elapsed since that Minority Treaty was signed, but not one single letter of these provisions has ever been carried out, beyond the fact that a President was appointed, but without any powers or any sphere of authority. In his wireless speech Premier Hodža did not get further than the length of announcing that negotiations were on foot concerning the preliminary conditions of self-government in Ruthenia. He spoke of extending the jurisdiction of the President and the autonomy of the Province in the field of administration, but the very appointment of a President is, in itself, a violation of the Minority Treaty, much more so than an extension of his jurisdiction. (It should be remembered that the President of Ruthenia is a Government official appointed by Prague. Ever since this office was created every President has been a Czech and about 90% of the official staff consists of Czechs brought from far-distant corners of the Republic.) As regards the promise to extend the autonomy of the Province in the field of administration, let it suffice to point out that the Minority Treaty stipulates *political* and not *administrative* self-government.

Worse perhaps than the situation of the Ruthenians is that of the nation to which by birth M. Hodža, himself, belongs, namely the Slovakian. The Pittsburgh Convention of 30th May 1918, which was signed by Dr. Masaryk too, guaranteed Slovakia a separate National Assembly, separate administration, and separate jurisprudence, with Slovak as the only language. In place of this the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution not only omits to grant political autonomy to Slovakia, but also simply refuses to recognize a separate Slovak nation, and by concocting the intenable fiction of a Czechoslovakian lingual and national unity, has insured the hegemony of the Czech language over the Slovak districts too. The extremely restricted administrative autonomy — restricted because the discussion of political questions is banned — introduced by the Administration Act of 1927 does not, as the results of the Parliamentary elections on 1935 show, satisfy the majority of the Slovaks at all, who under Father Andrew Hlinka's leadership continue to demand the political autonomy guaranteed in the Pittsburgh Convention.

M. Hodža and his Slovak colleagues in the Cabinet do not represent the opinions of the Slovak people, but neither can the ministers of German nationality (Spina, Czeh and Zajiček) be considered the representatives of the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia. We saw that at the time of the

Parliamentary elections in 1935 over two-thirds of all the German votes cast went to Conrad Henlein's Sudeta German Party. And that Party does indeed stand on the platform of territorial autonomy. The legal situation of the Sudeta Germans is certainly much worse than was that of the Czechs in Austria (the authority of the German department of the Provincial Council and the Boards of Agriculture and Education has been considerably curtailed, the possibility of self-government afforded by the „double-rail” system has ceased and the lingual rights guaranteed in the Czecho-Slovakian Language Act are much narrower than those formerly enjoyed in Austria by the Czechs). The Sudeta German Party demands that the German people whose lot is a deplorable one, as the terrible destitution prevailing in the Sudeta district proves, should be allowed to manage their own affairs. Nothing shows the dissatisfaction of the Germans better than the fact that even the opportunist German Parties in the Prague coalition, the so-called „activists” have grown weary of the present state of affairs and have submitted a memorandum to the Government setting forth the national demands of the Germans. The contents of the memorandum were not made public, but we cannot err greatly in presuming that the Czecho-Slovakian Government will not give the Germans the autonomy demanded by Henlein.

The Poles of *Silesia* are also much worse off now than they were in Austria. The Czecho-Slovakian census shows a decrease in the number of Poles and Polish schools are considerably fewer than they were in pre-war times, although Prague, in the agreement concluded between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland in Warsaw in 1925, guaranteed the Polish minority wider rights than any of the other minorities enjoy. The reason why despite all the wiles of French diplomacy relations between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland continue to be unfriendly may be sought for in the facts above stated.

We have left the question of the Hungarian minority to the last. Of all the nationalities in the Republic their lot is certainly the hardest. Every issue of the Danubian Review contains data about the complaints of the Hungarians. A perusal thereof will enable our foreign readers to see that even the meagre rights guaranteed in the Minority Treaties, the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution and the Language Act are scarcely ever granted in practice. Compared with the former situation, not only of the Croats, Serbs, Rumanians and the Saxons of Transylvania, but even with that of the Slovaks in pre-war Hungary, the lot of the Hungarians forced to live in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic is undoubtedly worse. We do not wish to enumerate the superior advantages of the Hungarian Law XLIV of 1868 as compared with the Czecho-Slovakian Language Act. but shall content ourselves with pointing to the rule of police and gendarmes fostered by the Defence of the Republic and the Defence of the State Acts, to the banking and estate laws and the Czecho-Slovakian laws that restrict every grade of administrative autonomy-laws which would have been simply inconceivable

in the Hungarian era and which restrict the personal liberty and material welfare of the Hungarian-speaking citizens of the Republic within limits the like of which never cramped the Slovaks in Hungary.

The Hungarians of Slovakia and Ruthenia naturally do not, cannot, resign themselves to these conditions. They also demand national self-government. But the Prague Government closes its ears when the leaders of the Hungarian Party voice this demand, and in like manner as it relies on the support of the opportunist Slovak centralists and a tiny minority of German „activists” in its struggle against Hlinka and Henlein respectively, so does the Government in the struggle against the Hungarian Géza Szűllő lean on a few renegades financed by the Czech Government Parties and rightly cast out of its bosom by the Hungarian nation — men who for the most part had fled to Czecho-Slovakia and found refuge there after the collapse of Béla Kun's Communism in Hungary.

The Czecho-Slovakian Premier was therefore unreasonable when in his radio speech he attacked the nationality policy of pre-war Austria and Hungary, and also unreasonable when he praised the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution. Comparisons are odious and the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution would only suffer from them, for even if nationality legislature and politics were faulty in pre-war Austria and Hungary, a fact which we are the last to deny, still they were certainly far superior

to the Czecho-Slovakian system; for they nursed the beginnings of nationality self-government which the Entente States have nipped in the bud. Besides this, indirectly the provincial system in Austria and the county system in Hungary enabled the nationalities to exercise incomparably greater influence on political life than the anti-autonomy attitude of the Little Entente States. Like the other Little Entente countries in general Czecho-Slovakia's ideal is French centralism. In a homogeneous national State like France centralism may have its *raison d'être*, but certainly not in Czecho-Slovakia, where the majority of the population are not Czechs and where the totally dissimilar historical development and view of life the western and eastern parts of the country imperatively demand self-government and decentralization.

But there is nothing in M. Hodža's radio message to indicate that Prague is ready to enter upon the only practicable path. Rather do we receive the impression that Prague is determined to adhere to the present rigid centralism and at best is willing to yield to the demands of the minorities only in some unimportant, minor details. Yet if there is a State in Europe where an urgent and radical solution of the nationality problem is a vital question, that State is Czecho-Slovakia; for her present political isolation and her unfriendly relations with each of her neighbours are the consequences of the mistaken nationality policy pursued since 1918 — a policy which every sign seems to indicate Prague has no intention of abandoning.

KOSSUTH, LORD PALMERSTON AND POST-TRIANON HUNGARY

by

Andrew Bajcsy-Zsilinszky

August 13th, 1849, is a memorable date in Hungarian history, not only because it was on that day that General Arthur Görgey surrendered to General Paskievitz, commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, after a series of brilliant victories that had created a stir all over the world, but also because it happened to be the day on which the ambassador representing Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister of Great Britain, handed over in Vienna the energetic diplomatic Note in which Palmerston offered to act as intermediary between the leaders of the Hungarian War of Independence and the Vienna Imperial Court. Görgey did not know of the step thus taken by Great Britain; indeed, there was no means of his hearing of it: and the Governor of Hungary, Louis Kossuth, and the Hungarian national Government, in retiring from the stage on which one of the most glorious dramas of Hungarian history was being played and surrendering to General Görgey, not appointed dictator, the supreme command and the civil and military

power, had already evidently given up all hopes of any important international forces intervening to save the Hungarian cause.

Today it would be indeed difficult to decide whether this generous gesture on the part of Great Britain would under the circumstances have brought about any decisive turn in the course of events and whether it would not have been wiser to continue the struggle for a time even though there did not appear to be much chance of a fortunate issue to the military operations? It is however an indisputable fact that Great Britain — somewhat late in the day, to be sure — was ready to intervene to prevent the massacre — the murder of the heroes of the Hungarian epos — that followed the surrender at Világos.

Great Britain subsequently accorded Hungary the fullest moral satisfaction; such being, for instance, the reception given to Kossuth two years later in England and America, as also the reception to which General Haynau, the Austrian general who had been the murderer of the

Hungarian heroes, was treated in London when he was almost beaten to death by Englishmen for his bloody dealings in Hungary and Italy...

The European importance of the Hungarian War of Independence and the measure of the military achievements of the Hungarian arms has been stressed by H. G. Wells — in words of appreciation which it would be difficult even for a Hungarian to better — in the Hungarian edition his "Outline of History":

"The Hungarian nation, which — in a bitter struggle lasting for a hundred and fifty years which in many respects resembled that between the Spaniards and the Moors — warded off the Turkish danger, being at many periods — e. g. in the age of John Hunyadi left to fight the Asiatic hordes practically unaided, in this revolution too was left unaided to face two absolutistic Powers. Without any help from without that nation defended the principle of nationalistic and civil liberty in the great battle-field of Central Europe, the Great Hungarian Lowlands, against two imperial autocracies, the united forces of which had to struggle for nearly a year to be able, to overcome the Hungarians and thereby to suppress the idea of democratic progress. The chief hero of this struggle was Louis Kossuth, the world-famed orator who subsequently — during the years of his exile — continued with unflagging energy to keep alive the sympathy of the Western nations for his native country."

It was early in September, 1851, that Kossuth reached the shores of England on board the ship sent for him by the United States of North America on which he subsequently sailed across the Atlantic to America. The journey through England of the former Governor of Hungary was a veritable triumphal procession; in Southampton, London, Birmingham and Manchester he was received by the English people like a prince and as the guest of the British nation; though — for easily comprehensible diplomatic reasons — the British Government took no part in the celebrations. Kossuth arrived in America early in 1852; he was received there by the Government of the United States, which welcomed him in the Washington Capitol with a solemn splendour never accorded either before or since to any citizen of a foreign country with the sole exception of Lafayette. After his return from America Kossuth lived in London until 1859; it was in London that he organised the work of the Hungarian political refugees and initiated his powerful diplomatic campaigns against Austria. These efforts of his were not however crowned with success. The Crimean War shattered his hopes and upset his calculations.

Our object in mentioning all these circumstances is not to revive the memory and laud the deeds of Louis Kossuth; but simply the desire to draw a parallel between the Hungary of post-Világos and the Hungary of post-Trianon days.

Today it is very gratifying to recall the diplomatic step taken in Vienna by Palmerston on the very day on which Görgey surrendered to the Russians at Világos: nevertheless we cannot help

asking why that generous gesture of intervention was delayed until the Hungarian armies exhausted by the terrible efforts of some twelve months had been compelled to lay down their arms and surrender to the Russian and Austrian imperialists? Why had the conscience of Europe been so tardy in feeling that the time had come for international diplomatic assistance to be accorded the Hungarian nation, not merely out of humanitarian considerations or out of regard for the historical services of the Hungarians so eloquently referred to by H. G. Wells but also because the Hungarian people represented a great political idea and had in its War of Independence entered the lists, not only in its own interests but in defence of the liberty of the Danube Valley against the expansion in that territory of the pan-German and pan-Russian forces whose activity was a danger politically to Great Britain too. This territory — the Danube basin — had for centuries been a bone of contention between conflicting powers until the Hungarian people had taken possession of it, performing its task as master of that territory with indisputable heroism, self-sacrifice and energy. We would ask therefore whether Europe was justified in treating the struggle for independence of a nation which had so nobly fulfilled its important historical mission merely as a grand and admirable human achievement which was an internal affair of the Habsburg Monarchy and could not therefore be made the subject of international intervention?

So deep was the impression made on European public opinion by the Hungarian War of Independence carried on for a year (1848—49) against the imperialism of Austria that Czar Nicholas I. himself, the supreme lord of the Russian armies which overthrew the armies of Görgey and Kossuth, on one occasion at Warsaw declared openly that the Hungarians ought to be made the real central power of the Habsburg Empire.

But Europe then too failed to make any move — that being owing to the influence of the diplomatic situation of the moment and to considerations of delicacy. Yet, had Hungary received adequate diplomatic support — if only to the extent to which Palmerston actually accorded her — in good time, before it was too late for that diplomatic support to prove effectual in stemming the tide of events, — in that case maybe the World War itself might have been averted. Had Europe in good time realised the importance of Hungary's mission in the Danube basin and diplomatically supported the military achievements of the War of Independence of 1848—49, Francis Deák would not have been driven to wait with folded arms for an accidental favourable turn of events; the Compromise actually concluded in 1867 between Austria and Hungary *would have come into being much earlier and in a much more perfect form*; and — last, not least — the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy could have been organised on far stronger and firmer foundations. The Monarchy would not have been driven at the time of the Compromise to rely upon the support of a German Empire which gradually made that Monarchy economically and politically alike a mere func-

tion of Berlin and willy-nilly a train-bearer of the policy of William II.

And now — our readers may well ask what about the parallel between the old events of some century ago and the tragedy and destiny of present-day Hungary? In my opinion the parallel lies in the fact that the Powers of Europe failed utterly when drafting the Paris treaties of peace — and have ever since failed — to realise the importance of Hungary from the point of view of peace and of the maintenance of a more equitable and more lasting order in Central Europe generally and in the Danube Valley in particular. At present Hungary's natural and modest claims are being ignored for the sake of the imperfect and ephemeral idea and alliance known as the Little Entente. Palmerston was too late in 1849; and the Palmerston of today has not yet made his appearance in the arena of international politics to voice the protest of the humanitarian spirit of the British Empire — already a world force — and to protest in the name of the peace of Europe against the tortures being inflicted on the Hungarians.

Today the situation is the same as it was in the days of Louis Kossuth: British public opinion and a large part — perhaps the majority — of the Members of the British Parliament are fully conscious of the absurdity of the provisions of Trianon and realise to the full the still greater absurdity to allow the qualities and traditions and organising power of a people with the great past of the Hungarians to lie fallow in that part of Europe where there is so enormous a lack of higher European conceptions and of a higher constructive political ability — viz. in the Danube Valley. A very large proportion of unofficial Britain is with us today too as it was in the days when Kossuth was acclaimed by the citizens of Southampton, London, Manchester and Birmingham; but *the support of official Britain is still lacking*. Oppression is in the Succession States — particularly in Rumania — and playing fast and loose with Hungarian culture and with the rights of the Hungarian minorities; but the conscience of Europe — the *official* conscience, *that of Great Britain too* — still keeps silence.

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

THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT FROM THE HUNGARIAN POINT OF VIEW

Hungary in particular shares in the pleasure felt throughout Europe over the Anglo-Italian Mediterranean agreement. All the constructive factors in international politics labouring to insure order, consolidation and peace see with satisfaction that Britain and Italy, two powerful nations with civilisation and progress at heart, shook hands completely reconciled, respecting each other's rights, having decided to go together towards common aims, which are also the aims of all those who still have something to lose in the stormy chaos of political, social and economic extremes.

We feel that Hungary, in every respect, belongs to this category. Not merely because, even in her dismembered state, she is one of the constructive, creative elements in the Danube Basin, — an element of equilibrium and defence against anarchy and complete dissolution, but also because the reasonable demands of the Hungarian nation can ever be obtained in a peaceful way except through the fruitful co-operation of the two Great Powers which in European politics stand for the free play of dynamic forces, the mobility demanded by life itself, and a relentless determination to see justice triumphant, and not for the petrification of the *status quo* as created by the peace treaties.

For other States too the maintenance and security of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean zone will mean not only that for a long time a state of quietude will reign in that territory where the interests of the parties concerned were anyhow reasonably satisfied at the time of the great readjustment after the war, but also that Britain and Italy will be able to devote jointly their released energies to problems clamouring for solution in the name of law, justice and peace.

This, in the first place, is true of the Danube

Valley problem, and primarily of the question of dismembered Hungary.

Besides Mr. Eden, all the most important representatives of British public life, beginning with Mr. Baldwin himself, have almost unreservedly adopted the view, which may well be taken as mirroring the conscience of the century, that peace treaties, being human creations, are not infallible, and cannot be regarded as of immutable, unassailable sanctity. The less may be regarded as such the conditions and situations created by them, especially when they petrify serious injustices. This was why in British public opinion the wish arose to divorce the Covenant of the League of Nations from the peace treaties and make Article 19 of the former, which provides the possibility of territorial readjustments, operative in a way that would lead to practical results and change it from a dead letter to a living instrument. The political genius of the British nation as represented by British constitutionalism and the British Parliament and that of Italy embodied in the person of Mussolini, met years ago on this great idea, and in the spring of 1933, when Mr. Macdonald was in Rome, it took shape in the form of the Four Power Pact. Unfortunately a sudden change in international politics frustrated the realization of that mighty conception, which if materialised as originally intended, would have radically altered the lives of the Danubian countries.

But it was not to be, and the whole of Europe sorely felt the results. The political atmosphere has grown tense with uncertainty, the tempo and measure of armaments have increased three-fold since 1933, and the danger of Bolshevism in Europe, especially in view of the events of the Spanish revolution, has become incredibly greater.

There can be no doubt that Britain's first natural

reaction to her agreement with Italy will be a changed attitude towards Soviet Russia and a speedy return to the platform of the Four Power Pact. This would be all the more desirable seeing that her relations with Germany are urgently in need of readjustment. To achieve this, Italy's co-operation is indispensable, for the only possible basis of agreement and the only help towards it lie in the Macdonald Four Power Pact. France's presumable objections will probably change before a recognition of the fact that, for her, a four power pact with Britain and a reconciled Germany is better than a two or three power pact with Russia and the Little Entente, without Britain and with a hostile Germany.

Must the idea of collective security be sacrificed to a solution of this nature? A fictive idea may always, indeed should always be sacrificed to a real historic

value, to a security resting on the inward and sincere reconciliation of the nations.

The agreement concluded with Italy has enhanced Britain's prestige to an enormous extent, but has also increased in like measure her responsibility. It is no exaggeration to say that the future of Europe will be what Britain decides. We hope and believe that out of the Mediterranean *status quo* there will arise in the Danube Valley a dynamic force able to create moral and political conditions with which the League of Nations may at last become what hitherto it has failed to be: the protector of the oppressed and the redresser of wrongs.

And this, not in Hungary's interests alone, but also in the interests of those Danubian States which today most violently protest against any changes in Central Europe.

THE YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP

The expressions of friendship between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria heard repeatedly during recent years helped considerably to relieve the tension that had so long existed between the two countries. Now a treaty of friendship is about to be concluded between them. It is reported that the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, M. Kioseivanov, is to travel to Belgrade to sign the treaty; the act of signature to be carried out in the Yugoslav Capital to the accompaniment of solemn formalities. The contents of the treaty are those generally in use; and there is no ground for the rumours assert that the new treaty contains secret clauses. For it must not be forgotten that Yugoslavia is bound to the Little Entente and the Balkan Block by various treaties which she cannot easily denounce. Consequently the treaty to be concluded with Bulgaria cannot possibly contain more than what is acceptable to Yugoslavia's allies. The Yugoslav Premier, M. Stoia-dinovitch, himself has declared that he first obtained the approval of his country's allies. The treaty is nevertheless of great importance as a token that Yugoslavia has abandoned what we might call the aggressive attitude displayed towards their defeated neighbours by the other Little Entente and Balkan Block States, desiring by amicable means to ensure that understanding which the defeated States of Central and Eastern

Europe have always tried to attain. This new treaty of friendship denotes an important step towards the development of peace in the Balkans and is calculated to create an atmosphere facilitating the adjustment of the unsolved problems by peaceful means and with due regard for the postulates of justice. Such an atmosphere is wanted badly; for any further maintenance of the injustice now prevailing cannot fail to advance the cause of Bolshevism. The Bolshevik danger is constantly increasing and may in default of a strong feeling of unity prove fatal to the small countries of the Balkan Peninsula. Now such a feeling of unity is inconceivable except as a result of the elimination of all injustices; and a *sine qua non* is the creation of a peaceful atmosphere — and not the incitement of the masses by the infraction of minority rights. It is in this light that people in Bulgaria regard the new treaty of friendship; and it is hoped that the example set by Yugoslavia will be followed also by her allies.

In Bulgaria, by the way, the parish (municipal) elections reform has already come into force; a circumstance that allows of our concluding that the time is approaching when the provisional government of today will be replaced by a government elected on the basis of popular suffrage.

YUGOSLAV LITERARY EVENING IN BUDAPEST

In token of the growing friendship between the two countries, Yugoslavia and Hungary, a literary evening was arranged in Budapest on December 19-th by the „Láthatár“, a Hungarian monthly review, under the presidency of Dr. Gusztáv Gratz former Minister for Foreign Affairs. The programme was composed of valuable translations from the best works of modern Serb literature. Two Yugoslav writers, the dramatist M. Theodor Manoilovich and M. Svetislav Petrovich Vice-Chairman of the Yugoslav Pen-Club, came from Belgrade to appear at the evening. Every item of the programme was received with enthusiastic applause by the highly distinguished audience; among those who were present we wish to remember M. Alexander Vukchevich, Yugoslav Minister in Budapest, who appeared at the head of the entire staff of the Yugoslav Legation, the Very Rev. George Zubkovich, the Serb Bishop of Buda, Councillor Dr. Ferenc Marosy, head of the

Press Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Councillor Baron Lajos Villani, head of the Cultural Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Councillor Dr. Aladár Haász, head of the Arts Department in the Ministry of Public Instruction, M. Jenő Nelky, formerly Hungarian Minister in Vienna, and many others. The Yugoslav literary evening in Budapest proved such a success that the two writers who had come from Belgrade declared that in the near future they would arrange a similar evening in Belgrade to present the representative works of the best Hungarian writers to the Serb public in Serb language. Let us hope that this first attempt at a harmonious cultural co-operation between the two countries will contribute towards the betterment of the situation of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia.

THE BUCAREST CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN MINISTER'S ASTONISHING CRITICISM OF RUMANIA

A natural consternation and bitter indignation was aroused in Poland and Rumania by the Bucarest Czecho-Slovakian Minister, M. Jan Šeba's book entitled "*Rusko a malá dohoda v politice svetové*" (Russia and the Little Entente in world politics), which recently appeared and was published by the "Melantrich", the Prague publishing firm of the Czech National Socialist Party, that is to say of President Benes's former party. The introduction to the book, which contains 662 pages, was written by M. Krofta, Czecho-Slovakia's Foreign Minister, and the work received the Masaryk prize. It may therefore be taken that in every respect it represents the official Czecho-Slovakian attitude.

M. Šeba's criticism of Rumania's role in the war is withering. "The role Rumania played in the war — he says — was not a successful one. The army was not adequately prepared for war, either as regards training or munitions. The lessons learned on other fronts during two years' fighting were not taken advantage of. In the two years of neutrality Germany was clever enough to sow dissolution in Rumanian public life, especially in the sphere of political administration. Men trusted by Berlin, for instance, occupied some of the highest posts in the State administration. (For example, the Rumanian Postmaster General was a German agent.) Russia alone was able, to a certain extent, to counteract Germany's activities with a comparatively well organized system of counter espionage in which a prominent role was played by a Russian Czech, the engineer Zival. The position of the Rumanian forces was betrayed to the enemy, and there were traitors even among the highest military functionaries. A bad example was set by General Socek, who abandoned the front. General Zottu, the unfortunate head of the Rumanian General Staff shot himself. According to Russian sources of information, the data recently published by the Rumanian Security Service (State Police — Siguranta) shows how criminally responsible were those vile spies for the misfortunes that overtook the State." (pp. 483—484).

Against Poland's interests M. Šeba makes propaganda for a Russo—Czecho-Slovakian corridor. On the subject of the so-called Curzon line, according to which the Russo-Polish frontier would have passed through Dwinsk, Vilno, Grodno, Nemirow, Brest-Litovsk and Rava-Ruska towards the Carpathians, M. Šeba remarks in italics that had this line been drawn, the Czecho-Slovakian Republic would have had a frontier in immediate touch with Russia, and the question of the marching through of Soviet troops would be much simpler in the event of the Franco-Soviet and the Czecho-Soviet pacts being enforced (p. 483). In M. Šeba's opinion the fact that the Polish frontier was drawn through districts inhabited by White Russians and the occupation by Poland of Eastern Galicia, which is inhabited by Ukrainians, are the reasons why relations between Poland and Russia are not cordial and why they exert a very bad influence on the policy of European peace (p. 487).

Further on in his book M. Šeba says that Czecho-Slovakia cannot lose on the Czecho-Russian pact, for it is evident, at least he thinks it is, that aeroplane-aid, which according to the lessons of the Abyssinian war is the most valuable today, can arrive within a few hours' time. He gives figures to prove this and shows that the western Soviet flying fields are only 10 kilometres distant from Czecho-Slovakia's eastern frontier, which considering that the speed per hour of the planes is 300 kilometres, is no distance at all. He says, however, that the situation is not so easy for the rest of the branches of military service as it would have been had the Curzon line been adhered to; for in that case Czecho-Slovakia and Russia would have had a common frontier over 200 kilometres long.

Thus M. Šeba. It seems he would have liked if the Russian frontier had advanced 200 kilometres further into Europe, and between the lines he is making a little propaganda *post facto* for the Curzon line. For the Czech patriots are determined defenders of the territorial *status quo* only so long as their frontiers are threatened, but have no objection to a readjustment of other frontiers if their idolized Russia would profit by it and Poland, which they hate, suffer. They protest against Ukrainians and White Russians, that is to say races ethnically different from the Russians proper, being attached to Poland, but think it the most natural thing in the world for hundreds of thousands of Hungarians and Poles to be torn away from their mother-countries and incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia. Another glimpse of the Czech Janus face! M. Šeba would also like to clear the Czech Legions of the well-proven charge that it was they who betrayed Koltchak and handed him over to the Bolshevists. Between the lines M. Šeba tries to shift the responsibility unto General Janin, implying that he it was who handed Koltchak over to the Russian Revolutionary Committee.

On the other hand General Zakharof, who knows best what the deeds of the Czech Legions in Siberia were, drawing on information received from Koltchak's suite, states that it was a Czech officer who, citing instructions from the Czech General Sirovy, handed the counter-revolutionary Admiral over to the Reds in Irkutsk, who had made the passage of the Czech troops conditional on the surrendering up of Koltchak. Siriamow, the president of the Irkutsk Revolutionary Committee, himself wrote that Koltchak's head was the price the Czechs paid for the right to a free passage. Likewise Smirnov, president of the Siberian Soviet Committee, writes in his book "The Struggle for the Ural and Siberia" that the Czech regiments had delivered Koltchak and his followers up to the Bolshevists with a promise that they would not interfere in any way with the Soviet as regards its treatment of the prisoners.

We shall have more to say later on about M. Šeba's book.

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AN ENGLISH AUTHOR'S OPINION OF RUMANIA

In his work "Hitlers Drive in the East" (Victor Gollancz Ltd. London 1937) Mr. F. Elwyn Jones gives us a vivid description of political, social and national conditions in Rumania. His statements also cor-

roborate the passages about corruption in Rumania quoted from the "Times" in our last issue.

"Politics — says Mr. Elwyn Jones — are dominated by intrigues, and the King's mistress is the

real power behind the throne. There are terrorist groups which poison and shoot. There are few politicians who cannot be bought, and many who have a price on their heads. There are jails where they hang prisoners by the feet until they lose consciousness."

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"...In the East End of Bucharest, where the workers live, whole streets are composed of one-roomed wooden shacks, in each of which a family lives. There is a low bed in the corner, a chair, and a rough wooden bench for a table. That is all. No ground-covering of any description; the earth is simply stamped down, and provides a breeding-ground for vermin and infection. Children and adults heap together into the same bed, and live on coarse bread, washed down by hot water. Right in the centre of this district, the Queen Marie of Rumania Street, lies a filthy, stagnant pool where the malaria mosquitoes breed.

But even this is luxury compared to the degraded animal poverty of the gipsy encampment living on the refuse-heap near Bucharest East Station. In parts of Bessarabia the peasants are so poor that they repeatedly use the same salt water in which they have

boiled their vegetables, so as to save buying more salt.

The peasants, who are not politically minded, look to miracles for the bettering of the conditions of their lives. They are superstitious, and easy dupes for charlatans. In 1936 a priest who was „selling seats in heaven” was arrested by the police in Kishinev, Bessarabia. He had a „map of heaven” on his lectern allotted portions out and numbers on them. Simple-minded and trusting peasants, mostly women, used to come to his house and select a position on the map. The places which were „near God” cost double the normal price. Those near the Archangel Gabriel were a little less. Ordinary places cost a sum equal to two English pounds. Many peasants sold their last cow to obtain a place 'on the right hand of God'."

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"The Rumanian Government also discriminates against the various national minorities within the country. The Magyars of Cluj and the Banat are persecuted. Rumanian apprentices are forced on Hungarians masters, and in 1935 a number of Hungarian officials were dismissed without pension because it was discovered that they spoke Rumanian inadequately."

THE RUMANIANS OF TRANSYLVANIA AND BESSARABIA COMPLAIN OF THE BUCAREST ADMINISTRATION

M. Ghița Pop, ex-deputy minister and one of the members of the Rumanian National Peasant Party, addressed questions to the Government in Parliament on 19th December about exploited Transylvania. In this interpellation he complained that the Rumanians of the Old Kingdom (the Regate) had undertaken, literally speaking, a predatory invasion of Transylvania and were ousting the Rumanians of that province from civil service and country offices. M. Pop's speech drew forth a great storm of protests in both houses of Parliament, and two M. P.'s (Urziceanu and Nichofor Robu) threw themselves on Ghița Pop and began to beat him about. He was rescued with difficulty and left Parliament with a bandaged head.

An almost similar fate overtook M. Pan Halippa, National Peasant Party Senator and ex-minister, in the Senate. M. Halippa, who had played a leading role in the attachment of Bessarabia to Rumania, declared in his speech that Bessarabia had been better off under the rule of the Russian Czars than it was now. He spoke of the destitution in the Bessarabian villages. According to the "Adverul" of 20th December 1936 (No. 16. 231) one thing he said was: —

"It is not necessary to go deep into the history

of the province lying between the Prut and the Dnyester to understand the present lamentable conditions. For the Russians Bessarabia was a stolen province administrated by an alien government. And yet it was during that period that Bessarabia got the railways it still possesses and could use the Dnyester, the Prut and the Danube for navigation. All the Rumanian Administration did was to build a short 20 kilometres long road which cut across the elbow at Tighina. On the other hand all navigation on the Dnyester and the Prut was stopped."

Transylvania's and Bessarabia's troubles, in this instance, were not disclosed by minority speakers, but by true-born Rumanians who see for themselves what the blessings of the peace treaties are. If the system of a *numerus clausus* is being applied to the Rumanians of Transylvania, then we may safely say that what is being applied to the Hungarians there is a system of *numerus nullus*. M. Octavian Goga was quite right in saying that whether he was aware of it or not, M. Pop had produced evidence that Transylvania was suffering ever since it came under Rumanian rule and that it was on this suffering that the Hungarians based their demand for frontier revision.

THE WORLD MISLED BY A BOGUS SUPPRESSION OF TWO RUMANIAN NEWSPAPERS ITALOPHOBS

Our last issue contained a literary translation of the articles published in the "Glas Romanesc" and the "Turda", in which articles a stream of vile abuse was poured out on the Italian nation and Mussolini because of his speech at Milan on 1st November, and the Hungarians of Transylvania were threatened with a St. Bartholomew's night. The articles in question were published with the approval of the Rumanian censor-

ship, for in Rumania today no press publication may appear until it has been released by the censor. The articles were mentioned in Parliament by the Hungarian deputies, and criminal charges were brought against their authors by the Presidency of the General Hungarian Party.

After weeks had elapsed — reports from Rome state — the Rumanian Foreign Minister informed

Italy's Minister in Bucarest that the two newspapers had been suppressed for an indefinite period. But in a very short time it came to light that either a mistake had crept into the source from which the Rome report was taken, or deliberate lies had been told in Bucarest. According to the semi-official Rumanian press agency, the "Rador", the two papers in question were not suppressed for an indefinite period, but only for a fortnight. As both of them are weekly papers *their suppression for a fortnight is nothing but a farce to mislead the world.* This in itself is proof positive that no manner of criminal proceedings have been instituted either against the censor or the authors of the incriminating articles.

To what results the campaign of agitation in those two papers has already led may be seen in the gory events that took place near Torda (Turda), when a mob of Rumanians, stirred up by an anti-revision meeting, sacked Hungarian villages and murdered several persons. And — to crown all — it was not the agitators and culprits who were sentenced, but the Hungarian reporters who, with the greatest impartiality, had described the events.

The authorities of the city of Torda have forbidden the Hungarian theatrical company to continue its performances under the pretext that the music hall of the local Reformed Church, where the performances had been held, was not fireproof; the true cause, however, was the brutal campaign conducted by the local paper „Turda” against the Hungarian population.



We publish below uncommented the literal text of an article which has appeared in the "Turda" — a Rumanian weekly published at Torda — with the approval of the Rumanian Censor:

"So long as the Budapest revisionist jackals only howled at the moon, the Rumanians contented themselves with spitting their contempt. Now, however, the mangy orchestra has been joined by one whom we had previously regarded as a brother. While the jackals howl, Mussolini grinds the organ to increase their appetite. Mussolini has become a revisionist — though only for the time being, for otherwise Italy would have set the revisionist ball rolling. It is on Mussolini's face that Budapest will strike the match that is to set Europe in flames; and Mussolini will be able to energetically kiss that other part of Hungary which she will so kindly present to him. The howling jackals of the plains who are baying with their mugs turned towards us should note that we shall never again be vassals or serfs and will never again people their convict prisons. Worms will suck the marrow from their bones; and spirits will make soap of the putrid fat of the fools of the puszta. Heaven forbid that the Hungarians should live to see the day when the Rumanians consent to a revision!! for the latter will use their boots to knock down the frontiers and will sweep off the face of the earth the dirt deposited on the map of Europe by a fly which is there tinting the air. We shall occupy the royal palace of Budapest and shall remain there for ever. The mangy dwellers of the plains should note that the Rumanians will never allow themselves to be intimidated either by Mussolini's barrel organ or by anything else. The Hungarians will be given land; but not that they should rule it, but that they should bite the dust. Let it be known to the starving hordes of the puszta that the Rumanians of Transylvania will cross the Tisza but that the crossing will be delayed one night — a St. Bartholomew's Night — serving for the destruction of all the Hungarians in Transylvania. That is our message to them."

SIR ROBERT GOWER IN HUNGARY

Sir Robert Gower, Chairman of the Central European Group of the British Parliament, arrived in Budapest on January 23rd, after a rather adventurous journey by air. For owing to the thick fog-bank hanging over Budapest the British' plane was unable to land at the Mátyásföld-Budapest aerodrome and was obliged to turn back and to make a forced landing near a Hungarian village in Czecho-Slovakia. Sir Robert then hired a motor-car and travelled by road to Budapest, where he was met by his friends, who had been anxiously waiting for his arrival.

On Sunday, January 24th, Sir Robert went to Debrecen, the great metropolis of the Hungarian Lowlands known popularly as the "Calvinistic Rome". He had been invited by the Stephen Tisza University of Debrecen to visit their academic city and to inspect the up-to-date clinical hospitals, the big library and the Déry Museum; in the latter Sir Robert was evidently very much moved by the impression made on him by Munkácsy's "Ecce Homo!" At the lunch in his honour, at which he was welcomed by the Rector of the University, Dr. Béla Tankó, Sir Robert declared that the sympathy and esteem for Hungary and the Hungarian nation in his country was greater than ever. For the majority of the Members of the House of Commons felt the greatest sympathy with the Hungarian cause. He was familiar with the traditions of Debrecen, whose ancient College — the forerunner of the present University — had maintained

such close connections (particularly since the sixteenth century) with British culture.

On his return to Budapest Sir Robert paid visits to the Hungarian Frontier Re-adjustment League and to Dr. Otto Légrády, Editor-in-chief of the "Pesti Hírlap". He was subsequently received by Premier Darányi in Parliament. After his conversation with Dr. Darányi, Sir Robert went to the Diplomatic Gallery of the Lower House, where the Member then speaking — Mr. Julius Petrovác — interrupted his speech to address a few words of welcome to the distinguished visitor. At the mention of Sir Robert, name the whole House rose and cheered and applauded. Mr. Petrovác expressed the hope that the work being done by Sir Robert would contribute to the realisation of the legitimate claim of the Hungarian people in respect of a re-adjustment of the provisions of peace. Dr. Tihamér Fabinyi, Minister of Finance, and Count Takách-Tolvay, President of the Hungarian Association of Ex-Servicemen, then explained the debate that was going on in the House and informed Sir Robert concerning the business now before Parliament.

After a visit of three days in Hungary rendered interesting by opportunities of meeting many old friends, Sir Robert returned to England. To those of his friends who defied the cold air of the early morning and accompanied him to the station Sir Robert said that he was fully satisfied with what he had seen and heard.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE IMPORT OF HUNGARIAN BOOKS AND PAPERS FORBIDDEN EVEN AS TRAVEL READING

According to an edict issued by the Provincial Chief of Slovakia in the *Krajinsky Vestnik*, under no 407, on December 20th nothing that has been printed or multiplied (mymotyped) in any other way in Hungary may be introduced into Slovakia and Ruthenia before it was officially examined by the authorities. This examination may be undertaken exclusively by the Prefect of the Police in Pozsony (Bratislava). Consignments which contain such printed matters may only be introduced through the frontier stations of Ligetfalu (Petržalka) and Párkány (Párkán). It is not allowed to introduce or transport, or sell even one number of any those periodical publication (i. e. almost all newspapers) which have not been hitherto exempted from the general prohibition of transport and colportage, until the Government has authorized the Ministry of Interior to exempt, exceptionally and in a few actual cases, certain political writings (in printing) from this prohibition. If a passenger entering the Czechoslovak Republic is found at the customs examination to possess any such printed matter, it must be taken away from him and handed to the competent district or Police magistrate. This edict contains severe restrictions of the previous edict issued on May 24th, under no. 1—5000, in so far as passengers are now forbidden to bring in Hungarian books or papers even for themselves.

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PERSECUTION OF HUNGARIAN POLITICIANS

M. József Szent-Iványi, Hungarian member of the Czechoslovak Parliament, was sentenced to three months "imprisonment under the State Defence Act at the District Court of Rimaszombat, for article written by him in the Budapest daily paper "Magyarság" under the title "From the Prague Workshop". A few day later he was sentenced to another two weeks" imprisonment by the same Court for certain statements contained in a speech which he had given three years ago at the general meeting of the Hungarian National Party at Rimaszombat, describing the political situation in general. The Christmas number of the "Komáromi Lapok" has been confiscated on account of the excerpts published from the speeches given in Zsolna by Count János Eszterházy and Andor Jaross, members of the Czech Parliament and leaders of the United Hungarian Party.

— y —

THE UNLAWFUL DISMISSAL OF THE HUNGARIAN ATTORNEY IN KASSA

Owing to the fact that he did not hang out the Czechoslovak national flag over his house on October 28-th, Mr. István Rédeky the city Attorney of Kassa

(Kosice) has been dismissed from the service of the town from July 1st, although the law No. 269/1936, which provides for the hanging out of the flag national holidays, had not come into force until November 14-th, 1936.

— y —

THERE'S MONEY FOR SCHOOLS FOR THE 33.000 CZECHS IN RUTHENIA, BUT NONE FOR THE 109.000 HUNGARIANS THERE

The committee of the Hungarian grammar-school at Ungvár (Uzhorod) struggles every year a new for a restoration of the Hungarian grammar-school in the capital of Ruthenia which was closed years ago by order of the Ministry of Education in Prague. This year the committee sent two applications to the Government and got two different replies. One of them curtly stated that there was no money to re-open the Hungarian grammar-school, the other said that the Government had prepared plans for a Czech grammar-school in Ungvár. The plans have been sent to the town with instructions that the building of the school was to be begun in the spring of next year. The new grammar-school is to be a magnificent building. The cost of erecting it will it is expected, greatly exceed the 7 million Czech crowns estimated and, may indeed be more than 10 million. Here let it be said that according to the Czech census of 1930 the Czechs and Slovaks in Ruthenia aggregate 33.961, while the Hungarians number 109.472. Meanwhile the pupils of the Hungarian parallel department of the Ruthenian board-school in Ungvár have lost their premises, for the school board has announced that it cannot give them an adequate number of class-rooms. At present they are having their lessons in the class-rooms of the municipal school for industrial apprentices. The class-rooms in the State board-school are all occupied by the Ruthenian board-school pupils.

— y —

ANOTHER CZECH PROVINCIAL CHIEF APPOINTED IN RUTHENIA

The retirement of M. Anton Roszypál, Provincial Chief of Ruthenia, was announced on the 1-st of January; since 1923 he was the supreme authority of this province whose autonomy existed only on paper. In contradiction to Art. 12 of the Treaty of St. Germain, which declares the right of the original inhabitants of that province to elect their own Provincial Chief, the Czech Government has again appointed a Czech to this high office, in the person of M. Meznik. M. Endre Bródy, the Parliamentary leader of the Ruthenian Autonomist Party, challenged the retiring Provincial Chief in an open letter to produce the accounts concerning the Charity Fund (respecting about 10 million Crowns), management of which had been entrusted to him. In his letter M. Bródy makes reference of the fact that the Czech Government parties had received several subsidies from this fund.

— y —

"BUDAPEST STILL EXERCISES A GREATER ATTRACTION ON RUTHENIA THAN PRAGUE"

The Czech National Socialist organ, the "A-Zet" says that Budapest, which is nearer to Ruthenia than Prague, exercises a greater attraction even yet on that province than does the Czech capital. The Ruthenians have often complained that not one yard of new railway has been built since the change of state. No new railway stations have been built either, though they are urgently needed in Ungvár (Užhorod), the capital of the province, and Királyháza (Královo). This statement by an extreme nationalist Czech newspaper is a clear proof that it is absurd to place Ruthenia under the rule of far-off Prague.

HLINKA INTENDS TO CARRY THE TUKA AFFAIR BEFORE PRESIDENT BENES

It is the ninth year that Vojtech Tuka, former professor of International Law at the Pozsony (Bratislava) University, vicepresident of the Slovak Catholic Party and member of the Czecho-Slovakian Party, sits in prison. Under the Defence of the Republic Act he was sentenced by the Czecho-Slovakian courts of justice to fifteen years imprisonment, and three years ago his petition for pardon, in which he asserted his innocence and refuted every point of the charge against him, was ruthlessly rejected by the State. Although the League of Human Rights and similar organizations are always loud in their protests when even the most insignificant of left-wing politicians is arrested, the press continues to maintain a deep silence about Tuka.

In the report published in the "Slovák" by its editor-in-chief, M. Sidor, Slovak People's Party M. P., of his visit to M. Tuka in the prison at Pankráz, we read that this scholar and politician, who in convict garb is working on a book on legal philosophy, is threatened with slowly but surely approaching blindness. Now that M. Sidor has made M. Hlinka acquainted with the facts he gathered during his visit to the prison, M. Hlinka declares that he will take the first opportunity of again laying the matter before President Beneš.

STARTLING DATA CONCERNING DESTITUTION OF SUDETA GERMANS

The following passages are from a recently published book entitled "200.000 Sudetendeutsche zu viel" (200.000 Sudeta Germans too many) by the eminent German publicist, Kurt Vorbach. Herr Vorbach's data are absolutely reliable and present a startling picture of the havoc wrought by Czech rule in the Sudeta German districts, the wealthiest part of pre-War Austria.

"Today the once flourishing industrial district has become the grave of industry. The factories, crumbling to ruins, are at a standstill; the wind whistles through the empty workshops; the machines are rusty. A hundred thousand unemployed, starving and ill, gaze at the closed gates without any hope that they will open."

"In 1918 the Czechs launched an attack with the

weapons of political power against every phase of existence of the Sudeta Germans. The old war-like spirit of Hussite vandalism awoke anew. German schools were closed; German workmen and officials were driven out of the civil service; the use of the German language was restricted; German railways were expropriated; and German forests and ploughed lands were conveyed to Czech settlers or to the State. The vitals of every racial group are its economic life, and the Czechs set themselves ruthlessly to the task of weakening and destroying economic prosperity among the Sudeta Germans."

"The (Czech) frontier problem" — writes the "Obrana Narodna", a Czech magazine — "is how to regain possession for our own (Czech) people of one-third of the country. The solution of the frontier problem lies in colonizing that one-third with our own people, in pushing out the present lingual border to the limits of the political frontier, and in creating an absolutely strong, invincible and reliable frontier zone by erecting a bastion composed of our own race and blood."

*

"Unemployment has never spread to the same extent in any of the Czech districts as in the German frontier areas; destitution and want have never taken the same form in any Czech place as they have in the German frontier zone, where cats and dogs are being killed for food and the bark and roots of trees cooked to appease hunger."

This difference between the two peoples of the same State, between rulers and ruled, is not to be accounted for by the differences evident in the branches of occupation pursued by the two races, nor can it be satisfactorily explained by the changes in State and economic policy that took place in 1918, or dismissed simply as the result of "miscalculation" on the part of the leaders of German industry. It is the visible and undeniable expression of the State's will to destroy.

"200.000 unemployed will never return to the places of work they were forced to abandon." This statement was made calmly and dispassionately in 1934 by the Prague Administration. And those 200.000 will be Sudeta Germans! We cannot disregard this terrible statement. For the lot of the 200.000, with all the terrible accompaniments of starvation, want, misery, disease and despair, will not be their alone: it will also be the lot of the three and a half million Sudeta Germans who form a living barrier along the 1550 kilometres of frontier towards Germany against the coveted expansion of an imperialistic folk.

— y —

HUNGARY

OPENING OF AN AGRICULTURAL COURSE IN GERMAN IN SOPRON

In pursuance of the Hungarian Government's minority policy, mention of which was made in our last issue, an agricultural course in German was opened for 60 students on the initiation of the Ministry of Agriculture in the Sopron "Széchenyi" real gymnasium on 27th December. Hitherto 50 farmers of German nationality have registered. The director is to be M. Otto Karsay, Agricultural Superintendent. The course was opened by Dr. Sopronyi-Thurner, Mayor of Sopron, with a speech in German. This measure of the Hungarian Government was received with general satisfaction by the Germans in Hungary.

— y —

RUMANIA

GRIEVANCES OF HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA BEFORE RUMANIAN PARLIAMENT

Addressing a meeting at Nagyvárad, on November 12th, M. Dinu Bratianu, leader of the Government Party (National Liberals) declared that the minorities of Rumania were in a much better situation than the minorities in Hungary. In face of such statements it is good to hear the opinion of the minorities themselves, for, after all, they are most competent to judge of the degree of their "happiness and satisfaction".

Speaking in the debate on address in reply to the King's speech, Dr. Willer, a Hungarian member of the Rumanian Parliament, gave the following summary of the grievances of the Hungarian minority, in an intensely hostile atmosphere created by Signor Mussolini's recent speech at Milan:

The very existence of the Hungarian minority is being threatened from all sides, and there are no signs whatever to encourage our hope of a better future. Our Government officials were simply thrown out of their posts, although, (according to a statement made by the Prime Minister before the deputation of our Party and repeated by the Minister of Finacial Affairs before the whole Parliament) it is quite natural that those who have been dismissed as a result of the *language tests* should at least receive a pension.

Practically not a Hungarian has been appointed in the place of the many thousands who have been dismissed. But this is not all; in addition to being excluded from the public offices, our brethren are being turned out of the offices of industrial and commercial undertakings. In the debate on the National Employment Bill we were told that the term "Rumanian" refers to nationality only, and that it includes the minority citizens too; nevertheless, acting under official pressure, the private companies are obliged to dismiss minority employees, and they are not allowed to take any new minority applicants to fill the vacancies.

We have had no opportunity to converse with M. Alexander Vaida concerning the exact meaning of his "numerus Valachicus". But if this means a treatment according to the percentage of the population, we declare that we ourselves would not think of asking for more. The fact is, however, that the present system of government shows a marked tendency towards a "numerus nullus". We, on the other hand, ask you in despair: do you really think it is possible to exclude a national minority from all the professions of intellectual and economic life and subject it to an infinitely low grade, exposing it to poverty and misery? do you not think that, for the benefit of a general good feeling and satisfaction, it would be more advisable to create a truly "liberal" atmosphere among the minorities, in the literal sense of the word?

The complete lack of Government subsidy, and the anomalies — or rather injustices — arising in the question of ecclesiastic benefices, tell most heavily on the intellectual class, and they discourage our youth from taking up a profession which is most suited for training the people to a virtuous life and to the fear of God, and which is — therefore — of primary importance for the welfare of the country.

We have proved to the authorities concerned that, for instance, the stipend of the Bishop of the Unitarian Church is lower than those of a janitor in Parliament.

But even more pressing than the anxiety for the present generation is the dreadful uncertainty as to what will happen to our children's. The Hungarian teaching in our elementary schools being is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties, which are becoming more and more numerous as time goes on. The Elementary Education Act of 1924 (§. 7) provides for minority school children an elementary education in their own mother tongue. But if we look at the statistical records concerning the schooling of our children and the Hungarian sections of the Government Elementary Schools, they present a very sad picture indeed. *In 1930 the records published by the Ministry of Education referred to 427 purely Hungarian schools and Government Schools with Hungarian sections. In the school year 1934—35 there were only 112 Hungarian schools or State schools with Hungarian sections actually working. The present situation is even more disheartening. In the 112 Hungarian schools and State schools with Hungarian sections there were only 11,484 Hungarian children being educated in their own mother tongue. Excluding the pupils of confessional schools, 175,000 Hungarian school children are not being educated in their own mother tongue.*

Furthermore, we do not receive any grants from the 14% communal revenue, although the Act of 1930 and the Order in Council of 1933 provide for the proportionate distribution of this revenue for the subsidizing of the confessional schools, too. Most of our school buildings are clean and spacious, and it hurts us immensely to see that the authorities close our schools one after the other "for hygienic reasons", simply in order to confiscate our school buildings subsequently for the purposes of State schools.

We have repeatedly pointed out that the ever increasing misery and the lamentable situation of the minority population, especially that of the Hungarian minority, is largely due to the unbridled agitation of the press against us which has been going on for many years now and against which — we regret to admit — we are absolutely defenceless. Being fully conscious of the responsibility laid upon our shoulders, and seeing the detrimental effects of this campaign, we have often asked those eminent representatives of the Rumanian Press who seemed to have a more sympathetic understanding for us, to consider what an insufferable atmosphere is being created by this hostility, which is allowed to break out with renewed strength day after day. Country teachers, minor officials, gendarmes, and other such simple people, are not able to form their own opinion of their reading; they simply take for granted whatever they read, they accept the accusations of the press against us, and every one of them who lives in a district inhabited by a minority population considers himself a champion of his race; the public administration, too, is active always and everywhere, especially by way of illegal "temporary committees" (in city administration); it prohibits or cancels cultural and religious meetings, and it even prevents the work of harmless choral societies; the public, in the heat of excitement, is becoming more and more intolerant towards us: the "bravest" have gone so far as to demolish our statues and monuments, not sparing even the statues of churches. The gendarme, whose invaluable service for the maintenance of public order and peace we would

gladly support, has become an absolute potentate, being an authority on every subject without sufficient knowledge or training; he meddles with everything and knows no limits to the employment of his well-known "disciplinary methods".

Government, instead of offering us its protection, falls victim to the general feeling of prejudice and treats us with undeserved mistrust. This attitude of mistrust, which is mainly due to the insufficient knowledge of actual conditions, was strikingly manifested by the prohibition of the general meeting of the Hungarian Party this year. The Honourable Minister of the Interior seems to be unaware of the fact that the meetings of the Hungarian Party have always been distinguished by absolute order and discipline, that no irresponsible speeches or remarks have ever been made there, and that the Party has never yet been accused of such an offence. The Honourable Minister of the Interior seems to be better acquainted with conditions — say — in Madagascar than with the conditions of the Hungarian minority; otherwise he might have known that to permit the general meeting would not have involved any menace to public order, while the prohibition of this meeting, at the same time when the other parties were allowed to call huge multitudes of their followers to the Capital and other large cities to take part in demonstrative processions, has provoked feelings of indignation and a consciousness of inequality in the souls of our Hungarian brethren!

Similar inequality may be experienced in the work of the *censors*. All our newspaper articles are mercilessly mutilated and the writings of our best authors are distorted with the most embarrassing ignorance, while — at the same time — those papers which write against us in a tone of implacable hatred are allowed to publish their venomous writings with impunity, and with the consent of the censors. We are collecting these writings full of astounding accusations and calumnious indictments from all parts of the country; to these we are not allowed to reply, nor do we feel any desire to do so.

After this Dr. Willer read an extract from a leader published in a Rumanian paper entitled "Glasul Romanesc in regiunea secuizata" (November 12th): "If Signor Mussolini wishes to deliver the Hungarians from the Rumanian yoke, we gladly offer him a helping hand: we shall arrange a modern "St. Bartholomew's Eve", after which the Italians may come and pick up the corpses of Hungarians lying on the soil of Transylvania. Our Hungarians will thus be freed from the Rumanian yoke, and we shall get rid of a pressing problem which gives us too much trouble."

Here we have, on the one hand — continued Dr. Willer — the suppression of our eminent daily papers and harmless weeklies, and on the other hand the toleration of deadly threats like the one about St. Bartholomew's Eve which I have just read to you. How can you expect, Gentlemen, that our hearts should be filled with happiness and satisfaction at the sight of such glaring injustice and inequality?

In conclusion Dr. Willer expressed a hope that the proposal submitted by the Hungarian Party two years ago would receive a more favourable reception now, and that the authorities concerned would be more willing to consider the possibility — as had been proposed — of solving the minority problem by lifting it out of the complexity of party problems and rivalry to be discussed by a special committee consisting of delegates from all parties in Parliament.

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M. VAIDA-VOIVOD PROVES THAT MINORITY COMPLAINTS ARE JUSTIFIED

In his New Year's speech in the "Frontul Romanesc" M. Alexander Vaida-Voivod, who has several times been Rumanian Premier, urged a solution of the minority question and denounced the practice of Rumanianizing minority place-names. "What is the sense of this ridiculous measures — said M. Vaida-Voivod amongst other things — which orders a minority newspapers like the "Kronstädter Zeitung" to change its name to "Brasover Zeitung?" ("Keleti Ujság", January 3). But previously, when M. Vaida-Voivod was Prime Minister, it could not be said that the position of the minorities was a bed of roses, nor are certain principles which he stresses today (a *numerus clausus* for the minorities in commerce and industry) hopeful signs that a new Vaida-Voivod Government would prove friendly towards the minorities.

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THE CITIZENSHIP OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORIES ATTACHED TO RUMANIA TO BE REVISED

The Minister of the Interior has issued a decree ordering a re-examination of the citizenship of all subjects who under the law passed in 1924 were registered as Rumanian citizens. By 1st March the Prefects of the counties must submit the list of names to be struck off the roll. This decree was received with consternation and anxiety by the entire minority population of Transylvania, but especially by the Hungarian; a revision of the roll of citizen's will, as is foreseen, result in numerous Hungarians being deprived of their citizenship. The law passed in 1924, which was drafted without any consideration for the relevant provisions of the Peace Treaties, has already led to thousands of Hungarians being omitted from, or struck off the roll of Rumanian citizens. Here let it be said that M. Seicaru, M. P. and editor of the "Curentul" has drafted a separate motion suggesting that when the lists are being revised, it should be made obligatory to report any suspicious cases. This would open the gates to a flood of denunciations, persecution, and blackmail. This motion of Seicura's indicates what the real object of the decree is, and how extremely anti-minority is its tendency ("Curentul", December 18, and "Keleti Ujság", December 19).

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MINORITY INDIVIDUALS SHOULD NOT BE PUBLIC SERVANTS, STATE PHYSICIANS, TRADESMEN OR TOBACCONISTS

In his speech at the unveiling of Lucaciu's statue, the Szatmár secretary of the Anti-revision League urged the pressing need for the Rumanization of commerce and industry. In his opinion no minority public servants should be tolerated within 50 kilometres of the frontier and tobacconist's licences there should be taken away from their present owners and given to Rumanian war cripples and war widows ("Keleti

Ujság", December 19). The Christian Alliance of Rumanian Nowns raised objections to minority physicians receiving appointments in State and public hospitals ("Aradi Közlöny", December 23).

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THE HEADMASTERS OF STATE SCHOOLS MUST BE TRUE-BORN RUMANIANS

The Minister of Education has ordered that all minority headmasters of State elementary schools within the so-called culture zone must be replaced immediately by true-born Rumanians ("Banater Deutsche Zeitung", December 19).

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WAITERS NOT ALLOWED TO SPEAK ANYTHING BUT RUMANIAN

In Temesvár all the inn-keepers were summoned by the police and enjoined to see that no language but Rumanian was spoken by the waiters in their restaurants ("Déli Hirlap", December 19).

— y —

LANGUAGE TEST ABUSES

By order of the Prefect every civil servant of minority extraction in the purely Hungarian county of Csik must undergo a language test ("Székely Közélet", December 20). Of the 27 minority employees of the Municipal Electrical Works in Kolozsvár 13 were made to fail at the language tests ("Uj Kelet", December 13). M. Anghelescu, Minister of Education, has ordained that all the minority teachers in every private Academy of Music must pass the language examination ("Viitorul", December 19).

— y —

PERSECUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MONKS

The Minister of the Interior has divested the Premonstratensian Order in Nagyvárad of its rights as a fictitious person, although both the Concordate and the Rumanian law dealing with the subject guarantee the rights of a fictitious person to all orders of monks in Rumania ("Keleti Ujság", January 1). The Rev. Gerhard Pongrácz, a priest belonging to the Order of Minorities in Arad, was sentenced in the Arad Courts of Justice in the April of 1936 to three months' jail and a fine of 10,000 lei on the charge of agitation against the State, because of his funeral speech at the burial of the conductor of the Roman Catholic Choir. In pronouncing sentence the judge said that the one sentence alone that "Hungarian words and Hungarian songs will never die upon our lips" was agitation ("Keleti Ujság", December 22).

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THE HUNGARIANS OF CSIK AND HÁROMSZÉK MAY NOT APPEAR IN THE STREETS AFTER 7 p. m.

The Prefect of the purely Hungarian counties of Csik and Háromszék issued an order to the village authorities and the gendarmes *not to permit anyone to walk about the streets after 7 p. m.* Anyone found doing so without an acceptable reason is to be prosecuted. ("Keleti Ujság", December 16 and "Székely Közélet", December 20.)

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YUGOSLAVIA

LEHÁR'S FILM BANNED IN THE VOIVODINA

The Budapest "Hunnia" studio received an order from a Swiss company for a film production of one of the great Hungarian composers Francis Lehár's musical comedies. This film under the title of "The Lark" was recently awarded a gold medal in Milan. In the course of its European tour it arrived in Belgrade and for three weeks delighted all cinema-goers. After Belgrade the cinemas in the Voivodina wanted to secure it for their audiences, but M. Korošec, Minister of the Interior refused, despite the intervention of the Swiss Legation, the necessary licence, with the peculiar explanation that a film about a Hungarian theme "might offend the sensibilities of the Serbs in the Voivodina" (sic!). This decision of the Yugoslavian Minister of the Interior and the poor excuse for it have given rise to natural indignation not only among the Hungarians of Yugoslavia, but also in Budapest, where in the interests of cultural co-operation the first Yugoslavian literary evening, a report of which will be found on another page, was held but recently.

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ROMAN CATHOLICS OF ZOMBOR DEMAND RESTORATION OF CONVENT AND ORPHANAGE

A delegation of 40 members of the Roman Catholic parish in Zombor appeared before the Serb mayor of the town on 14th December and asked him to use his influence with the authorities concerned to obtain the restoration to the Roman Catholic parish of the buildings of the Notre Dame convent and the Haynald orphanage founded by the Archbishop of Kalocsa. Immediately after the change of imperium the Serbs took possession of these buildings, and, without paying any compensation or rent, turned one of them into a home for students of the Serb women teachers' training college and used the other for other Serb educational purposes. In spite of all petition and demands on the part of the Roman Catholic Church they have not yet been restored to their original purpose and to their rightful owner, the Roman Catholic parish of Zombor ("Reggeli Ujság", November 16).

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

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

FRESH COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE FRENCH ALLY

The standstill in the Franco-Czecho-Slovakian commercial negotiations is a permanent source of bitter disappointment to Czecho-Slovakian political and economic circles. On 12th of January the newspaper of the Czech Agrarian Party devoted another long article to the subject. Its author points out the impossible and paradoxical nature of the economic relations between Czecho-Slovakia and France. He says:

"Paris ought to consider it of primary importance that her partner in Central Europe should feel that France is really helping her. Our commercial delegation led by M. Machaty, Minister, spent several weeks in Paris in an unsuccessful attempt to improve relations, but all the skill of our delegates and the effective cooperation of our diplomatic representatives were powerless to achieve satisfactory results. After these experiences it is a sign that we are on political leading-strings, if we do not see that our loyalty to France is an expensive political passion. Loans from France, which after all are better and more safely placed with us than anywhere else, are not enough. What we need is that France should do away with the barriers against our exports and give preference to our manufactured goods over others. This is a primary necessity and France will finally have to realize it."

It is not likely that the delegation representing France at the negotiations will experience a change of heart on learning of the touching appeal in the "Venkov", or that it will draft a commercial agreement fully meeting the desires of Czecho-Slovakian political and commercial circles. This will not happen, if only because the structure of French economy is not such as to allow it.

According to information received from the "Narodni Osvobozeni" negotiations will probably be resumed at the end of January. This newspaper says:

"Negotiations will be very difficult, for the French will bring up the subject of the financial loan about to be issued and will probably use it as an argument against acceding to Czecho-Slovakia's rightful demands."

According to the "Narodni Osvobozeni" foreign diplomats in Paris are expected to follow the negotiations with lively interest. They are particularly interested in the result of the Franco-Polish negotiations, from which definite conclusions may be drawn if the Polish delegation is able to achieve a larger measure of success where its demands are concerned, than the Czecho-Slovakian delegation did.

CONSIDERABLE DECREASE IN IMPORTS WITH RUMANIA

During the past few months Czecho-Slovakia's exports to Rumania have fallen off considerably, while her imports from Rumania have increased. Czecho-Slovakian and Rumanian circles complain of the deficiencies in Rumania's system of foreign trade licences and demand simpler methods.

EXPORT TRADE NOT IMPROVED BY DEVALUATION

Discussing the effects of the devaluation of the Czech crown in October 1936, a Czech periodical, the "Programm", comes to the conclusion that it is not easy to discover its influence on Czecho-Slovakia's trade in November last. There is a certain fluctuation in evidence in the development of prices in general, wholesale prices have also gone up to some extent, but apart from this the latest records show that devaluation has not helped to improve the export trade of Czecho-Slovakia in any particular way. It is interesting to note, the article continues, that the imports of raw material show an increase of 20%, which corresponds to the rate of devaluation; the export of ready made goods, on the other hand has not improved by more than 4% as compared with November, 1935. No doubt, the exports of sugar, malt, and corn show a certain improvement, but this is due to the change of conditions in the world market rather than to devaluation. The writer of the article is not surprised to see that devaluation has had no effect on the exports of the country, since nothing has been done to make it felt in that direction. Promises have been made respecting the abolition of the restrictions on imports, the simplification of the licensing process, and the elimination of difficulties in the foreign money exchange; so far, however, nothing has been done.

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NEW CZECHOSLOVAK-HUNGARIAN COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT

The new Czecho-Slovak-Hungarian commercial agreement, which came into force on January 1st contains five sections. Under the first section Czecho-Slovakia is to export 60 million Czech crowns worth of wood, 43 million Czech crowns worth of coke and coal, 150,000 metric quintals of charcoal and 210 metric quintals of cheese. Hungary, on the other hand, will export agricultural products to Czecho-Slovakia, namely: 30—40,000 pigs, 9500 sheep, 1200 quintals of butter, 10,000 quintals of beans, 20,000 quintals of millet, 12,500 quintals of peas, 3000 quintals of onions, 330 wagon-loads of lard and bacon, 2000 quintals of mahaleb cherries, 1000 quintal of poppy seeds, 5,760,000 eggs, 500 quintals of groceries, 1150 horses, and 500 quintals of carp.

The second section deals with industrial articles. It moves within a limit of 30 million Czech crowns. Czecho-Slovakia will export to Hungary chemical and textile products as well as glass, paper, textile machines, and other goods; Hungary will also on the basis of compensation export industrial articles to Czecho-Slovakia, such as electric bulbs, furs, compressed paper and photographic paper goods, wireless sets, valves, drugs (medicines), chemicals and various surrogates, and agricultural machines. The same section deals also with the imports of brown coal, lignite, pyrites in return for which Hungary will export fruit.

The third section relates to those articles that are not limited. This group moves within a limit of 25—30 million Czech crowns. Here we find caoline, wool from Slovakia, pine crust, magnesite, hops, mineral water, cellulose, aniline dyes etc. from Czecho-Slovakia.

The fourth section deals with watering-places. For the Slovak baths and the Tatra 6 million crowns have been reserved for which sum Czecho-Slovakia is to

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purchase Hungarian export goods. The most important items in this section are 120 wagon-loads of apricots and 130 wagon-loads of apples. The latter item is peculiarly significant, as in recent years Hungary has not been able to market more than 30 wagon-loads of apples.

In the fifth section we find the so-called Rima ironworks transaction. Within the limits of this group Hungary is to export 266 wagon-loads of lard and bacon, furs, and other goods to Czecho-Slovakia, to the value of 25 million Czech crowns.

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UNEMPLOYMENT

The "Lidové Noviny" publishes the unemployment statistics for the different provinces. At the end of December the figures were:

	November	December	increase
Bohemia	280.342	312.672	32,330 or 11.5%
Moravia	144.713	185.923	41,210 or 28.4%
Slovakia	81.667	114.151	32,484 or 39.7%
Ruthenia	3.483	5.032	1,549 or 44.4%

The above statistics show that the increase in the number of unemployed is much greater in Slovakia and Ruthenia — the parts wrested from Hungary — than in the so-called historical provinces.

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THE GREATER PART OF THE NATIONAL DEBT WAS SPENT ON ADMINISTRATION

In a rather long article the "Narodni Listy" deals with the State Budget for 1937. The author says that the crisis is not over yet and that the Government will find it has over-estimated State revenues in 1937 as it did in 1935. He points out that the national debt has increased. What in his opinion is the most serious circumstance is that according to experts the greater part of the national debt was spent on administration. The newspaper declares that the deficits in the State economy were made up out of that money.

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AN EXEMPLARY INSTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF TRIANON

The ironore and limestone used by the Rimamurány Works in Hungary have hitherto been obtained from their mines and quarries in the Gömörzsepesi Erchegység (Erz Gebirge) mountain range, which was wrested from Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon. According to the stipulations of the Treaty, the Czecho-Slovakian State Railways have always allowed considerable tariff reductions on the transport of those minerals. But on the 1st of January the Ministry of Railways raised the freight rates by 100 per cent. The result was that the Rimamurányi Company has ceased to import ore from its mines in Slovakia and has announced that until the old tariff reductions are restored, it will be forced to close down the mines and dismiss several hundred miners. The Company points out that a special tariff reduction was promised to the Company on the transport of raw materials in the Treaty of Trianon, in view of the fact that the foundries were in Hungary and the mines in Slovakia. It also points out that the Company has its own trucks, and for this reason alone would be entitled to special rates. The Czech National Socialist "Ceské Slovo" states that it is an awkward thing that this conflict

has arisen, for owing to it not only will the several hundred miners employed in the Company's mines be thrown out of work, but a few hundred miners employed in the State mines will also lose their jobs, as the Company bought some of its ore from the State.

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HUNGARIAN TRADESMEN EXCLUDED FROM PUBLIC WORKS

In the district of Beregszász, where the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants are Hungarians, 87 tradesmen and businessmen had to give up work in the course of this year, while an other 105 were forced to leave work temporarily. It is to be expected that this number will increase towards the end of this year, as the tradesmen and businessmen of this district are almost entirely excluded from public works. A huge corn warehouse has recently been built in Beregszász; the material was imported from other parts of the country so that the tradesmen of the district were not allowed to profit from it.

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HUNGARY

EXPORTS INCREASE BY 10.5%

Hungary's exports in 1936 showed an increase of 90 million pengő (10.5%), — from 854 millions in the previous year to 942 millions. The advance of Hungary's export trade is all the more significant as against an increase of only 8% in her imports, her exports show an increase of 10% in 1936. Thus her trade balance for 1936 showed an excess of exports of 75.5 millions an increase of 54% as against an excess of exports of 49.2 millions in the previous year. This remarkable improvement has helped Hungary to recover half of the trade level recorded prior to the world crisis. This is a remarkable improvement indeed, considering that the total volume of the world's trade has not yet reached more than one third of the pre-crisis standard.

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THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT ACT BEGUN

Although the instructions concerning the enforcement of the Settlement Act have not yet been published, the Ministry of Agriculture has seen to it that in practice the fulfillment of the Hungarian Settlement programme should suffer no delay. In the first five months of the budgetary year, i. e. by the end of November, the State had in 300 instances exercised its optional rights to buy land under auction or offered for sale in other ways. The State has acquired over 10,000 acres in this manner, most of which has already been allotted. Either new small-holdings were created on these lands, or midget farms were added to, to create small-holdings. The powers conveyed by the Act enable the Government in certain cases to force the owners of land to sell part for settlement purposes, but so far no compulsory measures have proved necessary, for the owners of large estates burdened with debts are, in particular, only too glad to offer for purchase to the Treasury areas of land eminently suited for settlement purposes.

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RUMANIA

ARMAMENTS ON CZECH LOAN AND AGAINST CORN EXPORTS TO GERMANY

It is reported that an agreement has been concluded between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania in re a Czecho-Slovak loan for the equipment of the Rumanian Army; the Rumanian Premier, M. Tatarescu, will go to Prague to sign the agreement in person. The Czech economic organ, "Hospodársky Rozhled", writes that this loan will amount to 500 million Czech crowns. Contracts have been undertaken by various Czech firms, such as the Skoda, Tatra, Ringhoffer, Czech-Moravian, and Kolben-Danek works, and by the leading motor works in Czecho-Slovakia. — The economic commission of the Rumanian Government has accepted the proposal of the Corn Supply Office to export 5000 wagon-loads of the wheat to Germany. A Rumanian paper, the "Estrop", remarks that Germany will supply an equivalent amount of armaments in return for the wheat. — y —

YUGOSLAVIA

TAXATION GRIEVANCES OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

More than 5000 of the 25,000 acres of arable land around the almost purely Hungarian village of Bács-topolya (Bäckatopola) have been allotted to *Dobrovoliaci* (war volunteers). As these Serb settlers have not paid their taxes for years, a further increase in the taxes of the autochthonous Hungarian population, already over-burdened, will prove necessary ("Uj Hirek", October 13).

In the equally Hungarian town of Magyarkanizsa (Stara Kanjiža) the Revenue Office still continues to tax the fields owned by the Hungarian peasants as wine-growing land, although no vines have been cultivated in them for years. Nothing has come of the appeals and protest lodged against this unjust method of taxation ("Reggeli Újság", October 13).

The inland revenue taxes levied on the 102 cadastral acres of land confiscated around the village of Orszállás (Stanisic), which has a mixed population, are still being collected from the inhabitants of the village, although the land has been in the possession of Serb settlers for years ("Uj Hirek", November 8).

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THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE SERBS IN PRE-WAR HUNGARY

According to a report compiled from the statistical data of the Serb Pravoslav Church by *Vazul Jakshitch*, a Serb sociologist who died young, the Serbs in Hungary possessed the following lands in 1905. 1. In the diocese of *Temesvár* the Serbs numbered 150,155 (35.18%) of the 426,780 inhabitants and possessed 355,989 cadastral acres of land. 2. In the diocese of *Versec* where the Serbs numbered 139,400 souls, or 61.3% of the total of 227,091 inhabitants, the extent of land in their possession was 440,091 cadastral acres. 3. In the diocese of *Bácska* the total number of inhabitants was 571,798. Of these 146,965 (25.7%) were Serbs, who possessed 399,359 cadastral acres of land. 4. In the diocese of *Buda* only 23,388 (2.2%) of the 1,022,085 souls in the diocese were Serbs and their lands amounted to 43,854 cadastral acres. 5. Besides this the Serbs in the diocese of *Szerémség* in former Croatia-Slavonia who according to the above-mentioned Serb source, numbered 199,972 of a total population of 345,374 souls, i. e. 57.9%, possessed no less than 594,500 cadastral acres. We see that in Hungary proper, that is to say in the dioceses of *Temesvár*, *Versec*, *Bácska* and *Buda* the Serbs who had settled there, in number 459,908, possessed 1,239,290 cadastral acres of land. This corresponds to 2.7 cadastral acres per head and was a much better average than the average for the whole of Hungary. It also proves clearly the prosperity enjoyed by the Serb minority under Hungarian rule. In the sphere of co-operative societies the Serbs in Hungary were free to organize undisturbed. According to Serb sources of information, the Serbs in Hungary and the *Szerémség* had a total number of 179 agricultural co-operative societies with 6114 registered members in 1910. The members of the co-operative societies farmed 43,543 cadastral acres of their own and 33,436 acres of rented land. The financial position of the Serbs in Hungary was also strongly organized. According to Serb sources of information, the Serbs of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia had 141 Serb banks in 1909 with capital amounting to 18,756,675 gold crowns and deposits of 69,472,701 gold crowns. We may add that these co-operative societies and banks were entirely under Serb management; only Serb officials were employed in them, and their books were kept solely in the Serb language.

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S P O R T S

FOOTBALL

The Winter tours of Hungarian teams have come to an end. Apart from the three great teams, there were not many Association teams that went beyond the frontiers. The achievements of the various teams were, on the whole, satisfactory, even if we take into consideration that our minor teams have mostly been playing against very weak opponents, whose defeat was not such a great success in itself. We must not forget, however, that our minor teams have always been on the way and enjoyed very little rest on their journey.

Among the finest results achieved during the Winter tour were those of the Hungaria team in Malta and „Ujpest”, while the „Ferencváros” has suffered two defeats in Portugal. The Hungarian teams were successful in winning several introductory matches against their Austrian opponents abroad; thus the „Hungaria” met the „Rapid” (Vienna) in Malta, the „Ujpest” played against the F. C. Wien in Northern Africa, and the „Kispest” won against the „Sportklub” in Toulouse and Bordeaux.

These victories against the Viennese teams, in addition to those achieved at the two Austro-Hungarian matches two years ago, induced our great teams

to repeat the successful Easter tournaments this year. This time they will again invite various teams from Vienna, first of all the "Austria" and the "Rapid", which have already played in Budapest some time ago; should these fail to accept the invitation, it is most likely that the two strong teams from Prague will be asked to come to Budapest.

Speaking of the Spring programme of the Association, the match against Spain had to be cancelled; there will be a match against Yugoslavia instead, which is expected to rouse great interest in the Hungarian public, the more so as our Southern neighbours are becoming more and more popular in this country; their football playing has been watched with great interest which is all the more lively now that the Yugoslavs have also joined the Cup finals.

WINTER SPORTS

The ice hockey amateurs of Canada were this year represented in the world championship at London by the Kimberley Dynamiters, the winners of the Allan Cup. After a ten days' tour on the Continent the team visited Budapest in the middle of January. Their performance was really brilliant and, although the Hungarian team was successful in its endeavour to cut their scores down as far as possible, we had the feeling that the final result might as well have been four or five goals for the Canadians.

In the first third the Canadians charged rather briskly, though the defence was always on the alert; occasionally the Hungarians managed to take up favourable positions, but this was mostly due to the personal skill of individual players. In the second third the play was open for some time, until Kemp took hold of the disk thrown by Redding and rolled it in. It was not before the last third that the Canadians showed full vigour in their play; this, however, was not enough to alter the final result: 1—0 for Canada.

This year's tournaments for the international figure-skating championship were held in Ótátrafüred (now Czechoslovakia) for two days in the first half of January. Among those who took part in the tournament were the brilliant skaters of the Budapest Skating Club, who have successfully defended the Cup — which they had already held for two seasons — against their opponents from other nations, such as Czechs, Germans, Austrians etc., who appeared in very great numbers this year. The tournaments were held in the presence of more than a thousand spectators who came to watch the brilliant performances of some of the best skaters on what may be considered one of the highest skating rinks in the world. Before this large crowd of spectators and in the company of such excellent competitors the Budapest skaters had a striking opportunity to prove their brilliance again as they had so often done before.

Two young Hungarians, the Botond Sisters, excelled their fair competitors in the elegance of movement and the fullness of swing.

Final results. Men: 1. Elemér Terták (Hungarian), 2. Alward, 3. Ferenc Kertész (Hung.). Ladies: Éva Botond (Hung.), 2. Györgyi Botond (Hung.), 3. Reisinger. — Doubles: 1. the two Szekrényessys (sister and brother, Hung.), 2. Prawitz—Weiss, 3. Imréd—Kertész (Hungarians).

ATHLETICS — SWIMMING

In the year of the Olympic games sportsmen are always inspired to increase their activities and produce the best results they can. This may generally be seen from the improvement of sporting achievements and in the creation of new records. The improvement of Hungarian sports may be illustrated by 44 records in swimming and 23 in athletics: in other words, almost every week saw a new record in swimming, and every other week has witnessed a new record in athletics. The records achieved in Hungarian swimming and athletics last year were the following:

Swimming records in 1936: Men's swimming contests: 100 metres quick swimming: Csik, 57.4, 57 secs.; 200 m. quick swimming: Lengyel, 2 min. 13.6 secs; Csik, 2 min. 13.4 secs; 300 m. quick swimming: Lengyel, 3 min. 38.4 secs; Gróf, 3 min. 38 secs; 400 m. quick swimming: 4 min. 55.3 secs; Lengyel, 4 min. 55 secs; Gróf, 4 min. 54.9 secs; Lengyel, 4 min. 54 secs; 500 m. back swimming: Gróf, 6 min. 18.4 secs; 800 m. quick swimming: Lengyel 10 min. 41.2 secs, and 10 min. 31 secs; Gróf, 10 min. 16.4 secs; 1000 m. quick swimming: Lengyel, 18 min. 26.8 secs; 1500 m. quick swimming: Lengyel, 20 min. 24.6 secs; Gróf, 20 min. 12.4 secs; 100 m. back swimming: Gombos, 1 min. 16.1 secs; Lengyel, 1 min. 11.4 secs; Gombos, 1 min. 11.4 secs; 200 m. back swimming: Lengyel, 2 min. 39.6 secs; 100 breast swimming: Barócsi, 1 min. 13.8 secs; Csik, 1 min. 11.8 secs; 200 breast swimming: Barócsi, 2 min. 51.2 secs; 400 breast swimming: Borsos, 6 min. 18 secs; 4×200 metres quick team swimming: select team (Dr. Abay-Nemse, Gróf, Csik, Lengyel) 9 min. 13.8 secs; (Gróf, Lengyel, Dr. Abay-Nemes, Csik) 9 min. 12.3 secs, and 9 min. 10.8 secs; club team: BEAC, 9 min. 36.2 secs.

Ladies: 400 metre quick swimming: Harsányi, 6 min. 11.4 secs; 6 min. 10.6 secs; 6 min. 06.4 secs and 6 min. 03.4 secs; 500 m. quick swimming: Sóthy, 8 min., and Harsányi, 7 min. 36.2 secs; 100 m. back swimming: Györffy, 1 min. 26 secs; 1 min. 24.8 secs; 1 min. 24.2 secs; 200 m. back swimming: Györffy, 3 min. 28.2 secs; 3 min. 06.6 secs; 300 m. back swimming: Györffy, 4 min. 52 secs; 4×100 metre quick team swimming: BSE (Csukay, Györffy, Harsányi, Sóthy, Ács) 5 min. 15.8 secs; 3×100 mixed team: BSE (Györffy, Hideg, Ács) 4 min. 24.6 secs.

HUNGARIAN RECORDS IN ATHLETICS, 1936:

Men: 400 metre running: Kovács, 48.2 secs; 1000 m. running: Szabó, 2 min. 25.8 secs; 2000 m. running, Szabó, 5 min. 26.8 secs; 5 min. 20.4 secs; 3000 m. running: Szabó, 8 min. 33.4 secs; 5000 m. running: Kelen, 14 min. 53 secs; Simon, 14 min. 49.8 secs; and Szabó, 14 min. 39.4 secs; 25 kilometre running: Kiss, 1 hour, 26 min. 57.2 secs; 400 metre obstacle racing: Kovács, 53.2 secs, and 52. secs; 3000 metre obstacle racing: Szilágyi, 9 min. 45.6 secs, and 9 min. 42.8 secs; pole jumping: Bácsalmássy, 4 metres 04 cm; throwing the spear: Várszegi, 68 metres 26 cm; throwing the hammer: Kemény, 42 metres 51 cm, and 43 metres 87 cm; 4×200 team running: MAC, 1 min. 29 secs; 4×400 team running: Hungarian select team, 3 min. 14.8 secs; 4×800 m. team running: MAC, 7 min. 57.6 secs.

Ladies: 80 metre hurdles racing: Vértesi, 12.5 secs; high jumping: Csák, 1 m. 61 cm; 4×200 m team running: Olympia, 1 min. 58.8 secs.