

DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

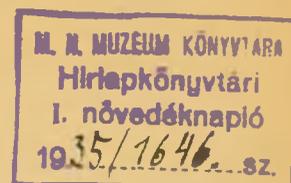


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SHOULD OUR CLAIMS FOR REVISION BE MORE PRECISELY DEFINED ?

by

Dr. Tibor Eckhardt

late Chief Hungarian Delegate to the League of Nations.

In her fight for a legitimate revision of the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary is often faced with the accusation, raised now and then even by her friends, that her claim for a revision is somewhat obscure, its ultimate object never having been properly defined. Sometimes Hungary is charged with duplicity in this respect, it being alleged that she uses revision merely as a cloak covering her extensive imperial and irredentist ambitions. We have repeatedly met with the imputation that Hungary, once her claims for a revision are fulfilled, will go on — strengthened in power — in her political struggle for a further revision. This serious charge is at present (so to say) the only objection against revision, unbiassed public opinion having by now fully recognised Hungary's moral right to demand a redress which, at the same time, seems to be supported by general political reasons too. All the world is aware that, of all the peace-treaties framed in Paris, the Treaty of Trianon was the most cruel, amounting almost to a sentence of death passed upon the Hungarian people without Hungary having been heard, and that the provisions it contains not only sacrifice Hungary's interests but also seriously impede peaceful co-operation within the Danube Valley. However, there are factors who, to this day, refuse to accept revision, led by opportunism and by the mistaken belief that a redress would be followed only by a temporary alleviation without, however, solving once for all the problem of the Danube Valley. In view of this mistaken belief, I propose to reveal below the real state of affairs, which is just the opposite of the suggestions made by the opponents of revision.

As a consequence of the peace-treaties concluded in Paris, political circles were faced, after the war, with three serious groups of problems: the question of reparations, the problem of the equality of armaments and, lastly, revision, these problems following upon each other successively. A great deal of unnecessary harm has been done to our old Continent by these unsolved problems, which no earthly power can eliminate except by an adequate settlement. Reparations kept Europe in agitation for a full decennium, leading even to

armed intervention, and the lack of confidence, caused by constant suspense, demanded much greater sacrifices in material values from the victors than the total sums derived from reparations. These proceeds kept on decreasing, until the thumbscrew, intended to work for ever, had finally to be abandoned. In default of a sensible solution, this problem solved itself "via facti", succumbing to a natural death; and now it would be impossible to call it to life once more. Then the second problem was brought forward: the equality of armaments and the invalidation of the provisions of the peace-treaties relative thereto. This political action has been accompanied by serious diplomatic conflicts, growing distrust and an expensive competition in armaments. However this problem too is now approaching a solution, again "via facti". The Disarmament-Conference having been unable to reach the much-desired compromise, this problem will no doubt be adjusted by the actual relative forces of the different States, regardless of international juridical constraints. So soon as a natural development, in accordance with the prevailing conditions of strength, has taken the place of artificial arrangements, the conclusion of an agreement restricting further armaments will become possible. The method, adopted lately by Great Britain, of negotiating direct with Germany, seems much more to the point than the proceedings followed hitherto; and it is reasonably to be hoped that it will be possible to solve this most serious problem of all by peaceful means, without running any risk of war.

After the question of the equality of armaments has been solved, Europe's only really important political problem — however hotly some people may contradict this statement — will be the problem of revision, which must needs be solved if we seriously desire to preserve peace in Europe. It will have to be tackled, not only in the interests of the defeated, but also for the sake of the victorious nations, because a general relaxation and an honest co-operation — most commendable, indeed, when we consider the events in the Far East and the economic crisis! — cannot

be realised until the peace-treaties, which were forced upon the peoples, have been changed into treaties based on mutual agreement. The Hungarian policy of revision is patiently preparing for this task, having already scored signal successes in international life. All true adherents of peace are bound to recognise that Hungary, weighed down as she is by the cruel provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, has refrained from throwing herself into the arms of an extreme irredentist policy, but has, in making revision the focus of her foreign policy, created for herself an ideal which, avoiding all exaggeration, does not clash with the new order in Europe and does not demand the unchanged restoration of pre-war conditions, expecting the fulfilment of Hungary's legitimate claims from international co-operation and from a better understanding gaining the upper-hand. Hungarian revisionism seeks to assert itself within the limits of the League of Nations, not confronting the world with one-sided, arbitrary actions, not desirous of creating trouble and disturbances, but endeavouring to obtain Hungary's claims through the efficient legal channels of international life. Hungary did not turn against the League of Nations' system, rooted in the peace-treaties, even when Germany's procedure facilitated her doing so. So far she has even refrained from submitting in a definite form her claims, because, when demanding revision, she does not wish to follow a subversive political course but proposes to attain peace by way of a constructive policy — a lasting, honest peace, founded upon mutual concord between the peoples.

Signor Mussolini once said that, in contrast with decadent peace-policy, i. e. pacifism, there existed no constructive peace-policy, trying to preclude trouble by rational changes: that is what Hungarian revisionism aims at. Without any mental reservations, this policy not only honestly accepts the principles proclaimed by the makers of peace in 1919 upon which Europe's new map was elaborated; it demands that these principles be not merely proclaimed but also carried fully into effect. Now which are these principles? One of them is the principle of nationality, which, applied to Hungary, would mean that the Hungarian people, living in a united territory, has the undisputable right to incorporate its racial brethren within the boundaries of our State. To be more accurate: this principle means that the regions adjoining the frontier-lines fixed by the Treaty of Trianon, with a large proportion of Hungarian inhabitants, will have to be restored to the motherland. The other principle, equal in importance to the first, is the right of selfdetermination which, applied to Hungary, would mean that the population living in the parts severed from pre-War Hungary, must be accorded the right to decide of their own free will which State they wish to belong to or whether they prefer independence. These

are the principles proclaimed by the victors themselves which served as basis of the peace-treaties. Hungarian revisionism accepts these principles bodily, demanding that they be honestly carried into effect. This is our policy of revision — no more and no less. Once this claim is satisfied, the problem will be settled once for all because the fair application of these principles will preclude the possibility of further discussion and of a further revision. Revision will remain an unsolved question only so long as marked deficiencies are to be experienced in the application of the above fundamental principles.

Now, should anybody invite Hungary to point out the exact limits which, in the eyes of Hungarians, would cover a fair application of the principles referred to above, our answer is this: on the one hand, we are not competent to take a decision independently of others, while, on the other hand, the time for taking a decision has not come yet. We have no right to utter a declaration in the name of other peoples, though it is our duty to enter the lists in defence of the right of selfdetermination of those smaller peoples with whom we lived in brotherly union for centuries, especially if they themselves are not in a position to defend their rights before international bodies. It is not for us, alone, to establish the exact frontier-line of the regions inhabited by Hungarians: this question must be solved ultimately by an unbiassed international Body. No doubt we have a right to voice our claims: when the moment comes it will not only be our right, but also our duty to do so. However, I regret to say, the moment has not come yet. So far Hungary has not been asked by competent international factors, or by the League of Nations, to submit her claims. Obviously this problem will have to be solved by way of a compromise. Hungary, however, is not going to definitively formulate her legitimate claims, until direct negotiations, with a fair prospect of success, have become possible. A premature move on Hungary's part might look like irredentism, causing trouble and agitation in the territories severed from her, creating an atmosphere of distrust in international relations without, however, improving the situation. Such a move would prove detrimental for us too, without affording any hope of our deriving any advantage from it. Therefore it would be neither to the point, nor advantageous, to define more precisely the ultimate aims of the policy of revision, because this might lead to unnecessary complications. In the above I have openly expressed my views on the subject; and I trust that the unprejudiced foreigner, reading these lines, will fully appreciate my viewpoint.

RELIGIOUS AND SCHOLASTIC AUTONOMY OF THE SERBIAN NATIONALITY OF PRE-WAR HUNGARY

by

Imre Prokopy

The anti-Hungarian propagandists are bent on trying to convince public opinion abroad that the nationality policy of pre-War Hungary was one condemning the non-Magyar nationalities of the country to complete disfranchisement. Yet, without any minority protection obligation compelling her to do so, Hungary voluntarily gave the Saxons of Transylvania, the Rumanians and the Serbs, a far-reaching religious and scholastic autonomy which completely overshadows (even in respect of the measure of the rights ensured) that comprised in the minority treaties concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia on the other or in the agreement relating to the religious and scholastic position of their respective minorities concluded on March 10th, 1933, between Rumania and Yugoslavia.

By way of refutation of the charges brought for the purpose of discrediting the Hungarian nation, as also for the information of our readers, I herewith give an outline of the religious and scholastic autonomy enjoyed by the Serb nationality within the territory of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia down to the autumn of 1918 — i. e. until the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy. In order to observe the utmost objectivity and to avoid even the suspicion of the slightest partiality, I have taken my data solely and exclusively from a work by a Serbian, *Dr. Zharko Miladinovitch*, entitled „Comments on the Privileges, Laws, Ordinances and Other Measures relating to the Autonomy of the Serbian National Church” (“Tumatz povlastica, zakona, uredaba i drugih naredjena srpska narodne crkvene autonomija”) and published in Ujvidék (Novisad, Najsatz) in 1897, as also from the series of articles discussing the same which appeared in the December 15th., 16th., 17th. and 18th., 1925, issues of the “Deutsches Volksblatt”, the official organ of the German Minority in Yugoslavia published in Ujvidék.

The religious and scholastic autonomy of the Serb nationality in Hungary has a history of exactly 228 years. Its origin and its basis consists in the privileges guaranteed — under Letters Patent of the Emperor-King Leopold I, dated August 21st., 1690, and August 20th., 1691, respectively — the 36,000 persons of Serb nationality fleeing from

Turkish persecution who had settled — though only as “*temporary visitors*” — in the south of Hungary under the leadership of Arzen Czarnojevitch, Serbian (Orthodox) Patriarch of Ipek. The final and definitive adjustment of the religious and scholastic autonomy of the Serbians of Hungary was effected — with due consideration for the decisions taken at the Serbian Orthodox Synods held at Sremski-Karlovci in 1864 and 1865 — by Act IX. of 1868, which acknowledges and institutionally guarantees the right of the Serbs and of the Orthodox Rumanians withdrawn from the control of the Sremski-Karlovci patriarchate to settle their own religions and scholastic matters within the limits prescribed by law at their church synods held under the supreme control of the King of Hungary.

The religious and scholastic autonomy of the Serbian nationality in Croatia-Slavonia was regulated — on the basis of Act IX. of 1868 of the Hungarian Parliament — by the Act passed on May 14th, 1887.

RELIGIOUS AUTONOMY OF THE SERBIAN NATIONALITY

The Serbian Church Constitution incorporated in Act IX. of 1868 established three autonomous organs — inclusive of a considerable proportion of lay elements — to carry on church matters, — the parish (mensa crkvena opshtina), the diocesan (parchialis or district) assembly, and — as supreme forum — the Church Congress or Synod. The Serbian National Church Congress (grcko-istocni crkveni Sabor), the former representative assembly of the totality of Serbian members of the Orthodox Church entrusted with the management of religious and scholastic and all material matters therewith connected, comprised the patriarch, the 6 Serbian bishop, 25 priests and 50 lay members. The clerical members were elected by the “curia” of the clergy, the lay members by open ballot given orally by the persons entitled to vote at church assembly elections. No interference on the part of the political authorities was possible either in the elections of the members of the Church Congress or in the parish and diocesan elections. This principle was so strictly observed that no political

officers were allowed to be members even of the returning committees serving at such elections. *The members of the Church Congress could not be called to account for any statements made by them while engaged in the execution of their duty at meetings of the Congress. In this respect, therefore, the members of the Congress enjoyed the same immunity ("privilege") as members of parliament.* The Congress (Sabor) met every three years at Sremski-Karlovci under the presidency of the patriarch or in the event of his absence of the oldest of the bishops, the sessions usually lasting six weeks. The convening of an extraordinary session had to be notified in advance to the King of Hungary through the Hungarian Government, the King, by virtue of his prerogative of supreme control, appointing a royal commissioner to represent him at the meetings of the Congress. The royal commissioner was not however entitled to interfere in the discussions or to influence the decisions of the Congress. The King was entitled to adjourn or dissolve the Sabor, it being required in the latter case that he should ordain the holding of fresh elections. The right of control of the Hungarian Government empowered that Government to require that the minutes of the Congress should be submitted to the Prime Minister of Hungary, it reserving to itself also the right to accept and settle appeals against decisions of the Congress. The Church Congress had no concern with political questions. Its sphere of authority embraced the right to regulate church matters, with the exception of strictly dogmatic or liturgical questions and matters of a similar character, as also of the election of the patriarch, of the metropolitan Church Council, of the members of the supreme body responsible for the administration of purely spiritual matters and of the supreme school board (narodnocrkveni Skolski odbor), of the chief *rapporteur* on educational matters and finally of the Executive Committee of the Sabor, that Committee being entrusted with the work of preparing motions to be submitted to the Congress, of publishing the decisions of the Congress and of administering the financial affairs of the whole patriarchate.

ORGANISATION OF SERBIAN SCHOLASTIC AUTONOMY

The scholastic matters of the Serbian nationality were managed by the Supreme School Board composed of the patriarch, the chief *rapporteur* on scholastic questions and 6 members nominated by the Sabor. The organs subordinated to the Supreme School Board were 1. the school parish or rather the educational board of the same, 2. the school districts consisting of all the school parishes of each several church diocese (eparchia), the executive organs of the same being the diocesan (district) school boards consisting of 15 members each. The supreme control of all Serbian denominational school matters was in the hands of the Supreme School Board, which determined the school curricula, decided which books were to be used in instruction, issued disciplinary regulations for teachers, granted scho-

larships and drafted the estimates relating to the whole field of education to be presented to the Sabor. The same School Board was the supreme organ of control of the higher denominational schools, of the denominational teachers' training institutes maintained out of the funds of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and of girls' high schools and gymnasia (classical schools) for boys, and was responsible for the administration of the same.

ORGANISATION OF SERBIAN SCHOOLS

Attendance at elementary schools was compulsory; and all parents of Orthodox faith who were Serbs by nationality were required to send their children between the ages of 6 and 12 to the Serbian denominational or parish schools. All children between the ages of 12 and 15 not attending higher-grade schools were required to attend continuation school classes. Parents were allowed to have their children taught privately or in some other school; but in that case they had to prove to the parish school board that their children were being given the instruction prescribed for use in the Serbian denominational schools. *The certificates issued by the Serbian denominational elementary schools, which gave free education, were accepted by the State for all purposes.* In every village containing 30 children of schooling age who were Serbs by nationality, the Serbian church and school parish was required to establish and maintain a school and to engage a teacher. No teacher was allowed to teach more than 80 children. However, in the event of any village not containing the requisite minimum number (30) of children of schooling age, the parish in question united with one or more neighbouring villages to form a joint school parish, thus providing for the schooling of the Serbian children of schooling age. *In the Serbian denominational and parish schools only such teachers of Serbian nationality belonging to the Orthodox (Greek Oriental) Church might be employed as had successfully passed the examinations in a Serbian Orthodox teachers' training institute. The teachers were elected by the school parishes, the school boards of those parishes filling the posts on the basis of a public competition. Where the school parish failed to effect an election, the teachers in question were appointed by the competent diocesan (district) school board.*

For the training of elementary school teachers the Serbs of Hungary proper and of Croatia-Slavonia had at their disposal three quite independent teachers' training institutes comprising four classes maintained out of separate school funds — at Zombor, Pakrac and Károlyváros. It was the duty of the school parishes of the respective towns to provide the school buildings and to ensure their upkeep. *In the girls' section of the teachers' training institutes only such girls could obtain admission as had successfully passed the higher girls' schools at Pancsova, Ujvidék or Zombor.* Pupils (boys and girls) without means received scholarships and were granted other assistance too.

Besides the above, the Serbian nationality had also two autonomous Orthodox gymnasia (classical schools), at Ujvidék and Sremski-Karlovci, which were under the management of a board of guardians consisting of the patriarch, the bishop of the Bácska diocese, 2 clerical and 4 lay members. The masters of the two secondary schools, who had to be Serbs by nationality and to belong to the Orthodox (Greek Oriental) Church, were appointed by the board of guardians; and their salaries were at all times on a level with those enjoyed by masters in State schools.

In Sremski-Karlovci, the seat of the patriarch, was the Orthodox theological faculty (with a four years' curriculum), the teaching staff of which was appointed by the patriarch acting in agreement with the Serbian bishops.

The above is a condensed summary of the most important legal provisions regulating the scholastic autonomy of the Serbian nationality on the basis of which the Serbs of Hungary proper and of Croatia-Slavonia were enabled to adjust their thriving school administration under the protection of Hungarian law and of the Hungarian authorities, their independence in these matters not being subjected to any infraction. It was this school autonomy that made it possible that in Southern Hungary (Vojvodina) alone the Serbs numbering 382,352 souls had at their disposal, in addition to the other educational institutes already referred to, 179 independent elementary schools — that meaning, taking an average per school of 4 standards, altogether 716 elementary school standards and 592 Serbian teachers of their own election; while in the territory of Hungary proper (i. e. exclusive of Croatia and Slavonia) the Serbian nationality numbering 461,516 souls (2.5% of the total population) possessed 58 parish and 211 denominational (i. e. altogether 269) absolutely independent Serbian elementary schools, the same comprising altogether 1075 elementary school standards. Today, on the other hand, *the half million Magyars living in Yugoslavia have not a single autonomous school of their own — to the greater glory of the international treaty-guaranteed minority protection, — but are compelled to make the best of 132 so-called "parallel" State elementary school sections under Serbian administration (these being the figures of the official statistics of 1932) in which the teaching is mainly in the hands of Serbian teachers, the bulk of the subjects being taught in the State language.*

The fundamental principles upon which the scholastic matters of the Serbian nationality of Hungary were based, may be summed up briefly by saying that in terms of Acts IX. of 1868 and XLIV. of 1868 the Serbs were able freely within their own Church organisation — without restriction and without being required to secure the consent of the political authorities in advance — to establish as required any number of elementary schools and higher educational institutes administered and controlled by their own organs, to determine the curricula of the same and to appoint and engage the teaching staff.

HOW COSTS OF ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE WERE SECURED

The pecuniary means for the maintenance of the schools were provided partly out of the contributions of members of the Orthodox church communities payable in the same manner as public taxes, and partly out of the revenues of the large numbers of endowments and funds and of the enormous assets belonging to the Church. The privileged position enjoyed in material respects too by the religious and scholastic self-government of the Serbs, and the very considerable income available alike by virtue of the generous gifts of the Hungarian kings and as a result of the liberality of the members of the Serbian Orthodox Church, may be seen also from the fact that — in order to prevent and preclude the possibility of any intervention on the part of the State — the Serbian nationality consistently refused (or availed itself only to a very trifling extent of) the subsidies granted by the Hungarian Government for the maintenance of non-State schools and for purposes of investment etc., as also the grants and family allowances serving to supplement the salaries of teachers and masters in non-State schools. During the school-year 1913/14, for instance, the Government appropriated a State grant of nearly 3,000,000 gold crowns for the assistance of the 3320 elementary schools where the language of instruction was not Magyar; and only 23 and 8 of the 58 parish and 211 Orthodox denominational elementary schools respectively availed themselves at all of the proffered assistance — and that only to the aggregate amount of 40,348 gold crowns. It was easy for the Serbian schools to refuse assistance, seeing that the requirements of the autonomous schools of the Serbian nationality of Hungary were abundantly secured by the revenues of the immovable and movable assets of the Serbian church parishes serving the purposes of school establishment and school maintenance, by the contributions payable by members of the Serbian church and school parishes, by the interest on the cash assets of the endowments and funds estimated to amount to 17.5 million gold crowns, and also by the enormous yields of the estates (3538 cadastral yokes in area) belonging to the Sremski-Karlovci patriarchate in Karlovici and Kabol, of that (23,000 cadastral yokes in area) situate at Dalja, and of the landed estates (34,500 cadastral yokes in area) belonging to the Orthodox monasteries and convents. This exceptionally favourable material situation makes it easy to understand also why the Serbian Orthodox Church obstinately refused to avail itself of the subsidies granted by the Hungarian State. For, whereas of the amount set apart in the 1913/14 Estimates of the Hungarian Ministry of Public Worship and Education for the support of the Churches the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church was allotted 8,762,231 gold crowns and the Rumanian Orthodox Church was granted 9,283,598 gold crowns, the exceptionally wealthy Serbian Orthodox Church availed itself only of the sum of 493,742 gold crowns, although the number of members of that Church would have

entitled it to claim an amount many times that which it actually received.

It was due to this religious and scholastic autonomy that the Serbians of Hungary were able to develop in the so-called "Vojvodina" district a flourishing Serbian culture the existence of which is shown by the Annals of the "Matica Srpska", of Ujvidék, — the largest Serbian cultural association in Hungary, with a past of more than a hundred years — and by the work of many celebrities of Serbian literature and science. Many Serbian poets, writers and scholars born among the Serbians of South Hungary and of Croatia-Slavonia exercised a fertilising influence upon the intellectual and spiritual development of the Serbian principality which did not finally shake off the Turkish yoke until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The first Serbian newspapers and periodicals and books to find their way to the Serbian principality were printed in Budapest, Sremski-Karlovci and Vienna; and the officials who first organised the public administration of Serbia were Serbs from the "Vojvodina" district. *Dositej Obradovitch*, the famous organiser of the Serbian educational system, was born in the Hungarian Banate; *Vuk Karadzhitich*, the founder of Serbian linguistics, and *Zmaj Jovan Jovanovitch*, the prince of Serbian poets, lived and worked among the Serbians of Hungary proper and of Croatia-Slavonia. Indeed, the material culture of the Serbian nationality of Hungary itself would have been impossible without the highly developed educational system enjoyed by that nationality; for without that system the Serbians of Hungary would hardly have been able to play so important a rôle in the economic life of Southern Hungary and of Croatia-Slavonia.

Such were the far-reaching rights and facilities ensured the Serbians of Hungary by the religious and scholastic autonomy incorporated in Act IX of 1868 — an autonomy of which Dr. Stephen Kraft, leader of the Germans of Yugoslavia, on one occasion openly declared during a sitting of the Skupshtina that the German minority would feel happy if any Yugoslav Government were to ensure it by legislation at least a part of the rights guaranteed by that autonomy.

Such being the facts, are we justified in accusing pre-War Hungary of the oppression of the non-Magyar nationalities, and in employing that false charge for the purpose of motivating or justifying the unjust verdict of Trianon? Instead of obstinately continuing — not of course without a deliberate purpose — the campaign of calumny started against Hungary the Little Entente-ophile writers would probably do well — and would thereby render greater service to the cause of the minorities — to call upon their friends in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia to put an end to their unceasing persecution and disfranchisement of the Magyar and other ethnic minorities, and at the same time to protest against the continued failure of Czecho-Slovakia to give the far-reaching self-government ensured the Ruthenians under Article 10 of the Minority Treaty; they would do well also to protest against the failure of the Rumanians to give the Széklers and Saxons of Transylvania the autonomy in religious and educational matters guaranteed them in Article 11 of the Minority Treaty, as also against the League of Nations tolerating meekly these flagrant infractions of international obligations and of the imperative provisions of the Minority Treaty.

CULTURAL AUTONOMY OF THE SZÉKLEERS

by

Dr. Ladislas Fritz.

In Article 11 of the Paris Minority Treaty concluded on December 9th, 1919, between the Great Powers and Rumania, the Széklers are guaranteed cultural autonomy; the question of that autonomy has once more been brought to the surface by the recent controversy in the press illustrating the Hungarian and Rumanian attitude in the matter.

Not long ago *Octavian Goga*, former Rumanian Minister of the Interior, publicly called upon the President of the National Magyar Party of Rumania to make a statement *explaining what the Magyar Party meant by the church and school autonomy stipulated in the said Treaty?* The answer to this challenge was, with the consent of the President of the Magyar Party, given by the General Assembly of the Székler population of Csik Country. The Rumanian point of view was then given in the rejoinder published in the "*Tara Noastra*", the Rumanian daily acting as the mouthpiece of *Octavian Goga*.

In order to enable our readers to understand this indubitably instructive controversy we consider it necessary to explain briefly the genesis of Article 11 of the Minority Treaty and to deal shortly with the provisions contained therein.

The work of drafting the minority treaties was entrusted to the "Commission of New States and of the Protection of Minorities" ("Commission des nouveaux États et de la Protection des Minorités") delegated on May 1st., 1919, by the Supreme Council. At the meeting of this Commission held on June 7th., 1919, the *British Delegate* moved that a restricted form of self-government in scholastic and religious matters should be ensured the Székler and Saxon communities of Transylvania.¹ The Commission passed the motion without discussion; and the report submitted to the Supreme Council notes emphatically in respect of

¹ See Hunter—Miller, David, "My Diary at the Conference of Paris, With Documents", Vol. XIII., p. 143.

the autonomy that "the existence in Transylvania of Saxon and Székler enclaves makes it desirable that they should be granted a certain extent of cultural autonomy, provided that their common traditions and strong feeling can be reconciled with national patriotism in the wider sense of the word, without coming into conflict with the same. Article 12 of the Draft Treaty — ultimately Article 11 of the definitive text — would ensure to these minorities a certain measure of autonomy in scholastic and religious matters which would naturally be exercised under the control of the Rumanian State".²

This was the genesis of Article 11 of the Minority Treaty signed in Paris on December 9th., 1919, by the Allied and Associated Powers and Rumania respectively, the definitive text of which runs as follows:

„Roumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Széklers in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Roumanian State.“

First of all it should be noted that Rumania has not complied with the obligation devolving upon her under this international treaty, although the official representative of the Hungarians of Transylvania — the National Magyar Party of Rumania — has constantly (both in and out of the Rumanian Parliament) urged the carrying into effect of the cultural autonomy of the Széklers. Recently, at the General Assembly of the Csik County Branch of the National Magyar Party of Rumania held at Csikszereda (Mercurea-Ciuc) on May 12th., 1935, to which reference has already been made, the following explanation was given of the interpretation put by the whole body of the Hungarians of Rumania on the religious and scholastic autonomy guaranteed under the Paris Treaty of Peace:

"We demand for our denominational schools, subject to the right of the State to exercise supreme control, full liberty of self-government ensuring the Church authorities all rights of management, direction and direct inspection, and an unrestricted right to establish schools, and acknowledging the "public" status of such schools.

"In respect of all grades of State schools alike in which Székler children are being educated, the right of management, inspection and direction shall — subject to the right of the State to exercise supreme control and in conformity with the idea of autonomy — be reserved to the official representatives of the Széklers. *The right of supreme control by the State* shall refer only to the safeguarding of the highest State interests — viz. to the safeguarding of the security of the State, to the defence of public morality, to controlling the observance of the minimum curriculum prescribed by the State, to the control (supervision) of the training of teachers and to controlling the observance of the requirements to be fixed by law in respect of the teaching of the

State language. An essential and indispensable element of the autonomy is the *right freely to establish schools and to use the pupils' native language as the language of instruction in all kinds of schools*. And, seeing that the autonomous schools are engaged in a cultural mission, *the charges involved by the material maintenance of the schools must be secured in the State Budget*, that being what may be described as refunding of public imposts for the purposes of education. The sphere of activity of the self-government includes *general cultural and public welfare matters too*.

"The Paris Treaty of 1919 promised only the Széklers scholastic autonomy; but in view of the fact that the Széklers and the Magyars constitute an inseparably united race and use the same language, we shall never cease to demand that *after the carrying into effect of the Székler scholastic autonomy that right shall, in the form of general cultural autonomy, be extended to the whole Magyar (Hungarian) minority*."³

As will be seen, the above explanation of the cultural autonomy contained in Article 11 as formulated by the Magyar Party refers exclusively to "scholastic questions". We believe it would have been superfluous to formulate separately the meaning of the *religious autonomy*, simply because the "religious autonomy" of the Székler and Saxon communities has already been carried into effect by way of the historical Churches. The expression "religious autonomy" contained in Article 11 simply confirmed the already existing church selfgovernment — viz. that of the historical Roman Catholic, Reformed, Unitarian and Evangelical Churches. And the Széklers almost all belong to either the Roman Catholic, Reformed or Unitarian Church, and the Saxons to the Evangelical Church.

The "*Tara Noastra*" — Octavian Goga's organ — has written a leading article exploiting the Rumanian attitude in the question of Székler autonomy.⁴

According to the Rumanians the Hungarian conception of the autonomy of the Széklers is mistaken. For — we are told — the Minority Treaty speaks expressly of "Székler autonomy", — i. e. of the autonomy of the religious communities of Székler-land in cultural and religious matters; whereas the Magyar Party demands that this right should be granted to higher Church authorities. "As we have seen" — so says Goga's organ — "there is a vast difference between what the Magyar Party demands and what is granted by the Paris Minority Protection Treaty. According to the Treaty the essence of the autonomy relates to religious communities, while the Magyar Party speaks of high Church authorities. The Rumanian laws at present in force" — the "*Tara Noastra*" continues — "give the Magyar (Hungarian) minority of Rumania far more than what is prescribed by the Minority Treaty. The laws confer the position of fictitious persons not only on religious communities, but also on archdeaconries and bishoprics. The Education Act declares that

² Hunter—Miller, op. cit. Vol. XIII., p. 285.

³ "Csiki Néplap", No. 20, May 15th., 1935.

⁴ See "Brassói Lapok", Vol. XLI. No. 123, June 1st., 1935.

the organisations of the historical Churches possess the status of fictitious persons, are entitled to settle their own internal affairs themselves, may administer their funds and assets themselves, and may establish and organise associations and institutions. So when all is said the autonomy does really exist, — not merely local self-government, as prescribed by the Treaty, but district (archidiaconal) and provincial (episcopal) autonomy too. "In our opinion — continues the *"Tara Noastra"* — "the Magyar Party is playing with fire; and it may possibly burn its fingers. It may be that, seeing that this Party is continually demanding the observance of the Paris Minority Treaty, it will really be given what is contained in that Treaty, but only that and nothing more; that meaning that it will forfeit the more extensive liberty ensured it by the Rumanian State. There is a Hungarian proverb warning un not to "talk of the devil". The *"Tara Noastra"* would remind the Magyar Party of that proverb."

As may be seen, the Rumanians are here too attempting to shirk the obligation undertaken by them under the Minority Treaty. *They would restrict the Székler cultural autonomy exclusively to the religious communities of Székler-land.* They assert that this cultural autonomy is really in existence, and that too on a much larger scale than as prescribed by the Minority Treaty, seeing that — as the *"Tara Noastra"* alleges — "the Rumanian laws at present in force give the Magyar (Hungarian) minority of Rumania far more than what is prescribed by the Minority Treaty."

The very text of Article 11 in itself precludes the possibility of any dispute, seeing that it speaks of "the communities of the Saxons and Czeklers". The expression "the communities of the Saxons and Czeklers" must be interpreted to mean *all* persons belonging to the said minorities, is the point established in this connection by Dr. Arthur Balogh,⁵ one of the most eminent authorities on the question of minority protection. The Minority Treaty speaks of "*local autonomy*". In illustration of the meaning of this expression we would once more refer to the fact that Article 11 in its entirety represents the attitude and comprises the proposal of the British delegate. It is evident, therefore, that the technical terms employed are exclusively those used in the legal phraseology of the British system of public law, which applies the term "*local self-government*" or "*local autonomy*" to all forms of self-government independent of the central government. And from the statement that the "*local autonomy*" refers to "*scholastic and religious matters*" we may establish the fact that the Széklers are entitled to themselves provide for the performance of all cultural obligations incumbent upon them, subject only to the control of the Rumanian State.

The assertion made on the Rumanian side to the effect that the Rumanian laws at present in force give the Magyar (Hungarian) minority of Rumania far more than what is prescribed by the Minority Treaty, is not at all in keeping with the

facts. The Education Act in particular — upon which special stress is laid by the Rumanian rejoinder — cannot possibly be described as calculated to ensure the old autonomy of the historical Churches. In illustration of the character of the Public Worship Act of April 22nd., 1928, it will suffice to quote the following passages from the 1928 Report of the Reformed Bishop of Transylvania: — "The mistrust characterising the whole spirit of the Act, the creation of exaggerated rights and opportunities of control and interference, the restriction of the agenda of church assemblies, the difficulties put in the way of gifts of charity by foreign co-religionists, the inadequate form of acknowledgment of the Church's status as fictitious person, the limitations hindering the desire of members of the Church to offer, the calling in question of the exclusive right of religious teaching, the undermining of the authority of the Church among its own members in the question of church contributions, the subjection of certain internal affairs of the Church to outside approval, — these are the points that characterise the new Public Worship Act." This Act took no account whatsoever of the ancient self-government of the historical Churches, which was further confirmed by Article 11 of the Minority Treaty. We would take at random just a few provisions of the Public Worship Act in illustration of the manner in which it completely ignores the principle of religious autonomy laid down in Article 11. Thus, in terms of Article II. of the Act of April 22nd., 1929, — which supplanted paragraph 4 of § 12 of the original Public Worship Act — the approval of the Ministry must be secured for all gifts to the Church exceeding 50,000 lei in value. § 14 authorises the Churches to establish and administer cultural and charitable institutions. The expression "cultural institutions" must be taken to mean primarily schools. But the continuation of the text of the Act notes that the establishment and administration of schools may be carried out *solely and exclusively* as provided in the legal measures relating to such institutions and on the scale provided therein. Now an investigation of the Education Acts shows that those measures do not contain a single trace of any cultural autonomy or self-government respectively. Thus, for instance, the Elementary Education Act of July 26th., 1924, contains — in § 8 — provisions relating to the so-called "name analysis" procedure, which offer practically unlimited possibilities of compelling children with names that do not sound Magyar to leave the denominational schools and attend State schools where the language of instruction is exclusively Rumanian. Or let us take § 159 of the same Act, which establishes the so-called "*culture zone*" including the territories of the Counties of Háromszék, Csik, Udvarhely, Maros-Torda and Torda-Aranyos. 50% of the teachers from Old Rumania not even knowing Magyar engaged in the schools within the area of this "*culture zone*" receive additional salaries, their "service allowances" being calculated for periods of 4 years, and

⁵ See Dr. Arthur Balogh, "International Protection of Minorities, as provided for in the Minority Treaties and the Treaties of Peace", Berlin (Ludwig Vöggengerter Verlag), 1928, p. 211.

⁶ See Sulyok, Stephen and Fritzt, Ladislav, "Erdélyi Magyar Evkönyv" (Hungarian Annals of Transylvania), Kolozsvár, 1930, p. 36.

are given also special bonuses equivalent in amount to three (or in the case of unmarried men two) months' emoluments. Or let us take the *Private Teaching Act* of February 19th., 1925, of which writers on international law have shown that it contains measures diametrically opposed to the principle of self-government, seeing that in § 1 it degrades the ancient schools maintained by the denominations to the position of private schools. We would ask how the principle of autonomy is ensured under the *Higher Certificate Examination (Matriculation) Act* of March 7th., 1925, which stipulates that the pupils of secondary schools shall be required to pass their matriculation (higher certificate) examinations before a State commission, Rumanian being the language exclusively used. Or let us examine the *Secondary Education Act* of May 15th., 1928, to see where we can find any trace of the principle of autonomy, the establishment of secondary schools being reserved for the Minister of Education acting on the opinion of the Consiliul Permanent. And in conclusion we would refer to the *University Education Act* of April 22nd., 1932, § 2 of which stipulates that the universities shall be autonomous State institutions . . ."

We believe the few illustrations of the relevant laws will suffice to refute the Rumanian allegation to the effect that the laws at present in existence give the Hungarian minority living in Rumania more than is ensured it in the Minority Treaty. Nor must we forget the manner in which the laws are carried into effect. In the field of school education the school inspectors decide by ordinance in questions of school curricula, of school books, of the appointment of teachers and masters, etc., as also in the question whether a school is to be closed or not; there are restrictions on the free choice of schools; the right of denominational schools to the status of "public" institutes has not yet been acknowledged; the denominational schools receive no State grants, and are not allowed to participate in the 14% parish school tax, which is allotted only to State schools; in Magyar parishes hundreds of Magyar parents are subjected to distress proceedings on the plea of school fines. All these measures are intended to further the rumanisation of the Széklers. For

Rumanian politicians are constantly proclaiming that *the Széklers do not constitute a compact unit*, but that their numbers contain a very large sprinkling of inhabitants of Rumanian origin the "re-rumanisation" of which is an urgent necessity, adding that no minority rights may be claimed by that considerable proportion of the inhabitants which has been deprived by force of its Rumanian origin.

It goes without saying that this emphasising of the forced "magyarisation" of Rumanians is due partly to ignorance of history and partly to a deliberate intention to mystify and mislead, the object of this being to find a pretext for continuing consistently to refuse to realise the cultural autonomy ensured the Széklers.

We have no wish to deal exhaustively with the origin of the Széklers, the controversy relating to which has not yet been definitively decided by science. Of the theories relating to the question the most plausible appears to be that which tells us that the name "Széklers" must be taken to mean the Hungarian (Magyar) marchmen organised in divisions (the word "szék" = "riding") who owed their privileged position to strategic considerations. These acquired rights based upon historical grounds could hardly have been ignored when codifying the protection of minority rights. We may establish the fact that the ensuring of the Székler — and also of the Saxon — cultural autonomy was effected by respecting the historical past and acquired rights. The Székely dialect is typically Magyar in character, and differs from the Magyar idiom spoken today far less than — for instance — the Bavarian dialect does from the Swabian. A not merely literal interpretation of Article 11 undoubtedly shows that Article to mean a cultural autonomy embracing all the Magyar and all the German inhabitants of Transylvania. Therefore, when emphasising that the Széklers and the Magyars constitute an inseparably united race and use the same language, for that reason demanding that after the carrying into effect of the scholastic autonomy of the Széklers a general cultural autonomy should be instituted to embrace the whole Magyar minority, the Székely-Hungarian position involves a correct interpretation of Article 11.

THRONE-ROOM OF THE HUNGARIAN KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF ÁRPÁD COMPLETELY EXCAVATED

In Esztergom, the ancient seat of the Hungarian Kings of the House of Árpád (896—1301) and the present seat of the Prince Primates of Hungary, the palace of Hungary's great medieval national dynasty has been discovered and gradually brought to light. The most important result of the excavations, which were resumed in spring, was the opening of the throne-room of the palace. Considering that this find is an important monument of art of the Middle-Ages, it is to be supposed that it may interest not only Hungarians, but also all lovers of art abroad, and that is the reason of our giving below a description from the

pen of the famous Hungarian art-historian, Professor Tibor Gerevich, published in the June 13th. issue of the "Budapesti Hirlap".

— The royal throne-room of the palace of the Árpáds, discovered in the autumn, has now been completely opened. This hall, built in the style of the XIIth century, has an even more magnificent gateway than the entrances of the palace and of the chapel. It may be conjectured from the style of the throne-room that, at some later period, when the royal palace was changed into the seat of the Prince Primate, the architecture was amplified by ornamen-

tations in the renaissance-style. Several extremely interesting doorways, staircases and passages have been revealed and, in the course of the excavations, a communication was effected between the recently discovered rooms and the St. Stephen Chapel. Before the present excavations had begun, this chapel was the only part of the royal palace we knew; it could not however be considered a monument representing the true style of the epoch when the Kings of the House of Árpád occupied Hungary's throne, because it had been re-painted and renovated in the second half of the XIVth century.

"The chamber adjoining the throne-room — probably the royal study — is ornamented by parts of a fresco-painting representing the Zodiac and dat- from the XVth century.

At present excavations are being made in the grounds round the chapel. Here, so to say within the dept of a spade, the most curious finds have been brought to light. Among others a glazed tile has been found with the relief of the King on it. A fine piece of work, indeed, dating from the XVth century; possibly the figure on it is the portrait of King Sigismund; however this has not been ascertained yet.

A great number of objects dating from ancient times and from the Roman period have been found. They seem to support my hypothesis of the palace having been erected, partly during Duke Géza's reign, on the remains of a Roman Castrum.

The National Committee of Monuments of Art carefully watches over the excavations, anxious that the old stones of inestimable value should not be damaged. That is why each piece is being fixed on the spot, in order to prevent — as has happened before on similar occasions — their being mixed up. Each piece is separately labelled and registered. Hundreds of carved fragments had, as a matter of course, to be moved; however we know the exact place of each of them, so that, once the restoration of the palace is begun, we shall be able to put every single fragment back in its original place.

Large pieces of ground have yet to be explored, however the artistic value of everything brought up from the bowels of the earth hitherto is absolutely on an equality with the artistic value of the finds in other countries dating from the same period. Indeed: this is the only royal palace in the world of that period which has outlived the vicissitude of times. The systematic way in which the excavations have been carried out and the fact of our knowing the exact place of every small fragment, will enable us to re-build this unique monument in its original form, without falsifying history and without excessive restorations.

To the world this ancient palace of the Hungarian Kings may well serve as a brilliant document of Hun- garian civilisation and of the ideas inaugurated by St. Stephen. All of us, who have participated in this work fervently hope that in 1938, when the Ninth Centenary of St. Stephen is to be celebrated, and when presumably the works connected with the palace will be completely finished, not only the Hungarian nation but also foreigners from all parts of the world will go on a pilgrimage to this glorious monument of Hungary's great medieval past."

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At WhitSuntide Prime Minister M. Julius Göm- bös, accompanied by Dr. Valentine Hóman, Minister of Public Worship and Education, spent a day in Esztergom as the guests of Cardinal Justinian Serédi, Prince Primate of Hungary. On his return the Premier addressed a letter to the Prince Primate, informing him that the credit needed for the restoration of the palace would be placed at his disposal. We quote below a paragraph of the Prime Minister's letter, which runs as follows:

"The remains of the palace, extricated from the masses of earth covering them for centuries, estify to the grade of civilisation of two glorious epochs of our national history, of the culture and love of art of two of our great national dynasties — the Árpáds and the Hunyadys —, of their greatness as men and as princes. Precisely 750 years ago a ravaging fire in the then Capital of Hungary destroyed the cathedral of this country's first Church Dignitary as well as the royal home of our first kings. Cardinal Jób, with the support of his king, at once set to work to rebuild a new cathedral, while close by King Béla III — the last representative of the patriarchal Kingdom of St. Stephen, at the dawn of a new epoch — began the construction of a sumptuous palace. French and Hun- garian masters worked at the edifice, which was to be worthy of the increased power of Hungarian royalty, and where the king might proudly bring the grand lady he had chosen for his second wife, — Margaret, Princess of France and widow of the English heir to the throne. Afterwards this palace was granted by King Béla IV, Hungary's re- constructor, to the Cardinal of Esztergom and, in the course of centuries, enlarged according to the artictic conceptions of Your Eminence's predecessors, while in the art- inspired epoch of the Cinquecento it was ornamented by works of art of the Italian Renaissance, enjoying great honour in Hungary during the reign of the Hunyadys."

— "y" —

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

„HUNGARY WILL BEFORE THE END OF THE PRESENT DECENNIUM RECOVER THE TERRITORIES WITH A LARGE PROPORTION OF HUNGARIAN INHABITANTS“

The London Correspondent of the "Pesti Hirlap" had an interview with Lord Rothermere which was printed in the Whit-Sunday issue of that paper.

The first and second questions of the Hungarian journalist referred to foreign politics, asking Lord Rothermere what he thought about the general political situation.

The answer was as follows:

"In my opinion Europe is in a very confused state and the prospects of peace are by no means so good as in the first months of 1914."

Then he continued:

"If Europe's small countries are expecting the redress of the injustices committed against them by

the Peace Treaties simply for sentimental reasons, I fear there is very little hope of their wrongs being righted."

"What are your views in regard to Hungary?"

"I believe Hungary can best assert herself if she strengthens the ties of friendship with the European State showing itself readiest to support Hungary's demands, to the effect that everything she has a right to claim be restored to her."

"What do you think of Hungary's present situation?"

"Undoubtedly Hungary's present situation is better than eight years ago, because to-day I may say that all the world is aware of Hungary's having

been made the scapegoat of the Great War. I am sure a vigorous, unflinching foreign policy will lead to Hungary's recovering even before the end of the present decennium all the adjoining territories with a large proportion of Hungarian inhabitants."

"Is the Danube-Conference likely to lead to any signal results in regard to Hungary?"

"I do not expect anything from the Danube-Conference. For 17 years Hungary has firmly persevered in her legitimate demands, and it would be a great mistake for her to allow the weight of her claims to be lessened by well-sounding complaints and false interpretation of facts now, when she may possibly regain her place under the sun within a few years or, may be, months." — "y" —

FINAL RESULTS OF THE YUGOSLAV ELECTIONS

On May 23rd, 18 days after the elections, the Central Election Committee of Yugoslavia at last finished counting the votes. According to the rectified and now finally established results, the national list of Prime Minister Yeftitch received 1,746,982 votes (60.64%), that is 8,592 votes more than the number shown in the official results published previously; while it has been ascertained that the united opposition, under the leadership of Mr. Maček, received 1,076,345 votes (37.56%), 93,097 votes more than the number shown in the first official publication. In consequence of a provision of the electoral law, according to which the national list, having obtained a relative majority, is to receive three-fifths of the seats, participating at the same time in the distribution of the remaining seats, the governmental party has obtained 303 seats, while the united opposition have had to content themselves with 67. The unfairness and absolute arbitrariness of this mode of distribution becomes strikingly apparent when we consider, for instance, the results in the Save Banate. Here Prime Minister Yeftitch's list received only 173,496 votes as against the 440,383 votes cast for the opposition list of Maček; nevertheless the government party obtained 48 mandates, while the opposition received only 27. In the Littoral Banate too the result was rather curious, the opposition obtaining 133,308 votes, as against the 68,380 votes cast for government, yet the government has been given 14 mandates, while the Maček Party has obtained only 10. However, the most striking result is that in the city of Zagreb. Here all 4 seats have been given by the Central Election Committee to candidates of the government party, regardless of the fact that only one fourth of the votes were cast for the government list. The unfairness of the whole procedure is further aggravated by the circumstance that — with the exception of Mr. Maček — the leaders of the united opposition, Messrs Ljuba Davidovitch, Jovan Jovanović, Mehmed Spaho, Dr. Wilder and others have not obtained seats, despite their having obtained a crushing majority of votes in their constituencies, while some active and former ministers, who in the Save Banate and in the Littoral districts obtained only a truly humiliating minority of votes, have become members of parliament.

This electoral system, unexampled in its kind, combined with the electoral abuses committed by the central power during the electoral campaign and the terror exercised by the authorities, hindering the activities of the opposition everywhere, induced the united opposition to declare at a meeting held in Zagreb on June 2nd that they would abstain from

appearing in the Skupshtina, motivating their decision with the following two resolutions:

The resolution of the peasant-democrat coalition, consisting of the former peasant-party, the independent democrats, the Croat federal-party and the Croat party of justice, notes that at the time of the foundation of the South-Slav State two ideas stood in opposition. The Croat viewpoint demanded absolute equality of rights and the sovereignty of the Croat, Serb and Slovene nations, while Belgrade and the followers of pan-Serbianism were in favour of Serb supremacy, with Greater-Serbia for their final aim. The struggle between the two parties culminated in the murderous attempt on June 20th, 1928, when in an open sitting of the Skupshtina Stephen Radić, leader of the Croat nation, and his friends were treacherously assassinated. After this murderous attempt, the deputies of the Croat nation and of some of the new territories solemnly quitted the National Assembly. Then followed a period of absolutism, having for its object the suppression of Croat National individuality and the realisation of an absolute national unity. This system, though veiled by parliamentarism, has remained in force to this day". Further the resolution attacks the electoral law "verily unique in its reactionary spirit, its main object being to assure without any restriction and with the help of the administrative authorities *the majority of seats to the minority*. Despite the violent deeds committed in the course of the elections... the result of this election may yet be considered a plebiscite... by which the Croat nation vindicated its right to be master in its own house." — The resolution then refers to the united opposition in Serbia proper and to the great number of votes for the opposition in the heart of the country, in Sumadia, considering this fact as "the first sign of further victories to come". — "The fight for a common cause must be continued, because *the existence of this country can be assured only if the just demands of the Croat nation are fulfilled*." The ruling system has no root either in the Croat, or in the Serb, or even in the Slovene people; still, perfectly regardless of this fact, it goes on committing acts of violence. Therefore the Croat nation and the deputies of the Serbs of Preko (new territory) have decided not to enter the Skupshtina, demanding its immediate dissolution and the ordering of new elections on the basis of a new electoral law, as also the guaranteeing of the absolute fairness of these elections by an honest neutral government.

The second resolution, somewhat milder in word-

ing, passed by the united opposition, establishes the fact that the ruling system, far from succeeding in solving the threatening domestic problems, has contributed to make the Croat problem insolvable. It states further that the electoral law is immoral in its tendency, while the mode in which it is being carried out is perfectly absurd, and that all the laws connected with it — such as the press-law, the law concerning associations and meetings etc. — have only been called into being with the object of preventing the electors from freely expressing their will. The elections of May 5th, 1935, were not elections at all but, from beginning to end, a series of deeds of violence, lies and brutal falsifications. The strength of the united opposition, however, has come out unbroken, and its members are ready to hold out until the ultimate victory. In a National Assembly founded on such elections, the true representatives of the people, the deputies of the opposition, do not deem it fit to collaborate.

In this connection we must mention the supplements annexed to both resolutions, stating that the Central Election Committee, in distributing the seats, in point of fact, legalised the falsifications. The opposition, however, knows very well who are the men really enjoying the confidence of the majority of the electors and, regardless whether they have been "appointed" deputies or not by the Central Election Committee, Mr. Maček, empowered thereto by the united opposition, proposes to ask *these* men to take part in the discussions to follow.

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The "success" scored by Prime Minister Jevtitch at the elections proved a Pyrrhic victory. As soon as the National Assembly had finished with the matriculation of the mandates of the newly elected deputies, the crisis broke out in the Council of Ministers, where M. Jevtitch announced the reconstruction of the Cabinet. What really happened was this: the three Croat ministers of the Cabinet, full of indignation at M. Jevtitch's having listened in the Skupshtina without uttering a word of protest to the brutal attacks of two Serb ministers and three renegade Croat deputies

against the Croat opposition, representing the overwhelming majority of the Croat people, and against their courageous leader, M. Matchek, as well as against their courageous leader, M. Matchek, as well as against the venerable person of Dr. Anthony Bauer, Roman-Catholic Bishop of Zagreb, tendered their resignation, whereupon the Minister of Finance, M. Stojadinovitch as well as Minister of War, Zivkovitch — and it was this which really weighed down the scales — resigned too. Consequently M. Jevtitch had no choice but to tender the resignation of the whole Cabinet which was accepted by the Regent Council. After exhaustive conversations with the leaders of the old and new parties, among them — and this was the great sensation of the audiences following each other — with Dr. Matchek, the Regent Council entrusted on June 23rd M. Stojadinovitch, hitherto Minister of Finance, with the formation of the Cabinet. The new Cabinet of a temporary character was formed on the basis of a coalition and of a national compromise. The new Government's chief task will be — in correspondence to the demands of the united opposition, lead by M. Matchek — the elaboration and carrying into effect of new Electoral- and Press-Laws, as well as new Laws concerning Associations and Meetings. On the basis of these laws, new elections are to be prepared, the absolute fairness of which is to be warranted by the new Government. This would mean the definitive settling of the dictatorship having lasted for more than six years. Should this really be so, then it will be for the Skupshtina to unravel the entanglements of domestic policy and to lay the foundations of the new order of the State. It would be difficult to say, whether a wide autonomy is to be granted to Croatia and, may be, Slovenia, or — for the time being this does not seem probable — whether a sort of federation (according to the original program of Dr. Matchek) will be called into being. Be it as it may: the dynamic force of the national zeal of the Croat people will certainly prove stronger than the vain endeavours of dictatorship and it cannot be doubted that true Yugoslavism can be erected but on the firm basis of a complete equality of the three nations living in Yugoslavia. — "y" —

THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

A week after the parliamentary elections dealt with in our last issue — on May 26th. — were held the Czecho-Slovak Provincial Diet Elections. From the results of these latter elections we may draw the following conclusions: —

In Bohemia proper Henlein's Sudete-German Party secured 891,238 votes, the strongest Czech Party — the Czech Agrarian Party — receiving only 542,070 votes. Of the 80 deputies elected no fewer than 18 belong to the said party. In illustration of the temper of the electors we may note that the Opposition proved able to secure 38 seats as against the 42 obtained by the Government Parties.

In Moravia-Silesia the Henlein Party also completely outvoted the Czech Agrarian Party, receiving 317,995 votes as against the 263,118 obtained by the Agrarians. It is a characteristic phenomenon that, whereas the two German Government Parties (the German Agrarian and the German Social-Democrat Parties) lost some 13,000 votes as compared with the results obtained at the senatorial elections held on May 19th. (and that despite the minimum age for diet electors being only 24 and that for senatorial electors 26, a circumstance which involves the absolute

number of electors being larger), the Henlein Party within a week added some 55,000 to their original number.

In Slovakia the Government Parties secured only 13 seats, as against 23 obtained by the Opposition; that fact showing clearly enough how dissatisfied the inhabitants of this province are with the Prague Government. The pronouncedly autonomist parties (Monsignor Hlinka's Slovak Catholic People's Party, Rázus's Evangelical Slovak National Party, and the two Magyar parties) obtained altogether 17 seats. If we exclude the communists, the ratio of the seats held by autonomist parties to those held by centralist parties is 17 : 14. Monsignor Hlinka's party gained two seats, the "Czecho-Slovak" centralist Government parties having lost two.

In Ruthenia the communists proved to be the strongest party. The Ruthenian Autonomous Agrarian Union (the Kurtyák Party) has gained in strength since the previous provincial diet elections, and the two Magyar parties show an advance as compared with the parliamentary elections held on May 19th.; though in both cases the number of votes cast was less, despite the lower age limit (viz. 24). In the new

Provincial Diet the Czech and Jewish Centralist Parties have only 5 seats as against the 4 held by the Opposition.

Special mention is due to the fact that in Pozsony (Bratislava), the Capital of Slovakia, the Magyar list received 16,064 votes, that being 30% of all the valid votes cast. This result is of peculiar interest in view of the recent Czech Census showing the town to contain only 16.2% Magyars. And yet the Magyar list proved to be the strongest, the party following next in order — the Czech Social-Democrat Party — having polled only 7716 votes. At Kassa, where according to the Czech Census the proportion of Magyars is only 18%, no fewer than 9735 electors voted for the Magyar list, that being 34.4% of the total number of votes cast. At Munkács also, the most populous town in Ruthenia, the two Magyar parties received the largest proportion of votes, that proportion representing 29.99% of the total number of votes cast, — though the Census admits the existence of only 22.54% Magyars. These figures too are a striking proof of the unreliable character of the Czecho-Slovak Censuses.

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As we foresaw in our last issue, the crisis brought into being by the parliamentary elections has been solved by continuing to keep the German Government parties somewhat reduced in strength as Members of the Government Coalition, the only other party admitted to that coalition being the Czech Industrial Party. The majority thus constituted comprises only 166 votes, as against the 134 votes of the Opposition. The new Malypetr Cabinet includes Nájman, head of the Czech Industrial Party, who has been given the portfolio of Minister of Commerce. The other changes in persons or portfolios are quite immaterial. The German Christian Socialists, whom it was also desired to give a share in the Government, declined the honour, saying that "at the present moment there is no trace of the conditions without which the Germans would be unable by co-operation with the Government and the majority to guarantee more ef-

fectively than before the constitutional rights of the Germans living within the State". Nor did the negotiations with the Slovak People's Party lead to any result. In the columns of the "Slovak", the organ of the Party, Deputy Sidor explains this fact by saying that the Party is mistrustful, does not believe in promises, and is not satisfied merely with portfolios and with no serious guarantees in respect of the improvement of the economic situation in Slovakia and of the Slovak national position generally. The reports which spoke of the probability of Malypetr while forming his Cabinet negotiating with Henlein — the hero of the parliamentary elections — have not been verified by events. Still less did Malypetr suggest any discussions with the representatives of the two Magyar parties, the "Cinderellas" of Czech parliamentarism.

*

The programme of the new Malypetr Cabinet, submitted at the opening of Parliament to both Houses of the National Assembly, does not contain anything suggesting a change in Czecho-Slovakia's foreign policy or in her attitude towards the nationalities. Therefore Mr. Géza Szüllő, addressing the Cabinet as the spokesman of the Hungarian parties, was perfectly justified in stating that the new government had failed to draw any conclusions from the elections. *Both Hungarian parties are decided to go on claiming the right of national self-determination.* The speaker of the Sudetic German Party declared that his party was ready to accept all obligations towards the State, but that *he demanded in return the carrying into effect of all the rights assured to the Germans in the Constitution, emphasising that he would continue fighting not only for these rights, but also for their amplification. The party does not consider the surrender, of one or two seats in the Cabinet sufficient to bring about a complete understanding between the nationalities. The Sudetic Germans are never going to sever the ties and relations connecting them with the entity of the German nation and the conservation of their nationality will remain for ever their chief concern.*

CONSTANT STRENGTHENING OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL TIES BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

At the Press Conference held in the Austrian Chancellery on April 26th, Hans Pernter, Austrian Minister of Education, made some interesting statements respecting the strengthening of the cultural ties between Austria and Hungary. "The close cultural co-operation between Austria and Hungary" — he said — "is based upon the cultural convention recently concluded between the two countries. We are at present engaged in preparing the way for as extensive an effectuation as possible of the provisions of that convention. Next autumn we shall already make a beginning with the exchange of professors. We are looking forward with the greatest interest to the Hungarian proposals in connection with the Vienna University... In territorial matters there are already connections of a most lively character, so that there is but little to be done towards still further strengthening the ties in this field... In this respect it will suffice to refer to our Opera, which may already be spoken of as to all practical intents and purposes a "partner" of the Royal Hungarian Opera... The Burgtheater too maintains a lively connection with the Hungarian National Theatre; for Director Röbbeling is still in

Budapest, acting as stage-manager in that Theatre. In addition, our co-operation in the field of music will also be expanded by the broadcasting services of Vienna and Budapest augmenting their respective exchange programmes."

A fresh proof of the exceptionally cordial and friendly relations existing between the cities of Vienna and of Budapest and also between Austria and Hungary generally, was offered recently by the visit of Charles Szendy, Mayor of Budapest, to his Vienna colleague, Mayor Richard Schmitz, who returned the visit on May 5th. On the latter occasion the Municipality of Budapest gave a dinner in honour of the Mayor of Vienna and his suite.

On the occasion of the Whitsuntide International Flying Tour, Prince Starhemberg, Vice-Chancellor of Austria, having come by airplane to Budapest, called upon Prime Minister Gömbös. In political and diplomatic circles great importance is attached to this meeting of the two statesmen. From the fact of the conversations having lasted two hours, it may certainly be conjectured that the visit was by no means a mere

act of courtesy but that Vice-Chancellor availed himself of the opportunity to discuss with the Hungarian Premier questions relating to the Central-European problem in general. Seeing that, the Rome Conference has been postponed and will perhaps not be held at all, and in consideration of the circumstance of Italy's foreign interests being centred at present elsewhere, it seems of the utmost importance that the two States specially interested in the Danube Conference should now try to strengthen the bonds of Central-European co-operation so to say in their own domains, assuring thus, as far as possible, a continuation of this policy independently of other European events.

On June 18th, Major Emil Fey, Austrian Min-

ister, delivered a lecture before the Hungarian Society of Foreign Affairs on the re-organisation of Austria on the lines of a "Ständestaat". During his stay in Hungary Major Fey was received by the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy in Kenderes, his country seat. The Austrian Minister also called upon the Hungarian Premier and the Minister of Home Affairs. On this occasion he handed over to several high military dignitaries and officials decorations conferred upon them by the Chancellor of Austria.

Herr Schuschnigg, Chancellor of Austria, assisted as a guest of Count Francis Esterházy at the excellent open-air performance of "Tannhäuser" in the Park of Tata, the seat of Count Esterházy. Wagner's opera was performed before a huge and select audience.

FRIENDLY TEMPER OF NEGOTIATIONS OF YUGOSLAV-HUNGARIAN FRONTIER AUTHORITIES

Under the Yugoslav-Hungarian Convention recently concluded the frontier authorities of the two States hold periodical *pourparlers* for the purpose of discussing questions connected with the frontier trade. A conference of the kind was held recently at Nagykanizsa. The delegates of the two States discussed the complaints filed by the owners of landed estates which were cut up by the new State frontiers, as also the conditions governing criminal inquiries. Both Parties displayed the utmost courtesy during the

discussions. It was agreed that conferences should be held more frequently in the future, and that proceedings should be taken in a spirit of friendly reciprocity in all cases where the joint action of the authorities was needed. Minutes of the discussions were taken, the minutes being signed by the delegates of both States. The agreements were immediately put into force. The Hungarian delegates entertained their Yugoslav colleagues to supper, speeches being made on both sides on this occasion.

HERR GÖRING'S VISIT IN BULGARIA

Several organs of the West-European press have drawn absolutely wrong conclusions from the honeymoon trip to the Balkans of the Prussian Prime Minister, Herr Göring, and from the warm welcome he received in Sofia. The post-war foreign policy of Bulgaria may be summed up as follows: — Bulgaria wishes to maintain the friendliest relations with all States, keeping, however, a free hand in her foreign policy. There is no cause whatever to suppose that the German Statesman's visit has caused Bulgaria to change her political course, especially if we take into consideration that, in respect of the present situation in Europe, Germany has certainly more important and practical questions to think of for the time being. The friendly reception accorded to Herr Göring was only a natural consequence of Bulgaria's having for decades maintained most friendly relations with Germany, being besides — and this is the decisive

factor — economically dependent on the German Empire, seeing that 45% of Bulgaria's exports and imports are linked up with Germany. The strength of this bond of friendship is secured by Germany's goodwill, reciprocated fully by Bulgaria. In heartily welcoming Herr Göring, the Sofia Government merely wished to signalise that, in economic respects, they were anxious to count on Germany in future too. This is of the utmost importance for the country, seeing that the policy of self-provision followed in several European States makes the placing of Bulgarian products extremely difficult. By exercising a certain pressure, these States had hoped to be able to monopolise the Bulgarian market, regardless of the fact that such one-sidedness might possibly have an injurious effect on the future development of their relations with Bulgaria.

— "y" —

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THIS YEAR HUNGARIAN ACTORS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO PLAY FOR ONLY 3 DAYS IN CAPITAL OF SLOVAKIA

In these columns repeated mention has been made of the distressing position of Hungarian dramatic art in Czecho-Slovakia. So, for instance, in the capital

of Slovakia, Pozsony (Bratislava), where at the last elections nearly one third of the inhabitants cast their votes for the Magyar parties, Hungarian actors are usually allowed to play but 37 days, — and that in mid-summer, during the dog-days. This year, however, Hungarian actors had to content themselves with 3 days, in consequence of the Municipality having decided to have the necessary repairs of the theatre effected during the very period for which the Municipal Theatre had been reserved for the use of Hungarian companies.

— "y" —

SUPPRESSION OF LEADING PRESS-ORGAN OF RUTHENIAN AUTONOMISTS

Some time ago we reported that the District Court of Ungvár had given judgment to the effect that the "Ruski Vistnik", the press-organ of the Autonomous Ruthenian Association of Labourers (the Kurtyák-Party) was *not* to be suppressed. However, now that the parliamentary elections are over, the Prefect of Ruthenia has, regardless of this finding, suppressed the paper in question for six months. The silencing of the leading organ of the autonomists has caused much bitterness in Ruthenia.

SLOVAK CHILD PUT UP FOR SALE

In the April 5th issue of the Paris "Le Matin" we hear of one John Izakovitch, a 31 years old Slovak emigrant to France from Pudmerice, Slovakia, having sold his 2 years old daughter, Josephine, for 20 francs after having tried in vain to find some employment. The French daily also publishes the photograph of the child.

Now we read in the May 24th evening issue of the "Národní Listy", the leading press-organ of the Czech nationalists, a communiqué on the last meeting of the Association of the Československá Jednota (Czecho-Slovak Unity), from which we quote the following lines: "To be frank, we are bound to confess that the number of young men emigrating from Slovakia is increasing and that of late there have been cases of "farmers"¹ bringing young girls too to Prague. In each case an investigation by the communities, notaries and gendarmerie-authorities has been requested. The reports of these authorities are exceedingly unfavourable. In Slovakia misery prevails, and parents are glad to get rid of their children, besides getting 20 Czech Crowns monthly from the „farmers“.

This statement of an Association called upon to guard over Czecho-Slovak reciprocity, speaks volumes of the misery prevailing in the territories severed from Hungary, which has increased to a degree forcing Slovak parents to sell their children.

— "y" —

R U M A N I A

MINISTER ANGELESCU EXCELS IN INTOLERANCE

Dr. C. Angelescu, Minister of Education, during a tour in Szekler-land early in May visited the State school of the village of *Nyárádszereda* (Miercurea-Niraj). The notice in Rumanian and Magyar fixed on the door of the school which said that "*it is forbidden to enter the classroom during hours of teaching*" the Minister tore down with his own hand, — merely because it contained also Magyar words. Minister Angelescu's action — in a village like *Nyárádszereda*, which is almost entirely Magyar, the 1920 Rumanian Census too showing that of its total number of inhabitants (1437) only 53 were Rumanians, 1203 being Magyars — is a proof of extreme intolerance. It is easy to conceive the exceptional intolerance likely to

¹ Persons engaged in the white-slave traffic. (Ed.)

be shown in consequence by the underlings in the service of the Minister of Education in their treatment of the Magyar language ("Ellenzék", May 7th, 1935)

SOMETHING OF INTEREST TO ALEXANDER VAJDA

In Hungary the post of President of the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bureau falling vacant recently by the appointment as Secretary of State of Stephen Winchkler, was given to *Ivan Serbán*, brother of Cornel Serbán, the Orthodox priest of Rumanian race who is Dean of Borosjenő (Ineu). It is also well known that *John Bud*, who not long ago was in office in Hungary as Minister of Finance, has near relations in Máramaros County — Rumanian priests, other intellectuals and even farmers. In the days of the "numerus valachicus" it is really opportune to mention these instances and to remind Alexander Vajda and his friends of their importance at a time when in Rumania Magyars are being driven away in large numbers from their posts. Quite recently, for instance, in Arad and Kolozsvár it was made law that inkeepers and owners of restaurants are allowed to employ only waiters of Rumanian nationality ("Bras-sói Lapok", May 15th.). A few weeks ago, by order of the Postmaster-General, all postmen of other than Rumanian nationality were dismissed, the result being that in certain villages there are no deliveries at all. These latter include also the village of Gyér (Gier) inhabited solely by Magyars and Germans, where there is not a single Rumanian to undertake the office of postman, so that everybody has to go personally to the post-office for letters. ("Déli Hírlap", May 25th.). Not a single Rumanian doctor has applied for any of the posts of village health officers, while Dr. Costinescu, Minister of Public Health, refuses to appoint persons belonging to the non-Rumanian minorities. ("Ellenzék", May 26th.). Under a recent ordinance issued by the Minister of the Interior all villages are required to employ 1 policeman for every 100 inhabitants, but all the policemen must be of Rumanian nationality. ("Keleti Újság", May 15th.).

SEVERE SENTENCE ON LEADING HUNGARIAN JOURNALIST

The tribunal of Kolozsvár has sentenced Mr. Stephen Sulyok, former deputy and editor, to 3 months hard labour and a fine of 3000 Lei for having agitated against the State. Mr. Sulyok's offence consisted in his having translated an article from one of the Saxon newspapers, publishing it afterwards in the "Keleti Újság". ("Erdélyi Lapok", May 28th.)

Y U G O S L A V I A

PROTEST BY ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF ZAGREB, CARDINAL ANTHONY BAUER

The Vienna "Reichspost" publishes a lengthy report on the journey to Belgrade of the Roman Catholic Cardinal, Dr. Anthony Bauer and the Greek-Catholic Bishop, Dr. Nyárády, these two Church dignitaries having travelled there in order to protest most energetically before the Regency and the members of the Government against the continuous chicanery

and intolerable persecutions to which the Catholics of Croatia are being subjected, asking at the same time for protection against (and for the urgent redress of) the abuses and brutalities of the gendarmerie. The "Reichspost" also publishes an exhaustive summary of the Memorandum addressed by the venerable Cardinal Bauer, who is absolutely unconcerned in political movements, to the Regent, Prince Paul, in which he enumerates in detail the atrocities committed by the police and gendarmerie against the Croat and Hungarian Catholics living in Croatia, atrocities in the course of which a number of people have lost their lives.

— "y" —

CURIOUS PRODUCT OF YUGOSLAV PRESS-CENSORSHIP

One of the first steps taken by the Dictatorship, declared on January 6th, 1929, was the abolition of the liberty of the press and the inauguration of a strict censorship. Ever since the press, and in particular the press of the Hungarian Minority, has been in an extremely difficult position, being allowed to print only articles and news previously approved by the censorship, or else material foisted upon the press by the authorities or by the official press agencies. As a matter of course it is forbidden to write about the grievances, the complaints and legitimate claims of the minorities. Below, we offer our readers a fine instance of the activity developed by the press-censorship in regard to the Hungarian press. Some time ago the "Napló", a Hungarian daily issued in Subotica (Szabadka) published an article describing the author's journey through the Danube Banate. Mention was made, among other things, of the village Horgos, of its famous red-pepper plantations, of its red-pepper mills, and of the fact (surely of importance economically) that the red-pepper grown in Horgos is beginning to take the place, in foreign markets, of Cayenne pepper. However, the article was foolhardy enough to inform the readers at the same time of Horgos being a village inhabited mostly by Magyars, having but few Serb inhabitants, settled here but recently. The Yugoslav public prosecutors detected a dangerous tendency in this absolutely innocent article, and, with reference to the Defence of the State Act, ordered the seizure of the respective issue of the "Napló", motivating this procedure with the following humorous decision:

From the Public Prosecutor's Office of Subotica. K. S. 1639/1935.

In the action against the responsible editor of the "Napló", a daily published in Subotica, I have taken the following decision:

On the basis of article 7 of paragraph 19 and of paragraph 21 of the Press-Law, as well as of paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the Act of January 6th 1929 amending the Press-Law, further with reference to paragraph 3 of the Defence of the State Act of March 6th 1929, I herewith prohibit the sale and propagation of the May 21st, 1935, No. 140 issue of the "Napló".

Motivation:

In the above mentioned issue of the newspaper in question an article was printed entitled "My Discovery of the Danube Banate" in which mention is made of red-pepper plants grown in Horgos and of the inhabitants of the village. Everybody knows that red-pepper is a Hungarian speciality, that the majority of the inhabitants of Horgos are of Hungarian nationality and that red-pepper, being strong, is considered a symbol of strength and power of resistance. If we peruse the article in the light of these facts,

taking into account its unusual title, we may well have the impression that the author thereof — as a pleasant surprise to himself — has discovered in the people of Horgos a people of Magyar race, tenacious and strong. The author thus imparts the pleasant discovery he has made to the reader. Obviously this information is likely to encourage in the readers the conviction that the Hungarians are tenacious and strong and that this is why order does not and cannot reign in our State. Further the article may well serve to induce the other Hungarians to follow the example set by the inhabitants of Horgos, impeding with their resistance the inner consolidation of this State.

Subotica, May 21st 1935.

(Seal)

(signed) Sava Radulović.

(signed) Illegible signature
for the Public Prosecutor.

Any comment seems superfluous, and would only spoil the comic effect of this most curious decision. However, this ridiculous affair has also a serious aspect, when we consider that the press of the Hungarian Minority and other minorities depends on people with such tortuous brains!

— "y" —

LANGUAGE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES NOT IN FORCE IN CLERGY TRAINING EITHER

Bishop Louis Budánovitch, administrator of the Bácska Roman Catholic (Serb) diocese, where at least 85% of the Catholics are Magyars or Germans, about the middle of May addressed a circular letter to the Roman Catholic curés and parishes under his control informing them that this year students will be admitted once more to the seminary and the faculty of theology. The circular letter also notifies the addressees that the seminarists will be placed in the seminary at Travnik in Bosnia, where — and this in the "rub" — instruction will be given in the language of the Church, the only other language to be used for the purpose being the official language of the State, the students being forbidden to use their mother tongues even in personal intercourse with one another. The Magyar and German minorities have therefore to defend themselves against the slavising efforts, not only of the State and local government authorities, but also of the prelates of their own Church. The Magyar members of the Roman Catholic Church have already repeatedly begged Bishop Budánovitch to establish a seminary using Magyar as the language of instruction, as also the adjustment of the training of the clergy in a manner respecting the language rights of the Magyar minority; but so far their applications have been left unanswered. The bishop, whose pan-Slav leanings are notorious, has actually gone so far as to suspend the autonomy of the Zenta Inner Ward Roman Catholic Parish for energetically urging the establishment of a Magyar Clergy Training College, annulling the results of the vestry elections and refusing to ordain the holding of fresh elections.

B O O K S

„*The Blue Danube*“ by Bernhard Newman (Jenkins)

This book contains an interesting description of the author's long journey on the Danube, from the Black Forest down to the Black Sea. He characterises with surprising accuracy the conditions prevailing at present in the Danubian States, his descriptions being the more interesting when we consider that Mr. Newman did not avail himself of the help of official guides but formed his judgement on the real state of things from personal experience.

He travelled without a hitch through Germany and Austria, the first difficulties arising on the Czecho-Slovak frontier, where entrance was refused to his bicycle. Arguments having proved of no use, Mr. Newman finally persuaded the customs officer by a terrible threat to the effect that he would not say a single word on Czecho-Slovakia in the book he was about to write. "That finished the argument, no parvenu could ever refuse publicity." Mr. Newman's experiences in regard to the nationality of the inhabitants of Czecho-Slovakia are noteworthy. He was able to prove on the spot that "... along the southern frontier of Czecho-Slovakia there is a continuous fringe of Magyar-German population, and permanent friendship between the old nation and the new is quite impossible until this problem is tackled." He further establishes the fact that Pozsony (Bratislava) is a city of Hungarian and German character and that the other town situated on the Danube. "Komarno spells tragedy for Hungarians. It is more Hungarian than Bratislava, yet now it is in Czechoslovakia!" Then he continues: "For all practical purposes, Komarno is situated on both sides of the river, the two parts connected by an iron bridge a quarter of a mile long. The position is ridiculous; business men have their shops in one country and their residences in another."

On the Yugoslav frontier Mr. Newman was received by a customs officer with the following question: „Any tobacco, any alcohol, any bombs?“ A short stay in the country was sufficient for him to clearly recognise the importance of internal dissension that have made Yugoslavia Europe's danger spot, likely to cause a conflagration at any moment "There are — continues Mr. Newman — wide differences in political outlook. Croats are far in advance of the Serbs in intellectual and economic development. The culture of Zagreb, the Croat capital, is outstandingly in front of that of Belgrade. The Croats imagined themselves as entering the new kingdom of the southern Slavs as a partner; instead, they find themselves treated only as a minority. Balkan minorities have been the occasion of world wars." "And it is only fair to add one thing — that in spite of the abuse heaped on the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, its subject peoples are infinitely in advance in every way of their cousins with whom their destinies are now joined. I heard, not once but a hundred times, a lament for the "good old days" — from Slavs!" Referring to the murderous attempt at Marseilles, the author says: "The assassination would have taken place if Hungary had never existed, and every responsible man knows it."

As to the corruption prevailing in Rumania, Mr. Newman had the following experiences "It appears that in Rumania, whose financial troubles are even greater than ours, practically all officials are grossly underpaid; naturally many of them seek to rectify this by adding to their income by means of bribes. Police

and frontier guards in particular are corrupt beyond belief. The "Will you smoke?" method is that most usually employed. After finding some imaginary flaw in your papers, the officer passes you his cigarette-case with the usual invitation. He then absents himself for a minute or two, so that you have time to place a 500-lei note (equal to about L 1) in the cigarette-case. After that all difficulties disappear. At first I could not credit that the corruption was on the scale described to me, but unfortunately I found it to be very true. Times without number I was halted by the police for no reason whatsoever; I was detained for anything up to two hours; always I was asked to have a smoke; one man had the effrontery to offer me his cigarette-case with no cigarettes in it!" (P. 152—153.) Later on we read on the same subject: "There is something rotten in the state of Rumania. Bribery and corruption are rife and — what is worse — are accepted as inevitable." (P. 269.) He does not think much of the Rumanian army owing to its being composed of men of various nationalities: "In a phrase, the present Rumanian army has all the inherent weakness, of the pre-war heterogeneous Austro-Hungarian army, with none of its strength. Nor can an Englishman be expected to admire the facial make-up of some of the Rumanian officers. I saw several well powdered and lipsticked."

In Bulgaria Mr. Newman was accorded an extremely courteous and friendly reception by the authorities. Here the sort of blackmail he was exposed to in Rumania is absolutely unknown. He heard much about the injustices committed against Bulgaria in the Treaty of Neuilly.

Hungary is seen by the author in a very favourable light, the pleasantest impressions of his whole trip being connected with this country. "... there are two races in Europe on which a unanimous opinion is possible; I have never met anyone who has failed to like Scandinavians or Magyars. I have wandered in fifteen different European countries, but have never met such universal courtesy as in Hungary." He discusses at length the injustices and the losses Hungary had to suffer under the Treaty of Trianon. He found that in all parts of the country the Hungarians showed a marked predilection for the English, this sympathy reaching far back into the past and manifesting itself especially during the Great War, when British subjects confined in Hungary were allowed every comfort and even permitted to celebrate British victories.

All things considered, the book is very interesting and instructive reading, the author being an excellent observer whose sharp eye detects at once the real state of affairs. Travellers intending to visit Central Europe will do well to first read this work written on the basis of abundant personal experience.

—"y"

„*Československá otázka*“ (The Czecho-Slovak Question), by Iván Derér, Praha, XII., Vlakadatel'stva Orbis, 1935.

Under the above title Ivan Derér, Czecho-Slovak Minister of Justice, has issued a collected edition of the speeches, addresses, statements and articles delivered or made or written by him respectively recently on the Czecho-Slovak question or on subjects connected therewith. His statements relating to the Czech-German question, the Hungarian problem and the

affairs of Ruthenia, he proposes to publish later in a separate volume.

The author is one of the most fanatical advocates of the idea of a Czecho-Slovak national unity and of the centralism of Prague, while being at the same time one of the bitterest opponents of the Slovak autonomist endeavours and of what he is pleased to call "Hungarism". This is the spirit with which the whole book is imbued from beginning to end. Nevertheless, in more than one place in the book we come across several statements — or perhaps "slips of the tongue" only — which speak rather against than for his political principles. Of extreme interest, for example, is what he has to say about the relation between the Slovaks and the State. "When we survey" — he writes — "the whole course of the history of Slovakia from the fall of the Great Moravian Empire, ... we cannot but establish the fact that the Slovaks as such never desired anything at all like an independent State existence... Later on, when after the French Revolution and the national awakening of the Hungarian nation the Slovaks too awoke to national consciousness, that feeling never went so far as to desire a peculiar — it not absolutely independent — form of State calculated to further their selfassertion. While forming part of the Hungarian State the Slovaks never formulated any demand calculated to give them an independent State life. The formulas passed by the revolutionary assembly held at Liptószentmiklós on May 10th, 1848, expressly acknowledged the integrity of Hungary; they demanded a common assembly (parliament) of all the nations of Hungary, stipulating at the same time only that there should be a separate Slovak Diet to be nothing more than a national council deputed to deal "with national and public welfare matters". The Memorandum of 1861 also accepted as basis the integrity of Hungary, desiring the organisation of the "Slovak District of Upper Hungary" only as an administrative formation to ensure the autonomous political, juridical and scholastic administration of the district. And the demand for the establishment of an "Upper Hungarian Slovak District" was not maintained long. After 1868 the Slovaks confined themselves in Hungary to demanding the carrying into effect of the so-called "Nationality Act", — contending themselves with insisting on the enforcement of the use on a very modest scale of the Slovak language in the State and in local administration, in the administration of justice, and in education, that to be done without prejudicing the unity of the Hungarian State. In other words, the awakening of the Slovaks to national consciousness was not followed either in the nineteenth century or later by any manifestation in the life of the Slovaks — either politically or socially or in their literature — of an endeavour to realise an independent Slovak State form. To speak familiarly, it never occurred to the Slovaks even if their dreams to wish to establish a separate Slovak State — or even to found a separate existence in a position of subordination to some bigger State formation, as the Croatsians, for example, did with their non-independent kingdom" (pp. 53—54). In the above passage quoted from his book Dérer shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Slovaks never desired to be separated from Hungary. No ambitions of the kind were ever entertained even by those Slovaks whom Dérer calls "self-conscious" Slovaks and who were known to the Hungarian public opinion of the day as "pan-Slavs". And indeed Dérer himself makes no attempt to deny that this group of Slovaks constituted only an insignificant fraction of the Slovak people. In the opinion of this friend of the Slovaks the factors

at work in Slovak history between 1867 and 1918 — and even previously to 1867 — were the following:

1. "The vast majority of the Slovak people possess no national consciousness. The successors of the vassals of olden days possess a strong denominational feeling ("I am a Catholic" or "I am Evangelical" and a strong State consciousness ("I am a Hungarian"); but generally speaking they have no Slovak national consciousness at all. It is only locally, in individual towns and districts, that the lower classes too have awaked to national consciousness. But that is the exception; the rule is an absolute lack of such consciousness." 2. "The intellectuals born of Slovak parents have mostly become denationalised, regarding themselves as a part of the Hungarian nation, many of them indeed being more chauvinistic Hungarians than those who are Magyars by birth. Here too we see the truth of the old saw that a man turned Turk is worse than a native Turk." 3. "The intellectuals sprung from the Slovak people are but an insignificant fraction of that people; while the section of the Slovak lower classes possessing national self-consciousness is only a very trifling one" (p. 15).

From all this it may be seen that prior to 1919 — as ascertained by Dérer, Minister of Justice of Czecho-Slovakia — the vast majority of the Slovaks differed from the Hungarian nation only ethnically and linguistically, while politically the Slovaks were absolutely at one with that nation and indeed often fought more fanatically for the political ideas of that nation than the Hungarians who belonged ethnically to the Hungarian nation. According to Seton Watson, to whose definitions Dérer repeatedly refers, there were certainly not more than 1000 "self-conscious" Slovak families in pre-War Hungary.

Under such circumstances it is really no wonder that the idea of "Hungarism" is still alive in the minds of vast masses of the Slovak nation. It is against this "Hungarism" that Dérer is fighting. "My political and publicistic activity has been a consistent struggle against Hungarism and Magyarism (friendship for Hungary). It is no mere fight against windmills." (p. 33). And it really is not, as was shown on the occasion of the scandals incidental to the Pribina celebrations at Nyitra in August, 1933, of which we read in Dérer's book (p. 282) that "the celebrations were arranged as a formidable manifestation of Czecho-Slovak solidarity in face of the Hungarian revisionist endeavours. Premier Malypetr read President Masaryk's message and Dr. Kmet'ko Bishop of Nyitra, that of the Pope. The festive meeting was attended by more than 50,000 persons from every part of Slovakia. The adherents of the Slovak People's Party and of the Slovak National Party shouted and sang with a view to disturbing proceedings and clamoured loudly until they had compelled Monsignor Hlinka to read the "Nyitra Declaration concerning the Sovereignty of the Slovak People". This incident had disagreeable consequences in foreign countries too, where the elements antagonistic to our State quoted the incident as evidence of the chaotic conditions prevailing in our country. And it is a fact that the demonstrations of the People's and National Parties at Nyitra did not help particularly to encourage the friendly attitude of Hungary, Italy and Poland towards Czecho-Slovakia".

The very title of Dérer's book is an admission that there is still a Czecho-Slovak question which has not yet been settled. The Slovaks no doubt include also a "Czecho-Slovak" group, one of the leaders of which is Dérer himself; but there is another group too with purely Slovak national principles and a third group

contemptuously referred to as "hungarists" and "magyarons": indeed, according to Dérer "Hungarism" exercises a powerful influence also on the second group. Dérer's work itself is the most striking proof imaginable of the considerable importance attached to

this "Hungarism" by the Czecho-Slovak Government. The relative strengths of the three groups in Slovakia would have to be ascertained by an impartial plebiscite.

—"y"

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

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA'S ECONOMIC POLICY MAKES UNFAVOURABLE IMPRESSION ABROAD

In the June 4th issue of the Prague periodical „Die Wirtschaft" we find an interesting article on the changed attitude towards Czecho-Slovakia of the government and economic circles of Vienna. This distinguished press-organ warns Prague of the evil consequences which must necessarily follow upon the foreclosure of the Commercial Treaty between Czecho-Slovakia and Austria.

The relentless selfishness of Prague in making the most of the present situation, in spite of competent circles being fully aware of the economic-political pressure weighing on the Austrian Government, is being judged very unfavourably in Vienna. The foreign-trade balance of Austria for the year 1934 closed with a deficit of 100 million Schillings. The Austrian Government wished to raise Austria's quota of exports by 30 millions, whereupon Prague answered with an offer of 3 millions, raising this sum after much bartering to 7 millions. In Vienna people have not yet forgotten that a few years ago Prague refused to grant the Austrian National Bank a credit for wages in Czech crowns, but demanded the wages to be paid out in dollars.

The last visit of M. Dostálek, Czecho-Slovak Minister of Commerce, also made a very bad impression on the members of the Vienna Government, because M. Dostálek — obviously for political reasons, in order to avoid the foreclosure of the Czecho-Slovak Commercial Treaty previous to the elections — entered into engagements which, upon reaching home, he forgot to fulfil. That was why Baron Berger-Waldenegg travelled to Czecho-Slovakia; however, the ever cautious Dr. Beneš, carefully avoiding any discussion of affairs connected with commercial relations, a solution could not be reached. The Austrian Government, mindful of the interests of the population of the provinces where the inhabitants have an opportunity of selling their cattle under favourable conditions in the German market, see themselves forced to consider the foreclosure of the Czech commercial treaty, being compelled to consider this eventuality also by the speech of Herr von Papen, printed and diffused in many thousands of copies. Thus Czecho-Slovakia is threatened with the danger of losing the Austrian coal-market, surrendering her place to Germany.

At the same time the measures taken by the Rumanian Government have been made public in Prague, those measures putting into force a premium of 44% on exchange dealings in Czecho-Slovak-Romanian relations, influencing most unfavourably Czecho-Slovakia's ability, to compete because these measures do not extend to Austria, Hungary, Poland

and Germany. Rumania has even gone so far as to draw the attention of those applying at the National Bank for foreign means of payment to the circumstance that, in the event of their making purchases in Germany, the necessary foreign exchanges will be placed at their disposal immediately. Public opinion in Prague has been very much disturbed by these measures; and a retaliation seems unlikely because in the course of the coming economic year Czecho-Slovakia will not be in want of agrarian products.

Czecho-Slovakia is threatened with a similar treatment on the part of South Africa, seeing that her trade-balance in dealings with that State too has a considerable surplus to show and Africa refuses to tolerate this situation any longer. Thus, should a commercial treaty not be concluded, Czecho-Slovakia is in danger of having to accept, as from the end of the year, supplementary customs of 25—250%.

—"y"

STATISTICAL DATA OF BANKRUPTCIES IN 1934.

According to a report of the Association of Czecho-Slovak Creditors, in 1934 the number of compulsory compositions was 2049 (as against 3859 on 1933), while the number of bankruptcies was 1261 (as against 1539 in 1933). The Report emphasises that the decrease of insolvencies cannot be considered a sign of any amelioration of the economic situation, it being mainly a consequence of the restriction of credits and of the protection against foreclosure extended to farmers and unemployed. The fact that bankruptcies decreased in a smaller measure than compulsory compositions, is due to the strictness with which tax-arrears were collected.

—"y"

H U N G A R Y

HARVEST PROSPECTS

According to private estimates, this year's wheat-crop will be about 20.3 million metric quintals as against last year's 17.6 millions. In Produce-Exchange circles, this year's crop of wheat is estimated at about 21.3 million metric quintals.

—"y"

MARKETING ABROAD OF HUNGARY'S EXPORT-SURPLUS

Since the end of 1930 no regular Commercial Treaty had been concluded between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia: early in June this state of affairs came to an end, an agreement based on the principle of the "most favoured nation clause" having been concluded between the two States. This agreement makes it possible for Hungary to import goods to the value of about 80 million Czech crowns. In regard to agri-

cultural exportation, the main quotas are as follows: 23,000 pigs, 7000 sheep, 300 horses, 25 truck-loads of eggs, 3 truck-loads of carps, 200 truck-loads of fat and lard, 12,000 hectolitres of wine, 10 truck-loads of red-pepper, 200 truck-loads of millet, 25 truck-loads of lentils, 10 truck-loads of poppy, 10 truck-loads of peas, 200 truck-loads of beans, 5 truck-loads of peaches, 120 truck-loads of apples, 100 truck-loads of apricots, 100 truck-loads of water-melons and 50 truck-loads of garlic. The agreement will come into force in the course of July.

With Italy too Hungary has come to a perfect understanding, an agreement having been concluded on the basis of the Rome-agreement, while with Austria negotiations are still going on. In the previous year Hungary had no Commercial Treaty with Switzerland; however for the present year she has succeeded in concluding an agreement with that country according to which Switzerland is to take over a certain percentage of the export surplus, — not a fixed quantity, that being of greater advantage to Hungary. As to the exchange of goods with Germany, Hungary has to export 1000 truck-loads of lard. 660 truck-loads have been exported already, besides 81 truck-loads of bacon. Thus the quantity fixed by agreement has been exceeded by 270 truck-loads.

According to a statement made by Dr. Kálmán Darányi, Hungarian Minister of Agriculture, at the General Meeting of the Agricultural Chamber in Debrecen, the problem of the marketing of Hungary's export-surplus has at last, for the moment, found a solution.

—“y”

RUMANIA

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION OF RUMANIA

Rumania is in a very serious condition both economically and financially. Her foreign trade is threatened with bankruptcy, a circumstance due principally to Rumania having gone too far in the direction of autarchy. For the protection of her primitive industry — which is barely able to supply 25% of the needs of the home market — she has raised her customs tariff on so enormous a scale as to make import trade impossible and actually ended by incurring the anger of the industrial States, which have in consequence boycotted Rumanian raw materials. In addition this protectionism has brought about so considerable an increase of the prices of industrial products in the country itself as to render the agricultural classes — 85% of the total population — quite incapable of effecting any purchases at all. In 1929 the national income of Rumania amounted to 11,546 lei per head of population; by 1933 this quota had sunk to 5,327 lei.

The revenue of the State also shows an enormous decline. Thus, the receipts under the head of customs between 1929 and 1933 decreased from 5,718,000,000 to 1,886,000,000 lei. This state of things naturally led to an upheaval in the Rumanian balance of payments which resulted in the Government taking measures that have veritably paralysed the economic life of the country. The re-valued Zürich quotation of the Rumanian leu (2.75 Swiss centimes = 1 leu) led to an increase in inland prices which resulted in serious disturbances in the economic life of Rumania, — disturbances still further enhanced in their effects by the stabilisation of the leu at 3.10 Swiss centimes. For the purpose of maintaining this rate of exchange taxes were raised 20%; while the Act put into force

on May 18th, 1932, required all Rumanian nationals under pain of severe penalties to surrender all foreign exchanges in their possession to the National Bank. The result of this measure was that the leading factories were unable to pay for the foreign raw materials they needed and were compelled in succession to close down. Foreign countries did not receive the interest or sinking fund payments due on loans, — this question having to be adjusted by the Paris Agreement concluded in June, 1934.

The debts owing by the farmer classes made bankrupt by the slump in corn prices were adjusted under the Conversion Act dated April 7th, 1934, which provided that the debts of agrarian debtors should be reduced by 30—50%, the arrears to be paid — together with interest at the rate of 3% per annum — in 34 half-yearly instalments. It goes without saying that this Act plunged the banks into a disastrous situation. That is why the bank question had also to be adjusted by the Act of April 28th, 1934.

For the past year and a half experiments of all kinds have been made in Rumania for the purpose of discovering the best system for the adjustment of foreign trade; but so far without success. In the meantime negotiations are being carried on with Rumania's creditors — though those creditors threaten to stop all discussion of the matter. And, to make the financial and foreign trade chaos complete, the Banca Nationala is at present engaged in investigating the working of the systems of foreign trade in force in countries whose conditions make those systems quite out of place in Rumania. Though it is certainly true that so far too the fault has not lain with the systems, but with the application of the same — with the manner of abuses and the assertion of illegitimate influences.

RUMANIA REFUSES TO PAY HER ENGLISH CREDITORS

According to the agreement concluded in regard to the debts contracted by Rumanian merchants in England, the first instalment, L 60,000, would have had to be paid now. The Rumanian Government, however, has suspended the amortisation on the plea that the National Bank has not available adequate foreign means of payment. Mr. Runciman, British Minister of Commerce, has now addressed a letter to the Rumanian Minister of Commerce, M. Manolescu-Strunga, protesting against the non-fulfilment of the obligations and informing the Minister of the opinion of British merchants on the proceedings of the Rumanians.

—“y”

YUGOSLAVIA

MORATORIUM GRANTED TO FIRST CROAT SAVINGSBANK

The Government has granted a moratorium to the First Croat Savings-Bank regarding all engagements entered into previous to April 23rd, 1932. The rates of interest on these liabilities were reduced to 2% as from March 2nd, 1934. The Bank has been allowed to revalue its immovables from 164 million to 250 million dinars. Thus a surplus has been created out of which 25.5 millions are to be used to cover the losses incurred when selling the shares, while 60 millions are to be employed for depreciation. The original capital has risen in consequence of the issue of 4% preference shares from 75 millions to 125 millions. These preference shares have been put at the disposal of the creditors and entered against their original claims.

—“y”

S P O R T S

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY GAMES AT BUDAPEST

Of the participants in the Student Olympic Games to be held in Budapest in August, the Japanese gymnasts have already announced the time of their departure; they propose to leave on July 27th by the S. S. "Hakosaki", arriving in Naples on August 2nd, proceeding thence straight to Budapest. The lawn-tennis players — Nishimura and Yanagasi — are already in Europe; they are the Japanese Davis-Cup players. The test-trials of the athletes are to be held at a later period and the nominations are to be sent accordingly. Up to now nominations have been notified by the following countries: Poland will send to the Budapest Olympic Games 63 men (athletes, fencers, rowers, swimmers, lawn-tennis players) and 19 women-athletes; Czecho-Slovakia 25 athletes, 10 swimmers, 6 fencers, 5 lawn-tennis players, 5 rowers, 5 gymnasts, and water-polo and basket-ball teams, also 6 women-athletes, 2 women-swimmers, 1 woman-fencer, 3 women lawn-tennis players, 5 women gymnasts and a team of women basket-ball players. Denmark is sending to Budapest 15 football players, 2 athletes, 1 fencer, 2 lawn-tennis players, 2 gymnasts and 2 women-fencers. Holland proposes to compete in athletics, swimming, water-polo, fencing, lawn-tennis, rowing, gymnastics, basket-ball and rugby, besides participating in all the competitions for women. Spain is sending athletes, swimmers, lawn-tennis-players, rugby- and basket-ball-players, and women-athletes. From England 14 athletes, 6 swimmers, 3 fencers, 16 football-players, also a number of women-athletes, women-fencers and women-swimmers are expected, while Esthonia is to send 5 athletes, 1 lawn-tennis-player and 10 basket-ball-players. France is to be represented by 20 athletes, 8 swimmers, 8 fencers, 4 lawn-tennis-players, rugby- and basket-ball teams and 2 women-swimmers. Germany has notified the arrival of 60 athletes, 25 swimmers, 8 fencers, 5 lawn-tennis-players, 25 rowers, 8 gymnasts, also of football-, rugby-, water-polo- and basket-ball teams, 12 women-swimmers, 12 women-athletes, 2 women-fencers and 3 women tennis-players, so that all in all more than 220 German competitors are to participate in the Olympic Games.

EQUESTRIAN SPORT

An International Riding Competition on a large scale was organised by the Olympic Equestrian Committee of the Hungarian Honvéds. A great number of foreigners participated. The equestrian contest opened with the Military Prize-Riding, with 32 competitors. After the results of manège-riding and cross-country-riding had been compared, the ultimate result were established as follows: 1. Lieutenant Baron Wangen-

heim, Germany, (riding "Eitel"), 10.33 points; 2. Captain Ploetz, Germany ("Kakadu"), 16.50 points; 3. Lieutenant Dezső Szilágyi, Hungary ("Kuruc"), 33.67 points; 4. Lieutenant Augustin Endrödy, Hungary ("Drágám"), 54.50 points. — For the "Vajda-Hunyad Prize" 75 horsemen entered the lists, 17 of them — 8 Hungarians, 5 Germans and 4 Italians — finishing without losing point. First: Prince Nicholas Odescalchi, Hungary, riding "Magna Laval", no default, time: 1 min. 0.8 sec.; Second: Centurio Charles Kekler, Italy, ("Adriano"), no default, time: 1 min. 0.9 sec.; Third: Captain Grosskreuz, Germany, ("Harras"), no default, time: 1 min. 13 sec.

The most important event was the competition for the International Prize offered by the Regent of Hungary, preceded by a parade. This prize was secured by Italy, Germany being second, while Hungary finished third.

The jumping-competition for the prize offered by the Hungarian Premier aroused general interest: 36 horsemen has to ride over seventeen obstacles of the height of 150 centimetres. 5 Hungarian, 4 Italian and 1 German horsemen finished without losing point. The final results of the jumping over bars raised successively by 10 centimeters were as follows: 1. Centurio Charles Kekler, Italy, (riding "Coclite"), no default, time: 1 min. 11 sec.; 2. Major Alexander Bettoni, Italy, ("Judex"), no default, 1 min. 15 sec.; 3. Lieutenant Gutierrez, Italy, ("Quiete"), no default, 1 min. 15.4 sec.; 4. Captain Coloman Cseh, Hungary, ("Clio", from the Sárd stables), no default, 1 min. 30 sec.

The match for the Prize offered by the International Equestrian Association was held simultaneously. The results of this event were as follows: 1. Captain Louis Podhajski, Austria, ("Nero", a horse belonging to the Austrian Military Treasury); 2. Captain Oppeln-Bronikovsky, Germany, ("Artus", a horse belonging to the German Olympic Equestrian Committee); 3. Major Gerhard, Germany, ("Absint", a horse belonging to the Hannover riding-school.

The competitions of the last day opened with the International Jumping in Paris, ending with the victory of Miss Hannah Bárczy and Captain Coloman Cseh. The most showy event proved to be the International Jumping-Match over 6 bars put up at a distance of 10.5 meters from each-other, the first of the bars being 1 meter high, while the following bars were each 10 centimeters higher, so that the last bar reached the height of 1 meter 50 centimeters. This test was accomplished by 14 horsemen without losing a point. The following test, with the bars raised to 160 centimeters, was accomplished by 12 competitors without losing a point, 4 Hungarians, 4 Germans, 2 Italians and 2 Turks. Centurio Kekler was the only one to jump the bar raised to 190 centimeters, winning thus the first prize. K. Zastrov, Germany, finished second, Bettoni, Italy, third, while Prince Nicholas Odescalchi, Hungary, and Günther Themme, Germany, finished fourth in a dead heat.

— "y" —

FOOTBALL

The usual summer "dead season" has set in. There are no more League matches and the only events arousing interest have been the visit of foreign representative and touring teams. Recently the Budapest team played against the Berlin team, winning by

7 goals to 1. The Hungarians showed a marked superiority and well deserved their victory.

With the close of the eLague-matches ctmptitions ftr the Eurapean Cups have begun everywhere. The début of the Hungarian teams has been most unsatisfactory, seeing that all four teams — even the one playing at home — were defeated. The results were as follows: First matches: Admira (Vienna) — Hungaria 3 to 2; Fiorentina (Italy) — Ujpest 2 to 0; Slavia (Prague) — Szeged FC 4 to 1; AS (Rome) — Ferencváros 3 to 1. In the return match the Hungarian teams succeeded in taking revenge, the results being as follows: Ferencváros — AS (Rome) 8 to 0; Hungaria — Admira (Vienna) 7 to 1; Szeged — Slavia (Prague) 1 to 0; Fiorentina (Italy) — Ujpest 4 to 3. In the further course of the matches the "Ferencváros" and "Ujpest" teams scored even greater successes.

— "y" —

SWIMMING

In the early days of June Hungarian swimming-spodt recorded great event. The world's best sprinters, the American Peter Fick, the German H. Fischer and the Hungarian F. Csik met on three occasions. So extraordinary an event naturally called forth much interest in sporting circles, that interest being increased by the fact that the excellent American swimmer had recently created a new world-record.

The first match between the three swimmers was held on May 30th in the 50 meter long swimming pool of the Császárfürdő. At the start Fick showed the best form but Csik too started well, while Fischer's start was somewhat late. At the very beginning Fick took the lead and reached the turning with several meters advantage — his time was 26 seconds for the first 50 meters — before Csik and the closely following Fischer. Fick took the turn in such a perfect manner that he again gained on the others, when all of a sudden Fischer and then Csik began to spurt, so that the distance between them and Fick decreased rapidly. At 80 meters Csik came up with Fick, leaving him behind at 90 meters and finishing as a good winner. Fick slackened and was nearly caught by Fisher. Csik's time was 58.6 seconds, Fick's 59.8 and Fischer's 1 minute 00.2 seconds.

Two days later Fick succeeded in taking revenge on his opponent; in the 100 yards event he came in first in 52.8 seconds, while Fischer finished as second and Csik as good third — in 53.8 seconds.

The last swimming-match over 100 meters was held in the covered swimming-pool on the Margaret Island. Here, causing general surprise, Fischer was victorious, his time being 58.6 seconds, while Fick finished in 58.8 and Csik in 59 seconds. The results seem to prove that between the three rivals there is really hardly any difference at all and that the

decisive factor is the momentary condition of the respective champions.

— "y" —

WATERPOLO

The match between the representative teams of Budapest and Prague was held in Budapest on June 23rd. The Hungarians won with crushing superiority by 12 goals to 0. A competition in fancyediving and highi-diving was held on the same occasion, Mr. Leikert (Czecho-Slovakia) and Mr. Vajda (Hungary) respectively coming out victors.

ROWING

In the jubilee Boat-Race organised by the Wiener Regattenverein, Hungary participated with two teams: the "Hungaria" and the "Pannonia", winning practically all the events. Results: Non-cox Fours: 1. Pannonia, 2. Donauhört (Vienna). — Junior Eights: 1. Pannonia. — Junior Skiff: 1. Nautilus (Klagenfurt), 2. Hungaria. — Non-cox Fours: 1. Hungaria, 2. Wiking (Linz). — Pair-Oar: 1. Hungaria. — Junior Fours (with cox): 1. Ister (Linz), 2. Hungaria. — Senior Fours (with cox), Silberer Prize: 1. Hungaria, 2. Pannonia. — Eights: 1. Hungaria, 2. Bruna (Brünn). — Senior Eights: 1. Pannonia, 2. Hungaria, 3. Austrian Olympic Eight. — Pair-Oar: 1. Pannonia, 2. Ister (Linz). — Fours (visitors): 1. Hungaria, 2. Wiking (Linz). — Jubilee Eights: 1. Pannonia, 2. Hungaria, 3. Austrian Olympic Eight.

— "y" —

MOTORBOAT

The motorboat-race organised of the Danube between Vienna-Budapest scored a signal success. The issues were as follows: Boats of 125 cm³: M. Raymond Smolik, "Terta", time: 10^h 57 min. Boats of 175 cm³: M. William Roubal jun., "Istros", time: 10^h 12 min. Boats of 250 cm³: M. Joseph Gömbös, "Istros", time: 11^h. Boats of 1500 cm³: M. Kovács, time 9^h 13 min. — With inboard motor: Herr William Boekel, "Universal", time: 5^h 9 min.

— "y" —

PIGEON SHOOTING

At the biggest pigeon-shooting meeting in France something like 100 champion marksmen assembled from all parts of the world to compete for the most coveted prize, the "Grand Prix du Cercle". The great prize was won by the Hungarian Mr. Alexander Dóra, while the other Hungarian competitor, Mr. Strassmann, finished third.

— "y" —