

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.

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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" —