

DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)



VOL. III. NO 7.
B U D A P E S T
DECEMBER 1935

PUBLISHED BY THE HUNGARIAN FRONTIER
READJUSTMENT LEAGUE

SINGLE COPY 50 FILL.
SUBSCRIPTION:
ONE YEAR 6 PENGŐ

C O N T E N T S

The Shadow of the Yule-Log	<i>Dr. Arthur B. Yolland</i>
Political and Legal Aspects of Hungary's Attitude in the Question of Sanctions . .	<i>Observer</i>
Are the Magyars of Transylvania Dying Out?	<i>Andrew Szeben</i>
A Reference to Hungary in the First Work of Robert Greene	<i>Stephen Ullmann</i>
Political Mosaic	
How Minorities Live	
Theatre, Literature, Art: Great Loss of Royal Hungarian Opera	<i>Dr. Alexander Halász</i>
Political Economy	
Sports	

THE SHADOW OF THE YULE-LOG

by

Dr. Arthur B. Yolland

The last flicker of the Christmas fire set the hall dancing with grotesque figures that seemed like ghosts of a bloodless past come back to mock the hollowness of the hopeless present. Giles was sitting in a dark corner of the hall dreaming of the life that had been and cajoling himself into a belief that it had returned again. He was too absorbed in his thoughts to see the deepening of the shadows or hear the moaning of the yule-log as its massiveness shrank into insignificance on the gigantic hearth which had seen the glories of a brilliant past.

Suddenly there arose in his mind a vision of those glories, and he started at the thought of those Christmas Eves of yore when the family now scattered and dispersed by the arbitrary despotism of unthinking ignorance had gathered round the fireplace to celebrate the season of charity and goodwill and reconciliation.

He remembered that Christmas Eve when his uncle Robert had spoken sorrowfully of the coming cataclysm and had warned his father that human self-sufficiency had determined to defy the divine order of the world and tear into shreds the country so beloved of them all; he had discoursed of the need for patience and of the inevitability of the triumph of divine justice. He had reminded his hearers of the parable of the wise man who built his house upon a rock and of the foolish man who built his house upon sand; and he had told them that their house was built upon the rock of the unswerving loyalty of a much-afflicted people...

And, as he started from his dream, Giles saw the shadow of the yule-log lengthen out and move across the floor of the hall, till it paused a few inches from him and seemed to sigh.

And Giles shut his eyes; for he was afeared: and there was a sound as of a whirlwind sweeping over the hollowed flags which had witnessed the coming and going of so many generations of his kin. And as he timidly opened his eyes, the shadow of the yule-log was standing erect before the fire; and it seemed to Giles as if there were something human about the shadow, — as if it desired to speak to him and tell him that the house built upon the sand was being beaten by the wind and the rain and was shuddering in anticipation of its fall.

And the whirlwind was heard no more; and in its place Giles heard the sound of snowflakes pattering gently on the casement: and his heart rejoiced as he thought of the morrow with its message of re-union and reconciliation and faith and hope and charity.

And faintly, as if borne on the wings of a gentle west wind, there came the sound of an angelic choir singing the old-world song of goodwill and peace and gladness, —

*“He comes, the prisoners to release
In Satan’s bondage held:
The gates of brass before him burst,
The iron fetters yield...”*

The shadow had grown and darkened; and through the casement the first dim promise of the dawning day was struggling to find a passage. Yet the shadow of the yule-log remained unmoved; and it seemed to the excited imagination of Giles that the glow creeping through the broken clouds in the East had charmed a smile into the face of the shadow and stiffened its shape with a conscious pride...

Of course it was all mere fancy: but the log suddenly collapsed; and the sparks that glanced from its fall faded in the bright light of a flame which heralded the coming of the end.

Yet the shadow was still there in all its motionless dignity; but it was no longer the shadow of the yule-log now blackening and faintly sputtering in a final effort to recover the show of life: it seemed to Giles as if the rising glow of the dawn had imperceptibly replaced the dying flicker of the evening fire.

And the shadow seemed to point to the casement, where the changing colours of the eastern sky played kaleidoscopic effects upon the inset emblems of the storied past. And the long watching had wearied Giles, who once more travelled in imagination to those days when he and his

kin had been united in a loving celebration of the great Christian season. Once more his uncle Robert appeared to be standing in his old familiar attitude in front of the blazing fire; he was talking to them all about the past and the future: and his eyes glowed with an unnatural fire as he told them how the wind and the rain had beaten upon that house and how that house had fallen and been swept away by the flood. And Giles saw the house which had been built upon sand fall and break to pieces; and the fall of that house was a grievous one. And it was all as clear as the Fata Morgana of the Great Lowlands; and the heart of Giles leaped within him: but he did not wake, for the vision was not yet accomplished.

For he dreamed on and in his dream he saw the place of the house that had been built upon sand taken by a house built upon a rock; and the house that was built upon a rock was surrounded by trees and streams of water: and there was a sound of laughter and rejoicing in that house and among the neighbours who flocked to see the miracle. And across the vista of Giles's vision there moved a shadow as of a figure erect and proud which looked eastwards and scanned the horizon in search of something which it expected to come from that direction. At first the shadow seemed that of an echo in search of its origin; then it assumed a heightened substance, until it appeared to Giles like the embodiment of the soul of the past. Then it loomed gigantic; and all around it shrank into insignificance: and Giles saw in his dream that the figure showed the reflection of a borrowed light; and that light was the light of the sun now rising to full glory above the haze which had so far rested upon the eastern fringe of the sky.

The house too loomed large and strong; and its inhabitants were singing a song of gladness and contentment, —

*"Glory to God in the Highest,
Glory to God for His gift!"*

And Giles awoke from his dream: but his soul was filled with an assurance of its truth that will never die.

POLITICAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF HUNGARY'S ATTITUDE IN THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS

by

"Observer"

Budapest, December 23rd., 1935.

Nearly three months have passed since the outbreak of hostilities between Italy and Ethiopia; and today, as a consequence of the frustration of the British-French endeavours to secure peace, we are farther removed than ever from a rapid liquidation of the war.

We must admit that this turn of affairs has caused a certain disappointment in Hungarian public opinion. As its geographical situation in itself sufficiently explains, the Hungarian nation is unable to acquiesce in the idea that the campaign being carried on in distant Africa should let the furies of war loose in Europe too. Our nation cannot reconcile itself to that idea, particularly in view of the fact that such a war would result primarily in pitting against one another Great Britain and Italy, two countries for which the Hungarian people cherishes feelings of the sincerest sympathy and friendship, while it is anxious to retain and develop the friendship of those two countries. Hungary will never be able to forget the debt it owes to the eminent representatives of British public life who have so many times entered

the lists on behalf of a peaceful re-adjustment of the frontiers demarcated in the Treaty of Trianon; but it is equally unable to obliterate the memory of the fact that Mussolini was the first responsible statesman in Europe to take up a decided stand on behalf of Hungary's cause. Under such circumstances it is only natural that the public opinion of Hungary should desire a rapid liquidation of the Abyssinian conflict and a restoration of the traditional friendship and cordial relations always existing between Great Britain and Italy; and however serious the situation may be at present, it refuses to abandon the hope that the efforts of the diplomats of the three Great Powers of Western Europe and the intervention of the Committee of Thirteen of the League of Nations, will sooner or later succeed nevertheless in finding the means to formulate conditions which will induce a peaceful solution satisfactory alike to Italy and Abyssinia and to the League of Nations.

It gives us the greatest pleasure and gratification to be able to establish the fact that more than one unbiassed Britisher able to appreciate Hungary's delicate situation has displayed a

complete understanding of the attitude adopted by our country. These men have not lost sight of the given political circumstances which made it impossible for the responsible Hungarian statesmen to simply turn their backs on Italy, and have also appreciated the motives impelling Hungary to refrain from voting on the question decided on October 9th. last. However, seeing that it is to be presumed that the public opinion of Great Britain and America in general is not sufficiently familiar with the reasons and the given circumstances guiding Hungary's action, we propose in what follows to attempt to give a brief survey of the political and legal aspects behind Hungary's attitude.

* * *

As is well known, Hungary, during the seven years immediately following the signature of the Treaty of Trianon which dismembered her so horribly, was completely isolated diplomatically and in her defencelessness due to her total disarmament was left entirely at the mercy of the Little Entente, an alliance brought into being in Prague, Belgrade and Bucharest for the purpose of securing or of eventually even augmenting the spoils acquired under that Treaty.

The treaty of friendship concluded between Italy and Hungary on April 5th., 1927, was the first breach in the ring of isolation enabling Hungary to breathe again and to shake hands with one of the victorious Great Powers. The value of this event from the point of view of our country was particularly great in view of the fact that in several statements made by him Mussolini most decidedly undertook officially to support the political ideas of the Hungarian nation, and in particular the idea of a peaceful revision of the Treaty of Trianon — an idea with which Hungarian society irrespective of class or political creed has identified itself and which on its formation in 1932 the present Hungarian Government headed by General Gömbös made the pivotal point of its political programme. In the maelstrom of events following in the wake of the economic crisis, when schemes for a solution of the burning Central European question were broached in rapid succession without any one of them leading to concrete results, it was the co-operation of Italy that once more enabled Hungary to breathe freely in the oppressive atmosphere due to the constantly increasing danger of the clouds lowering over the horizon of the international situation in Europe and to the disastrous deterioration in the economic situation of that country resulting on the difficulties impending its export trade in wheat.

On March 17th., 1934, in Rome, Mussolini, Dollfuss and Gömbös signed two protocols in which the three States undertook obligations to bring about a harmony between their general policy and their mutual political relations,¹ to fa-

ilitate reciprocal export trade and — a matter of peculiar importance for Hungary — to institute such measures as were necessary to overcome the difficulties weighing upon Hungary as a consequence of the decline of prices of corn. In pursuance of this latter provision, on May 14th., 1934, a further agreement was concluded under which Italy undertook to take over an additional 1,000,000 metric quintals and Austria an additional 2,200,000 metric quintals of Hungarian wheat, while Italy also obtained an option for the purchase of a further quantity of 1,000,000 metric quintals. In respect of the price of the wheat to be taken over the agreement provided that measures should be taken to secure the marketing on suitable terms of the Hungarian corn harvest.

In order to properly appreciate the significance of these agreements, we must remember that they were concluded with the assistance of Great Britain and France, which raised no objections to — and indeed welcomed — the co-operation between Italy and Hungary and still more that between Italy and Austria. Now, the Rome Pact was concluded in the spirit of the Stresa Conference held in the autumn of 1933; and it was based upon the fundamental principles laid down in the Memorandum submitted to Geneva on September 29th., 1933, by Signor Mussolini. We may therefore say that it received the hallmark of Geneva and was fully in keeping with the political principles professed at the time by Great Britain and France. When we consider that in the economic year 1931/32 Hungary's surplus supplies of wheat amounted to 4,800,000 metric quintals,² we can see clearly at a glance the great economic value to Hungary attaching to this agreement. The fact that since that time the economic situation of the country has shown a movement — slow but decided — towards an improvement, is to a considerable extent due to the influence of the Rome Pact.

If notwithstanding all this Austria and Hungary should co-operate in the enforcement of the retaliatory measures against Italy, such a procedure would in the nature of things lead to the cessation of the co-operation provided for in the Rome Pact. Those two countries would lose the support of Italy, one of the Great Powers, without

Rechte jedes einzelnen Staates zu fördern, und in der Überzeugung, daß die Zusammenarbeit der drei Regierungen in diesem Sinne die Vorbedingungen einer weiteren Kooperation mit anderen Staaten zu schaffen vermag, verpflichten sich die drei Regierungschefs zwecks Erreichung der in der Preamble angegebenen Ziele über jene Fragen, welche sie im besonderen angehen, sowie über die Fragen allgemeinen Charakters zu dem Zwecke das Einvernehmen zu pflegen, um im Sinne der bestehenden Freundschaftsverträge zwischen Italien und Österreich, Italien und Ungarn, Österreich und Ungarn ihre auf die Förderung einer wirklichen Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Staaten Europas und insbesondere zwischen Italien, Österreich und Ungarn gerichtete Politik aufeinander abzustimmen. Zu diesem Zweck werden sich die drei Regierungen, so oft es wenigstens eine von ihnen für zweckmäßig erachten sollte, gemeinsam beraten." (The italics in the above text — as in all other notes except No. 4 — are ours Ed.)

² See Elekes, Dr. Dezső: — "A dunavölgyi kérdőjel" (The Question Mark of the Danube Valley), Budapest, 1934, p. 104.

¹ The German text of Protocol I. — a text which is just as authentic as the Italian and Hungarian ones — runs as follows: "In dem Bestreben, die Erhaltung des Friedens und den wirtschaftlichen Wiederaufbau Europas auf der Grundlage der Achtung der Selbständigkeit und der

being able unconditionally, or at least probably, to reckon on a similar assistance on the part of any other West European Great Power in the questions most nearly concerning their very existence. So far as Austria is concerned, all we need do is to think of the incalculable consequences which must needs ensue in the event of Italy refusing to continue to watch over the independence of Austria at her outpost on the Brenner Pass; while Hungary would on her part be compelled to renounce, not only the assistance accorded her by Italy in respect of her legitimate claims to a revision of the Treaty of Trianon, but also the effectual protection which the mere friendship of that Great Power so near her geographically too ensures her in the event of her being attacked by the Little Entente. Why, quite recently, in connection with the Marseilles regicide, the Little Entente left no stone unturned in its endeavour to blacken the character of Hungary in the political opinion of Europe and to exploit that horrible crime, which was most decidedly condemned by the whole Hungarian people, as a pretext for an attack upon Hungary. As Laval said, at that time our elbows "brushed war"; and the fact that we averted the catastrophe was due primarily — apart from the efforts to that end made by Eden — to the resolute attitude adopted by Mussolini.

And, finally, the adoption of an anti-Italian attitude would also have deprived Hungary of the economic benefits accruing to her from the possibility of marketing a part of her surpluses of corn in Italy. Hungary had no wish to secure exceptional advantages by holding aloof from co-operation in the policy of retaliatory measures. Why, at the meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee of the pro-sanction States held on October 20th. the representative of Hungary most categorically declared that by her attitude Hungary did not by any means wish to impede the action of the League of Nations or to secure temporary advantages; still less did she desire to exploit the exceptional circumstances for the purpose of expanding her trade with Italy on an unusual scale or by the aid of clever commercial transactions to play the role of intermediary between Italy and any other third Power. The only thing to which Hungary attached importance in this connection was therefore that she should not forfeit the economic advantages accruing to her under the Rome Pact.

From what has been said it will be seen that the situation of Austria and Hungary in respect of Italy is quite different from that of any other Member of the League of Nations, seeing that under the Rome Pact they are bound to a close political co-operation with Italy not binding on any of those other Members and would therefore be guilty of a breach of treaty should they put into force as against Italy any financial or economic measures of retaliation. Now as concerns the political side of the question, for Austria and Hungary a breach with Italy resulting from an infraction of the Pact would have involved disastrous political and economic consequences leading to a grave upheaval of the situation in the

Danube Valley and therewith of the European situation as a whole. Therefore, though in the first place it was owing to the legal obligations contained in the Rome Pact that Austria and Hungary were unable to break with Italy, their most vital interests (and indeed the interests of Europe generally which are most vital from the point of view of the future, even if they do not seem to be so today) also made it imperative that they should not put an end to the co-operation already begun.

* * *

For the purpose of registering the signatory Powers the Rome Pact was filed with the Secretariat of the League of Nations; and no objection has ever been raised against the same or any demurrer entered against the obligations contained therein as being inconsistent with the terms of Article 20 of the Covenant. But even supposing those obligations were really inconsistent with those terms — and even if at the time the retaliatory procedure was initiated the two States had been faced by the dilemma of having to decide whether they considered "*ius fortius*" the terms of the Rome Pact or those of the Covenant, — that would by no means involve their being legally required to co-operate in the financial and economic sanctions prescribed in paragraph 1. of Article 16 of the Covenant.

Paragraph 1. of Article 16 of the Covenant, which relates to the economic and financial sanctions, does not — as does paragraph 2., which relates to the military sanctions — contain any provision authorising the Council of the League of Nations to take the initiative in respect of sanctions.³ Whereas in terms of paragraph 2. of the said Article the Council is required "in each case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League", — such recommendations being however not legally binding upon the States concerned —, the economic and financial sanctions provided for in paragraph 1. come into force automatically, without the Council or the other organ of the League — the General Assembly — being entitled to take the initiative or to undertake measures of any kind whatsoever.

³ Paragraphs 1. and 2. of Article 16 run as follows: "Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such cases to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League".

According to the Draft Covenant submitted to the first meeting of the League of Nations Committee of the Paris Peace Conference held on February 3rd., 1919, it was to be left to the League of Nations itself to decide whether any contracting Parties had committed a breach of the Covenant or not; that meaning that no sanctions, whether financial or economic or other, could have been put into force except on the basis of a resolution of the League of Nations establishing the breach of the Covenant and passed in a manner making it binding upon all Members of the League alike.⁴ However, the new text drafted on the basis of the motion submitted by *Lord Robert Cecil* at the meeting held on February 7th.,⁵ as also the definitive text of the Covenant, does not contain the words which provided that it should be left to the League itself to decide whether any breach of the Covenant had been committed or not. Now, seeing that in its present form the League is not a super-State or a federal State (Bundesstaat), but at most only a federation of States (Staatenbund), the lack of any provisions in the Covenant restricting Members of the League in this respect, makes it exclusively the right of the several Member States to decide whether any other Member of the League has committed a breach of the Covenant, — viz. whether that Member has resorted to war "in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15" — and whether they shall therefore be required to put into force against the covenant-breaking Member State the financial and economic sanctions referred to in paragraph 1. of Article 16. Each individual State deciding that the Covenant has been infringed by the Member State in question is required to put the said sanctions into force. On the other hand, any State of opinion that there is no question of any breach of the Covenant is not liable to the obligation involved. The State in question is not required to motivate such attitude; and should a discussion arise concerning the matter the only solution possible would be to refer the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice, leaving it to that court to decide ultimately whether the State in question was legally justified in pleading that the war was not resorted to in disregard of the dispositions under Articles 12, 13 and 15 of the Covenant and that in consequence there was no obligation to enforce the "sanctions" provided for under Article 16.

The view to the effect that each Member of the League decides individually and for itself whether a breach of the Covenant has been

committed or not, is accepted today by all international jurists alike.⁶ And such has been the practical interpretation put upon paragraph 1. of Article 16 on all occasions by the League of Nations itself. For example, the resolution passed by the Second General Assembly declares most unequivocally that "*it is the duty of each Member of the League to decide for itself whether a breach of the Covenant has been committed*".⁷ In terms of another resolution of the Assembly in the event of any breach of the Covenant as de-

⁶ *Sir Frederick Pollock* gives us — among other things put in inverted commas — the following comment on Article 16: — "In the first instance, it is left to individual States to decide whether or not such a breach has occurred and an act of war against the League of Nations been thereby committed. To wait for the pronouncement of a court of justice or even of the Council, would mean delay, and delay at this crisis might be fatal."

According to the French jurist *Robert Redslob* "l'article 16 par contre laisse au membre individuel de la Société des Nations le soin d'établir si de forfait typique est commis, c'est-à-dire si une guerre de surprise est déchaînée. Une fois qu'il arrive à cette conclusion, il est tenu de se dissocier du criminel, c'est entendu, mais lui seul apprécie la question de savoir si cette condition est remplie. C'est donc un ostracisme que chaque Etat sociétaire édicte pour son propre compte, on n'additionne pas, comme sur l'Agora d'Athènes, les coquilles portant le mot fatal" ("Théorie de la Société des Nations", Paris, 1927, p. 89).

Dr. *Miroslav Gonsierowski* interprets Article 16 as follows: "Qui est compétent pour décider s'il y a eu rupture du pacte et si, par suite, les sanctions doivent être déclenchées? D'après l'art. 16 la décision à cet égard appartient à chaque membre de la Société. C'est à la bonne foi des États que le pacte fait appel. Aucun membre ne peut se soustraire à l'engagement d'appliquer les sanctions économiques lorsque, à son avis, l'une des hypothèses envisagées par l'art. 16 se présente" ("Société des Nations et Problème de la Paix", 1927, Vol. II., p. 407).

In the book by *Nicholas Politis* recently published that eminent Greek writer on international law who is recognised as a first-class authority on the subject by all persons connected with the League expresses the following opinion: — "Il y a cependant à tenir compte d'une question préalable, celle de la détermination de l'agresseur. L'application des sanctions économiques dépend de sa solution. Le Pacte ne donne pas au Conseil le pouvoir de prendre à cet égard une décision obligatoire. Le Conseil pourra sans doute émettre un avis qui aura une haute autorité morale. Mais en définitive chacun demeure libre d'apprécier la situation pour décider qui, à ses yeux, porte la responsabilité de la guerre. Cette liberté d'appréciation a de très graves inconvénients. On ne risque pas seulement de se trouver en présence de jugements contradictoires et de l'exercice des sanctions économiques en sens opposé. On peut craindre qu'il ne surgisse sur la justice de la guerre le doute qui, durant des siècles, a servi d'excuse à la neutralité." („La neutralité et la paix", Paris, 1935, Vol. II, 1.)

The German jurist *Dr. Herbert von Bardeleben* interprets Article 16 as follows: — „Art. 16 ist die unstrittigste Norm des Paktes. Zu keiner sind mehr Abänderungsvorschläge eingebracht und auch von der Völkerbundversammlung akzeptiert worden, von denen jedoch bis auf den heutigen Tag nicht eine einzige mangels der erforderlichen Ratifikationen geltendes Recht geworden ist... Darüber, wem die Feststellung des Überfallkrieges zukommt, schweigt die Satzung. Weil nun grundsätzlich die Völkerbundstaaten in der ihnen durch die allgemeinen Normen des Völkerrechts gegebenen Handlungsfreiheit nur insoweit beschränkt werden, als der Pakt dies ausdrücklich bestimmt, haben sie ein selbständiges Prüfungsrecht." („Die zwangsweise Durchsetzung im Völkerrecht", Leipzig, 1930, p. 57.)

⁷ See "The Records of the Second Assembly Plenary Meetings", Geneva, 1921, p. 429.

⁴ In this Draft Article 14. — corresponding to Article 16 of the present text — began as follows: — "Should any of the High Contracting Parties be found by the League to have broken or disregarded its covenants under Article 10..." (Quoted by David Hunter Miller in his work "The Drafting of the Covenant" London, 1928, Vol. II., p. 235).

⁵ The procès-verbal printed in David Hunter Miller's book (Vol. II., p. 269) reports this matter as follows: — "On the motion of Lord Robert Cecil the words at the beginning "be found by the League to have broken or disregarded" were altered to "break or disregard".

scribed in Article 16 the Council shall by desire of any Member of the League or on the initiative of the Secretary-General be convened within the shortest period possible, and if in the opinion of the Council there has been any breach of the Covenant the procès-verbal of the Meeting shall be sent to all Members of the League together with an invitation that the Members should defer to the terms of the same. It should be noted most emphatically that the resolutions in question, seeing that they have not been ratified as provided in Article 26 of the Covenant, are to be regarded only as guiding principles and not as legally binding statutes. We too have only referred to them because they show that even when endeavouring to ensure the effective character of the sanctions and for that purpose endowing the Council with a sphere of authority not accorded that body by the Covenant, the League of Nations has always strictly insisted upon the principle which provides that the decision of the question as to whether any Member State has committed a breach of the Covenant as described in Article 16. shall rest with the several States, which are naturally not legally required in any respect whatsoever to accept the opinion which may be held by the Council.

The above interpretation is supported by the report of the Dutchman, *De Brouckère*, which deals exhaustively also with the question as to whether the sanctions are justifiable or not, and comes to the conclusion that the only possible answer is that contained in the 1921 Resolution referred to above. As against the view that no State should be entitled to intervene until after the Council has expressed an opinion, the report notes that this would mean depriving the Member States of a right manifestly guaranteed them under the terms of the Covenant. In another passage the report once more establishes the fact that from the strictly legal point of view the Member States are entitled to decide for themselves whether there is any justification for an enforcement of sanctions.⁸

It is a very moot point whether the existing text of paragraph 1. of Article 16 of the Covenant is calculated at all to adequately ensure the effective character of the sanctions and to definitely preclude the possibility of resorting to war in defiance of the Covenant. Serious as our doubts on this point may be, the situation as it stands today is indubitably that legally the decision as to any breach of the Covenant does not under the Covenant rest with the League as a body or — as happened on October 7th and 9th — with any organ of the League, but exclusively with each individual Member of the League acting for itself, and that any opinion expressed by the Council is not legally binding upon the Member States. *De lege ferenda* it would perhaps be better

to return to the original suggestion that — in order to avoid all misunderstandings — the League itself should decide the question as to whether any breach of Articles 12, 13 and 15 has been committed or not, and that — as proposed at the Peace Conference by the Dutch Delegation⁹ — a permanent organ should be established for the purpose or that — as desired by the Norwegian Delegation¹⁰ — a special international body should be entrusted with deciding when and under what circumstances any Member of the League has failed to fulfil its obligations and with appointing the measures to be enforced.

De lege ferenda particular importance attaches also to the proposal of the Danish Delegation,¹¹ which suggests that in designating the States required to take part in the enforcement of the military or economic retaliatory measures consideration should be had for the special difficulties devolving as a consequence of taking part in the enforcement of sanctions on all those States whose situation in the given case (*in casu*) is for geographical or military reasons more dangerous than that of the other States. As a consequence the Blockade Committee of the League of Nations proposed facilities in favour of those Member States whose economic and political security make such facilities necessary. The resolution passed by the Second Assembly, on the other hand, provides only for an adjournment of the enforcement of the sanctions being allowed in the case of certain States. There can be no doubt that the risk to be undertaken by Austria and Hungary — countries adjoining Italy, completely dependent in the present economic situation on the good graces of that country, absolutely defenceless as a consequence of the total disarmament stipulated by the treaties of peace, and constantly menaced by the surrounding ring of Little Entente States, which are armed to the teeth — is far greater, and the menace threatening them incomparably more formidable, than that threatening Norway or Portugal, for instance, or distant Bolivia. We would however once more stress that all these proposals are of no importance except *pro futuro*, in the event of an amendment of the terms of the Covenant; but today the situation *de jure* is that Austria and Hungary would under paragraph 1 of Article 16 of the Covenant only have been required to take part in the enforcement of the sanctions had they been of opinion that Italy had resorted to war in defiance of the Covenant. No doubt Great Britain and the other States voting for the sanctions thought the matter over most thoroughly before coming to the conviction that Italy had come into conflict with the Covenant, so that they were not only entitled, but it was also their duty, to set in motion the machinery of the financial and economic sanctions. And Austria and Hungary having also thought the matter over

⁸ Rapports et résolutions concernant l'article 16 du Pacte. Mémorandum et recueil des rapports, résolutions et références, préparés en exécution de la résolution du Conseil du 8 décembre 1926. Genève, 1927. (No officiel: A. 14. 1927. V.), P. 69. ff.

⁹ See David Hunter Miller, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 601.

¹⁰ See David Hunter Miller, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 642.

¹¹ See David Hunter Miller, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 641—2.

thoroughly before coming to the opposite conviction, were also authorised — and indeed actually required — by paragraph 1. of Article 16 of the Covenant — to refrain from taking part in the retaliatory measures.

No doubt the Article referred to above in its present text affords the individual Members of the League an opportunity — without abandoning the strictly legal point of view — to take into consideration political reasons. The Sanction States are also very wisely thoroughly considering political points of view before exhausting all the possibilities ensured in Article 16. According to the opinion of certain League of Nations jurists the principle of graduation of the sanctions runs counter to the Covenant.¹² Nevertheless, the States in favour of sanction measures — we repeat, very wisely — have confined themselves to the enforcement of certain methods of financial and economic sanctions, refraining for the present from enforcing the prohibition of oil export; while so far the Council has made no recommendations at all in respect of military sanctions: nor have diplomatic relations with Italy been suspended; indeed, although the resolution passed by the 1921 Assembly prescribes such procedure, the States in favour of sanctions have not recalled the heads of their missions to the Quirinal or proposed the exclusion from the League of Nations of Italy, which in their opinion has broken the Covenant. We cannot certainly help approving of this moderation, for it has been dictated by political sagacity — as without doubt the only reason which restrained the States now enforcing sanctions against Italy from insisting on the application of such in the Manchurian and Gran Chaco question was the political impossibility of carrying the same into effect.

* * *

Under such circumstances, however, no blame can be laid upon Austria or Hungary for an attitude which, while the only one conceivable politically, is not exceptionable even from the legal point of view. The two States acted in conformity to the obligations undertaken by them under the Rome Pact, without thereby in any way committing a breach of Article 16 of the Covenant. The charge to the effect that these countries defied the League does not even require to be refuted — it

refutes itself. So far as Hungary is concerned, the speech made by Foreign Minister Kálmán Kánya at the session of the House of Deputies on October 10th. was a veritable declaration of faith in the principle of the League of Nations, though the Minister could not help dealing also with the undeniable weaknesses of the institution.

Every unbiassed person must admit that so far the League of Nations has done precious little to carry into effect the objects for which it was established. Its whole activity has been practically confined to maintaining the present *status quo*; and it has failed to devote any attention to the dynamic forces preparing the future. Whereas certain Member States have lost no opportunity of citing Article 10 — the provisions ensuring the integrity of their present territory —, Article 19 — which provides for the re-consideration from time to time of "treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world" — has not been applied in a single case. The minority protection of the League of Nations — in particular so far as the Hungarian minorities are concerned — has proved of precious little avail. To quote only a single instance, not a letter of the autonomy promised to the Ruthenia severed from Hungary in Chapter II. of the Saint-Germain Minority Treaty concluded with Czecho-Slovakia and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations, as also in the celebrated Letter of Envoy addressed to the Hungarian Government by M. Millerand, President of the Council of Ambassadors, has so far been carried into effect by Czecho-Slovakia; but the League has nevertheless never felt the necessity even of calling the attention of that State to its breach of treaty: indeed, one of the Council Minorities Committees of Three veritably approved of its action. That Hungary under such circumstances did not follow the example of Germany, but remained Member of the League, endeavouring even in the most critical situation to meet the obligations devolving upon her in consequence, is the most eloquent proof of her loyalty to the League of Nations idea in the ideal sense of the term. Hungary remained true to that idea on the present occasion too — in connection with the Abyssinian conflict; for she has done nothing that runs counter to paragraph 1. of Article 16 of the Covenant, which in no way annuls her right to decide and to act for herself — i. e., to use the old and well-tried term, her sovereignty.

¹² See Gonsierowski, op. cit., Part II., p. 407.

ARE THE MAGYARS OF TRANSYLVANIA DYING OUT?

FOURTEEN YEARS OF POPULATION MOVEMENT IN TRANSYLVANIA

by

Andrew Szeben

The leading politicians and scholars of the Succession States are fully aware of the great mistakes made in connection with the post-War adjustment of territory; they know — since it is all the result of their manipulations — that the catchwords about "self-determination of the peoples" were only empty phrases utilised to influence the determination of the new frontiers; they know all about the false, forged documents and statistical data put forward as the grounds upon which the uninformed victors mapped out the territories of the new "national States".

In particular the Hungarian revision movement has proved most inconvenient to the politicians of the Succession States who — are perfectly well acquainted with the conditions; those politicians have fully realised the force lent to that movement by the fact that each of the new States contains "minorities living as majorities" in compact territories. They at first attempted to relieve the tension by spreading reports that the minorities were enjoying complete freedom of development in the Succession States, so that they were not suffering any serious injustice by not living in the territory of their mother country. However, this was a plea which could hardly be advanced except within their own preserves; and today everywhere in Europe people are quite familiar with the grave situation of the minorities and with the cruel oppression to which they are being subjected.

Now these politicians are experimenting with a new argument. They have discovered that the Magyars living in the territories of the Succession States are not increasing in numbers, while the peoples forming the new majorities display a very vigorous natural increase. And this "natural phenomenon" is bound before long to be followed by the State-building peoples of the new countries swallowing the "decrepit" aged trunk of the Magyars, now no longer able to shoot forth new branches. So what is the use of a revision, seeing that in a few decenniums there will no longer be any trace of the people in whose interest it is proposed to carry into effect the disagreeable action which is "a menace to the cause of peace". This

"unanswerable" argument has been found so splendid that Foreign Ministers Titulescu and Beneš have repeatedly utilised it, while in scientific circles it is being exploited and popularised — above all by Manuila Sabin, Director of the Rumanian Demographic Institute, who keeps writing articles to expound his theory of the extinction of the non-Rumanian (and in particular of the Magyar) minorities of Rumania, not only in the propaganda organs of the Rumanians, but also in international periodicals.

Seeing that this astounding thesis is given the specious appearance of a foundation in scientific research and laws, the uninitiated are easily persuaded to trust it and — in default of the critical apparatus needed to enable them to test the data — to regard the process of extinction as a natural and inevitable phenomenon which has to be taken into account by scholars and (naturally!!) by politicians too. We are repeatedly hearing voices from among the Magyars of the severed territories — and indeed from among those on our side of the frontiers too — complaining desperately of the working of this process of extinction. That is why it is imperatively necessary that we should deal seriously with the question and make the most exhaustive examination to show whether there is any real ground for this thesis?

The investigations described below are confined to the territory of Transylvania; seeing that that is the region in which the largest compact masses of Magyars separated from their mother country are living, as also that these are the Magyars whose extinction is being proclaimed by Rumanian demographers on the basis of statistical data.

In our investigations we have naturally to take as our basis the Rumanian statistical data, — without inquiring into their reliability, which it is not in our power to check. The results shown by our investigations will therefore be exclusively those shown by the official Rumanian statistics, which cannot surely be accused of being coloured by prepossession in favour of the Magyars.

The demographic conditions of Rumania are shown in detailed statistics given by counties

published in the Rumanian Statistical Year-Books and in the Buletinul Demografic al Romaniei. A summarised statement of these conditions for the period between 1920 and 1927 appeared in the Memorial Album entitled "Transylvania, Banatul, Crisana si Maramuresul" published in Bucharest in 1929. These official figures do not show the distribution of population by nationalities. That is rather fortunate, seeing that the Rumanian statistics relating to nationality conditions had so far proved entirely false or erroneous, — so much so that the Rumanian statisticians themselves were compelled to repudiate their own publications and the results of their own collections of data (e. g. the results of the 1920 Transylvanian and the 1927 Rumanian Censuses). It is strange however that the Rumanian demographers should nevertheless in their controversies give exhaustive demographic data grouped by nationalities. They are naturally able to group these data entirely arbitrarily, seeing that nowhere in the official publications do we find any detailed distribution of the same affording even the slightest clue enabling us to check their trustworthiness. For that very reason we are fully entitled to repudiate these data and to demand the publication of a detailed statement of the original statistical material. However, as we should probably have to wait a considerable time before that is done, we are compelled to base our investigations upon the county data published without detailed distribution by nationalities. As we shall see later on, even these data will enable us to draw extremely instructive conclusions.

The territory of Transylvania comprises pure Magyar regions, districts inhabited predominantly by Rumanians, and regions with a mixed population. We shall investigate the demographic conditions of these several groups of regions. But, in order to avoid committing even the slightest breach of the postulate of scientific objectivity, we shall demarcate these several regions on the basis of the nationality results of the 1930 Rumanian Census, — albeit it is well known that this Census used every means (e. g. the "spiriting away" of Jews who are Hungarians by mother tongue, and of Magyars belonging to the Armenian and Greek Catholic Churches etc.) to reduce the number of Magyars, actually succeeding in entirely eliminating the natural increase of the one million and a half of Transylvanian Magyars between 1910 and 1930 and indeed "spiriting away" more than three hundred thousand of the number of Magyars registered in 1910.¹ Therefore, while taking these Rumanian Census data as our basis, we would add that the same show the number of Magyars at very reduced figures, a circumstance not to be ignored in this connection.

The most distinctly Magyar region of Transylvania is "Széklerland", which embraces terri-

ories belonging to the Counties of Csik, Háromszék, Udvarhely, Maros-Torda and Brassó. According to the 1930 Rumanian Census the total population of these counties was 868,022 — the number of persons of Magyar nationality being 517,175 (59.58%), that of persons of Rumanian nationality being fixed at 264,617 (30.48%). The *increase of population* in this region during the period of eleven years between 1920 and 1930 amounted to 96,774. If we calculate the average annual increase of population on the basis of the data of the Census, we find that it shows an advance of 10.1 for every 1000 inhabitants.²

Thus, the index figure of natural increase in "Széklerland" is 10.1 per 1000.

Now let us investigate the demographic conditions in the purest Rumanian district. This district includes the Counties of Hunyad, Alsó-Fehér, Fogaras, Szolnok-Doboka and Krassó-Szörény, — the Rumanian Census of 1930 showing a proportion of over 75% of Rumanians in all these counties except that of Krassó-Szörény, where they represent 74% of the total population, 69.5% in the Krassó section and 76.6% in the Szörény section of this double county (that being the reason why we have included this double county in this group). The increase of population in these counties during the period between 1920 and 1930 was 99,691, that according to the data of the 1930 Census showing an average annual increase of 7.0 per 1000.

Thus, the purest Rumanian district of Transylvania shows an average annual increase of 7.0 per 1000 inhabitants. We see therefore that the Rumanian official statements — diametrically contradicting the assertions of the Rumanian statisticians — prove that *in Transylvania the natural increase of the Magyar regions is well in advance of that of the Rumanian districts.*

But let us examine conditions in the other regions too. In addition to the pure Magyar and pure Rumanian districts (this not meaning, of course, that those nationalities represent actually 100% of the respective populations), there are in Transylvania 10 counties in which according to the 1930 Census the Rumanians represented a majority, though they did not reach figures representing three-quarters of the total population. In these counties³ the increase of population between 1920 and 1930 amounted to 302,114 — that

¹ The nationality results of the 1930 Rumanian Census have not yet been published officially, the only data relating thereto being those contained in a semi-official publication from the pen of Dragomir Silviu, Director of the Census Bureau ("La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques", Bucharest, 1934).

² To be quite exact, we should of course calculate the increase for each year on the basis of the number of inhabitants determined for that year: but, seeing that prior to 1930 there was no reliable Census in Rumania, while the pre-War data — owing to the lack of information relating to War losses and to the subsequent changes in the respective areas of the counties — cannot be taken as basis for calculations, the only possible average figure is that chosen by us. Seeing that the population taken as basis is that of the last year of a period of 11 years chosen as basis for a study of natural increase, the index figure obtained is slightly less than that of increase obtained by the usual method of calculation. That does not however in any way affect the comparison between the several regions.

³ Viz. Kolozs, Beszterce-Naszód, Szeben, Kisküküllő, Torda-Aranyos, Arad, Bihar, Maramaros, Szilágy, Szatmár.

showing an advance on the average of 10.0 per 1000 in the light of the figures of the 1930 Census.

Thus, the index figure of natural increase in the Transylvanian counties with a large Rumanian majority including also considerable non-Rumanian minorities is 10.0 per 1000.

In addition to the above there are two other counties (Temes-Torontál and Nagyöküllő) with very mixed populations showing an average annual increase of 4.3 per 1000.

All other data too prove that there is not a single other compact territory of any size in Transylvania showing a greater natural increase of population than that of the Székler districts; while the increase of population in the pure Rumanian districts is a strikingly small one.

We would however anticipate all possible objections. We might be told by the Rumanian statisticians — though the argument would be extremely forced — that the vigorous increase of population in the Székler districts is enhanced by the proportion of increase of the Rumanian minority living there, and that the districts inhabited predominantly by Rumanians include the territory of the double County of Krassó-Szörény, which is known to be the least prolific of the territories of Rumania and is perhaps responsible for spoiling the ratio of natural increase of Rumanians in Transylvania? There is no truth whatsoever in that suggestion. If we deduct from the area of the five counties constituting the region known as "Széklerland" the two counties (Maros-Torda and Brassó) which according to the 1930 Census contained the largest proportion of Rumanians, and investigate only the data of the three counties which are almost exclusively Magyar, we shall find that the increase of population in these counties during the eleven years in question amounted to 49,339, that showing (on the basis of the 1930 Census) an average annual increase of 10.9 per 1000 — an index figure well in excess of that for the whole area of "Széklerland". So we see that within "Széklerland" itself the areas showing the greatest advance in population are those which are most distinctively Magyar in character. If on the other hand we take the Transylvanian counties with the largest proportion of Rumanians — the Counties of Alsó-Fehér and Hunyad, which show 80% of Rumanians — and exclude the double County of Krassó-Szörény, we find that the average annual natural increase here is 8.6 per 1000, an index figure still well below that for "Széklerland" as a whole and more particularly below that for the most distinctively Magyar counties.

So there can be no question of the non-Magyars of the Magyar regions and the non-Rumanians of the Rumanian districts in any way exercising on the data of population increase an influence prejudicial to the Rumanians.

It is therefore astounding in the light of these facts to see the Rumanian statisticians (in particular the Director of the Census Bureau) making assertions diametrically opposed to their official data. *Where does Manuila Sabin get the*

data or facts authorising him to put the index figure of increase of the Rumanians of Transylvania at 11.9 and that of the Magyars at 8.3 per 1000? For the data quoted above, which show results diametrically opposed to his statements, have all passed through his hands; and indeed the bulk of them have appeared under his name.

We must look for the explanation elsewhere. It is in the interest of Rumania that the records should show as small a proportion as possible of minority inhabitants and that in particular the most powerful of the minorities — the Magyars — should be reduced in number by all possible means. Now, it is not possible to simply "spirit away" a million and a half inhabitants in the period between two Censuses. So the "embezzlement" has to be distributed over several Censuses. But how are these conjurers going to justify or prove the decrease in the number of Magyars from one Census to the other? On the occasion of the first Rumanian Census it was possible to argue that the Hungarian statistics were false and that the refugees of the years immediately following the conclusion of peace had reduced the number of Magyars in Transylvania, etc. etc.; but what arguments can statisticians resort to when the number of Magyars already shown in the Rumanian Census has for political reasons to be decreased at the next Census? Why, of course, nothing could be simpler than to invent the story of the "natural" and "spontaneous" decrease of the Magyars!!

It is evident that what we have to deal with here is simply a systematic political manoeuvre. The Rumanian statisticians for political reasons distort the demographic data referring to Rumania, their apparently "scientific" investigations serving exclusively propaganda purposes. The data published by the Rumanian statistical bureau without nationality details prove eloquently enough that the theses which speak of the suspension of the increase of the Magyars of Transylvania and of the vigorous increase of the Rumanians of that province, are just as baseless forgeries as are the deductions made therefrom.

We can never be completely satisfied with the increase in numbers of our own people; and it is the duty of all who have the authority and the ability to do so to unceasingly stimulate and further that increase; consequently, the present article does not propose to show that the increase of the Magyars in Transylvania leaves nothing to be desired or that in this field — in particular in the case of the town populations — there is not much to be done without delay; what we desire is to protest against certain persons either out of ignorance or with dishonest intentions presuming to spread untrue teachings concerning the alleged exhaustion or barrenness of the Magyar race, doing so partly for the purpose of serving their own political ends and partly with the object of instilling a spirit of renunciation and despondency into the minds of those who for nearly twenty years have suffered ordeals and trials and oppression without learning despair.

A REFERENCE TO HUNGARY IN THE FIRST WORK OF ROBERT GREENE

by

Stephen Ullmann

It is a very interesting coincidence that in the very first sentence of *Mamillia*, the first work of Robert Greene (written before or in 1580, printed in 1583), we come across a reference to our nation. The reference runs as follows:

"The Citie of Padua, renowned as well for the antiquitie of the famous Universitie, as also for the notable ryver now called *Po*, when the Ciuill warres were moste hot, and the broyles of dis-sention so ryfe, that the *Gothes* and *Hungarians* with sodaine inuasion had subuerted the whole state of Italy, was euer so fortified with couragious Captaines and warlike Souldiors, and so wel gouerned by the prudent pollicy of their Magistrate *Signior Gonsaga*, that they alwayes set out the flagge of defiaunce, and neuer came so much as once to parle of peace with their enemies, although *Venice*, *Florence*, *Sienna*, with many other cities (as *Machiauell* in his Florentine historie maketh report) at the hotte Skirmishes and fierce Assaults of the Soldiours, accepted conditions of peace willingly: So much preuailed the pollitique wisdome of the wise Rular."¹

Greene himself indicates the source of his information: the "*Istorie Fiorentine*" of Niccolò Machiavelli (1532).² Here we find several passages which deal with the events referred to by Greene: "...altri popoli detti Unni occuparono Pannonia, provincia posta in sulla ripa di qua dal Danubio, la quale ooggi avendo preso il nome da questi Unni, si chiama *Ungheria*... Gli Unni... vennero in Italia sotto *Attila* loro re..."³ Then he relates the sieges of *Aquileia* and *Rome*, the death of *Attila* and the dissolution of the empire, the reign of *Odoacre*, and the conquest of Italy by *Teodorico*, king of the *Ostrogoths*. "Da questo nacque la rovina, il nascimento e l'augumento di molte città. Intra quelle che rovinarono fu *Aquileia*, *Luni*, *Chiusi*, *Popolonia*, *Fiesole* e molte altre: intra quelle che di nuovo si edificarono, furono *Vinegia* (*Venezia*), *Siena*, *Ferrara*, *l'Aquila* ed altre assai terre e castella, che per breuità si omettono: quelle che di piccole diverrebbero grandi, furono *Firenze*, *Genova*, *Pisa*, *Milano*, *Napoli* e *Bologna*..."⁴

A few pages later,⁵ Machiavelli speaks of the

attack of the Hungarians — whom he calls also *Unni* — on "*Berengario duca di Friuli*". Yet it is more probable that Greene's passage refers to the Huns who ventured into Central Italy, as far as *Rome*, than to the Hungarians who ravaged only the Northern provinces.⁶

We see that, so far as *Venice*, *Siena* and *Florence* are concerned, Greene's account is, though far from accurate, still fairly close to Machiavelli's narrative. But what about *Padua*? Here his information contradicts all the facts of history. Far from remaining safe and sound during the storms of the migration of peoples, *Padua* was ransacked by the Huns of *Attila*, set on fire by the Lombards of *Agilulph*, and devastated by a lot of other barbaric hordes.⁷ — As to the *Gonzaga* family, it was a *Mantuan* dynasty which played an important part in the history of *Padua*, but only after the XIVth century.⁸ Thus Greene's account of the early history of *Padua* has not a grain of historic truth.

This conclusion is a bit surprising, for it has been implicitly suggested by Professor *Storojenko*⁹ that during his continental travels Greene stayed for a time in *Padua*, and that "it was probably owing to the reminiscences still fresh in Greene's mind of Italy, from whence he must have returned in the spring or summer of 1580, that he laid the scene of his first story in *Padua*". Dr. *Grosart* attacked this view of *Storojenko*,¹⁰ saying that he could not trace Greene in the list of the students of the University of *Padua*. *J. C. Jordan*¹¹ even doubts whether Greene actually was in Italy. Recent critics like *Brion* and *Del Re*¹² believe in Greene's Italian journey, but do not even mention his stay in *Padua*. To me the whole problem seems beside the question, since we cannot possibly suppose that Greene, a man of wide intelligence and humanistic interest, should have been staying in that old centre of learning without getting acquainted with the most elementary facts of its history.

⁶ Cp. *Gombos F. Albin*: *A honfoglaló magyarok itáliai kalandozása*, 898—904. (*Hadtört. Közl.* 1927) and *Höman B.* — *Székfü Gy.*: *Magyar történet*: I, p. 121.

⁷ Cp. *Cesare Foligno*: *The Story of Padua* (London, 1910): pp. 6—10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 134, 143.

⁹ *Nicholes Storojenko*: *R. Greene*, transl. by *A. B. Hodgetts*: *Grosart*, op. cit.: I, p. 66.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, note.

¹¹ *J. C. Jordan*: *Robert Greene* (*Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, 1915): pp. 77—78 notes.

¹² *M. Brion*: *Robert Greene*. (*Le Correspondant*, 10 Mars 1930, pp. 734—45); pp. 736—7; — *A. Del Re*: *The Secret of the Renaissance* (*Tokyo, Kaitakusha*, 1930): p. 87.

¹ *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, in 15 vols, ed. by *Alexander B. Grosart*, London, 1881—86: vol. II, pp. 13—14.

² For the influence of Machiavelli on Greene cp. *S. L. Wolff*: *Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance* (*Englische Studien* 37, 1907): p. 328.

³ *Le Istorie Fiorentine di Niccolò Machiavelli*, annotate ad uso delle scuole da *P. Ravasio* (*Firenze*, 1911): pp. 13—14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

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

THE HUNGAROPHILE GROUP OF BRITISH M. P'S WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A REVISION OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON

In an interview with the London representative of the Magyar Távirati Iroda (Hungarian Telegraph Agency) Sir Robert Gower, founder and president of the Hungarophile Group of Members of the British Parliament, stated that the Group would continue to function in the new Parliament too. He — Sir Robert — had already taken the necessary preliminary steps; and all his conversations had shown that the idea still met with the most cordial encouragement. The friendly reception accorded everywhere to the idea of the re-formation of the Group authorises us to draw two important conclusions, — 1. that all the Members of Parliament who belonged to the original Group wish without exception to join the movement again, that meaning that Hungary has not lost any of her friends in Great Britain; 2. that the parliamentary circles of Great Britain thoroughly appreciate and understand the attitude adopted by Hungary in the matter of the League of Nations sanctions. This attitude has not reacted at all unfavourably on the feelings for Hungary entertained by Members of the Group, nor has it in any way modified their views respecting the urgent necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon. The Group will continue to work untiringly and with unaltered energy in the new Parliament too. It will continue to devote the most serious attention to the development of the situation in Central Europe,

and above all to watch the political, economic and financial effects of the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon both on the life of the Hungarian nation in particular and on the life of Europe generally. One of the first things the Group proposes to do is to once more submit without delay the two original motions i. e. the urgent revision of the Treaty of Trianon and the grievances of the Hungarian minorities living in the Succession States respectively.

Just before going to press we received the news that the group had already been formed. President, Sir Robert Gower; Hon. Secretary, Col. Moore; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Mabane. Sir Robert Gower, speaking to the London correspondent of the Hungarian Telegraphic Bureau, said that the majority of the members of the new Parliament were also convinced that the Treaty of Trianon must be revised in such a way as to restore to Hungary the parts of her former territory inhabited predominantly by Hungarians. Sir Robert and five other M. P.'s have submitted to the House of Commons a draft motion to that effect, which motion, at the same time, asks the British Government to seize the first opportunity that presents itself to bring the matter before the League of Nations.

— y —

“RESISTANCE WILL ALWAYS BE WEAKER AND THE GROUND TO BE CONQUERED ALWAYS LESS“

Lord Newton, who, in Westminster, has more than once advocated a revision of the peace treaties, and has provoked numerous foreign policy debates to ensure a more effective protection of the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States, was interviewed by the London correspondent of the "Pesti Hírlap", to whom, amongst other things, he said that the justice of the Hungarian cause was bound to triumph eventually. It would take a long time to get the peace

treaties amended by pacific means. But that was the only way open to Hungary, and if Hungary had hitherto been successful in making European statesmen recognise the necessity of revision, from now on the work was sure to be more successful still; for resistance would always be weaker and the ground to be conquered always less. In Britain — said Lord Newton — Hungary was regarded with a very real and sincere sympathy."

— y —

PROF. NICHOLAS IORGA LONGS TO SEE THE FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The leading speaker at the general meeting arranged by the "Liga Culturala" on November 20th was Prof. Nicholas Iorga, the former tutor of King Charles II. of Rumania, who has been Prime Minister; he is a historian and an adherent of the Daco-Rumanian theory; it was with his help that Prof. Seton-Watson wrote his work, the "History of the Rumanians", published at Cambridge in 1924. It must be remembered that the "Liga Culturala" is now an

official union so that it always pays due consideration to the political principles of the Government.

Iorga introduced his speech with the words: 'Hail to Italy and the Italian people!'. The conclusion of his speech ran as follows:

"I have lived to see many things in my life. I have lived to see the fall of the Habsburgs, I have witnessed the fall of the Russian Empire. Now I pray

to God to let me see the fall of that Empire which rules over Continents and over the seas, and yet denies every other people its right to life!"

In his recent speech in the Senate Prof. Iorga

declared that the official foreign policy of Rumania does not agree with the feelings of the Rumanian people.

— y —

M. TITULESCU'S REPLY TO THE GRIEVANCES OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY

In the course of the debate on the reply to the King's speech, the President of the Hungarian Party (in Rumania) read the declaration of the Party to the Rumanian Parliament on December 3rd. *The situation of the Hungarian minority and its institutions is, according to this declaration, rapidly growing worse and worse. He made a brief reference to the most outstanding grievances. Thus he pointed out the fact — among others — that he had repeatedly informed the grievances of the Hungarian minority to the authorities but without any success. These grievances are the result of the present ruling system, which has a distinctly anti-minority tendency, aiming at the assimilation of the minorities. The Hungarian minority is by no means desirous to enjoy any privileges, it simply wants complete equality with the others.*

Special importance must be ascribed to the fact that it was not the Prime Minister or the Minister of the Interior who replied to the minority grievances but M. Titulescu, the omnipotent leader of foreign affairs in Rumania. This circumstance added to the weight and importance of the debate on the minority problem. For M. Titulescu lifted it out of the complexity of the problems of home policy and gave it an appearance as if it were a problem of foreign policy, while the previous Governments had always treated it as an exclusively internal problem.

The declaration of the Hungarian Party was serious, inoffensive and unbiassed, with a moderate tenor. On the other hand, M. Titulescu's reply, in spite of his principle of the spiritualisation of frontiers, was so unusually sharp that it is quite an exceptional thing for a Cabinet Minister to use such a passionate style. In face of the arguments brought up to him he resorted to complete negation and declared that no injustice has been done to the Hungarian minority, and that its complaints were absolutely unfounded. In addition to this, *M. Titulescu has expounded a minority theory which has absolutely no legal foundation and which is quite out of date at the present moment.* According to his theory, it is not the obligations contained in the international minority agreements that really matter, but the obligations embodied in the Constitution of the State; for the obligations contained in the minority agreements are but the international echoes of internal obligations. If this were so, why should they have refused to include the rights of the minorities in the Rumanian Constitution of 1923, in spite of an open protest on the part of the nationalities? Moreover, certain paragraphs of the Constitution of 1923 are obviously in contradiction of the provisions of the Minority agreement formed in Paris on December 9th, 1919. M. Titulescu made quite an unusual statement when he described the minority agreement as a "nail which they would like to drive into the body of the Rumanian State in anticipation of the great day of revision". Then, quite irrelevantly, he launched a protest against revision and declared that the Hungarians had always ascribed much more importance to the minority agreement than it had ever had. In other words, M. Titulescu blamed

the Hungarian minority for the revisionist propaganda, though in fact it is not being conducted by those two million Hungarians who lived in Rumania long before the Peace Treaties; it is going on independently of them. It is true, though, if Rumania would carry out all her obligations contained in the minority agreement, she could undoubtedly help to heal the wounds inflicted by the Peace Treaties. But to expect that the Hungarian minority should not complain the violation of the minority agreement either in Geneva or at home because it would be considered as revisionist propaganda: well, this is absolutely ridiculous!

Nor was it reasonable of M. Titulescu to send the Hungarian minority to Geneva with its complaints. "If you must complain, why do you not go to Geneva again?" — he asked, replying to his own words: "because you have never found justice there!". It can only be a cruel joke that M. Titulescu is advising the Hungarians to go to Geneva again, as the permanent reply given to the minority complaints by the Rumanians in Geneva is that the minorities should go to Bucharest. On the other hand, it is a great mistake to say that they have never found justice in Geneva. M. Titulescu would do well to remember the case of the "Private Properties of Csik"; he might even recollect the fact that it was under the influence of such a complaint that M. Anghelescu, Minister of Education, had to make certain modifications in the paragraphs of the Law on private education, although it had already been accepted by the Senate. The complaint concerning the analysis of family names has not been discussed, only because the Comité de Trois thought that the number of cases referred to was very small in comparison with the total number of pupils who have matriculated. The Hungarian minority complaints have at least had one favourable effect, in so far as they have checked the activities of the authorities to a certain extent, which would have been even more violent without these complaints. Nor is it right, as M. Titulescu said, that the Hungarians of Rumania went to Geneva with the slightest offence or that they have made petty little affairs into a serious charge against Rumania. Apart from the fact that the idea of "the slightest offence" is a very broad one, it is true that the Hungarian minority never went to the League of Nations without a really serious case or if it was just a matter of exceptional cases, but when only it was faced with a general system. It is also quite unreasonable to lay the blame, as M. Titulescu did, on the Hungarian minority because of Hungary's attitude in the Italo-Abyssinian affair in connection with the discussion of the sanctions against Italy. As if the two million Hungarians of Rumania, living outside the boundaries of Hungary, could be made responsible for this!

Finally M. Titulescu addressed the Hungarian minority in the following words: "You have made me suffer in the trenches of peace for seventeen years!" To this we answer by asking: which of the two parties has to suffer more in trenches of peace: is it M. Ti-

tulescu who is representing a nation that has forced two million Hungarians under its rule and now it refuses to grant them the most elementary human rights and shows no inclination to observe its obligations contained in the international minority treaties, or — is it dismembered Hungary who, in spite of having millions of her sons torn away from her body by the Treaty of Trianon, endeavours to seek for redress

from the League of Nations by peaceful means only and on the basis of the League Covenant.

*

As a result of M. Titulescu's parliamentary statements all Hungarian printed matter, whether published in Hungary or in Transylvania, has been removed from the Bucharest tobacco shops, booths, and every place where newspapers are sold. — y —

DR. BENEŠ'S ELECTION AS PRESIDENT

Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk resigned on December 14th and on the 18th Dr. Edward Beneš was elected President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic by a large majority of the National Assembly. The election was a recognition of the unquestionably great services rendered by Dr. Beneš to his country in connection with the creation and consolidation of the Republic. A little drop of gall, nevertheless, mingles with the joy of the new President over his election; for almost up to the very last moment it was not certain whether the largest party in the Coalition Government, the Czech Agrarian Party with its allies of the Industrial Party, would support him or Professor Nemeč, whose name and personality carry a great weight in politics. Dr. Masaryk's intention to resign was announced on November 21st, and for four weeks a fierce struggle was waged, until finally the two opposing camps of the Coalition — the right and the left wings — came to terms over Dr. Beneš's nomination. The battles were of course fought behind the scenes; for to the greater glory of Czecho-Slovak Democracy, the censor forbade the publication of even a bare reference.

Although the ballot was secret, the fact may be established that the Czech Nationalist Opposition voted against Beneš. The Henlein Sudeta German Party, to which the majority of the Germans in the Republic belong, and a few minor fractions, handed

in blank papers. The Hungarians voted for Beneš. This, however, by no means signifies their satisfaction with his previous work; it was merely — as may be judged from the communiqué issued after the conversation between their leaders and Beneš on the eve of the election — an expression of the hope that when the supreme power of the state is in his hands, he will perhaps, at long last, listen to their well-founded complaints.

Hungary's attitude towards Dr. Beneš's election may be summed up in the words of the following comment in the semi-official "Budapesti Hirlap". "We should like to hope that the person of Dr. Beneš in the high position of Head of the State will not prove an obstacle to an improvement in the relations between the two countries. But should this hope be disappointed, and no beneficial change result, Hungary will be compelled to continue, with every means at her disposal, the self-defence made imperative by Prague".

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the amnesty ordinance issued by Dr. Masaryk as his last official act by no means fulfilled the expectations attached to it; for it embraced only cases of quite trifling political offences, and even so the remittance of the sentences was only partial. The many victims of the great political trials must continue to remain in prison.

MR. KIOSEIVANOFF'S CABINET

During its short rule the Cabinet of Mr. Georgieff (formed in May, 1934, on the principle of authority) was able to acquire a group of followers, owing to the fact that the various political parties had actually threatened the existence of the State by their illegal activities. On the other hand, the radical programme proposed by this Cabinet came into conflict with the conservatism of the people which is so characteristic of agricultural countries. When, therefore, the Georgieff system came to be revised, it was necessary to eliminate its principal failure. The most urgent thing to do was to revise the Constitution. This was the leading item in the programme proposed by Mr. Tosev's Cabinet that followed after Mr. Georgieff's; after half a year's work the Cabinet elaborated its scheme concerning the revision of the Constitution, as then declared by Mr. Tosev in his last speech at Gabrowo, which might be called his swan song. Mr. Tosev, however, was soon forced to resign his post, owing to the unfavourable opinion of the public, which arose mainly from the fact that the people had been excluded from the work of legislation and the Government for over a year and a half. The members of

the old political parties and the champions of a dictatorship have equally tried to take advantage of this restlessness, and the plot of Mr. Velchev, which was discovered in time, was only one of the signs of this general bad feeling. Under these circumstances it seemed impossible to bring the whole nation into one unanimous camp that would help to carry out the revision of the Constitution. Thus Mr. Tosev, too, had to leave his seat. The principal task of his successor, Mr. Kioseivanoff, is now to re-introduce a constitutional regime as soon as possible. The first sentence in the declaration published by the new Government, too, emphasises the fact that the Cabinet is considering the possibility of giving the people a share in the work of the Government, and that it is endeavouring to create a normal atmosphere in political life. Both the composition and the programme of the new Cabinet make it clear that the essential thing is, not the long life of the Cabinet, but the King's desire — in view of the present general feeling — to introduce a well-framed modern Constitution, by which means it would be possible to find a way out of the situation created in May last year.

— y —

ANTI-REVISION LEAGUE SCANDAL IN RUMANIA

Mr. Victor Eftimiu, the well known Rumanian writer, called upon Mr. Stelian Popescu, President of the Rumanian Anti-Revision League (formed to counteract the revisionist activities of Hungary), and proprietor of the daily "Universul", to account for the money of the Anti-Revision League which, according to the "Universul", amounted to 23 million Lei. The "Universul" refused to do so because, it said, Mr. Eftimiu would "pass the facts on to Hungary". The explanation for this unusual statement is that Mr. Eftimiu protested, in the name of literary liberty, against the severe punishment of Mr. Roland Daday, a Transylvanian writer, author of the novels called

"The Cliff", and "Thursday". On this account the "Universul" called Mr. Eftimiu a traitor, who — in his turn — declared that the "Universul" had used the national flag as a means of making money, and that it had turned patriotism into a regular business.

It is generally known that the Anti-Revision League is a business undertaking of the "Universul", a paper which has always played a prominent part in anti-minority activities. This paper was openly bargained for (in the so-called "neutral period" of Rumania, 1914—16) between the Allies and the Central Powers, until it was ultimately sold to the Germans.

— y —

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

MINORITIES OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA DEMAND ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION OF DENATIONALISATION

In the Prague Parliament a joint motion has been submitted to the President by altogether sixty Members of Parliament — six Deputies belonging to the Germany Christian Socialist Party, forty-four Deputies belonging to the Sudeta German Party, nine Deputies belonging to the United Club of the National Christian Socialist, the Magyar National and the "Zipser" German Parties, and the Polish Deputy, Dr. Wolf. The text of the Motion is as follows: — "The Government shall be called upon without delay to submit a Bill qualifying denationalisation by force as an act punishable under § 134 of the Constitution".

The Preamble quotes the relevant § of the Constitution, which forbids every form of denationalisation by force and provides that the Law may declare as a punishable act the refusal to respect that principle. It then points out that since the promulgation of the Constitution more than fifteen years have passed, while — particularly recently — there has been continuous growth in the number of cases showing that the protection of minorities must in practice prove of no avail without an enforcement of § 134 of the Constitution.

— y —

LATEST STAGE OF THE BAZOVSKY TRIAL

The principal witness for the prosecution was Vincent Mihalus; the same Vincent Mihalus whom the Czecho-Slovak Government made use of in November of last years, when the Marseilles regicide was being investigated by the League Council. The protocol containing his statements was annexed to the petition to the Yugoslav Government. From the evidence given by Milán Ivanka (former Member of the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly and the trusted friend of

the Prague Government in Slovakia) we now learn that he has been in constant touch with Mihalus ever since the end of 1929. In 1928 Mihalus, as president of some sort of "Slovak National Council", proclaimed Slovakia's independence, and then "emigrated" to a foreign country. Ivanka more than once supplied him with money for the purpose of buying the "League of Slovaks Abroad", and it was with the former's knowledge and consent that he moved in Slovak irredentist circles in foreign countries. According to Ivanka, he has "done the Republic signal service". Ivanka reported all this to Chmelář, Ministerial Councillor in the Prague Foreign Ministry and to Buchař, Police Superintendent in Pozsony. He had always had the work Mihalus was doing abroad checked, and the reports were never anything but good. When in 1934 Mihalus was pardoned and returned to Czecho-Slovakia, his wife begged Ivanka to undertake security for them with a firm of furniture-dealers, the "Osolsove", from which they wished to buy some furniture. Ivanka did so to the tune of 10,000 Czech crowns, 6 or 8 thousands of which he afterwards paid out of his "own" pocket. He also tried to procure Mihalus a little garden where he could grow medicinal herbs. To many of the questions put by the defence Ivanka refused to give any answer, on the ground that professional etiquette forbade him to disclose his client's affairs. This was also the attitude of Ivanka's former articulated clerk, Smida, editor of the "Národné Denník", who was the first to establish personal communication with Mihalus, when the latter was living abroad. A touch of piquancy was given to the proceedings by the fact that years ago Smida acquitted by the Czecho-Slovak Courts of the charge of libel brought against him by Mihalus, because Smida was able to substantiate his statements. The defence took a lively interest in the question of Mihalus' alleged bigamy. No details, however, leaked out: for the court was cleared while this matter was being gone into.

All this goes to show that Mihalus was a dangerous *agent provocateur*, an international gangster, whose "emigration" was financed at the time by Milán Ivanka, who, with the knowledge and consent of the Superintendent of Police in Pozsony, was in touch with Mihalus, and who on the latter's return to Czecho-Slovakia bought furniture and even tried to procure a garden for him. These facts throw a

glaring light on the methods employed by the Czech police. The Czecho-Slovak Court of Justice again resorted to their old practice of excluding the public while this important witness was being heard, so that public opinion and the press should not be able to check or refute his statements. The defence and the accused declared that they were not willing to remain in court unless the trial was a public one, and it was only after the President threatened to have them arrested immediately, that they consented to be present while Mihalus was being examined. He could therefore give free rein to his imagination and the sinister past of this principal witness did not deter the Court from administering the oath, and accepting him as a trustworthy witness. — y —

PERSECUTION OF FENCİK, RUTHENIAN M. P.

The Prosecutor's Office in Kassa has applied to the Presidency of the Czecho-Slovak Parliament to suspend the privileges of Stephen Fencik, Ruthenian Deputy, on the charge of various offences against the Defence of the Republic Act. According to the bill of indictment, Fencik, during his last visit to America, came into touch with Hungarophile elements. — y —

THE ORGAN OF THE RUTHENIAN AUTONOMISTS HAS AGAIN BEEN CONFISCATED

After being placed under embargo for six months, the "Ruskij Vistnik", the weekly organ of the Ruthenian Autonomist Agrarian Union has just been published again. However, the first issue has been confiscated by the Public Prosecutor under § 14 of the Defence of the Republic Act. — y —

THE EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES IN TESCHEN DISTRICT

In the month of November, in the Teschen and Jablunka the Czech authorities took into custody 42 persons on the charge of breaches of the exceptional measures ordained in the Teschen district and in particular for remaining in the streets after 10 p. m.; of the persons arrested 34 were fined sums aggregating altogether 16,500 Czech crowns, 8 being sentenced to terms of imprisonment totalling altogether 27 days.

R U M A N I A

THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR EXTERMINATION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

Ivan Colfescu, Public Prosecutor in Kolozsvár, whose name has become notorious in connection

with his speeches for the prosecution at trials where Hungarians have been arraigned for political offences, addressed a Rumanian Youths' Society in Marosvásárhely on the subject of "Irredentism and national ethics". In the course of his address the Public Prosecutor declared that the Hungarian minority in Rumania must be exterminated and that Hungary as a nation and a State must be struck off the list of independent nations. ("Erdélyi Hirlap", Dec. 1). — y —

ANOTHER EN MASSE DISMISSAL OF MINORITY OFFICIALS

In Temesvár 105 minority municipal officials have been discharged on the pretext that they did not know Rumanian. One thousand post office officials are being dismissed, not because they failed in the language tests, but on the pretext of a re-organisation of the postal service. ("Déli Hirlap", Dec. 2). — y —

"NUMERUS VALACHICUS IN MUSIC"

The Minister of the Interior has ordered that in future the music to be played in places of entertainment, *cafés*, restaurants, etc. must be 50% Rumanian. ("Magyar Ujság" Dec. 5.) — y —

ONLY PERSONS SPEAKING RUMANIAN MAY BE MASTER-CRAFTSMEN

The draft of the new Rumanian Industrial Law (which has been sent to the guilds) shows that the administration of trades and crafts is to be carried out entirely on racial lines. Amongst other things it makes it compulsory for apprentices and master-craftsmen to qualify by examination in the Rumanian language. ("Keleti Ujság", Dec. 2). — y —

IN NAGYVÁRAD CUSTOMERS ARE NOT TO BE SERVED UNLESS THEIR ORDERS ARE GIVEN IN RUMANIAN

The Nagyvárad (Oradea Mare) police commissioner has issued a decree forbidding the staffs of waiters in restaurants, *cafés*, confectioners, shops, clubs, and other public places of entertainment to attend to orders given in any language but Rumanian. From now on the citizens of Nagyvárad, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of which are Hungarians, must order their beef-steaks or their coffee in Rumanian — although the minority treaties expressly stipulate that every citizen is entitled to use his or her mother-tongue in private and commercial intercourse. ("Szabadság" and "Uj Magyar Szó", Nov. 23rd). — y —

PERSECUTION OF ANOTHER PRIEST IN SZEKLERLAND

December 1st is a Rumanian national holiday, and the Cabinet Council ordered a Te Deum to be sung in all the churches at 11 o'clock on that day. In Csikmádéfalva Emeric Buzás, the Roman Catholic parish priest, following the ancient custom of the Roman Catholics in Transylvania, began to celebrate mass at 9 a. m. as usual on Sunday, December 1st, and at 11 o'clock the Te Deum was sung. The sergeant of gendarmes interpreted as agitation against the State the fact that the Roman Catholics of the place went to church so early as 9 a. m. He accordingly took the priest in custody and kept him prisoner in the guardroom till late in the evening. ("Népujság" Dec. 5).

— y —

YUGOSLAVIA

M. MAČEK AND THE AMNESTY

On December 1st., the seventeenth anniversary of the establishment of the Yugoslav State, the Regency issued an Order providing for a free pardon being given to many thousands of condemned persons, the only persons not obtaining an amnesty being those sentenced for offences under §§ 1—2 of the Defence of the State Act. This latter stipulation refers primarily to the persons sentenced in connection with the various Croatian patriotic actions, who are to continue to remain in prison. That has caused great discontent among the Croats — a discontent voiced by M. Maček in a statement made to the Zagreb correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph". "We had expected a lot of things from this Order" — said the Croatian leader — "for seven years the Croatian nation has been groaning beneath the yoke of a dictatorship, Croatian patriots being sentenced *en masses* by extraordinary tribunals; but the public amnesty applies only to 1% of the political prisoners and excludes all persons condemned under §§ 1—2 of the Defence of the State Act. Under these circumstances the Croats cannot but feel bitterly disappointed and would have preferred to waive all right to a public amnesty which opens prison gates to common criminals but leaves the majority of the Croatian patriots still in gaol."

This latest statement made by M. Maček only shows that the Croatian cannot be disarmed by petty concessions or cajoled by scraps of favour into moderating or abandoning their legitimate demand of a radical change in the internal system of the State.

✱

Also the political programme of the Croats has had a certain effect upon the Vojvodina group of the extra-parliamentary Opposition, the Southern Slav parties belonging to this group becoming continually louder and louder in their protests against the

economic exploitation of that territory and in their demand for an extensive autonomy to be given to the Vojvodina district, that being the only sound guarantee ensuring that once exceptionally wealthy province against complete denudation. The gravity of the disproportionately heavy charges which the Vojvodina is made to bear is explained in an article which appeared recently in the "Vojvodjanin", the organ of the Autonomist Party. In addition to paying one half of the total amount of land taxes collected in the whole of Yugoslavia, since the introduction in 1928 of the "unified" taxation laws the Vojvodina pays 150 dinars in State taxes annually per cadastral yoke of land, whereas in the other Banates the amounts levied on a cadastral yoke of arable land represent only 10—20% of that sum. Under the law villages with fewer than 5000 inhabitants are exempt from the payment of house duties. However, seeing that the Vojvodina contains only villages with more than 5000 inhabitants the house duties are an additional burden upon these villages. In return for these enormous sacrifices the State treats the Vojvodina with exceptional severity, though so far that province has received mere broken fragments of the public investments and other public material expenditure. Thus, for example, out of the sums expended between the change of rule and the present day for the repair and construction of public roads only 5% has fallen to the Vojvodina, although in that province there are more carriages and carts in a single hundred than in the whole area of any other Banate. Under such circumstances it is quite comprehensible that the number of autonomists in the Vojvodina should be continually increasing.

— y —

REVIVAL OF LANGUAGE TESTS

The decree imposing obligatory examinations in the language of the State on minority public servants in the Danube Banate issued by the former Ban, M. Dobritsa Matkovitch, was recently revoked by his successor on the presumption that minority public servants who have been in office since the change of rule must be now having an adequate command of the language of the country. Now, however, the Ban has changed his mind, and the examinations, which are directed against the minority public servants, will be held after all. The only difference is that the registration fee will be 130 instead of 375 dinars, and minority public servants who hold Serb school-certificates need not take the examination.

—y—

FURNITURE OF THE SZABADKA HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S CLUB SOLD

The Hungarian People's Club in Szabadka, the largest cultural association of the Hungarians in Yugoslavia, was — as we reported at the time — ordered to cease its activity on July 9th 1934. In spite of this, unduly heavy taxes were levied upon the club,

which owing to its cultural activity being prohibited, was unable to pay. To meet its liabilities the furniture of the Club, together with many valuable theatrical properties, have been sold. Now, under Hungarian rule Serb cultural institutions were freely allowed to

flourish undisturbed, a circumstance proved also by the fact that the Serb National Theatre in Ujvidék (Novisad) celebrated the 75th anniversary of its foundations on November 27th last.

— y —

THEATRE • LITERATURE • ART

GREAT LOSS OF ROYAL HUNGARIAN OPERA

by

Dr. Alexander Halász

Hungarian musical life has suffered a great loss through the unexpected death of Dr. Nicholas Radnai, Director of the Royal Operahouse, at the early age of 43. He had stood at the head of the Operahouse for ten and a half years: this period was marked by unceasing labour and self-sacrifice, as well as by an unparalleled knowledge and skill. No wonder, that he was able to raise the Operahouse to a high level which many other operahouses, in far more favourable circumstances, would have found it difficult to attain. The Royal Hungarian Operahouse may well be considered today to be one of the institutions most attractive to foreign visitors to Budapest. Its performances are perfect, its *ensemble* is first class, and its *repertoire* contains the masterpieces of international operatic literature in addition to the finest works of great Hungarian composers. The Hungarian Broadcasting Station relays one of its excellent performances every week in the whole world; each performance is a living proof of the musical genius of the Hungarian race which is able to give an equally fine interpretation of the works of Mozart and Wagner, Verdi and Puccini, Richard Strauss and Stravinsky, or of Bartók, Kodály, and Liszt. Yes, even Liszt, who is very favourably represented in the repertoire by his Saint Elizabeth Oratorio, and a few ballets selected from his greatest works. Generally speaking, it is not enough to listen to the performances of the Hungarian Operahouse, one must see them too. It is impossible to see more artistic scenery than that of the "Zauberflöte", "Lohengrin", "Hoffmann's Tales", "Madame Butterfly", or the "Feuervogel"; and the dramatic designers working under Dr. Radnai found a way to bring even the most impossible operatic librettos near the audience without altering the character of the drama. The stage of the Hungarian Operahouse actually lives, moves and talks so faithfully that it is almost possible to understand even a play like the "Troubadour" in that interpretation.

The ballet of the Hungarian Operahouse, with due consideration for the natural limits of pure art, may

well be compared with the performance of any American "review" for splendour of colour and liveliness.

Dr. Radnai was only 33 when he was appointed to this responsible position, and he knew what he owed to it. He knew, of course, that it was the principal duty of a theatre to supply the public with excellent goods in a neat wrapping. He was, however, handicapped by the fact that a State Theatre has to refrain from the louder forms of advertisement; nevertheless, his goods were really excellent, so that in a very short time he could see his performances attended by full houses night after night. And he made very low prices for his excellent goods: a seat in the first row of the stalls of the Hungarian Operahouse may be had for 8 pengő (about the same amount in shillings), which is less than in any other operahouse in the world. Yet at the same time he was anxious to give the best value at the lowest prices. A great number of world famous stars have started their careers in the Royal Hungarian Operahouse, their number including the names of Gitta Alpár, Ruby Anday, Maria Németh, Kálmán Pataky, Alexander Svéd, and Louisa Szabó, who died at a very early age and whose gramophone records are well known all over the world. There has not been a great operatic success anywhere in the world that has not found its way to Budapest in the shortest time; and the most famous stars have come to Budapest year after year to show their art here in the most inspiring surroundings.

Dr. Radnai's death was an immense loss to the Operahouse, but he had taken care that his decease should not cause an irreparable loss. He raised an excellent staff of collaborators to his own rank to continue his work after his death, without a hitch. The new Director, Mr. László Márkus, was himself an intimate collaborator of his great predecessor, and his person is a guarantee that the Operahouse will continue to follow the course by which it has achieved a world famous reputation for its performances.

— y —

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

A U S T R I A

MINISTER BURESCH'S ADDRESS IN BUDAPEST ON THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

By invitation of the recently established Hungarian-Austrian Society Mr. Charles Buresch, Austrian Economic Minister, on December 9th, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering, gave an address in the Delegation Chamber of the Hungarian Houses of Parliament on the economic relations between Austria and Hungary. In the concluding section of his address he dealt with the clearing agreement recently concluded and among other things said: — "An agreement has been made under which as from November 27th., 1935, the Hungarian National Bank will charge on clearing payments an additional premium, which will in the case of accounts in pengő be payable by the Austrian creditors and in that of accounts in other currencies by the Hungarian debtors. The amounts obtained under this head will be utilised to increase the receipts of Hungarian exporters. Of course it is not a trifling matter that the calculations of both buyer and seller should be upset in respect of dealings already contracted or effectuated. However, the procedure is justified by the fact that in view of the situation in force for months past in respect of clearing dealings with Hungary some such measure was to be expected in any case, the result being that the probability of a change in the rates payable on accounts made circumspection necessary. *In respect to the future, however, we expect that the new agreement will place business with Hungary on a sound basis in keeping with actual conditions, as we also hope and trust Hungarian exports to Austria will increase and that thereby there will be an enhancement of clearing business.*

"Notwithstanding the difficulties which Hungary has to face under the restrictions on foreign exchanges in force there in respect of the procural of the necessary means of payment, last summer the Hungarian Government took steps deserving the utmost appreciation in order to enable Hungarian nationals to visit Austrian watering-places. And we too are particularly gratified to be able to note that *the interest shown in Austria, not only in the lovely Capital of Hungary, but also in the widely-famed environs of Lake Balaton and other summer resorts of your country, is on the increase.*

"For more than a thousand years, in a small area of territory, there have been living in close friendship as neighbours two peoples distinguished at all times for their firm instinct of self-preservation and famed all over the world for their staunch patriotism; and there is also the capacity shown in all fields of human creation by Austrians and Hungarians alike and the true nobility of sentiment which so often in the past made them firm and loyal allies in struggles and victories and sufferings too."

After the address was over, the audience enthusiastically applauded the Austrian Minister, to whom Secretary of State Géza Tormay expressed the thanks of the Society for the words he had spoken. Afterwards there was a reception at the Austrian Legation, the guests present there including Premier General

Gömbös and Minister Darányi and Winckler. Next day the Hungaro-Austrian Society gave a tea, and Dr. Winckler, Minister of Commerce, a dinner, in honour of the distinguished Austrian visitors. On the occasion of Herr Buresch's visit to Budapest the Regent of Hungary conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

MEASURES TAKEN BY NATIONAL BANK TO PREVENT LEAKAGE OF GOLD

The National Bank of Czecho-Slovakia recently took measures to prevent Czecho-Slovak banknotes of a higher denomination than 50 Czech crowns being taken out of the country, and then issued an order forbidding Czecho-Slovak banknotes to be brought in. Czecho-Slovak citizens are not allowed to bring Czecho-Slovak banknotes from abroad, except to the amount for which they have received a special permit from the National Bank. Czecho-Slovak exporters in future may not take Czecho-Slovak money in settlement of their accounts. They are forbidden to accept anything but foreign currencies or so-called "freely negotiable" Czecho-Slovak crowns, and they must hand in all foreign currencies to the National Bank.

The National Bank gives the following reasons for these measures.

The embargo on the importation of Czecho-Slovak banknotes is intended as a measure to prevent them being smuggled out of the country. During the past month Czecho-Slovak banknotes of the value of 45 million Czech crowns were brought into the country from abroad in payment of commodities exported to foreign countries from Czecho-Slovakia. It is manifest that a sum of this volume could not have left the country except by illegal channels. This smuggling out of banknotes adversely affects Czecho-Slovakia's foreign trade balance. Czecho-Slovak importers paid for the goods imported from abroad with "good" currencies of gold, while the exporters had to accept payment for their consignments in Czecho-Slovak money. As a result a steady leakage of gold from the National Bank found its way out of the country.

The ban on the return of Czecho-Slovak banknotes will be followed by a new statute of the National Bank limiting the export to the so-called clearing states of such half-finished commodities as are made of raw materials for which foreign countries must pay in stable currencies (cotton, wool, etc.).

In any case the proposal of the National Bank, that smugglers of foreign currencies who supply the authorities with the names of their clients and with information relative to the sums involved should be rewarded, is under discussion in the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Finance. — y —

UNEMPLOYMENT

Conditions of employment are worst in Slovakia and Ruthenia. Since October, the number of unemployed in Bohemia has risen from 319,357 to 353,430, in Moravia and Silesia from 179,861 to 197,670, while in Slovakia it has risen from 65,880 to 84,400, and in Ruthenia from 2490 to 4251. The rate

of increase in unemployment throughout the Republic is 13.1%, while in Slovakia it is 28.1%, and in Ruthenia 70.7%.

Seasonal circumstances do not sufficiently explain such a decline in labour conditions: never since the creation of the Republic has the number of unemployed been so high as now. The above data are also incompatible with the official statement we hear so often repeated, that "Czecho-Slovakia has already passed the low point of economic depression". We cannot even speak of a stabilization of the present depression, because the statistical figures show an actual economic decline.

November this year was rather mild considering the season we are in. In any case, the above statistical figures are incomplete owing to the fact that many thousands of unemployed have already given up hope to find work through the agencies, so that these are not considered in the official reports. — y —

DISTRESS PREVAILING IN MORAVIA AND SILESIA

As in Slovakia and Ruthenia, the provinces wrested from Hungary, so also in Bohemia, Moravia, and the German part of Silesia, where the bulk of Czecho-Slovak industry is situated, indescribable distress prevails this year too. To give some idea of it, we reproduce a report published in the December 8th issue of a Prague daily, the "Die Zeit":

"Once upon a time hundreds of smoking factory chimneys witnessed to a thriving industry, famous all the world over; today these chimneys are tombstones, calling attention from afar to the cemeteries where industry lies buried. This December the distress and misery of thousands of families has become infinitely greater; day by day the number of unemployed increases in every district. Many a breadwinner, especially among the labourers in the mountain villages who used to find work in the factories, has not seen the colour of money for weeks. Famine has been made harder to bear by the advent of the cold weather which tells most heavily on the children, who go about thinly clad and with nothing on under their upper garments. There is a great dearth of winter clothing. In Mährisch Schönberg only a few hundred of the workmen who were fully employed in 1928 have jobs. In many factories operations have entirely ceased. Only two employ labour to any satisfactory extent. The number of unemployed who are members of the Trade Unions and receive monetary aid on the Gent system, is small. In some branches of industry even those who have work do not earn more than 40 to 70 Czech crowns a week per head on which to support a wife and family. Conditions are extremely bad in the textile industry at Freudenthal. Weekly earnings range from 35 to 65 Czech crowns. Only 300 of the 580 hands employed formerly in the textile establishments are still at work there. During the past five weeks the number of unemployed in the district of Hohenstadt has increased by 580. In the silk industry the weekly wages range from 40 to 90 Czech crowns. Those who earn more may consider themselves very fortunate. Families of ten have often to subsist on 200 Czech crowns a month. In Freudenthal, Lichtewerden, and Würbenthal the weaving mills are only moderately busy. The one exception is the Römerstadt silk industry, which is very busy at present. In the works belonging to the Schiel joint-stock company 1700 hands are employed. Business in the Jägerndorf cloth industry fluctuates very much. In the Hotzenplotz and Hennersdorf districts practically no opportunities of employment exist. —

Thousands of children of unemployed workmen are growing up without having tasted any of the joys of childhood. They see that their fathers and mothers are always sad; they hear bitter words of complaint, and watch their elders dragging out their days in listless waiting. In Autumn the unemployed went roaming through the woods, gathering wild fruit, mushrooms and faggots. In Winter even this is impossible. Men in the prime of life slouch about idly. Their spirit is broken, and all that interests them is how to fill their empty stomachs." — y —

HUNGARY

LEAGUE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE CONSIDERS HUNGARY'S FINANCIAL SITUATION FAVOURABLE

According to the report on Hungary's financial position prepared for the League Council by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, the actual expenditure in the first five months of the current budgetary year was somewhat in excess of that for the same period last year. Receipts have also increased, but to a lesser extent than the expenditure. The deficit at present is slightly more than it was a year ago. It is therefore important to avoid incurring fresh charges.

The process of consolidation inaugurated by the Order in Council issued in October 1933 has been supplemented by a decree dated October 12th, 1935, under which the State, by granting a certain measure of financial support, and with the aid of a central establishment created by the banks concerned, has effected a further reduction of the burden of indebtedness weighing on the farmers. The arrangement greatly benefits the latter without devolving intolerable sacrifices on the creditor banks.

The maximum capital indebtedness taken over by the State has been raised from the 175 million pengős fixed in the Order of 1933 to 275 millions, but the annual charge devolving upon the Budget has only increased from 7.8 millions to 10.9 millions.

The National Bank of Hungary recently introduced a measure doing away with the system hitherto followed of fixing varying export premiums on the various categories of goods, and has fixed the same premium on the foreign exchange rates for all commodities. Premiums are to vary only according to the various categories of importing States, so that higher premiums are fixed on exports to countries where payment is not regulated by clearing agreements than on those to countries having concluded such agreements. With the rest of the States, again, Hungary has concluded other agreements, which are either barter agreements or foreign exchange compensation agreements.

The new system is to be welcomed in so far that it greatly simplifies a procedure which had become very complicated, and puts commerce and production on a less restricted basis much more in keeping with the present situation. The new system will also probably decrease the inconveniences attendant on every control of foreign exchanges.

Month by month the National Bank has continued to transfer in suitable legal tender the services on the Reconstruction Loan of 1924 as fixed in the programme of the League of Nations Loan Committee (London) on July 5th (50% of the value of the coupons).

The total of the short-term credits coming under the provisions of the "Stillhalte" agreement concluded

between foreign creditors and the banks in their debt, has decreased by nearly 50% during the past four years.

In the first eleven months of 1935 the value of imports was 350.1 million, that of exports 406.5 million pengő, exports thus exceeding imports to the value of 56.4 million pengő. The corresponding figures last year were: imports 322.1 million, exports 363.8 million, the difference being 41.7 million pengő in favour of exports.

The value of exports and imports has risen in consequence of rising prices, in particular of wheat prices. The volume of foreign trade has not increased. It was not only that the wheat crop was only an average one; the yield in other important products, such as potatoes and maize, was also unsatisfactory.

Industrial production is somewhat better. After a long period in which the purchasing power of the agricultural population had sunk very low, traces of improvement are now observable in the prices of certain articles. This improvement has been enhanced by the measures adopted in connection with the farmers' debts. The divergence between the prices of primary necessities and industrial goods has decreased, although it has not ceased. The prices of agricultural produce has continued to rise during the past few weeks, but industrial prices also show a rising tendency.

In general, economic indexes indicate a certain improvement. A slight improvement is noticeable also in labour conditions. Coal trade statistics record a larger consumption than last year. The favourable impression gathered is confirmed by the turn-over and receipts of the State Railways, and the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services.

A FEW DATA RELATING TO HUNGARIAN INDUSTRY

During the current year — as in 1934 and 1933 — the outpoint of Hungarian industry shows an increase. The volume of that output in 60% in excess of that recorded at the low point of the crisis, and 13% of that for the corresponding period of the year 1934. It is noteworthy that the present output of Hungarian industry is some 20% in excess even of that of pre-war years. Today Hungarian industry produces five times as large a volume of goods as in the "period of prosperity", thereby offering evidence of a capacity of development well ahead of that of all the industrial States of Europe, with the one exception of Denmark. The value of our industrial output is already on a level with that of our agriculture, advancing during the current year to a position of equal importance in our foreign trade, — seeing that in the period between July and October it amounted to 50% of that of our total exports. These figures prove better than anything the strenuous efforts made by the economic life of Hungary and also the noteworthy results it has attained in recent years, this offering a certain compensation for the enormous losses inflicted upon Hungary by the dismemberment effected under the treaties of peace.

RUMANIA

IMPOVERISHMENT OF TRANSYLVANIA

The Rumanians are fond of using the argument that the Hungarian régime oppressed the Rumanians in Transylvania, and that Transylvania was then a poor province with a poor industry notwithstanding its

natural wealth and the diligence of its population: while its annexation to Rumania, they say, brought about a complete change and increased the wealth of that province. The daily paper "Universul" says something like this in one of its November issues, adding however that it is not the Rumanians but the minority population who have profited by the change.

Against these statements we would simply quote a passage from a leading article published in the "Romania Noue", on November 15th (Vol. 3, No. 251), under the title "The poverty of Transylvania". The paper from which the following quotation has been taken is the organ of the so-called "young section" of the National Peasant Party and appears in Kolozsvár (Cluj).

"The statement made by the "Universul" so the "Romania Noua" says — "that under the Hungarian régime Transylvania was a poor province with a poor industry notwithstanding its natural wealth and the diligence of its population, is slightly exaggerated! Under the Hungarian régime Transylvania was not a poor province: on the contrary, it enjoyed a more or less privileged position, with a view — of course — to the strengthening of the Hungarian element there. It is enough to refer to the support, given to mining and gas-boring, and to the various branches of agricultural life: cattle, wood, and corn. Finally we must also remember that there was not a single industrial or commercial undertaking in Transylvania but enjoyed a bountiful subsidy from the Government. After the union, however, certain measures were taken that have — sometimes by illegal means — reduced the economic importance of Transylvania. It is true, though, that many people have thus become wealthy, especially such as allowed themselves to be used as instruments in the hands of Government. The population on the whole, however, has become poor. Yet the most lamentable thing of all is that there is a decrease in the resources of economic and commercial development. In the matter of natural gas, a fatal blow has been dealt the industry and commerce of Transylvania, owing mainly to the evil suggestions of that criminal person, Motas. The selfish and short-sighted business policy pursued by the National Bank has completely ruined the smaller Banks of Transylvania, which were the strongholds of Rumanian culture before the union. The Transylvanian Ore Mountains have ceased to develop owing to the lack of mining enterprise. Commerce and industry have, generally speaking, been neglected. There are, it is true, a few parasitical undertakings, such as the "Grupajul", that still continue to flourish, but it is to the detriment of producers and consumers that they are doing so. It is true, too, that those who are near the "flesh-pots" of the Sugar Combine have quite a pleasant life; but this is not commerce or industry: it is nothing but shameful usurpation and exploitation".

In order to see how the so-called "liberating" Rumanian régime is treating its own Rumanian brethren, it is enough to refer to the resolution accepted at the Rumanian Economic Congress held in Cluj (which has been called the "wealthy Kolozsvár" and is the capital of Transylvania) late in November: it was decided to appeal to the King himself for protection for the Rumanians of Transylvania against the unbearable policy of Bucharest and the National Bank (Banca Nationala). — Several speeches delivered at this meeting, implicitly at least, admitted the fact that the Hungarian régime allowed the Rumanians to fulfill their special national mission undisturbed; this alone is enough to show how unjust it is to speak of Hungarian oppression in Hungarian Transylvania. — We now quote the following statements from the

YUGOSLAVIA

ISSUE OF TREASURY NOTES
IN YUGOSLAVIA

It has been declared by the Yugoslav Minister of Finance that the amount of Treasury Notes (500 million dinars) already in circulation will be raised to 1000 millions by the issue of new Treasury Notes for the purpose of covering the Budget deficit. The new Treasury Notes will run for 2 years and will bear interest at the rate of 5%.

— y —

SIGNATURE OF YUGOSLAV-FRENCH
TRADE AGREEMENT

The new Yugoslav-French trade agreement was signed in Belgrade, in December, by M. Bastide, the French Minister of Trade. The new agreement provides for an increase of Yugoslavia's exports to France and for the regulation of previous clearing transactions. The French delegation, as is stated by the "Vreme" in Belgrade, has agreed to almost all the wishes of Yugoslavia, and the French Government has provisionally undertaken to buy 10,000 wagon loads of wheat from Yugoslavia.

— y —

S P O R T S

FOOTBALL

By far the most outstanding event of the last month of the year was the match between England and Hungary. It was a worthy trial of strength between British football with all its traditions and Central European football, which is the best on the Continent. It is always a great event for Continental footballers when they have the opportunity of meeting England's representative team, and the Hungarians are particularly proud that the team representing Hungary's colours were able to play in London, on the beautiful grassy ground at Arsenal.

Not only the players themselves, but also all the Hungarian at home recall with gratitude the friendliness and kindness shown towards the Hungarian team by British public opinion in general. The greetings in Hungarian in the "Star" and the "Evening News", the badges with the letter H on a ground of the Hungarian colours, and numerous other small attentions all go to show that the warm sympathies felt by the Hungarian nation for Britain's sons are not wholly unrequited.

The particulars of the match appeared in all the daily newspapers, so we shall not repeat them. But we feel bound to state that in spite of being beaten by 6 goals to 2 the Hungarian team has no reason to feel ashamed of itself. Its play was good, sound football. The one fault was that the Hungarians were not so quick to shoot in front of the goal, and this gave the English players the advantage which won the day. English sporting papers stressed the point that the game was fair and sporting throughout. That this was so may also be judged by the behaviour

of the crowds of spectators, who often broke out into a storm of applause for the Hungarian visitors.

After the London match the Hungarian team played one against Ireland and won by 3 goals to 2. On the way home they had a match with Holland's representative team which they also won (1:0) after some excellent work.

SPORT FLYING

The success of last year's "Pilot Pic-nic" and the "Balaton Flying Star" tour has induced those concerned to create possibilities of regular air tourism in Hungary. Hitherto only the aerodromes at Mátyásföld and Balatonkürt near Siófok were big enough to allow several machines to land and provide sufficient accommodation, petrol and other necessities for them.

In order to encourage air tourism suitable flying fields will have to be provided, partly by the establishment of new ones and partly by enlarging those already existing at Sopron, Kőszeg, Szombathely, Pécs, Kiskunhalas, Kalocsa, Kecskemét, Bugac-Puszta, Szeged, Debrecen, the Hortobágy, Miskolc, and the Aggtelek Stalactite Cave. Preparations at those places are so far advanced that by the spring of 1937 an adequate number of landing places will be ready at almost all of them. It is also proposed to build landing places at Keszthely, Eger and Veszprém.

All of these landing places will be arranged so that air tourists from abroad will find everything they require for their machines and to facilitate flying. Machines will be looked after and properly hangared, repairs provided for, all necessities at hand and guides waiting to conduct visitors.

10101