

# DANUBIAN REVIEW

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# THE COOPERATION OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

BY

BARON PAUL FORSTER

*Budapest, 27th August, 1937.*

**M**ust the cup of sorrow be quaffed to its dregs? Is it impossible for mankind to avoid the supreme sacrifice, the sacrifice of our civilization, which it took so many centuries to build up?

The Spanish problem is far from being settled. — We may think ourselves lucky that the non-intervention scheme — which the man in the street might be forgiven for calling a pitiful farce — has averted the worst.

And here again is the Far Eastern Problem, bringing its new surprises every day, surprises which seem to have more serious aspects than any of the political entanglements of post-war years. From Northern China trouble has spread to Shanghai, with all the international complications that have lately arisen there and may still arise. To-day comes the news of the air attack on the motor-car in which the British Ambassador was travelling from Nanking to Shanghai. Surely this terrible blunder was an unintentional act of war — but then there is no official war between Japan and China!

Is it not utterly absurd that "there is no war", that the Chinese and Japanese Ambassadors continue to reside in Tokio and Nanking, exchanging diplomatic notes and negotiating with a view to clearing up misunderstandings, while perhaps scores of men-of-war and probably several hundred thousand soldiers equipped with all the marvellous

(or infernal) machines for the destruction of life and civilization are engaged in deadly warfare?

And it is most probable that the agents of large and small firms engaged in the manufacture of war material in Europe and America are all the while busy selling their tools of destruction in Spain and in the Far East — if necessary arranging even for an appropriate credit or apparently favourable loans.

Something must be radically wrong if such a state of affairs is allowed to continue.

No sentimental preachings, no idealistic dreams can bring a cure, but all nations and all the members of our so-called white civilization are entitled to raise their voices and demand the cessation of all hypocritical and purely egoistic actions and useless diplomatic subterfuges. The world needs an honest readjustment of international problems; first a righting of real wrongs and only thereafter a talk of sanctions, of effective sanctions against the wrongdoer, for wrongdoer he surely is who has no genuine grievance to justify his taking individual action.

Most of the Central European countries are not directly concerned in the Far Eastern Problem; they are not directly interested in the civil war in Spain, nor was the Abyssinian controversy their concern; and yet they were dragged into the latter, and may to-morrow suffer by reason of the grave crisis which the Sino-Japanese conflict may create.

Therefore Hungary, and every Hungarian, must watch the future development of events with no little anxiety, the more so considering with what meagre success the grave international problems of the past 18 years have been handled in this not too happy world.

But let by-gones be by-gones. There are people who would fain draw a curtain over the past and who seem to believe in collective security as a panacea for all ills.

Happily the number of believers in this universal remedy has dwindled to a very few who profit by sins of commission. The peoples themselves, the hundred of millions of victors and defeated alike, were losers all, and if properly enlightened would surely realise that collective security is a pernicious slogan unless preceded by an honest readjustment of present conditions, of the conditions which caused the Abyssinian crisis, the Spanish danger and the Far Eastern menace as well as the many other political and economic entanglements and worries that are upsetting the world.

A new world war looms ahead! And what are the men who took part in the carnage of the last world war doing? Year after year they assemble more frequently and in greater numbers to take a solemn pledge to work against war; to work for co-operation among all the civilized nations on the basis of a full understanding of the rights and interests of each.

Is it too much to ask politicians to do the same? The League of Nations, the League of Nations Union, the Inter-parliamentary Conferences and other new organisations like the New Commonwealth are doing this already, is the usual rejoinder. Certainly. But just as certainly they are doing it most ineffectively. Ineffectively because not one of these organisations has as yet had the courage to tackle the essential, no one has dared to strike at the roots of the problem. In vain have statesmen and economic experts, such as General Smuts, John M. Keynes and many politicians in Westminster and even in both Houses of the French Parliament, raised from the very outset their warning voices against the blunders of Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain and Sèvres. These absurd Treaties of Peace (if not unilaterally repudiated) continue to be the creed of the most influential governments in the world, and that, in spite of the fact that in recent years more than one responsible statesman has admitted and professed that this world is not a static but dynamic one.

However, no deeds have ever followed these words. Why? For fear perhaps that action would be a graver danger to the maintenance of peace than the maintenance of the utterly intolerable conditions which now prevail.

The falsehood, the hypocrisy or the grossly biassed and onesided information on which this belief was based, is borne out by the fact that instead of an improvement setting in new troubles arise year by year. These troubles are almost always caused by genuine or alleged differences between nations, by the problems of raw materials, of a rapidly increasing population, or artificial trade restrictions and the like. Another cause is that hardly any of the noble and ethnical principles which were to be the foundation of the Peace Treaties have been universally adopted, that is to say made to apply to each and every nation. Last but not least, in spite of all professions and democratic creeds, secret diplomacy and strong central governments prevent the free will of the people from asserting itself. Some will claim that this accusation can only be levelled against the totalitarian states, Italy and Germany; others, with at least the same right, will consider Bolshevist Russia, who tries to impose her own system on the world, the guilty party, or even to a minor extent, for example, democratic Czecho-Slovakia who refuses autonomy to Ruthenia, although under treaty obligation to grant it.

Other reasons why the many well-meant endeavours to achieve a satisfactory settlement of the outstanding problems were bound to fail probably lie in the fact that too much was attempted. Far too often was the solution of a problem, otherwise ripe for settlement, postponed or torpedoed because influence proved stronger than the command of commonsense. The slogan of collective security prevented general settlements, the fear that an honest compromise in one instance might force an honest compromise upon others who cling to their illgotten gains, has prevented settlements in the past. And yet such settlements would not only have been a boon to those directly concerned, but would also have

been most useful in furthering the settlement of other universal problems.

Apart from the utter impossibility of co-ordinating, under these conditions, the diametrically opposed interests, the clumsiness of international conferences at which all and sundry are represented, is the evil that must be averted, if sound work is to be accomplished. The failure of the Disarmament and World Economic Conferences was no doubt partly due to the latter cause. At world conferences of that nature certain Great Powers may not disclose their ultimate aims, but leave the lesser Powers to do the talking for them. But if, as we see even in Geneva, the lesser Powers, if not acting for a Great Power, in spite of their equality in theory feel little of it in practice, then let the Great Powers assume full and open responsibility for the shaping of the future destiny of mankind.

At present certain hopeful signs are noticeable. The King of the Belgians has taken the initiative on economic lines, which may prove useful for the world at large, while the exchange of letters between the British Prime Minister and Signor Mussolini augurs well for the future development of Anglo-Italian relations. The friendship between these two countries which has for so long been one of the pillars of world peace, must be, and we feel sure is, a matter for rejoicing in Paris as well as in Berlin, in Vienna as well as in Budapest.

It would be difficult to find a single Austrian or Hungarian who would look askance at Anglo-Italian co-operation. These peoples of the Danube basin are on the most friendly terms with both Great Powers and it is no secret that they look forward with great hopes to an improvement in the relations between France and Italy too. If London and Paris can take the same view of the Mediterranean problem, then only one further step is needed to settle the Western European problem. Towards this settlement Belgium has already taken a bold initiative by looking for different, and

in her opinion better, guarantees of her security than Locarno afforded. An understanding in the West and on the Mediterranean ought to and certainly can be achieved to-day, and then the close friendship between Italy and Germany may bridge the gulf between France and Germany.

What in 1932 was a failure, viz. the Four Power Pact, might then become the salvation of the world, because an Anglo-Italian understanding followed by a *rapprochement* between Paris and Rome must necessarily take into consideration the special interests — economic rather than political — of Italy and Germany in the Danubian Basin and thus help to solve the Central European problem, which is of such eminent importance for the peace of the world.

The co-operation of the four Great Powers in Central European affairs is much more likely to be assured if France recognises that an understanding with Germany is a far greater guarantee of her security than a military alliance with Russia and that the Little Entente as a military and political factor is perhaps of even more doubtful value than the Soviet.

Yugoslavia is on friendly terms with Italy and Germany but abhors Bolshevism; Rumania looks to Poland for support against Russia, while Poland is separated from Czecho-Slovakia by several serious controversies.

Since the Little Entente cannot, even economically, be called the unit of identical aims it would like to be thought, the Great Powers of the West would seem justified in making a new attempt at reviving the 1932 plan in order to settle once for all that unresolved problem: Central Europe.

This done, they would have a free hand to settle other international problems too.

And they could settle all the European problems: London and Rome by virtue of the Three Powers Pact would have the support of Austria and Hungary, probably even of Yugoslavia, and the opposition of the other Little

Entente States might be overcome provided London and Paris would show themselves resolute. They could surely count also on the support of the whole civilised world because their action would have to be based on an honest application of the principles so often involved: equal rights and equal chances for all and the right of self-determination for all the races.

— y —

OSZK

Nemzeti Széchenyi Könyvtár

# ANGLO-FRENCH CO-OPERATION. THE ONLY GUARANTEE OF PEACEFUL CHANGE

BY

GEORGES ROUX

I do not know whether British people are fully aware of the extraordinary growth of prestige achieved by their country during the past few months. In the middle of a universe with nerves on edge Great Britain seems to have preserved her calm, her sangfroid and her capability of judging realities with the greatest possible exactitude. The fact that she has held aloof from the battle of ideologies and the passions of partisanship which are laying Europe waste, has invested her with special authority.

This is fully appreciated by France, by the wisest and happily the most numerous section of that sensitive and nervous people, the French. Our sentimental impulses have often received the check of cold logic from London; and we are ready to admit that in many cases the brake has proved beneficial.

We are also inclined to believe that the permanent contact existing between the Foreign Office and the Quay d'Orsay is of the greatest service to world peace.

This dual harmony, in the opinion of all well-meaning people on either side of the Channel, is obviously only a prelude to and nucleus of a more widely universal Entente. Franco-British accord cannot be an aim in itself, since relations between the two nations were settled long ago and for an indefinite period of time. It is not an aim, but a means. To be precise, it is a tool, the best instrument for the general pacification of Europe. It is of no value unless it becomes a lever wherewith to raise this old continent of ours out of the depths of the abyss into which it has fallen.

Apparently this is understood by Mr. Neville Chamberlain. With that vivid sense of realities and possibilities that distinguishes him, the new British Prime Minister does not conceive of international politics in terms of separate intrigues. He thinks "*duos*" dangerous and wants "*ensembles*" instead. He considers *blocs* harmful and would fain substitute a policy of "circles" in place of one of "axes". Hence undoubtedly the initial steps towards the convocation of a Locarno Conference this autumn. The need of a "Western Pact" is indeed growing more and more evident. In the West there are no real territorial disputes; the Powers there are well able to guarantee each other's frontiers mutually. Since that part of Europe is the most important and the most alive of all, this Pact would be a decisive step towards the pacification of the whole continent. Could the four Great Powers of the West, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy be brought to sit down together at the same table, we should have a cell around which all else would grow.

All else, that is to say, universal peace! For the Great Powers are not in conflict over the West of Europe, but over Central Europe. Of a truth France and Britain on the one side and Germany on the other are not at loggerheads over the Rhine, but over the Danube. This is the real root of all our international problems.

They were born of a bad state of affairs. It is because the peace of 1919 was badly made that all this disquietude weighs on the world. What are all our difficulties of the moment but political difficulties? from whence spring unendingly all the obstacles that impede a return of prosperity, if not from an unhealthy political situation? We are living in a state of anxiety and perpetual wariness which retards and hampers development.

There is one point which must be seen as it has not yet been sufficiently well seen, namely, that the "Peace" of 1919 was no real peace. We must take into account the fact that it could not have been. Men's thoughts were not yet free. The war had been too long, too hard; it had left too many dead, too many ruins, in its train. The exasperation of the victors was inevitable. Men had been required to make too terrible an effort. To keep them at this pitch they had to be imbued

with more and more hatred. In 1919 people would have had to be saints to reason properly.

The victors, exhausted and in addition ignorant of Central European conditions, let themselves be managed by statesmen from the Balkan countries in whose eyes falsehoods were not of the same importance as they are to us of the West. It is an indisputable fact, and one cruelly apparent to all impartial travellers to those regions, that false documents were produced in Paris in 1919. In his book "Peacemaking" Harold Nicholson recounts, for example, that when the frontiers of Czecho-Slovakia were being traced, they were supposed to incorporate a mere 60.000 Hungarians, whereas in the first official statistics Prague was compelled to confess to 780.000.

Even today Czech propaganda — the best organized propaganda in the world — spreads inaccurate information. It has been concentrated on France and Britain and has accomplished remarkable work in those two great countries, especially in France, thanks to the corrupt state of affairs in Paris. In London it was only by resort to falsehoods that it produced results, and in the interest of British honesty and of world peace these lies should not be allowed to go unrefuted.

It is a fact that the treaties of 1919 were based on errors and are therefore no real peace treaties. When people begin to talk about the sanctity of signatures and the respect in which treaties must be held, it will suffice to reply that a signature obtained by misrepresentation is no signature and a treaty secured by fraud is no treaty.

This false peace, by means of all the righteous indignation and legitimate rancour it has created, has been the original cause of the present state of extraordinary international tension which weighs on us. Never has the world known a like degree of nervousness. Since 1919 we have been living in an atmosphere steadily growing more sultry. The years prior to the War have no parallel to offer. Even the July of 1914 was far from creating the same impression of anxiety. We are living in an atmosphere charged with electricity which is destroying us. We are at the mercy of an accident, for, thanks to the state of excitement prevailing among the

nations of Europe, the most trifling incident may assume the proportions of an irreparable catastrophe.

If we do not absolutely desire the ruin of all and a wholesale massacre, real peace must be established; and since the truth, confirmed daily by experience, is that the peace of 1919 was no real peace, it must be rectified and what therein is bad and unjust revised.

To all who know the real situation in Europe this necessity is so palpably evident that opinions do not differ so much on the question itself as on the difficulty and opportuneness of solving it. The only real problem is one of procedure. It would seem that the best and most practical solution would be to unify all the existing partial adjustments in one general adjustment.

Thus we arrive at the idea, which is steadily gaining ground and to which, in my opinion, a Locarno Conference must be the introduction: the convocation of a Peace Conference.

All other peaceful means are but momentary palliatives and expedients — poultices on a gangrened limb, when what is needed is a surgeon.

The Quay d'Orsay and the Foreign Office are exhausting themselves in unceasing efforts to replaster a ramshackle edifice. Mr. Eden and M. Delbos resemble the captain of a vessel filling up with water which they are busy pumping out, when it would be better to mend the breach and keep the water from coming in. Otherwise, I am afraid, one day soon the ship will sink.

There may be those who fear that a world conference would be confronted with a task so formidable as to defeat it. This is not my opinion. Let us take stock of the difficulties.

The Polish corridor is no longer a disputed point. Nor is the Saar. The clauses of the Treaty of Versailles applying to the West have long since been revised.

Perhaps the question of colonies?

Colonies for whom?

Italy has already received certain far from negligible territories as compensation, on the Somali Coast from France and in Jubaland from Britain. She herself has acquired possession of Abyssinia, a very large morsel which

she has only just swallowed and will take a long time to digest. Assimilation will take years to accomplish and she must begin with that task. For an indefinite period there will be no Italian colonial question.

As for Germany, first of all let it be said that Germany had no colonies except for a very limited period of her long history, only since the opening years of the twentieth century. Before that Germany had never extended her dominion beyond the ocean. Ever since they became nations the British and the French have always possessed overseas empires. Before the conquest of Algiers in 1830, France possessed Canada and the Indies, and even long before that France established kingdoms in Cyprus, Rhodes, Athens and Jerusalem. — England, before the conquest of India, held what is now the United States of America. On this and that side of the Channel old Norman, Viking and Bordeaux blood made France and England what they have always been since, imperial nations. Germany was never imperial, at least in the same sense, though colonies she had: the Hanseatic colonies on the Baltic which were connected with Germany by land. At certain periods of her history she has possessed a fine navy, for her talent for organization permits her to achieve success in every direction. But the call of her blood is to the continent and her colonies never aroused passionate feelings in her.

Her present-day demand for colonies is obviously based on two grounds only.

The first is a shortage of raw materials; but that is a problem which can be solved in other ways.

The second is a question of *amour propre*, of prestige.

The Empire in Germany's eyes is in the first place *Mittleuropa*. Spain, as a matter of fact, means nothing to Berlin beyond the price of a free hand in Vienna and Prague. The dream of the Reich is above all Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, where 3.300.000 Sudeta Germans await her commands. This is the real problem and it is also the chief reason why a world conference ought to be convened. For after all, though Germany has a right to exist, and in fact lays claim to special rights in those regions, she has therefore no right to expand beyond all bounds and absorb all the peoples around

her. Europe is menaced by two great perils: Panslavism and Pangermanism. The one must not be allowed to hide the other from our view. Not to mince matters, the one is as great a danger today as the other, especially to Central Europe in its present construction. The state of disunion into which it has been thrust, is grist to the mills of Berlin and Moscow. The hatreds sown in Central Europe merely serve the ambitions of Hitlerism and the Soviet. Both régimes batten on the rancours engendered by the bad peace treaties. The intrigues of the Kremlin and of Wilhelm Strasse find a fertile soil in the disorganized state of the unfortunate Danube Valley. German or Russian hegemony is imminent, unless we create a state of equilibrium there. And, as I see it, there are only two methods of procedure open to us: a reform of the League Covenant or a world conference. In my opinion no other course is practicable. But League reform comes into collision with the intransigence of the little Balkan nations, who are envenoming the international atmosphere by selfishly refusing to restore what does not belong to them by right and is merely an embarrassment to them, since the burden of too large minorities is only a source of permanent weakness. But this they will never admit.

It is the two old Great Powers, France and Great Britain, that must therefore take the initiative required. Both have the same interests; both cannot but desire equilibrium in Europe. There can be no equilibrium without a modicum of national justice. A nation with three and a half millions of its folk beyond its frontiers and cut off from its markets too, is in itself a source of trouble for the whole world; and this trouble must be eliminated.

As we see, the problem of readjustment is a dual one.

First of all there is the problem of elementary justice. Let the peoples of the Danube Valley be given their proper places. It is an artificial and therefore unstable situation when the Czechs, who number only 7 million souls, rule over a State of 14 million inhabitants, while the Hungarians — 11 or 12 millions — have a State of 8 and a half million subjects.

In the second place the question is one of equilibrium.

Either there will be a vigorous and harmonious Europe or we must continue to watch over this divided continent of hatreds, this arena of perpetual dissensions and seat of dangers which render its atmosphere quite unbreathable.

Which will Paris and London choose?

This is the whole question.

If the leaders of France and England want war, they have only to strive to maintain the present untenable situation.

But if they desire peace, they must find a new adjustment.

We have had enough of falsehoods and errors. Truth has too long been overclouded. The day must come when it will reappear and shed its light upon us. — y —

OSZK  
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

# THE MINORITY TREATIES AND THE SUCCESSION STATES

BY

Dr. JULIUS KORNIS,

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**T**he international political situation still shows a preponderance of dark colours. And what are those peoples of Europe doing whose intelligence, culture and technical ability have so far enabled them to exercise a hegemony over all parts of the globe? They are staring at one another in a spirit of mutual jealousy and a desire for power; they are arming at a speed and on a scale that can only be described as mad; they are enhancing the war tension prevailing among them by means of collective treaties concluded in the name of peace, — doing so at a time when the self-consciousness of the coloured races and their belief in their historical mission is continually on the increase and is preparing to carry into effect a pan-Asiatic programme, — when Japan, after conquering without effort or serious sacrifice many million square miles of territory, is preparing to lay hands on the islands of the Pacific, — when Ghandi's brilliant genius is resting only to gather strength for the final struggle, — when the soul of Islam is being fired by the ideals of pan-Arabianism, — when the pan-Slav bolshevism of Eurasia is undermining the whole world, having wormed its way into one half of the Spanish peninsula and being engaged in gradually eroding the social foundations of France, — and when the expansive force of misery and want is everywhere threatening to bring about an upheaval and the peoples of Europe are living in constant and everlasting fear of the consequences.

The War indeed left one illusion alive, — the belief in the League of Nations, which was expected to prevent any outbreak of war. Since then this illusion too has been scattered to the winds: despite the Disarmament Conference held under the auspices of the League and despite its protests new wars have broken out: and the authority of the League was finally shattered and destroyed by the fiasco of the economic retaliatory measures taken by it. Not long before his death even Sir Austen Chamberlain, a devoted adherent of the League, was driven to resignedly establish the fact that this international forum was anything but a firm guarantee of peace. "It is compelled to renounce its more daring hopes, because it does not possess the requisite means."

Under such conditions we may well ask as to the relation between this dark international situation and the Danube Valley, the political groundwork of which was for a thousand years supplied primarily by the Hungarian people? Since the conclusion of the treaties of peace following the Great War the Danube Valley has been split up both politically and economically and as a consequence has been left behind in the world economic competition, becoming impoverished and indebted and showing a continuous decline. The big unit known as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was dismembered; but the small national States established in its place are quite unable on the basis of the nationality principle to perform important historical missions either of a political or of an economic character. The political principle underlying the treaties of peace was to liberate the several territories on a national basis and annex them to those of the sister nations. But, in defiance of the much-vaunted fundamental principle of national self-determination, the body of the Hungarian nation was vivisected and dismembered, millions of Hungarians being subjected to foreign rule — a million and a half in compact blocks along the arbitrary and artificial new frontiers foisted on Hungary, and in addition, in scattered masses in the more distant territories, another two millions. This cruelly dismembered country has still to face a whole group of hostile States. The members of this latter group were enabled by the one-sided decision of the

Peace Conference to acquire as much territory as they wished, in defiance of ethnographical frontiers. This state of things was brought into being by one-sided armed force and is still being maintained by military power. The peace existing today is merely the direct continuation and perpetuation of the state of war, — a peace which causes us just as much suffering as war. This peace is the cause and source of the tension and state of fever from which the Danube Basin is suffering today.

The victorious Powers which dictated the peace treaties have long been resorting to the political trick of endeavouring — once the spirit of vindictiveness and the intoxication of victory was exhausted — to win the sympathies of the vanquished by concessions and to secure peace by goodwill. But what have our neighbours, the Little Entente States which have appropriated the fruit of a victory won by others, been doing? Apart from exploiting immeasurably at our expense the unique political conjuncture when determining the conditions of the treaties of peace, they have for almost two decenniums been endeavouring to make further capital out of our misfortune, treating us everlastingly with an air of superiority and indeed threatening us, uniting against us in a political, military and economic alliance, refusing to respect even the slight rights guaranteed us in the treaties of peace (especially in respect of the Hungarian minorities severed from their mother country), and indeed deliberately flouting and confiscating those rights. They have augmented their military preparedness to an alarming extent, though Hungary's military equality is still taboo. This intolerable state of affairs is a contravention of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which stipulates general disarmament; and it runs counter also to the principle of equality as between the Member States. A continuation of the present state of affairs is a menace to the safety of our country, — a safety to which we are just as entitled as any other nation. The military superiority of the Little Entente States is a constant stimulus to them to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary and to attempt to terrorise her in advance.

The treaties of peace made the protection of the minorities a *sine qua non* of their territorial expansion.

According to Wilson "it was only in return for the signature of the minority treaties that the new States received new territories". Thus, the non-observance of the minority treaties makes even the right to the territories questionable. That is why the treaties of peace stipulated that the provisions of those treaties relating to minorities should be „recognised as fundamental laws" and should be codified as such by the States benefiting territorially.

And now, when I inquire into the manner in which the Succession States have fulfilled the obligations contained in international treaties in their treatment of the Hungarian minorities, I am not in the very least inspired by any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the neighbouring States. For it is evident that what we are speaking of now, is not the internal affairs of these States, but the question of the observance of their international treaties, — a common concern of all Europeans alike, particularly when we remember the menacingly stern solemnity with which these States themselves stress the "sanctity of international treaties" when opposing our revisionist endeavours. These treaties are "sacred and inviolable" when their provisions are in favour of those States; but an infraction of the treaties is easily and lightly committed when it is a question of the obligations referring to the protection of minority rights.

How have our neighbours fulfilled these obligations? Let us take *Rumania* first. She failed to incorporate in the new Constitution framed in 1925 the provisions of the minority treaty, on the plea that these questions would in any case be adjusted by her in a separate law to be drafted later. But that separate law has never been drafted either. On the contrary: Rumania has passed a whole series of laws seriously *contravening the minority treaty*, — e. g. the Nationality Act of 1924, the Administration Act of 1929, §§ 76 and 198 of which contain differentiations in respect of the right of representation of the minority churches, the Agrarian Reform Acts which are so flagrant a breach of the right of ownership, the Elementary Education Act of 1924, which evades the obligation of allowing minorities instruction in their own languages and in § 159 establishes the so-called

"culture zone" for the purpose of rumanianising the minority pupils.

The Transylvanian *Agrarian Reform* practically extirpated the landowning class of Hungarian (political) nationality, reducing the Hungarian landowners who had remained in that province also to poverty. The private property of corporations Rumania successively declared to be State property. That is what has been done with the property of the landowning corporation of Csík, with the assets of the Kolozsvár National Theatre, the Teachers' Home and numerous other endowments, with the estates of the Roman Catholic clergy (altogether 23,387 yokes), with the school-buildings of the Piarist, Minorite and Premonstratensian Orders, with the estates of the Transylvanian Reformed Church (24,563 yokes) and with the estate (1400 yokes) belonging to the Unitarian Church which had provided for the maintenance of 200 Unitarian secondary-school pupils.

Even this is not enough to satisfy the infatuated hatred of the Rumanian extremists. A striking illustration of this circumstance is the Bill presented by *Octavian Goga*, which has for its object the expropriation of the estates of all non-Rumanian landowners. The said Bill proposes that the State should declare as *unconditionally liable to expropriation* all estates of more than 25 yokes in area situated within a frontier zone of 100 kilometres which are in the hands of non-Rumanian owners, paying for the same in bonds. But even that is not sufficient to satisfy the extremists. The Bill is to authorise the State *to purchase* at the current market prices all estates exceeding 50 yokes in area which are in the hands of Rumanian nationals of other than Rumanian race, no matter in which part of the country they may be situated. Should this Bill or any other Bill of similar tenor become law, such a procedure would involve, not merely an insolent flouting of European legal order and civilisation, but also a flagrant breach of Articles 2, 8 and 9 of the Minority Treaty and Articles 63 and 250 of the Treaty of Trianon.

Paragraph 2 of Article 2 of the Minority Treaty guarantees the *free exercise of religion*. This provision is flagrantly contravened by the Religion Act of 1928, which

contains veritable police measures as against the minority churches, stipulating the right of control and of interference in the inner life of those churches, making the agenda of the church assemblies subject to restrictions and demanding or rather requiring the approval of the State in respect of their internal affairs.

Particularly grievous in respect of the vital rights guaranteed under the Paris Minority Treaty are the injuries resulting from the *non-recognition of civic rights*. Articles 3 seq. of the Minority Treaty granted the rights of citizenship to all persons who at the time when that treaty was put into force resided within the territory of Rumania — i. e. also within the territories transferred to Rumania. As against this, however, the Rumanian Nationality Act of 1924 made the rights of citizenship dependent upon the rights of domicile (*pertinenza*) in force on November 18th., 1918, stipulating in addition formalities of an exceptionally severe character which very frequently could not be complied with at all. Consequently, despite the provisions of the Minority Treaty, there are still tens of thousands of Hungarians not possessing rights of citizenship as Rumanian nationals. Of the 88,000 inhabitants of Nagyvárad, for instance, 32,000 have not yet been entered in the register of Rumanian nationals. This deliberately provoked lack of order has for its object the intimidation of the minorities, whom it deprives of their vital conditions of subsistence: minority inhabitants of the kind are not given passports and may with impunity be dismissed from office or expelled the country etc. But even if they are definitively entered in the register of Rumanian citizens, this procedure may be — and frequently is — invalidated by the authorities. In many cases Hungarians who had been born in Transylvania and had always lived there, being also owners of houses or other real estate, have been simply deported and their families too.

Article 8 of the Minority Treaty provides for *equality of civil and political rights*. As against this provision, how-

ever, the Rumanian Government has consistently refused to permit the assertion of the majority principle in favour of Hungarians in the towns and villages with a Hungarian majority. In Széklerland, for instance, this pure Hungarian

(Magyar) region, there is not a single Hungarian mayor. Even where the Hungarians form an overwhelming majority, the Government forces the municipal, county and parish councils to accept Rumanian majorities. The Hungarian public servants taken over into its service when the new territories were annexed are driven from their posts by repeated language tests and are dismissed from their posts in large numbers. Even physical workers — scavengers and charwomen too — are required to pass language tests. The Hungarians (Magyars) are being driven from the educated professions and indeed from the employment of private enterprise too. Only the other day the Bucharest Chamber of Advocates declared that it would admit to membership of the Chamber only advocates of Rumanian origin. The Labour Protection Act now being drafted is to require that all industrial, commercial and financial undertakings shall employ 75% of employees of Rumanian origin. In Rumania, then, "protection of labour" will in the future mean that the public law of the country will wrest their tools from the hands of millions of citizens simply because they are not Rumanians by birth, will drive them from their machines or their desks and will thrust them into the streets and deprive them of the means of earning a living.

The Rumanian State systematically and consistently infringes Articles 9—10 of the Paris Minority Treaty, which guarantee *the right of minorities to establish schools and to be instructed in their own languages*, thereby using every effort to forcibly rumanianise the minorities. It has established State schools using Rumanian as the language of instruction in Széklerland, a region inhabited exclusively by Hungarians (Magyars), appointing to those schools Rumanian teachers who have no knowledge of Hungarian; by means of "name-analysis" and by the infliction of school fines it compels the Hungarian pupils to leave the Hungarian denominational schools and attend State schools, the object being to deprive them forcibly of their nationality. The right of parents to freely choose schools is made impossible. The building and maintenance costs of the Rumanian State schools are made a charge on the inhabitants belonging to the Hungarian minority, that minority being thus forced to pay double

school rates. According to the latest statistics, in 49 towns in Transylvania, in which the proportion of Hungarians is 64%, the number of pupils of schooling age having in the school-year 1932/33 been 67,965, only 16,123 children (24%) were able to attend denominational schools, the State having limited the number of pupils admissible to those schools to that extent. In the towns in question the other 52,000 children of schooling age had at their disposal altogether only 11 State schools teaching Hungarian too. Thus, only 27.5% of the total number of Hungarian children of schooling age were able to attend schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction, the remaining 72.5% (nearly 50,000) either attending Rumanian schools or not going to school at all.

The Rumanian Government has inundated the Székler counties with Rumanian State *infant-schools* established at the expense of the Hungarian villages in which infant mistresses not knowing any Hungarian subject the Hungarian infants to persecution. Today, for instance, in the County of Csik, 90% of the inhabitants of which are Hungarians, there are 63 Rumanian State infant-schools operating in 30 villages: yet in the said county there is not a single State elementary school with Hungarian as the language of instruction. The teaching of apprentices is done exclusively in Rumanian, though the mother tongue of 50% of the apprentices in Transylvania is Hungarian.

A grave breach of the minority rights is the so-called "*culture-zone*" established under §. 159 of the Elementary Education Act in 9 counties inhabited by Hungarians (Magyars), the object of this measure being the rumanianisation of the Széklers. The Rumanian teachers from Old Rumania appointed to the elementary schools in these counties are granted premiums representing 50% of their salaries as a reward for their rumanianisation activities, and are promoted every 4 years (instead of every 5 years, that being the general rule), receiving from the State in addition a grant of 10 hectares of land each.

Under Article 10 of the Paris Minority Treaty the State is required to subsidise *also the non-State schools*. This obligation the Rumanian State has never attempted to

fulfil. In 1914, in pre-War Hungary, the Hungarian Treasury remitted a total amount of 1,880.358 gold crowns to the denominational schools maintained by the Greek Catholic (Uniate) and Greek Oriental (Orthodox) Churches, — that amount being the equivalent of 68 million lei present value. During a period of 15 years the Rumanian State has granted altogether about 10 million lei to the Hungarian schools; but for years past it has not remitted for the purpose a single bani, whereas the Saxons are still in receipt of a regular annual State subsidy (5 million lei).

In *Czecho-Slovakia* too we see the Government pursuing a policy aiming at the destruction of the Hungarian (Magyar) minority which is a direct contravention of the Minority Treaty; only the means employed are not so brutally arbitrary. From the very outset the object in view has been to undermine the economic position of the Hungarians and to oust them from public life.

On the basis of the tendentiously arbitrary Census results the Magyars living in the towns of Pozsony and Kassa have been deprived of the right to use their language, their proportion of the populations of those towns having been by means of various artificial methods reduced to less than 20%. The local government of those villages which elect a representative assembly with a Magyar majority is suspended by the Czech Government, which then appoints a government commissioner with full powers to manage and direct the matters belonging to the sphere of authority of the autonomous assembly. Particularly injurious to the interests of the Hungarians is the *Defence of the Republic Act*. This Act has established a frontier zone which includes the whole area densely inhabited by Hungarians (Magyars), exceptional powers being vested in the military authorities in that zone. Persons described as "unreliable" may, for instance, be removed at a moment's notice from all plants situated in that zone. No real estate may be purchased in the said zone either by joint-stock companies or by any other fictitious persons without the previous approval of the military authorities. No buildings may be erected in the frontier zone without a permit from the military authorities. For the purpose of undermining the national feelings of the

Hungarian masses living in the frontier zone the authorities exercise a special indulgence and tacitly tolerate the communistic agitation carried on in regions inhabited by Hungarians.

*Czecho-Slovakia* also shows a reluctance — despite the decided stipulations of the Minority Treaty — to adjust the *question of citizenship*. The object in view is to leave as many Hungarians as possible in suspense in that respect and to be able to expel them at any time. Many thousands of Hungarians who were in residence in Slovakia long before the change of rule have not yet been admitted to Czecho-Slovak citizenship and figure therefore as aliens. These persons are liable to military service and are required to behave as loyal citizens of the State; but they have no political rights and are subjected constantly to disadvantages owing to the question of their political nationality not having been settled.

The Hungarians are suffering grievous injuries due to the nonobservance of the treaties of peace *in cultural matters* too. Of the 758 villages in Czecho-Slovakia in which according to the Czech Census there are more than 20% of Hungarians (Magyars), 96 have not yet any Hungarian elementary school at all. The number of Hungarian infant-schools is so small as not to count at all. The number of "city schools", middle schools and other institutes of secondary education with Hungarian as the language of instruction is materially less than that of the educational institutes of the kind to which the relative proportion of the Hungarians would entitle them. There is no Hungarian higher education institute at all; and the Chair of Hungarian in the Pozsony University has been vacant for years. The training of Hungarian teachers is quite out of proportion to the needs of the Hungarian elementary schools.

In Slovakia and Ruthenia the authorities have not yet put into force the Act of 1920 relating to the establishment of school-boards, though under that Act the Germans living in the historical provinces have acquired a considerable influence in the matter of the organisation and management of schools. In the territories severed from Hungary school matters are settled centralistically by the Prague Government — which employs its own organs for the purpose — without the

inhabitants having any opportunity to exert an influence. The Germans are treated by the Government quite differently in the matter of rights; it allows them influence in school matters, because they have behind them the might of a powerful empire. Premier Hodža himself — who in theory at least shows greater goodwill than his predecessors — admitted in a speech made by him last March that "the public administration has not allowed the Hungarians things that have been granted to the Germans; but the adjustment of this question is under way". M. Hodža admitted further that so far there had not been any appointment of public employees on the basis of numerical proportion: he thought it necessary that an advance should be made in the direction of a nationality key.

One of the most serious cultural grievances of the Hungarians is that the Czech State shuts them off entirely from the intellectual life of Hungary. For it has been declared an offence liable to punishment under the penal code to import for private use of even a single copy of any printed work originating from Hungary the circulation of which has not been permitted by the Censor Commission of the Pozsony police. We have been trying in vain for fifteen years to secure a favourable solution of this question — in respect of the other Succession States too — by appeal to such international forums as the *Commission de Co-operation Intellectuelle*, all our efforts to break down this monstrous barrier to freedom of thought having proved of no avail.

The Czech Government is making it a more and more general usage that the economic welfare of individual citizens should be dependent on its favour; that measure being primarily anti-minority in tendency. An interesting illustration of how measures which on the surface appear perfectly harmless and opportune can be made the means of disguising and asserting anti-minority tendencies, is the law recently passed in re obligatory acceptance of the mediation of labour exchanges; employers being allowed to employ only such persons as are supplied to them by the official labour agencies. In practice this means that no newspaper undertaking is entitled to select its correspondents etc. and no parents to select governesses for their children, while on

the other hand workers belonging to the minorities are less likely to have work given them.

There is a law in force in Czecho-Slovakia which provides that Government shall be entitled to dissolve all political parties which it does not approve of and to suspend the activity of all those associations in the management of which leading roles are played by the leaders of the parties thus dissolved.

*Yugoslavia* has gone farther still. Article 13 of the 1931 Constitution expressly forbids political parties to be established or organised on a religious, ethnical or regional basis. For that reason the Hungarian (Magyar) minority cannot organise except within the frame of general national parties, and are not represented individually. Yet according to the statistics for the year 1921 the Hungarians are an absolute majority in two towns (Zenta, Ókanizsa) and in four hundred villages, so that 5—6 Hungarian Deputies would be entitled to sit in the Skupshtina. And there is not a single Hungarian Senator. The representative assemblies of the towns are formed by appointment, the Hungarians being passed over in a most striking manner also in the villages with predominantly Hungarian populations. The proportion of Hungarians (Magyars) in the Danube Banate is 18<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>; but the Banate Council has only 2 Hungarian Members. In the tax assessment and appeal commissions the Hungarians are either not represented at all or are allowed — as a matter of form — one or two insignificant representatives. No Hungarian (Magyar) is employed as a public servant; while in the legal, medical, commercial and industrial Chambers the committees and the management include only very rarely a few Hungarians.

In cultural matters the Hungarians here too suffer injuries similar to those already described in connection with the other Succession States. The provision contained in § 45 of the 1929 Elementary Education Act which deals with the establishment of minority sections in the public elementary schools and with the teaching in the same of the mother tongues of the minorities, has not yet been carried into effect. There is not a single elementary school section with Hungarian as language of instruction for the benefit

of the children of the Hungarians — some 90,000 — living in the territory of the Drave-Save and Drina Banate. The Hungarians are not allowed to establish private schools; whereas in 1931 the Germans were permitted to organise a teachers training college and 2 private "city schools". In 1920 the private schools belonging to non-Yugoslav nationals (including 686 Hungarian schools) were nationalised; but those maintained by persons whose mother tongue was the State language were left untouched. Here too we find the ruthless injustice of forcing children by the aid of "name-analysis" to attend Serbian schools.

The tendentious measures instituted by the Yugoslav Government in *the economic field* are exceptionally oppressive to the Hungarians. The State bonds destined to serve as some sort of compensation to landowners for estates sequestered under the agrarian reform scheme have not yet been issued, though the relevant Act provided that the issue was under no circumstances to be delayed beyond the month of September, 1933.

For the harvesting, seasonal works and public works to be effected in the Voivodina region workers are imported from other districts, the local Hungarian labourers being simply ignored. Now and again the managements of undertakings and plants are called upon to dismiss those of their employees who — though Yugoslav nationals — are Hungarians (Magyars) by race, and to replace them with workers of Southern Slav race. Here too there is a frontier zone of 50 kilometres in which no transfer of property is allowed to be entered in the land register unless the purchaser can produce evidence of his being of Slav origin.

The Stoyadinovitch Cabinet now in office has shown more indulgence towards the minorities than its predecessors. The Hungarians have more freedom of movement; the authorities are more liberal in the matter of passports; the press is now allowed actually to stress the demands of the minorities; cultural associations may also be established, though of the 21 Hungarian cultural societies established only one has had its statutes approved. Nor indeed has the system of "name-analysis" been abolished.

The three neighbouring States, in dealing with whose minority policy I have spoken only of a few of the most crying grievances, during the period that has elapsed since the Great War — almost two decades — have behaved as if they had every reason to treat us with blind hatred owing to the Treaty of Trianon, — for all the world as if *WE* had taken away *THEIR* land. When — in the spring of 1933 — the scheme for an agreement between the Great Powers drafted by Mr. MacDonald and Signor Mussolini broached the question of revision too, the neighbouring States at once united in an international union; its object being to enable "these three States to organise peace in Central and Eastern Europe". What did they mean by *peace*? A continuation of the campaign of brute force against Hungary.

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# THE CULT OF THE SHAKESPEAREAN DRAMA IN HUNGARY\*

BY

ANTHONY NÉMETH

DIRECTOR OF THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL THEATRE

**W**hen three and a half centuries ago an ambitious youth — the "upstart Shakespeare" as Green called him — set forth from Stratford-on-Avon to conquer London and England, the world had no idea that this conquest was to be the conquest for all time of civilized mankind.

At the time when in the first years of her espousal with greatness, glory and world power, happy England was losing herself in the astounding magic of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the Hungarians in the East, engaged for a century and a half in bloody battles with the Turks, were dreaming dreams of happier days to come.

When seven years after the death of the "Swan of Avon" the first complete edition of his works appeared, in which *Ben Jonson* prophesied that the theatres on the Continent would yet do homage to Shakespeare, Hungary, in addition to constant fighting against the Turks, was in the throes of the struggle for religious liberty.

When Shakespeare's works began their triumphant progress on the Continent, when *Voltaire*, *Letourneur* and *Mercier* were translating them into French and *Borck*, *Lessing*, *Herder* and *Goethe* had fought their battles for the cult of the Shakespearean drama in Germany, we Hungarians

\* On the occasion of the Centenary of the Hungarian National Theatre, which was celebrated on 22nd August, we take the opportunity of publishing this interesting article from the pen of the director of the leading Hungarian theatre.

had only just begun to put up a fight for the legal rights of our *national tongue*, which was persecuted by Vienna.

And yet amidst the most unpropitious external circumstance the force of the Hungarian spirit soon established contact with the great English genius and created a cult of which we have every right to feel proud.

At the close of the eighteenth century the rapid development of Hungarian national culture brought in its train the adoption and assimilation of the achievements of Western culture. One of the most significant phases of this very important work was the assimilation of Shakespeare's works. In the eighteenth century it was natural that the oppressed Hungarians should establish their contact with Shakespeare through the medium of German literature and the German theatre. The first performances worthy of mention of Shakespeare's plays took place in Budapest and certain provincial towns. The cult of the Shakespearean drama in the Hungarian language was inaugurated by literature and not by the theatre. Decades passed after the initial steps of reading, translating and reviewing the works of the great dramatist before the first independent Hungarian theatre was born and Shakespeare could speak to us in our own language. This literary origin lent a peculiar literary colour, an elegance of form and content differing from other foreign cults, to the Hungarian appreciation of the Shakespearean drama.

The first to discover the great dramatist, his first enthusiastic disciples in Hungary, were men of letters. *George Bessenyei* was the first Hungarian writer to mention Shakespeare's name in 1777, and from that time on our writers have never ceased to occupy themselves with him. In 1790 Francis Kazinczy translated "*Hamlet*" into Hungarian thus laying the foundations of the Shakespearean cult in Hungary. As a cultural event unprecedented anywhere in Europe, it may be mentioned that it was proposed to place Hungarian histrionic art, which was being organized in the same year, under the aegis of Shakespeare.

In 1794 Hungarian actors in Kolozsvár gave a performance of "*Hamlet*" and of "*Othello*". "*King Lear*" was first played in Buda in 1795. In 1836 seven plays by Shakespeare were performed. The first of Shakespeare's plays performed

in the Hungarian National Theatre, which was opened as a permanent theatre in 1837, was "*The Taming of the Shrew*". This was followed by "*King Lear*" and "*Hamlet*". In 1845, 11 dramas were performed: the three mentioned above and "*The Merchant of Venice*", "*Coriolanus*", "*Julius Caesar*", "*Othello*", "*Richard III*", "*Macbeth*", "*Romeo and Juliet*" and "*Henry IV*". The number of Shakespeare's plays on the Hungarian stage continued to increase. By 1867 the National Theatre had given 301 performance of 20 of his plays to cultured Hungarian audiences inspired with enthusiasm and a love of Shakespeare's works.

The best of our writers and poets, with *John Arany*, *Michael Vörösmarty* and *Alexander Petöfi* at their head, undertook the task of translating Shakespeare into Hungarian. The publication of his works, begun in 1858, was taken over in 1864 by the Kisfaludy Society, which made a public matter of it. In 1871 and again in 1878 complete editions of Shakespeare's works were available for the use of the Hungarian reading public. Several of these translations are veritable masterpieces of Hungarian poetic art and rank among the best Shakespeare translations in the world.

The genius of the great son of Stratford-on-Avon not only inspired our poets to translate his works, but also exercised a definite influence on the development of Hungarian drama-writing. *Joseph Katona*, the great writer of Hungarian historical dramas of immortal merit, was a spiritual disciple of Shakespeare. In addition the cult of Shakespeare also played a very significant rôle in the evolution of Hungarian theatrical art, refining the taste of the theatre-goers and developing Hungarian dramatic criticism.

The theatre which took the most prominent part in the cult of the Shakespeare drama has always been the National Theatre. The 1951 performances of Shakespeare's plays it has given since its opening a hundred years ago, assure it a high place among the European theatres devoted to Shakespeare. It is worthy of note that while only eight performances of one play ("*The Taming of the Shrew*") was the rôle assigned to Shakespeare's works in Paris in 1925 and 1926, the

Hungarian National Theatre gave 58 performances of 15 of his plays in the same years. This number, in conjunction with those of Shakespeare's plays staged in other Budapest theatres, shows that Budapest is not far behind London in respect of the cult of the Shakespearean drama. In 1926, for instance, in London with its six million inhabitants 51 performances of 7 of Shakespeare's plays were given, while the National Theatre in a Budapest boasting of a mere million inhabitants gave 35 performances of 10 plays. On an average the National Theatre devotes 20 performances annually to the works of the great English dramatist.

One of the most outstanding theatrical events of recent years was the revival of "*Timon of Athens*" in the season of 1935—36, when this most unpopular of all Shakespeare's plays, which is rarely acted anywhere and never more than once or twice in a season, was played 12 times in Budapest.

All Shakespeare's plays are not equally popular in Hungary. "*Hamlet*" has been played most frequently — 206 times in 100 years. Then follow in order according to the number of performances: "*Romeo and Juliet*" (197), "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*" (183), "*The Merchant of Venice*" (168), "*The Taming of the Shrew*" (140), "*King Lear*" (117), "*Othello*" (117) and "*Richard III*" (111).

A whole chapter might be written about the great Hungarian Shakespearean actors and actresses, several of whom enhanced the prestige of the Shakespearean theatrical art of Hungary with successes won abroad. Hungarian stage-managers and designers of scenery have also contributed much work of high merit to the cult of Shakespeare's plays all the world over. Special mention must be made of the extensive Hungarian literature dealing with Shakespeare. The volume and importance of that special literature is recognized all over the world. Like the great nations of the West, we, too, have our Shakespeare Society and Shakespeare Library, and our public schools take the study of the great master so seriously that for thoroughness they are not equalled except in his native land and one or two other countries.

Many promising signs are forthcoming as regards the future of the Shakespearean cult in Hungary. The unbounded enthusiasm, admiration and devotion with which, ninety years ago, our world-famed poet, Petöfi, transcending even Ben Jonson, did homage to the English genius, still burns in the hearts of Hungarian lovers of culture and feeds the eternal flames kindled and cherished on the altar of Shakespeare's immortality.

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# POLITICAL MOSAIC

## JULIUS PEKAR

The news of the sudden death at the age of 70 of His Excellency M. Julius Pekar, Privy Councillor, M. P., President of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Society and of the Petöfi Society, Chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, etc. has been received with sincere sorrow by all classes of Hungarian society. His decease will also be regretted by many friends and acquaintances abroad. His robust yet elegant figure, his great gifts as a linguist and his brilliant oratory, won for him and for Hungary's cause, which he espoused with the sincerest conviction, the sympathy of all those with whom he came in contact when representing his country at international meetings. Let us pause a moment to do homage to the memory of this great man.

— y —

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE SAYS STATISTICS PRESENTED TO PEACE CONFERENCE WERE NOT RELIABLE

As stated in our last issue, Dr. Julius Kornis, Deputy Speaker of the Hungarian Lower House, spent his summer holidays in England, and at the time of the Welsh National Assembly was presented by Lord Davies to Mr. Lloyd George. On this occasion M. Ladislas Siklóssy, head of the Hungarian Parliamentary Stenographic Bureau, was present and sent a report of the conversation between Mr. Lloyd George and Dr. Kornis to the "Pesti Hírlap". This report, which appeared in the issue of August 11, ran as follows:

"In the course of their conversation Dr. Julius Kornis reminded Mr. Lloyd George of what he had said in his speech that day about the fine future he prophesied for the little nations, a number of which he had mentioned by name, without, however, including Hungary among them.

"Dr. Julius Kornis then asked the eminent British states-

man to tell him in a few words his opinion of Hungary's present and future.

"Unexpected as this question was, Mr. Lloyd George was ready with his answer.

"He thought the words of encouragement to the little nations in which, shortly before, he had — speaking generally — prophesied a fair future for them, applied also to Hungary; he had meant them to do so. *He knew that Hungary had grievances. Redress of course must be sought by way of the League of Nations.*

"Here after a moment's pause he continued "...*The present frontiers are not satisfactory*".

"At this point Dr. Julius Kornis interrupted, saying that along the frontiers several million Hungarians had come under alien rule.

"Yes" — said Mr. Lloyd George — "at the time we received information and data on which we acted, but which later on proved to be unreliable."

"He had spoken more than once about that question with Count Albert Apponyi, that amazing orator, who had thrown those points of view into relief. It was desirable that Hungary and her neighbours should come to an agreement. That would be to the interests of the latter too.

"Then turning to M. Ladislas Siklóssy, Mr. Lloyd George asked and received information about nationality conditions in certain frontier towns in the Succession States, as well as to whether the Hungarian minorities in those States were adequately represented in the several Parliaments." — y —

## HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONSIDER PRESENT SITUATION IN DANUBE VALLEY DEFINITIVE

As is well-known, Mr. Hull U. S. A. Secretary of War on July 16th replied to the Chinese Ambassador's *démarche* on the subject of the movements of the Japanese troops in North China. In his reply, which created a great sensation, Mr. Hull expounded the democratic guiding principles of America's policy; above all he stressed respect for the sovereignty of neighbouring States, non-intervention, the blessings of disarmament and the advantages of freer economic trade. This reply was sent to all the U. S. A.'s representatives abroad with instructions to draw the attention of the various Governments to it and ask them, if they wished to comment on it, to do so and send their opinions to Mr. Hull. M. Coloman de Kánya has already replied to Mr. Hull and his reply was published in full by the "New York Times". According to that important American newspaper the Hungarian Foreign Minister's reply ran as follows: —

"According to the statement, it is believed desirable that problems arising in international relations should be solved by peaceful negotiation and agreements and it is emphasized at the same time that the principle of the sanctity of agreements does not exclude, should the need therefor arise, the modification of certain treaty provisions.

"The Hungarian Government has nothing to add to this desideratum, the Hungarian Government has never made it a secret that it does not consider as final the situation created in the Danube Valley by the peace treaties and that it is aiming at the just and equitable change thereof. It has never failed, however to emphasize that it intends to carry out its aim exclusively by peaceful means and by what appears to the Hungarian Government unavoidable peaceful evolution.

"As concerns the necessity for the restriction of armaments and the necessity for disarmament, the Hungarian Government wishes to emphasize that — as must be known to the Government of the United States — the one-sidedly disarmed Hungary has tried sincerely ever since the close of the World War to promote also on its part the practical carrying out of the promises contained in the peace treaties and the Covenant of the League of Nations concerning general disarmament, and quite certainly Hungary cannot be blamed for the fruitless efforts spent in that direction by the Disarmament Conference.

"Hungary until now has not followed the example of Germany and Austria, which States, as is known, have unilaterally declared null and void those provisions of the peace treaties which restricted — visualizing a general disarmament — their armaments.

"Hungary, not wishing to expose the already overheated international atmosphere to another test, has refrained until now from such unilateral moves, although it cannot be disputed that it has regained its free hand in this field partly on account of the fiasco of the Disarmament Conference and partly on account of the grand scale of rearming in the whole world — especially in the Little Entente States surrounding Hungary, in strong opposition to the text and spirit of Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations — and could rightly claim military equality on legal as well as on moral principles.

"As concerns the economic aspects of the statement the Hungarian Government declares that on its part it will support with the greatest willingness all efforts for the improvement of the economic situation of the world either by the gradual elimination of the restrictions of international trade or by the enforcement of any other suitable means."

*From the Reply of the Bulgarian Government*

In the note from M. George Kioseivanov, Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, handed in in Washington in reply to Mr. Hull, American Foreign Minister's suggestions we read the following passage: — Bulgaria keenly feels the injustices of the Peace Treaties, but far from seeking to overthrow the Treaties by force of arms, preserves her faith in the idea of the League of Nations and believes that a spirit of co-operation will triumph over national egoism and will redress the wrongs that torture Europe.

— y —

## COUNT STEPHEN BETHLEN ON THE FUTURE SYMBIOSIS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE DANUBE-TISZA VALLEY

In its St. Stephen's Day (August 20th.) number the "Pesti Napló" published an article from the pen of Count Stephen Bethlen, former Prime Minister of Hungary, the final conclusions of which are as follows:

"As for the insinuation that the reason why the *status quo* and the consequent danger of a conflagration must be maintained at all costs in Central Europe, is that in the event of any change being made certain legitimate demands of Germany might also have to be satisfied, the result being that that Power would also become stronger, — the tendency behind such logic is quite evident. For the increase of Germany's strength would in all probability ensue primarily at the expense of those Little Entente States which are the loudest in their lamentations on that account. Great Britain on the other hand will at all times be strong enough — both as a sea power and everywhere else in the world — to be independent of the assistance of those small States which in the event of a conflict with Germany would in any case not be of much account and which — in the light of the experience gained during the Great War — are not likely to appear on the scene to offer their assistance until it seems pretty certain on which side the odds lie.

"It is indubitable that to Great Britain the fate of Central Europe cannot be a matter of indifference; nor can that country ever be disinterested in developments in that part of our Continent. But Britain's real interest is to ensure the creation at long last of a definitive and tranquil state of things, — to put an end to the danger of conflagration latent in the present condition of the Danube Valley, whence sparks may flash and set fire to the whole of Europe: it is in Britain's interest that a fairer and juster adjustment should relax the tension that has already come to breaking point, and that the co-operation and symbiosis of the peoples should be re-organised in keeping with

the demands of justice and of economic and political expediency and after a serious consideration of the teachings of history.

"And if all this is done in friendly agreement with Germany and without losing sight of her legitimate interests, such an adjustment — even if it involved a serious augmentation of the power of Germany — would offer Great Britain guarantees of the lasting character of the new arrangement and of its serving the cause of a lasting peace in Europe a hundredfold better than those offered by a maintenance at all costs of the present *status quo*, which must sooner or later inevitably be the source of a European cataclysm.

"This new adjustment must restore to the basin between the Danube and the Tisza surrounded by the Carpathians its original unity so well founded politically and geographically, economically and culturally; not in the manner once dreamed of perhaps in its younger years by the older Hungarian generation of today — viz. on the basis of national or linguistic unity, which since the War has become an anachronism —, but in the manner in which our first great King established that unity and handed it on to centuries to come, — viz. by giving every people living here its own, while uniting them for common defence against more powerful neighbours and making them combine to further the cause of a common European culture, and at the same time respecting the national property and national needs of each one.

"These are the ideas that are inspired by St. Stephen's Day. Let us all do our level best to enable them to one day become realities."

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA AND PORTUGAL SEVERED

The suspension of the diplomatic relations between these two distant countries which ensued on August 19th. is a fresh proof of the tension of the European atmosphere. Seeing that the said event does not directly affect the Central European question, we do not propose to express any opinion on the matter and would merely refer to the official *communiqué* of the Portuguese Government which establishes the fact that attempts have been made in Prague to justify the foreclosure of the Portuguese orders for arms, first by reference to the non-intervention agreement, then to the general prohibition forbidding the exportation of arms, and finally to the increased demand for armaments in Czecho-Slovakia itself. According to the Portuguese *communiqué* M. Krofta, Foreign Minister, and M. Beneš, President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, have continually made contradictory statements in the matter, while the policy pursued in the matter by the Czecho-Slovak Government has

been evasive and procrastinative, abounding in contradictions and quite at variance with ordinary diplomatic usage. We, who for nineteen years have been fully familiar with the ins and outs of the foreign policy of the Hradžin and know all about its tricks, have not the slightest doubt of the correctness of the statement of facts issued by the Portuguese Government; for we know only too well that Prague has never been famous for frankness or manly sincerity.

It may interest our readers to know that the organ of the Czech Opposition, the "Národní Listy", was suppressed by the Public Prosecutor on account of an article on the conflict between Portugal and Czecho-Slovakia.

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE YUGOSLAV CONCORDAT

The careful peruser of the text of the Concordat, on comparing it with the Yugoslav laws dealing with the Serb Pravoslav, the Jewish, the Mohammedan, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, will find it difficult to understand the fierce opposition of the Pravoslav Church to the ratification of that treaty. A study of the laws mentioned above reveals the fact that the 1929 constitution of the Serb Pravoslav Church invests it with many rights and privileges not enjoyed by the rest of the Churches.

The ratification of the Concordat was intended by the Government primarily to ensure a real and full equality of the several denominations. And this is what the Pravoslav Church wishes to prevent. According to an apt observation in the Zagreb "Obzor" of July 15, the reason why Pravoslavism so fiercely opposes a ratification of the Concordat is that it fears to lose its historical rôle and privileged position in the State, and while preaching the equal rights of all religions is in fact jealously anxious to enjoy the status of a "State religion" with all the privileges entailed.

This is the explanation of the struggle waged by the Serb Pravoslav Church against the Concordat, a struggle which did not cease even when the division in the Skupshtina resulted in a Government victory, but was continued with unflagging energy after Parliament rose. In the churches of most dioceses the Holy Synod's provisional excommunication of the Ministers and members of the Skupshtina who had voted for the ratification was read out on 8th August. By this excommunication the persons concerned were deprived of their ecclesiastical rights and their cases relegated to the Ecclesiastical Courts. Till such time as these Courts pronounce final judgment they may not

fill any Church office, nor may priests visit them in their homes or perform any ecclesiastical rites there. This means that though the Ministers and members of the Skupshtina who have been provisionally excommunicated may not enjoy the privileges of their religion, they do not cease to be members of the Pravoslav Church. Eminent Serb authorities on Canon Law in any case regard the sentence of excommunication passed by the Holy Synod as illegal and a violation of the constitution of the Church, since in terms of the latter the Church has no right to punish others than those who have sinned against her dogmas or against Christian ethics, and because according to Canon Law nobody may be condemned without a hearing.

It would appear that this view is held also by the bishops of the Újvidék (Novisad), Skoplje and Montenegro dioceses, who have refused to allow the priests under their jurisdiction to read out the sentence of excommunication in their churches.

The fight against the Concordat begun by the Pravoslav Church, which, in the hope that it would afford a possibility of accomplishing the downfall of the Government, was supported by the Yugoslav National Party representing pan-Serb aspirations and even by the three united parties of the Opposition, and which has been the cause of bloody encounters between the masses instigated to riot by the priests and the special police delegated to maintain order, has stung the Government to an increasingly energetic counter-attack. Availing themselves of the facilities afforded by the censorship of the press, the Government have provided that only articles favourable to Government policy shall appear, and the Minister of the Interior has issued an order to the authorities to apply the utmost severity of the law against the circulators of false and alarming reports. At a series of popular meetings the members of the Government are endeavouring to convince the masses that the Government's policy is right and that the ratification of the Concordat is a necessity. In several of his speeches Premier Stoyadinovitch has declared that the attack by the Pravoslav Church was directed not so much against the Concordat as against the Government and its Party and was incited by unscrupulous persons who, hiding under the cloak of the Church, were trying to seize control. M. Stoyadinovitch denied the accusation that the Government were working against the Church. That was obviously ridiculous, for he himself was the scion of that Pravoslav family which had given Belgrade its first Metropolitan. Nevertheless M. Stoyadinovitch is making preparations pending the opening of Parliament in the autumn, when the Concordat will be laid before the Senate. The "Figaro" of Paris reports from Belgrade that Premier Stoyadinovitch is fully confident that he can carry the Concordat through the Senate, since — as the Zagreb "Obzor" of 9th August stated —

by the appointment and election of a sufficient number of new senators he will be able to secure the necessary majority of votes.

In connection with the fight against the Concordat mention must be made of the turmoil of confusion that has arisen around a statement alleged to have been made by M. Maček, the leader of the Croats. It has been asserted that M. Maček had said that Catholics though the Croats were, they were against the Concordat, since they suspected it to be an underhand manoeuvre on the part of the Government to lure the Croats into a Catholic People's Party tinged with Koroshetz's principles and supporting the Government. He therefore considered the formation of a concentration Government a necessity, one of the tasks of that Government being to remove the question of the Concordat from the order of the day in the interest of religious peace. This report, zealously spread by the Pravoslav Church and the Opposition allied therewith, was soon discovered to be false. The organ inspired by M. Koroshetz, Minister of the Interior, the "Slovenec" of Ljubljana, and the "Obzor" of Zagreb, a paper closely connected with M. Maček, on August 14th published a statement by M. Koshutitch, M. Maček's right hand, emphatically denying the statement attributed to the latter. M. Maček — write the "Slovenec" and the "Hrvatski Dnevnik" — is not anxious to hasten to the rescue of the Yugoslav National Party, if only because, were it to gain the upper hand, he would soon be back in the Mitrovica prison again. The assertion that the Concordat is of no importance to the Croation nation must be recognized by every sober politician as an absurdity.

The fight over the Concordat continues to rage on both fronts and will obviously not be decided until after the opening of the autumn session in both Houses of Parliament. — y —

## TWO OF PROFESSOR TOYNBEE'S COLLABORATORS ARRESTED IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

In our last number we stated that the article by the well-known English savant, Professor Arnold Toynbee, on the Sudeta German question which appeared in the London "Economist" did not meet with the approval of Prague circles, and that the issue of the "Brüxer Zeitung" which published the article word for word was confiscated by the Czecho-Slovak Public Prosecutor. Even this was not enough. On 11th August two of Professor Toynbee's collaborators, accompanied by one of the leaders of the Sudeta German Party, paid a visit to the distressed areas

in western Bohemia inhabited by the Sudeta Germans. When the Englishmen went to look at the almshouse in Chodau, Czech gendarmes arrested them and questioned them for two hours. Finally they were escorted by Czech gendarmes to the police station at Elbogen, where they were again exposed to a searching examination which lasted for nearly four hours. At last the Englishmen were released. They then left for Prague to lay a complaint before the British Minister there.

— y —

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

## DR. F. LLEWELLYN JONES ON TRAGIC TREATMENT OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

At the Celtic Congress held in Edinburgh Dr. F. Llewellyn Jones, former M. P. delivered a fine speech in which mention was also made of the minority question. In the "Scotsman" of July 15th we read the following passage: —

"There was nothing more tragic in the history of parts of Europe to-day, he said, than the treatment which was accorded to these people.

"The treaties of peace imposed upon the vanquished countries at the end of the war, said Dr. Llewellyn Jones, failed to realise the difficulty connected with the transferring of large bodies of population from one State, of which they had formerly formed part, to another State. It was not merely an act of injustice against these people, but one of the most stupid acts of which any body of statesmen could have been guilty.

"There were 40,000,000 people living in States where the great majority of the population were hostile to them. Treaties had been imposed upon the newer States, by which it became an obligation to treat the minority in a just and equitable manner. Unfortunately the expectations of the treaties of peace had not been realised."

Describing conditions in certain areas in the Succession States, Dr. Llewellyn Jones said that anyone with a wireless had to be very careful not to turn it on to receive a broadcast from the country to which he belonged before the peace treaties. There were University students living among these minorities who were not allowed to get any books in the language which they spoke. Public meetings were banned. Every effort was made to discourage the teaching of their language in the schools. They were being terrorised by the officials of the Government under which they lived.

"No wonder", Dr. Llewellyn Jones declared, "that many are beginning to realise that this condition of affairs is a menace to the peace of Europe."

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## RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY SUCCESSION STATES PREVENT INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

Irrefutable data showing the obstacles preventing intellectual co-operation were submitted by the Hungarian delegates, Count Paul Teleki, M. Ladislav Gajzágó, M. Farkas Heller, M. Coloman Budai and M. Elemér Hantos, to the Conference of International Studies convened to meet at the end of June and the beginning of July in Paris by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. A serious debate took place on the legal and political questions involved by a peaceful revision of the Peace Treaties. At the conference presided over by M. Herriot, the famous American jurist, Mr. John Hoster Dallas, who was legal adviser to the U. S. A. peace delegation, and Professor Bourquin of Geneva, *rapporteur*, noted that in spite of the differences in the methods advocated, the Conference was agreed on the point that the future development of the international world demanded a change through peaceful revision of the *status quo*. Failing this, peace could not be maintained by sanctions alone. At Professor Bourquien's suggestion it was resolved to form a permanent committee of eminent international jurists, to study the methods by which a peaceful revision might be effected.

Dr. Béla Kerékjártó, professor in Szeged University, stated that Hungary had always laid great stress on the importance of cultural agreements. Hungary had always shown a readiness to revise school-books in keeping with the resolution of the League of Nations, but, naturally, on condition that the Governments of other countries did the same. He produced data proving how difficult, or even impossible, the Succession States made it for scientific publications to cross their frontiers. If real intellectual co-operation could not be achieved, those States were chiefly to blame. On the suggestion made by Sir Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the Committee, a commission was delegated to investigate the circumstances hindering intellectual co-operation among the nations.

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## FRESH FRICTION IN LITTLE ENTENTE OVER MINORITY QUESTION

In a lengthy article the "Národnie Noviny" of 20th July comments on the Belgrade Government's efforts at serbization and energetically protests against the Slovak gymnasium in Petrôc (Petrovac), the only one in the country, being turned into a Serb school and against the library of the Slovenská Matica being removed from the gymnasium building. Neither of these acts is in conformity with the treaty of alliance concluded between Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia.

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## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

## HUNGARIAN MINORITY WISH AN ORGANIZED CENTRAL EUROPE TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE PRESENT DISORGANIZED ONE

A meeting of the leaders of the United General Christian Socialist and Hungarian National Party, the sole and united political party of the Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia, was held in Zsolna (Zilina) on 20th June in order to elaborate the Party's immediate programme. M. Andrew Jaross, president of the Party, said that the Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia wanted peace and were sparing no effort to help an organized Central Europe to emerge out of the present chaos. Their hopes were pinned on the evolution of an honest atmosphere in the Danube Valley which would enable the nations there to live in peace and harmony with one another, — on the creation of an atmosphere in which each nation would play the part for which its actual strength and moral value fitted it and in which would cease the endeavour to petrify the domination of smaller nations over bigger ones, simply because a turn of the wheel of fortune had given the former a certain positional advantage.

Unfortunately, in the opinion of the Party, the present Czecho-Slovak Government was not imbued with the same ambition: it did not base security on internal contentment but on military force; it had not fulfilled the obligations undertaken in the treaties for the protection of minorities, and Czech chauvinism did not allow the spirit of the Czech laws to prevail in practice in favour of the minorities.

The party summarized in four points the principles which would mean a practical solution of the question. 1. The Hungarian questions could only be settled if they were discussed with the leaders of the Hungarians and not with those of the Czecho-Slovak Parties. 2. Care should be taken to avoid everything that appears to serve party aims instead of a solution of these major questions. 3. The Hungarian character of the districts inhabited by Hungarians must be restored in the fields of administration, culture and economy. 4. The full equality of rights of the Hungarian minority must be regulated by law and denationalization prevented.

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## PAMPHLET IN FRENCH CONTAINING COMPLAINTS OF HUNGARIAN BRANCH OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION CONFISCATED

On the occasion of the Pozsony Congress of the League of Nations Unions the Hungarians of Czecho-Slovakia published a pamphlet in French dealing with the educational situation of

the Hungarian minority in the Republic. The pamphlet was mainly a refutation of M. Paul-Boncour's assertion that the lot of minorities is better today than it was prior to the War. The Public Prosecutor's Office in Pozsony has now confiscated this pamphlet entitled "*La minorité hongroise en Tchécoslovaquie*", and the District Courts have forbidden its further circulation.

This case deserves special attention even in a world where confiscations by the Public Prosecutor are daily occurrences, for it shows how little to the taste of the Czecho-Slovak Government it is when international public opinion gets a glimpse into the sad lot of the minorities in Czecho-Slovakia. — y —

### HOW THE HUNGARIANS WERE CHEATED OF A SEAT ON THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL IN KASSA

As has been stated, the results of the recent elections in Kassa (Košice), the second largest town of Slovakia, showed that the Hungarian Party had received the greatest number of votes. We have also reported that in spite of this no Hungarians were among the so-called "expert" members of the Council, who are appointed by the Government. At the first meeting of the new Council, held on 28th July, M. Nicholas Pajor, member of the Czecho-Slovak Senate, protested energetically against this on behalf of the Hungarian Party. At this meeting the Council elected the magistracy of the town, from among the five members of which, according to the Czecho-Slovak Act applying solely to the towns of Slovakia and Ruthenia, the Government appoints the mayor. It is typical that on this occasion again Prague intends to appoint a Czech, M. Milan Mason, who only received 2 votes at the election of the magistracy, while the candidate of the Hungarian Party received 14. Contrary to law, at this election the appointed, so-called "expert", members of the Municipal Council and those officials of the Municipal Offices who were appointed by the Government, took part in the voting. In consequence of this the Hungarian Party has been forced to contest the validity of the election. The Hungarian Party has also lodged an appeal against the results of the Municipal Council elections on the ground that Mason, who — as we see — received only 2 votes at the elections of the magistrates, was given a seat on the Council although in terms of Czecho-Slovak law only parties with at least 3 votes may claim to be represented on the Municipal Council. If any vacant seats remain they should go to the parties with the largest number of votes above three. Had this measure as prescribed by law been observed, the Hungarian Party would have won 7 instead of 6 seats on the Municipal Council, and Mason would not have been elected at all. — y —

## RUMANIA

UNPRECEDENTED TERROR AT RUMANIAN  
ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS

In Transylvania the system of administration transplanted from the Regate (Old Rumania) and developed from a succession of laws each supplanting the last, has in principle granted autonomy to the towns, villages and counties by way of municipal, parish and county councils. In practice, however, autonomy does not exist, for each succeeding Government makes the work of the councils formed by election impossible by dissolving them and entrusting the administration to so-called *interim committees* (Comisia interimara) the members of which are appointed by the Government. This takes place particularly often in towns and villages inhabited by Hungarians, and, of course, the members of the *interim committees* are always Rumanians.

The last Administration Act promulgated on 27th March, 1936, ordains in its executive instructions that the dissolved councils must be re-formed within a certain period. The time limit expired in March 1937. In certain cases that provision was observed by the Administration, but in the Hungarian towns and villages, where even after an electoral agreement was arrived at the Government had no chance of securing a majority, the elections have been postponed till the end of the year. In several counties and a few towns, however, they were held in July.

These elections were a preliminary test of strength, for the four years' mandates of the members of Parliament expire this year, and Rumania is on the threshold of parliamentary elections. And parliamentary elections in Rumania are usually followed by a change of Government, one Party taking over office from the other. On the results of the test of strength both the National Liberal Party in office and the National Peasant Party (Opposition) claim victory, the latter demanding office. According to the statistics published by the Bucharest press ("Universul" August 12), at the administrative elections held between 1st July and 1st August the National Liberal Party in office secured 490.307 votes, 30% of the total number, while the National Peasant Party secured 459.318 votes (28%).

*Series of Illegal Acts*

The bitter struggle between the two Parties affected the Hungarian minority in so far that in places where the Hungarians had come to terms with the National Peasant Party (Opposition), or had lists of their own, the Government ruthlessly crushed them. This is the more striking because a few days before the elections Premier Tatarescu sent out a circular letter to the Prefectures in which he strictly ordered them to be very careful

that the elections were fairly conducted, at the same time promising that all guilty of abuses committed to prevent the genuine will of the people finding expression would be severely punished. With the exception of Szilágy County, no notice was taken of the Premier's order. This is true especially of the counties of Bihar, Szatmár, Kolozs and Kis-Küküllő and of the municipal council elections in Brassó, where the most diverse illegalities were committed in order to keep the minority electors away from the urns.

In *Bihar County* the Hungarian Party had concluded an agreement with the National Peasant Party as regards the county council elections. But the authorities refused the Hungarian Party permission to hold meetings, while the Liberals, Vajdaists and Gogaists were at liberty to roam the county and hold one meeting after the other. The electoral constituencies were formed in such a manner that Hungarian voters had to walk half a day to reach the urns. Difficulties also arose in connection with the distribution of the voting papers, and in many places a bare 10% of the electors received their papers. The Party's candidates — e. g. Mr. Joseph Szenyési, Calvinist pastor of Szalárd, and Mr. Alexander Csomafáy, a landowner of Székelyhid — were arrested the day after the elections. Electors from Hungarian villages were prevented from attending the elections: the high roads and bridges were closed on the day of the elections, so that the inhabitants of several villages could not approach the urns. A decree issued to the village authorities, without any legal right forbade priests and pastors to take part in any political movement.

In *Szatmár County* several Hungarian villages were prevented from taking part in the elections. Ombód, for instance, was placed in quarantine and the Hungarian electors from Dara were hindered from appearing at the urns by the simple expedient of spiriting away their boats, so that, as they had no other means of crossing the river Szamos, they were perforce obliged to stay at home.

In *Kolozs County* a considerable number of Hungarian electors were not allowed to vote. Entire Hungarian villages — 1000 electors in the Egeres constituency alone — could not reach the urns because of a cordon of gendarmes; in the district of Kalotaszeg the electors of three Hungarian villages were kept in quarantine because of a non-existing epidemic of typhoid invented for electoral purposes.

In *Kis-Küküllő County* the Hungarian villages were hampered at the outset by an electoral geography which attached them to far-distant constituencies. These villages were then placed in quarantine by the gendarmes and the electors prevented from leaving them. Measures were taken to prevent 20 Hungarian

villages voting, and in 11 where the majority of electors were Hungarians not even half of them managed to reach the urns.

### *Terror in Brassó*

But electional abuses were by far the most atrocious at the election of the municipal council in Brassó. The degree of terrorization there was so great that the Hungarian and German Parties withdrew their lists. In Brassó there are only 6800 Rumanians, yet the number of Rumanian votes was 9623. On the other hand, only 1479 of the 12.000 Hungarians and Germans of the town managed to cast their votes. These absurdities must be attributed to forging of votes, to a brutal reign of terror, and to the fact that Hungarian and German voters were not allowed near the urns even as early as an hour after the elections began. Thereupon the Hungarian and German Parties called a joint meeting at which it was resolved to withdraw their candidates. The Germans in particular were greatly distressed to find themselves excluded from the municipal council, which now consists solely of Rumanians.

### *Resolution of the Hungarian Party*

The Presidential Committee of the Hungarian Party held a meeting on 3rd August at which the electional abuses were discussed, and the violent means wherewith the electors, *in a manner hitherto unprecedented*, were prevented by the authorities from expressing the will of the people, were severely condemned. In more than one place the bayonets and rifles of the gendarmes were the means employed, to say nothing of the fact that several places were put in quarantine on the pretext of epidemics and the electors were not allowed to leave these villages. It was thus it happened — continues the official resolution and report of the Hungarian Party — that no Hungarians were elected in municipalities and villages where a considerable number of them dwell and where they had previously been adequately represented on the administrative councils. The Presidential Committee of the Hungarian Party also protested against the incredibly absurd prohibition which forbade the clergy to take part in political movements, — which in other words tried to deprive them of their political rights. This measure was stated to be illegal by the Presidential Committee ("Keleti Ujság", August 5).

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### AWAY WITH HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN SIGNS ON BANKS!

During the investigation into the activities of the *composessorati*, objections were raised because the receipts and documents of one of the German *composessorati* in the Banate were written in German instead of in the official language of

the State. An order was immediately issued to the effect that in future the *compossesorati* — a special form of joint ownership of property consisting mainly of forests and grazing grounds — must use only the official language of the country in their minute-books and bookkeeping as well as on all their documents ("Banater Deutsche Zeitung" and "Déli Hírlap", July 14). The Hungarian and German text on the big transparent of the Arad branch of the "Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkassa" were first rendered unreadable with tar and a few days afterwards the whole glass sign was smashed ("Brassói Lapok", July 21).

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## SUPPRESSION OF THIRTY-YEAR-OLD HUNGARIAN DAILY

The Ministry of the Interior has suppressed for an indefinite period the "Szabadságsajtó", a daily appearing in Szatmár. This newspaper, established thirty years ago, was last year forbidden to appear under its old title "Szamos", on the ground that Hungarian geographical terms may not be used. (*Szamos* is the Hungarian name of a river.) The order suppressing this paper, which was issued at the instigation of the head censor's office, will deprive 60 families of their daily bread ("Keleti Ujság", August 15).

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### "QUOD LICET JOVI..."

The *Slovenská Matica*, the cultural association of the Slovaks in Yugoslavia with headquarters in Petroč (Petrovac, Bácska Banate), held its annual general meeting on 8th August. The most interesting part of the report of work done was undoubtedly the statement that after M. Hodža's visit last year the association had received a subsidy of 100.000 dinars from the Czecho-Slovak Government.

But what would the States of the Little Entente say were the cultural societies of the Hungarian minorities to receive financial support from the Hungarian Government? The least they would do would be to dissolve the societies in question and arrest their leaders.

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## HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS DISMISSED

A few years ago, when *Dobritsa Matkovitch* was Ban of the Danube Banate, a considerable number of minority public servants were ploughed at the language examinations, because questions so far removed from their official sphere were put to

them that they would not have been able to answer them even in their mother-tongue. One municipal official in Szabadka who has a D.C.L. diploma was asked of what the eyeball consisted and when he could not tell in Serb of what it was composed, he was ploughed. Amongst others the five Hungarian municipal officials who were discharged without pensions or compensation by the Municipal Council of Szabadka were also victims of this system of language tests. All of them appealed against the decision of the Municipal Council. The Chief Constable of Szabadka, as statutory forum of appeal, found that the Municipal Council had acted in an *illegal* fashion. The Municipal Council appealed to the Banate Office, but the appeal was dismissed and the Council was ordered to reinstate the five Hungarian officials. Although this order was issued weeks ago, no steps have yet been taken by the Council to reinstate them.

Graver by far than this is the situation of many hundreds of Hungarian railway employees, who at the time of the change of rule were taken over by the Yugoslav State Railways with full recognition of their years of service and vested rights, but who a few years later were dismissed without pension or adequate compensation. After submitting many petitions in vain these unfortunate people recently sent a deputation to the Minister of Transport begging him to give a decision in their favour, but beyond promises no results have so far been forthcoming.

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Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

# POLITICAL ECONOMY

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

### FINANCIAL SITUATION OF CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE WORSE THAN EVER

The "Venkov", the principal organ of the strongest Government Party, the Czech Agrarian Party, has published a leading article on the financial situation of the Czecho-Slovak State. This article, which attracted much attention, was written by M. Brož, a Czech authority on political economy, and amongst others contains the following passages.

"Since the beginning of the crisis no Budget has been balanced; there has been a deficit every year, a large deficit of from 1 to 3 thousand million Czech crowns. This year's Budget will also show a deficit. The burden of indebtedness grows ever heavier and no signs of improvement are visible in private enterprise. At the most a certain briskness was caused by an increased volume of public orders which will last while they last. If we want to keep employment at its present level, money must be forthcoming for public orders, for there are no private investments to compensate for a lack of public investments. On the contrary we see now the amount of capital invested in our economic life is steadily decreasing."

M. Brož next goes on to say that the present financial policy must be revised without delay: —

"A critical period lies before us. The Treasury has already told us that next year's expenditure will be 1500 millions more than this year. In addition to this there are the extra sums needed for further armaments. Who is to pay this, and how? The Financial Administration has a difficult task before it, a task not to be accomplished by the methods hitherto employed. It is impossible to increase State expenditure on the one hand and on the other to restrict private business, the profits of which should cover State expenditure. The solution of the problem may be postponed for a time; the means employed hitherto may work for a short period; a certain sum may be borrowed from foreign countries, and a new internal loan floated. All this, however, will merely defer and complicate the final settlement. The whole financial machinery of the State will become dependent on the Bank of Issue, which has ceased to be the last creditor and has

become the first. Shortly we shall be in the same position as France was not long ago."

At the end of his article M. Brož offers the following warning to Government:

"Our national accounts are not in order. In a time of seeming improvement we have entered upon an era of financial difficulties which will be apparent before autumn sets in and which will increase next year. Our problem is particularly difficult and complicated because the gold reserve of the Bank of Issue is steadily on the decrease. On this account capital takes flight to foreign countries and the normal exchange of money with the latter grows more and more difficult. It would be high time for our Government, following Roosevelt's example, to form a "brain trust" and at last attempt to solve our financial problems once and for all.

"The longer this is postponed, the worse. Today everyone sees that the methods of the past lead us nowhere. The financial situation of the State is worse than it has ever been before, in spite of the fact that the industrial concerns which have been made presents of State contracts are working to the limit of their capacity. The questions everyone asks are: "What comes next? How long will this last?"

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### SUGAR SCANDAL

Last month the economic life of Czecho-Slovakia was disturbed by a grave scandal in connection with sugar. According to a Czech Opposition newspaper, the Sugar Cartel placed 700 wagons of sugar at the disposal of the Government Parties to be distributed not only among the registered unemployed, but also among certain circles standing close to those Parties. The Burgher Parties received 400 and the Socialist Parties 300 wagons of sugar at a price below the ordinary sale price. The obvious object of this transaction was to finance out of the profits the parish council elections due in autumn, but which will probably be postponed, as the Government is doubtful of obtaining satisfactory results.

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## HUNGARY

### FINANCIAL POSITION OF HUNGARY IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1937

In his twenty-third report on Hungary's financial position, Mr. Royall Tyler, the Representative in Hungary of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, has summed up for the

second quarter of 1937 in the followings the general financial position of this country.

"(1) A big step has been taken towards overcoming the difficulties Hungary has had to contend with since the 1931 crisis and the ensuing default. Foreign debt service will now, broadly speaking, be paid in exchange on a basis agreed with the creditors, the present arrangements being for three years, save for the League Loan, where it is permanent. The creditors' position will improve. Some interest will be paid on debts on which none has been paid in recent years. Capital repayment, in the form of purchase by tender, will begin in the case of the 1930 and 1931 Treasury Bills.

"(2) In the case of the Reconstruction Loan (1924 League Loan), Hungary's premier security, the Government, with the support of the League Loans Committee, London, has offered the bondholders a permanent settlement (see I, 2(g), below) interest to be paid in exchange at a higher rate than latterly, as from the service year beginning August 2nd, 1937, and, as from August 2nd, 1940, amortisation to proceed by repurchase on the market.

"(3) In the case of most of Hungary's *Edeldevisen* debts, both public and private, other than the Reconstruction Loan, offers have been made with the support of the various creditors' associations, or actual agreements have been concluded, all on a three-year basis (the Standstill for one year twice renewable), with direct payments in exchange. (For details, see I, 2(e), I, 4, and I, 5(a), (d) and (e).) Where no formal offer or agreement has yet been made, negotiations are in course and have reached an advanced stage, except in the case of debts, representing a small part of the total, where no means have been found for starting collective negotiations.

"(4) These debt agreements will mean a considerable increase, both in the pengő amounts which the Treasury has to provide for the purchase of exchange from the National Bank, and in the total amount of free exchange, now to be the equivalent of some 45 million pengő (gold) per annum, transferred by the National Bank for debt service. Allowance being made for the supercharge required to secure transfer, there will be no change in the pengő amounts payable, as hitherto, into the Cash Office of Foreign Credits (National Bank) by debtors other than the State. The National Bank, during the last two years, has built up its internal position, and should now be able to carry out the necessary transfers without prejudice to the country's interest, provided that present possibilities for obtaining the necessary foreign exchange continue during the period covered by the proposal.

"(5) Finally, in case the National Bank's *Edeldevisen* receipts in the next three years leave a surplus, the National Bank is to be free to apply that surplus, in its own discretion, to strengthening its own position or to additional reduction of foreign debt.

"(6) The conclusion of these agreements shows that Hungary, while obliged, in the depression years, to take measures to protect the internal value of her currency, has not lost sight of the importance of making every effort, subject to that one condition, to meet the claims of her creditors, which she has never ceased to recognise.

"(7) In 1936/37, for the first time in seven years, the Administration's receipts left a surplus (12 million pengő) over expenditure, including the losses of the State Undertakings. The actual improvement in the Treasury position is greater than this figure indicates, as certain amounts of untransferred debt service have been reborrowed. Administrative receipts were 8.5% higher, expenditure 4.7% higher, than in 1935/36.

"(8) There has been no borrowing, in the past year, on the internal market. Increases in the State's floating debt correspond mainly to advances from the National Bank towards the carrying-out of the Agrarian Debts Relief and Land Settlement schemes, in conformity with the programmes already described in these reports.

"(9) Results of the State Undertakings are also more favourable than they were last year, allowance being made for the fact that the State Railways have, in the last few months, repaid a 20-million-pengő loan.

"(10) The estimates for 1937/38, as reproduced in my last report, have been voted by Parliament without change. In consequence of the debt agreements that have just been concluded, the amounts to be entered for foreign debt service will be lower than those, representing service at full contractual rates, that have appeared in past budgets. On the other hand, there will be no more reborrowing of untransferred debt service, and the actual cost to the Treasury will be greater by some 19 or 20 million pengő yearly. But, even apart from this, budget expenditure increases, and an investment programme outside the budget is to cost 19 million pengő more than it did last year. The level of expenditure is thus rising — a tendency which it would be advisable to restrain. Receipts are cautiously estimated.

"(11) The National Bank's holdings of gold and foreign exchange, taken together, have increased over the last quarter, and have been appreciably strengthened in the course of the year 1936/37.

"(12) The abundant harvest of 1936 has continued to influence the foreign trade position, which shows, for six months to June 30th, an export surplus of 74.7 million pengő, the largest recorded for any comparable period since the war. Imports have declined; but when allowance is made for the abnormal fodder imports early in 1936, following the short crop of 1935, other imports have not decreased. And in the last three months the tendency has been an increasing one here, too.

"(13) While the cereal crop this year will be less than that of 1936, the difference will perhaps turn out not to be as large as at one time had been feared. The autumn crops appear to be doing well.

"(14) I am indebted to Mr. Henry J. Bruce, Adviser to the National Bank, for the data on which are based the sections of this report dealing with the Bank and exchange control."

— y —

## THE REGENT OF HUNGARY AND THE IRRIGATION SCHEME

At a meeting of the National Lowlands Commission held at Szolnok on August 17th, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, Regent of Hungary, when replying to the address of welcome of the President, dealt exhaustively with the scheme for the irrigation of the country.

According to the Regent, the work now being initiated by Hungary is the first stage in the enormous enterprise which in the course of the following decades will result in making suitable for systematic cultivation a considerable part of the *szik-lands* (alkali soils) which are now either barren or very difficult to cultivate and, by as far as possible rendering the farming operations of the Lowlands independent of the caprices of the weather, in securing a yield in excess of that obtained today. The sums invested for this purpose will remain entirely in the country and will serve for the most part to raise the standard of life of the small holders, agricultural labourers and farm servants. The solution of the problem of irrigation will prove of advantage also to the other classes of the country, because it will lead to a vigorous increase of the accumulation of capital. All the essential conditions of enrichment are to hand in Hungary. Her agrarian produce is practically the best in the world, — that applying not only to the wheat of the Tisza region, but also to Hungarian live stock, game, wine, dairy products, fruit, silk etc. Numerous foreign markets have already realised the excellent quality of the best Hungarian agrarian products. As a con-

sequence of its favourable geographical position the country is able, by means of the Budapest free port, to connect the Near East too with the trade of Central Europe; while the increase of its fleet of Danube-oceangoing boats may lead to the development of an intensive commercial navigation system. The irrigation scheme will be carried out gradually, step by step, without causing too great a strain on the public finances or endangering the equilibrium of the Budget. One reason sufficient in itself to make the provision with water of the suitable areas a gradual process, is that the inhabitants of those areas must in the meantime be trained to employ the system of farming by irrigation.

According to a report supplied by Hugo Lampl, Ministerial Councillor, in Hungary so far an area of altogether 6.7 million cadastral yokes (1 cadastral yoke = 0.57 hectare) has been exempted from inundation by diking and placed in the service of agriculture. Now that the work of diking and of carrying off ground water has been completed, there is nothing to prevent us beginning the hydraulic works required to ensure the introduction on as large a scale as possible of the system of farming by irrigation. On the basis of general plans drafted during the course of the past year the Government has — under Act XX. of 1937 — *secured a credit of altogether 80 million pengő to be provided during a period of 14 years in yearly instalments of not less than 5 million pengő* — for the purpose of initiating these works and of furthering the best possible utilisation of the irrigation works. The scheme now being carried into effect consists of three parts. The main part of the scheme is the *network of channels altogether 280 kilometres in length* for carrying the water from the river swollen by the action of the dam erected on the Tisza at Tiszalök. This system of channels will be supplemented by four reservoirs situated in the plain with a total capacity of 220 million cubic metres of water which may be filled for emergency in the event of the volume of water in the Tisza being insufficient to allow of it being drained for irrigation purposes without prejudice to shipping. The volume of water available — 60 cubic metres a second — *will make it possible to irrigate a total area of roughly 200,000 cadastral yokes*. The second part of the scheme deals with an irrigation channel fed by pumps. One of the pump plants is to be constructed at Tiszafüred and the other at Algyő; each of these plants providing 4—6 million cubic metres of water and thus *making it possible to irrigate altogether 30—40,000 cadastral yokes*. The works included in the third part of the scheme have as their object *to extend the navigable section of the Körös and to irrigate the valley of the Körös*. From the river swollen by a dam to be erected at Békésszentandrás on the Körös it will be possible to divert direct into the stagnant beds and to accumulate in the same a volume of 10,000,000 cubic metres of water, that *making it possible to*

*ensure the irrigation of 25,000 cadastral yokes in the valley of the Körös. After the carrying into effect of the tripartite scheme described above it will be possible to introduce the system of farming by irrigation on an area of altogether 260—300,000 cadstral yokes.*

### IN THE BUDGETARY YEAR 1936/37 THE REVENUE OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EXCEEDED THE EXPENDITURE BY 82.7 MILLION PENGŐ

According to the June Report of the Minister of Finance relating to the financial situation of Hungary the expenditure of the public administration of the country in June amounted to 82 million pengő and the revenue (exclusive of the receipts under the head of loan administration) to 85.2 million pengő, *the revenue of the State Administration having thus been 3.2 million pengő in excess of the expenditure.* The sums appropriated in June out of the foreign creditors' fund for investments purposes amounted altogether to 0.8 million pengő.

The *total expenditure* of the public administration *during the whole course of the budgetary year 1936/37* — exclusive of the investments to be secured out of special loans — amounted to 788.9 million pengő and the revenue (exclusive of the receipts under the head of loan administration) to 871.6 million pengő, — that meaning that *the revenue of the State Administration exceeded its expenditure by 82.7 million pengő.* The sums taken up by the public administration for the purposes of investments to be secured by loans from the foreign creditors' fund amounted altogether to 5.8 million pengő.

The amount received during the fiscal year 1936/37 under the head of *sums paid out* in connection with the service of the League of Nations Loan *but subsequently borrowed* against Treasury Notes, was *altogether 18.5 million pengő.* In addition, *Treasury Notes of the face value of altogether 13 million pengő were deposited* with the foreign creditors' fund in connection with the service of foreign debts due by the State.

The total expenditure of the State undertakings *in June* aggregated 54.6 million pengő, their receipts aggregating 38.8 million pengő, that showing *an excess of expenditure in the case of these undertakings of altogether 15.8 million pengő.* The sums appropriated in June by these undertakings for the purposes of investments to be secured by loans from the foreign creditors' fund amounted to 800,000 pengő.

The total amount of the expenditure of the State Undertakings in the budgetary year 1936/37 — exclusive of the investments secured by special loans — aggregated 482.2 million pengő and the receipts 426.5 million pengő, that showing a *deficit of 53.7 million pengő on the operations of the State undertakings in the budgetary year 1936/37*. The sums appropriated during the same period by the State undertakings for the purposes of investments to be secured by loans from the foreign creditors' fund aggregated altogether 5.2 million pengő. During the said budgetary year the State administration *advanced sums amounting to altogether 65 million pengő to secure the deficit on the operations of the undertakings*.

## RUMANIA

### ACTION TO SECURE THE ASSETS (VALUED AT SEVERAL MILLIONS) OF THE TEMESVÁR EXCHANGE

The Temesvár Produce Exchange, the Lloyd Company, which was established 72 years ago, is the object of a fusilade of attacks the aim of which is to deprive the Company of its beautiful building and real estate valued at 20.000.000 lei. The Lloyd Company has been accused of not fulfilling the tasks laid down in its statutes and of serving solely minority, primarily Jewish, interests. The Ministry of Commerce has investigated the matter, and independently of this investigation the President of the Temesvár Rumanian Produce Market has filed a petition with the Court of Law, deminding that the Lloyd Company be deprived of its rights as a fictitious person and that its property, valued at 20.000.000 lei, be transferred to the Rumanian Produce Market. The date on which the case is to be tried has been fixed already by the Temesvár Court of Law. Minority public opinion has every reason to be anxious when a Rumanian company claims the right to property of 20.000.000 lei belonging to a minority company, particularly as this is no isolated case. For the new Rumanian Industrial Act has transferred the property of the purely minority industrial corporations to the Chambers of Industry and provided ways and means of laying claim to the property of minority industrial concerns not belonging to the industrial corporations ("Hírlap", Aug. 14). — y —

## INCREASING BURDEN OF TAXATION WEIGHS HEAVY ON TRANSYLVANIA

When this year's taxes were being assessed 70% of the total burden of taxation was imposed on Transylvania, whereas only 35% of the inhabitants of Rumania live there. — In the county of Maramaros, for instance, taxes were raised by 436% (15 million lei) and by 337% (37 million lei) in the county of Alsófehér. — Nor must it be forgotten that 65% of Rumania's industrial and commercial life is claimed by the Regate (pre-War Rumania) and only 35% by Transylvania ("Hírlap", Aug. 12).

— y —

## FIRST STEEL WORKS IN RUMANIA

The first Rumanian steel works have been opened in Hunyadoara (Transylvania). Among those present at the opening ceremony were M. Pop, Minister of Commerce and Industry, and General Glatz. The factory — it is said — will supply 30% of the requirements of the Rumanian armaments industry. — y —

## PUBLIC HYGIENE STATISTICS

According to the "Timpul", of Bucharest, there is one doctor to every 508 persons in the towns, but only one to every 12.297 in the country. There is one hospital bed to every 32.000 inhabitants and one nurse to every 53.075 ("Jöestét") — y —

## YUGOSLAVIA

### YUGOSLAVIA HAS CONTRACTED TO SUPPLY IRON ORE TO HUNGARY, RUMANIA AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The management of the Yugoslav State Mines has made a contract with the foundries in Hungary, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia, in terms of which she has bound herself to export 400.000 tons of iron ore to the above mentioned countries. Payment will be made according to the commercial and clearing agreements in force. — y —

### YUGOSLAV MAIZE HARVEST

According to Yugoslav reports, thanks to the good crop of maize, an export surplus of 100.000 carloads is expected (1 carload = 10 tons). — y —

NEW CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES ACT MAKES IT  
IMPOSSIBLE FOR MINORITY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES  
TO FORM A UNION

The new Co-operative Societies Act, which unifies the 14 preceding Acts, contains a provision that at least 300 co-operative societies are required for the formation of union. This provision makes it practically impossible for minority co-operative societies ever to form one. This is particularly true of Hungarian minority co-operative societies, the number of which has been reduced by various administrative measures from 230 to 17 since the change of rule. The formation of new Hungarian — especially agricultural — co-operative societies is greatly hindered by the fact that Hungarian claimants have been excluded from the benefits of the agrarian reform and by the over-taxation which has plunged the Hungarian farming population into extreme poverty.

— y —

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# S P O R T S

## WATER POLO

### HUNGARY WINS THE HORTHY CUP

The International Water Polo Tournament for the Cup offered by Admiral Horthy, the Regent of Hungary, was held in the Hungarian capital between August 14 and 20. The representative water polo teams and some of the best swimmers from Austria, Belgium, Germany, France, Holland and Hungary took part in the great competition. The opening of the tournament coincided with the inauguration of the new Swimming Pool on the St. Margaret Island, where the championship took place.

The water polo tournament was combined with various swimming competitions such as the Hungarian swimming championship, the Austro-Hungarian ladies' swimming competition and international relay swimming races.

The water polo tournament again provided the Hungarian team with an opportunity of establishing its superiority. The German team was the most formidable opponent, but the Hungarian team defeated the Germans by 3 goals to 1 and beat all other teams as well. Each of the teams played against all the others during the five days the tournament lasted. The Hungarian team obtained five victories — won all its matches —, scored 31 and received 3 goals.

*Hungary was first. Germany second* with 3 victories out of 5 matches, scoring 13 and receiving 10 goals. *Belgium was third* with two victories, *Holland fourth* also with two victories, *France was fifth* and *Austria sixth*.

In the Austro-Hungarian ladies swimming competition Hungary obtained 39 points against the 22 won by the Austrians.

The magnificent silver Cup, named the *Horthy Cup* after the Regent of Hungary, thus remains in Hungary until the next tournament which will be held in Holland in 1939.

## SWIMMING

## SWEDISH-HUNGARIAN SWIMMING COMPETITION

In the course of the Swedish-Hungarian Swimming Competition held in Budapest on 1st August the Olympic Champion Hungarian water-polo team beat the Swedish team by 13 goals to 1.

— y —

## ATHLETICS

## GRATIFYING SUCCESS OF HUNGARIANS AT WHITE CITY CHAMPIONSHIPS

Over fifty competitors representing sixteen nations took part in the great international meeting of athletes held in London, at the *White City Stadium*, on August 2nd. Hungary sent some of her best athletes to London; and the Hungarians distinguished themselves in most of the events. In the *440 yards hurdles*, there was a memorable struggle between the American crack *Patterson* and the Hungarian champion *Kovács*. The Hungarian beat his formidable opponent and covered the distance in 54.8 seconds. *M. Szabó*, the well-known Hungarian champion miler, ended second in the *one mile race* in 4 minutes and 16.2 seconds, the winner being the British champion *Wooderson*, who covered the mile in 4 minutes and 15.8 seconds. In the *three mile race*, *Ward*, Great Britain was winner, *Kelen*, Hungarian, being second.

As for the other events, *Dr. Darányi* was second in *weight-throwing*, having thrown the weight 15.01 metres. In the *long jump*, the Hungarian *Koltay* jumped 726.3 centimetres, the second best result to the incredible record of 741.5 centimetres achieved by the Esthonian *Toomsalu*.

One World Championship and four second places were thus won by the Hungarian athletes; and that is a gratifying success and a matter for pride.

— y —

## HUNGARY SECOND IN THE STUDENTS' WORLD CHAMPIONSHIPS IN PARIS

65 Hungarian students competed in athletics and other sports at the *VIII Students' World Championships* held in Paris from 21st to 29th August. Of the 24 nations participating the Hungarians took the second place, winning *11 championships* and several 2nd and 3rd prizes.

The unchallenged supremacy of the Hungarian swimmers was confirmed in Paris, where 9 *swimming championship* were won by them.

## SHOOTING

HUNGARIAN SUCCESS AT WORLD RIFLE SHOOTING  
CHAMPIONSHIPS

Over a hundred representatives of 12 nations took part in the international rifle shooting championships which were held in Helsingfors during the first week of August.

In the individual pigeon-shooting championships, *Dr. Alexander Lumnitzer*, the well-known Hungarian marksman, was first. He achieved the astonishing record of 198 hits out of 200 shots. *Hr. Forselles*, Denmark, was the second best with 196 hits.

The victory of *Dr. Lumnitzer* is also a matter of pride for Hungarian industry, since the Hungarian champion used Hungarian-made rifles and cartridges.

— y —

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