

# 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.

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### 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.

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## 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.

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OSZK

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