POLITICAL MOSAIC

LORD RUNCIMAN'S VISIT TO PRAGUE

Budapest, July 31st.

July has gone too without the Draft Nationality Statute (Charter) announced months ago having been made public. Nor may we expect the Czecho-Slovak Parliament to begin the discussion of the Statute before the end of August. All that we know now is certain details of that Statute and of the new Language Act and the Administration Reform Act; that too only from references in the Press. However, even these few details enable us to ascertain that the Draft Bills prepared by the Government are not very likely to be acceptable to the non-Czech nationalities, seeing that they are diametrically opposed to the demands put forward by those nationalities and to the requirements postulated by the present situation.

Under such circumstances the task awaiting Lord Runciman, who is to arrive in Prague shortly, is no easy one. Grateful as the world must be to Great Britain for her having — after last month repeatedly bringing pressure to bear on the Prague Government to ensure an urgent solution of the nationality question — sent this eminent British statesman to Czecho-Slovakia, we cannot but feel anxious whether the noble lord, whose mission to Prague has not yet been exactly described, — whether this confidential representative of the British Government, who is to treat only in the capacity of a private individual, will prove able to persuade the Czecho-Slovak Government to break with the rigid attitude it has so far adopted, to abandon its insistence on the utterly out-of-date catchphrases and theses enunciated in the years 1918—1920, and to agree to an amendement of the 1920 Constitution — which was in any case drafted without the co-operation of the non-Czech nationalities — calculated to satisfy all the nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia alike, — i. e. not only the Sudeta Germans, but the Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians and Poles too. For, though it may perhaps be possible to maintain the present state of things for a short time with the help of the power of the bayonet and of an arsenal

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of guns, unless the legitimate demands of the non-Czech nationalities are complied with, there can be no question of eliminating from the Republic those expansive forces which are bound sooner or later — even though unarmed — to triumph over the bayonets and the guns with which they are for the moment held in check.

Lord Runciman will during the coming days and weeks come in touch with the representatives of the non-Czech nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia and will thus ascertain the complaints and the demands of those nationalities. With this knowledge in his possession he will undoubtedly convince himself of the fact that the view still rather commonly held in the West — to the effect that "Czecho-Slovakia is the only pillar of democrary to the East of the Rhine" — is not in keeping with the facts. Among themselves the Czechs are no doubt good democrats enough, not ackowledging any differences of estate or class as between Czechs; but outside the Czech settlement area, which occupies only a relatively small part of the Republic, this democrary becomes something quite different. A State which in advance regards every person of a nationality other than that of the ruling nation as untrustworthy and has every step made by him watched with suspicion, — which restricts administrative, economic and church autonomy to much narrower limits than those in force in pre-War Austria, — which has already thrown into prison or driven into exile so many of its citizens, — which has developed the science of censorship to a degree hitherto unparalleled, — in which the greater part of the territories inhabited by non-Czech nationalities is being administered today, in days of peace, as war zones, — and which instead of furthering the well-being of all its citizens alike consistently fleeces its non-Czech citizens and reduces them to the brink of absolute material ruin, — a State of this kind cannot possibly be regarded as a democratic State, in whatever sense that term may be used.

As we learn from the section of Mr. Lloyd George's Reminiscences which appeared in the July 25th. issue of the "Daily Telegraph", the Czechs at the Peace Conference promised the non-Czech nationalities every conceivable benefit and concession; and since that time they have in like manner uninterruptedly abused the term "democracy". What they promised was indeed democracy; but what they put into practice was merely the absolutism of 10—12 Czech party leaders and other leading Czech personalities. No wonder that the non-Czech nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia have had enough of promises and fine words and no longer trust any documents, however seriously sealed, but desire to obtain reliable and infallible guarantees.

It will be the task of Lord Runciman to secure the non-Czech nationalities these guarantees. For, if he fails to do so,

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the Czech question — the most burning question of Europe today — cannot possibly be solved as conceived in London.

Lord Halifax on the Mission of Lord Runciman

On 27th July Lord Halifax, Secretary of Foreign Affairs delivered a speech in the House of Lords. This speech contains on the Czech question the following passages:

"The problem was how to find by peaceful means a way of conferring a substantial measure of self-administration upon the German population and with them the other populations, such as the Polish and the Hungarian, who lived within the Czechoslovak borders and possessed Czechoslovak citizenship. The problem was a very real one and of a kind of which we were not without experience.

Accordingly his Majesty's Government, acting closely with the French Government agreed in response to the Czechoslovak Government to take the action which had been detailed by the Prime Minister, and His Mayesty's Government had been fortunate in enlisting the assistance of Lord Runciman. He was in a position to say that the Sudeten leaders had received the idea favourably, and he hoped, so far as he could at the present judge, that the way seemed to be clear for Lord Runciman to proceed on his most publicspirited and patriotic mission.

The Goverment felt that Lord Runciman brought to his task of independent investigation and mediation many qualities which those who had had the opportunity of working most closely with him were in the best position to appraise, and which were sufficiently well known to his countrymen to secure for him all the good wishes for which Lord Snell asked. Lord Runciman's status when he went to Czechoslovakia would be one of complete independence of His Majesty's Government, and that was not a very difficult status for either him or the Government to maintain.

"I have made it quite plain to him and quite plain also to all those concerned that he was in no way going as a representative of or on behalf of His Majesty's Government, nor do we take any responsibility for what may be the suggestions that he may make. His function as I see it will be to inform public opinion not only in this country but in many other countries, but, more important, to act as mediator and bring the two sides together, to explain perhaps where there is missapprehension and conceivably to make new suggestions and the like. If I may I should like to tell your Lordships what Lord Runciman said to me. He said: "I quite understand. You are setting me adrift in a small boat in mid-Atlantic." I said, "That is exactly the position." We cannot but feel that a public man of British race, and steeped in British experience and thought, may have it in his

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power for that reason to make a contribution of quite particular value.

"The British people at home and in the Dominions have repeatedly found themselves confronted with the problem of reconciling the unity of the State with the position of men of different race included within the body politic. The British Commonwealth itself is an outstanding example of the attainment of single unity through great diversity. It may be, and no doubt is, that the particular problem that faces the Czechoslovakian Government is not strictly analogous to those with which the British Government have had to deal, but it is of the same order of difficulty and requires the same kind of genius for its solution. It therefore naturally occurs to British thought that the solution of the problem created by the position of different nationalities within a single State is most likely to be found through the application, in some form appropriate to local conditions, of the principle of partnership in self-administration by which problems not totally dissimilar have been so happily resolved and that in a form which, through the contentment so brought to many different races, has been the seed of greater strength to the whole community of which they are part.

"Proceeding, Viscount Halifax said that upon the handling of that problem depended the interests not only of Czechoslovakia herself, and it was that fact which both entitled and compelled Great Britain with others to be interested in the treatment of it. They recognized the justice and the necessity of change, but it was none the less their desire to see it effected by peaceful means, and the lesson of history must surely be that such an achievement would have greater chances of survival than any settlement imposed by force which must inevitably create more problems than it solved.

"In a recent speech M. Daladier defined the position of his country and the obligation that in certain eventualities would rest upon it to fulfil its undertakings. Of that obligations the French Government could alone be the interpreter and the judge. But M. Daladier asserted in clear terms his refusal to believe in the inevitability of war. By that opinion he would wish most definitely to range his own."

English Article of Welcome in "Prágai Magyar Hírlap"

In its August 4th issue the *"Prágai Magyar Hírlap"*, the leading organ of the Magyars of Czecho-Slovakia, published an article in Hungarian and English with the title "A Welcome to Lord Runciman" in which that nobleman was cordially welcomed on his visit to Prague. The "Prágai Magyar Hírlap" was the only paper to welcome the British statesman in his own language.

The article in question reads as follows:

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"The moment at which his Lordship sets foot on Czecho-Slovakian soil is one of extraordinary importance in the history of post-war Europe. This mission which brings him to this country — the role which he has undertaken, is entirely unprecedented.

"In this part of Europe problems have literally piled up, on the solution of which depends the development of the coming years, the safety of states, the prosperity or decline of nations, and the peaceful and happy lives of the people — or their despair.

"Twenty years ago it was believed to be possible to shunt off vital, effective historical forces, or to stifle them in their development. This cannot longer be maintained. The Peace Conference took into consideration only the two post-war extremes — victory or defeat. They forgot that only states can be temporarily defeated — not nations.

"The Czechoslovak republic was formed on the basis that the victory of the Czech, Slovak, and Ruthenian nations was recognised, while the German, the Hungarian, and the Polish nations living in this territory suffered all the moral and material casualties of the lost war. The activity of the statesmen in the course of twenty years, in building the state, aimed at one thing; to lay the foundations of the Czecho-slovak national existence at the expense of the Germans, Hungarians, and Poles. This development is unhealthy and unnatural, and was bound to end in conflicts. To arrive at this, it had been sufficient to alter the balance of the Great Powers directing Europe's history. The events in March this year brought into clear light this altered balance, and thus the Czechoslovakian problem was cast up.

"The world knows this problem as the German—Czecho-slovak problem, but those who are living here, or who occupy themselves more thoroughly with the existing situation, must know that the setting out of the problem is not anything like so simple as that.

"There is not only a German—Czechoslovak problem, but also a Hungarian—Czechoslovak problem, a Polish—Czechoslovak problem, and even a Slovak—Czechoslovak problem, and a Ruthenian—Czechoslovak problem.

"The problem calls for absorbing consideration, involving extensive research. The noble lord is doubtless fully conscious of the fact that the task he has undertaken with such a degree of self sacrifice, is complicated and difficult. We can scarcely find in the course of history, that a statesman acting in his private capacity, has ever undertaken a task of such gigantic magnitude.

"The Hungarian national community living in this state, lifts its hat with respect to, and salutes this noble son of the

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great British nation, who comes to us to advise the responsible leaders of this state and the representatives of the nations, and, as far as in human possibility lies, to untie this Gordian knot.

"The noble Lord comes with the purpose of insuring peace within this state, and to lay foundations of agreement between the various nations of Czechoslovakia, because British policy is set upon the establishment of this, as the key to world peace.

"We know this, and we appreciate it respectfully. We Hungarians have lived for a thousand years our independent state life, in the most stormy part of Europe, which has been repeatedly stirred up by by Oriental barbarism. We have suffered and bled, and in the past of every Hungarian family, is the record of martyr-heroes, who gave their lives and blood for Christian civilisation, or Hungarian liberty and independence. The present generation of Hungarians living here, are the descendants of such ancestors. This generation can endure and can suffer — it cannot live in dishonour.

"We have within us the feeling that twenty years ago, we were denied the right that President Wilson proclaimed with prophetic inspiration: the right of self-determination of the nations. Only this right can restore our life of honour, by giving equal conditions and equal possibility of development to every nation.

"With reverence and deep honour, we salute Lord Runciman as he looks out upon this world which he wants, as an honourable, single minded man, to reform by bringing into harmony the contrasting conceptions and vital interests of nations. We wish him good luck in this great task.

"We, for our part, desire nothing other than what issues spontaneously from the character of an English getleman: the pursuit of justice in an unbiassed, sincere way. In this we are ready to support loyally his efforts.

"We believe deeply and unshakenly in the truth that we Hungarians have the right to live in liberty.

"It is that which we wish clearly to convey, in all manly candidness to a statesman, a gentleman, and a man, who has undertaken a great historical task."

The Draft Minority Statute

On 26th July, at long last, the Czecho-Slovak Government approved the Nationality Statute and Language Bill promised months ago but repeatedly postponed. According to excerpts published in the daily Press, Section I of the Statute maintains the provision of the Constitutions dealing with the equality of citizens and contains the same provisions in re the determina-

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tion of nationality as the Ordinance issued before the last census was taken in 1930. As regards the execution of § 134 of the Constitution, which prohibits denationalization, certain acts are now made punishable by law, but this does not affect the activity of the various societies engaged in the work of Czechization. It is true that in principle the Draft makes provision for the nationalities receiving their share of civil service posts, but does so with numerous reservations that rob the relevant provisions of their practical value. The same applies to the economic participation of the minorities, which, in any case, does not extend to public orders placed with State undertakings. The practical value in particular of the provisions relating to the employment of nationality officials is very slight, since they refer only to posts to be filled hereafter; a whole generation at least must therefore pass before the nationalities will begin to fell the benefit of them. On the model of the system already existing in Bohemia and Moravia, the Draft promises to establish provincial educational councils with minority departments in Slovakia and Ruthenia, but uses the old tactics of leaving the scheme to be carried out by a special Act of Parliament. And it is only in the historical provinces that the organization of nationality and local school-boards is contemplated.

The draft of the new Language Bill does not state the percentage of minority inhabitants required in the several districts to entitle them to the use of their own tongue.

The fundamental principles even of the third, and last, section of the Draft — that dealing with a reform of the administration — have not yet been made public, but if would seem to be certain. That the Government is not willing to endow the nationalities as such with autonomy; a slight extension of the adminisrative selfgovernment hitherto enjoyed by the provinces may be contemplated, but that is all. As several languages and nationalities exist in every province, this would not mean a single step towards nationality autonomy.

We see, then, that, with a few exceptions, the provisions of the Draft are of a Platonic order and — this may safely be assumed — will not satisfy the nationalities. It will not do so, for, as we are constrained to reiterate, the solution of the Czecho-Slovak problem hangs on the question: is Czecho-Slovakia willing to abandon the fiction of a national State and resolve herself into nationality one corresponding to the actual condition of the country; is the Government prepared or not to recognize he corporative right of the nationalities and on that basis to grant them autonomy? Should Czecho-Slovakia neglect to do this, she must be prepared for the consequences.

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THE UNITED HUNGARIAN PARTY DEMANDS NATIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT WITHIN SELF-GOVERNED SLOVAKIA AND RUTHENIA

The United Christian Socialist and Hungarian National Party together with the Zipser German Party, held a joint meeting of their members of Parliament and the Provincial Assembly at Pozsony (Bratislava) on June 30-th. The Communique issued after the meeting says that the main item of the meeting was the summery of the interviews with the Premier M. Hodja, which was followed by a debate. The members of the two parties were informed of the Premiers Statement concerning the minority statutes which — he declared — are just now in the process of Drafting. Further discussions and tales must, therefore, be restricted to the collection of informations for the Premier, to be used in connection with the preparation of legislative reforms intended to introduce a new regulation of nationality conditions in the Republic.

In view of the above report the party meeting proceeded to lay down its principles concerning its attitude in the future. The declaration points out that the Party has decided to carry on the campaign which had been introduced twenty years ago in order to achieve the total equality of the Hungarian minority in the Republic; the Party also lays particular stresson the fact that it still believes as it did in the past that this campaign cannot lead to victory unless it is based on the claim: self-government for the Hungarian minority within a self-governed Slovakia and Ruthenia.

* * *

After Premier Hodža, on 20th June had seen the representatives of the United Hungarian Party (Szüllő, Jaross and Esterházy) for the second time, another meeting of the Club was held on 22nd July (although they were not yet in possession of the full text of the proposed Nationality Statute) On this occasion M. Géza Szüllő, President of the Club, amongst other things said: "The history and economic life of the population of Slovakia for the past thousand years has developed a mentality entirely different from that of the historical provinces which for a thousand years were incorporated in the German Empire. This is the punctum saliens. Without wishing to anticipate, I emphatically declare that we, the representatives of the autochthonous Hungarian population of Slovakia, stand on the same platform of public law as the autochthonous Slovaks, that is to say, we desire the complete constitutional independence of Slovakia, within the framework of which we shall, in full understanding with the Slovaks, be able to ensure our own national self-government."

How Henlein's Party Desires the State to be Re-organised.

Seeing that the Paris *"L'Oeuvre"* — despite the fact that the negotiations between the Goverment and the Sudeta German

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Party had been pronounced to be strictly confidential — has succeeded in making public certain details of the contents of the Memorandum submitted to Government by that Party on June 7th., the Sudeta German Party has been compelled to publish in the columns of the "Zeit" (July 20th.) the full text of the Memorandum. The latter is based upon the Eight Karlsbad Points put forward by Herr Henlein; and the essential points of the Memorandum are the following:

The Henlein Party demands first of all the drafting of constitutional laws acknowledging the principle that not only individuals, but also the peoples and ethnic groups to which those individuals belong, may not be deprived of equality of rights or of equal possibilities of development by the predominance of any one people. For that reason there must without fail be a re-adjustment of the State.

The peoples and ethnic groups must be considered as artificial persons and must be given organs representing them by which they will be enabled to decide their own affairs for themselves and through which they will be able to claim their share of the common State power.

The fundamental rights due to the peoples and ethnic groups respectively must be the following:

a) The unrestricted right and guarantee of self-determination, and equal possibilities of development in respect of all abilities, forces and capabilities of each several people and each several ethnic group;

b) Each people and each ethnic group to be given an equitable share in the direction, development and performances of the State;

c) Protection against de-nationalisation;

d) Guarantees to ensure the ethnic selfconsciousness so far suppressed and the right of fostering national homogeneity.

For the purpose of carrying these principles into effect there must be a re-organisation of the territory of the State on the basis of national-regional decentralisation. As a consequence the united State territory must be sub-divided into Czech, German, Slovak etc. ethnic areas or territories. This involves a re-delimitation of all regions in keeping with the ethnic boundaries in all fields alike, including the State undertakings and State establishments of every kind. Enclaves too must be delimited in a manner enabling them to form independent administrative units. For the benefit of persons of other nationalities living in the ethnic areas minority rights must be reciprocally introduced. When demarcating the ethnic boundaries full reparation must be made for the losses suffered by the German ethnic group, this being done with due regard for the state of things existing in 1918. This re-distribution is to be effected by a commission on which the peoples concerned are to be given equal representation.

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The carrying into effect of these principles postulates the division of legislature and of administration into organs of the State and organs of the autonomous governments of the peoples and ethnic groups.

The sphere of authority of the national self-government must include at least:

1. The independent sphere of activity of parishes (municipalities), local economic administration inclusive of finances and the control of the same in respect both of legality and of expediency, the alteration of place-names, the amalgamation or separation of parishes, and the alteration of their confines; the right to transfer the carrying into effect of agenda of the national self-government to the parishes;

2. The political administration relating to public welfare, public order and public security;

3. The national cadasters (registers);

4. Changes of names;

5. The whole field of education of all kinds, inclusive of vocational and higher schools (colleges and universities) and of pre-military training, of school inspection and school buildings;

6. The whole field of cultural and educational policy, inclusive of scientific academies, museums, archives (record offices), the protection of monuments and broadcasting;

7. Social provision of all kinds, inclusive of sick funds, labour service, industrial hygiene and inspection and factory bye-laws;

8. Provision for children, youth and orphans, physical training, demographic policy, public hygiene, local (provincial) veterinary measures, humanitarian institutes, hospitals, etc.;

9. Poor relief and old age pensions;

10. Colonisation (settlement) measures, building movements, inclusive of provision of dwellings and furtherance of building activity, expropriation and indemnification procedure, in respect of landed property, and sale and purchase of landed property;

11. The autonomous administration of corporations such as chambers of commerce and industry, industrial associations and commercial companies, inclusive of the right of the re-organisation of chambers;

12. *a)* The right to establish obligatory unions for the furtherance of the economic life, in addition to supervision of voluntary economic associations; *b)* the right to establish social and professional obligatory associations;

13. Matters relating to industry and trade, concessions and licences, markets, theatre licences (including police inspection);

14. territorial electricity operations;

15. territorial measures relating to popular finance, inclusive of revision and inspection;

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16. Operations of agrarian culture (agricultural production, legislation relating to animal breeding, improvement works, protection against mountain torrents by dams, etc.), agricultural experimental and testing operations, and forestry (including supervision, shooting, hunting and fishing rights): for agricultural education, see sub point 6. above);

17. Self-administration of financial quotas allotted for own spheres of activity of national self-govering bodies (see also financial rights);

18. Right of levying supplementary taxes for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks of the autonomous sphere of authority. Right to take up loans for the same purpose;

19. Statistical surveys within jurisdiction of self-governing bodies.

The work of legislation is to be effected by 1. the National Assembly and 2. the popular representative assemblies.

The members of one and the same ethnic units shall form national senates (curiae). The latter shall represent within the common National Assembly the corporative rights of their peoples and ethnic groups as artificial persons and shall stand for the common claims and demands thereof.

The Members of the national senates or curiae in the National Assembly shall constitute the popular representative assemblies. Their competence shall extend to legislation relating to affairs being matters of national self-administration, — to the election of the persons at the head of the self-administration, — to votes of no-confidence in the heads of the self-administration, — budgetary rights in respect of financial quotas and own financial means, — right to control budgetary accounts, — right to file proposals with constitutional tribunal.

The supreme organ of each self-governing administration shall consist of the President of the self-governing administration and the heads of the highest self-government offices, the same together constituting the directory of the self-governing administration.

The President shall be elected for a period of six years by the popular representative assembly. His appointment is to be confirmed by the President of the Republic. In the event of a refusal to confirm the election the representative assembly in question may take a resolution to abide by its decision.

The heads of offices shall be appointed and dismissed respectively by the President. The President and the said heads of offices are each for himself responsible to the competent popular representative assembly. The President shall also be Member of the Supreme Defence of the State Council.

Of the Common Ministries those of Education, Social Welfare and Public Hygiene shall be abolished. Common affairs

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belonging to the competence of the same, inclusive of the right of control of the State, shall be referred to a special section of the Ministry of the Interior or of the Prime Minister's Office. The Ministry for Unification should also be abolished. In the Office of the Private Secretary of the President of the Republic, in the Prime Minister's Office, and in the Ministries of the Interior, of Justice, of Agriculture, of Public Works and of Railways and Postal Services national sections shall be organised with officials and clerks belonging to the respective nationality. In the Ministries of National Defence, of Foreign Affairs and of Finance no national sections shall be established. In the Ministry of Finance and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provision shall nevertheless be made for the representation of the special and specific economic interests of the several ethnic areas.

1. At the head of each national self-governing administration there shall function as supreme organs the President and the Directory. Supreme autonomous offices shall be created for each several branch of the autonomous administration of each self-governing area.

2. The ordinances to ensure the carrying into effect of the laws of the self-governing administration shall be issued by the competent directory.

3. The fundamental principles governing the reciprocal intercourse as between the directories of the several self-governing administrations and between those directories and the central State administration shall be determined by a special law to be passed by the National Assembly.

4. In the self-governing national administrations the parishes shall have over them autonomous district and provincial administrations:

a) The districts of the self-governing national administrations shall be under the direction of elected district constables or prefects (Bezirkshauptmann), who shall have attached to them as consutative and advisory organs the district representative assemblies and the district commissions.

(Ad *a)* and *b).:* These consultative and advisory organs will be elected).

b) The countries belonging to the selfgoverning national territories shall be under the direction of elected provincial constables or prefects (Landeshauptmann), who shall have attached to them as consultative and advisory organs the (national) provincial assemblies and the (national) provincial commission. (Accordingly in Bohemia, for instance, there would be: the political provincial authorities for the whole of Bohemia engaged in administering State matters; and within the framework of the national self-governing administration, a Czech national provincial administration for the Czech area of Bohemia, a German national provincial administration for the German area of Bohemia).

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In so far as the sphere of authority of the national self-governing administrations is based upon the personal principle, the competence of the provincial administrations shall extend to all citizens of the same ethnic group in Bohemia.

5. Against decisions of the highest instance (forum) of the autonomous authorities appeal may be made for legal redress to the administrative tribunal. The decision in respect of complaints of the kind shall rest with special national sections of the Supreme Administrative Tribunal.

In keeping with the division of the administration into State and autonomous the category of autonomous officials and employees shall be once more introduced.

The officials and employees of the State must in the first and second instances — and also in the third instance in cases where national sections are organised — nationally be in perfect agreement with the requirements of the territorial competence, so that for authorities functioning in German territory or with a competence in respect of such territory only German officials and employees may be employed. In the central administration or in State institutions in which no nationally differentiated sections are established, the principle of proportionate representation must be enforced — with due regard for special conditions. Prior to the appointment of the officials directing the national sections — e. g. of heads of sections to direct the national sections in the ministries, heads of the national sections of the provincial authorities or of the provincial inland revenue offices etc. — the competent authorities must consult the President of the respective self-governing administrations and obtain from them ternary nominations. Disciplinary sentences cannot be passed except by senates of the same nationality. Against appointments involving an infraction of these fundamental principles the competent national senates (curiae) may appeal for legal redress to the supreme Administrative Tribunal.

The appointment of autonomous officials to posts in the higher categories shall be made by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the President of the respective self-governing administration. Should no appointment be made within a period of thirty days after presentation of the relevant proposal, the right of appointment devolves automatically upon the President of the respective self-governing administration.

The circuits of the district and military courts are to be demarcated to correspond with the ethnic areas. In the case of the higher and of the supreme courts of justice national sections shall be established, as also in the case of the Supreme Administrative Tribunal and of the Supreme Court of Appeal.

In connection with the State Administration and the State undertakings the following principles must be enforced:

1. The State shall speak the languages of its citizens;

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2. The superior authorities shall speak the languages of the subordinate authorities;

3. Co-ordinate authorities shall speak each its own language;

4. The language of authorities functioning exclusively in ethnic areas shall be the language of the respective ethnic area;

5. The same fundamental principles shall be enforced also in the case of State undertaking and institutions and of corporations, associations and institutes of a public character.

In the field of the self-governing administration:

a) The language of the self-governing administration shall be that of its own people;

b) For the benefit of minorities regional minority linguistic rights are to be established.

All other State organs — e. g. notaries public, civil engineers, etc. — shall speak the language of their own nationality in dealings with the authorities and in official dealings, and in dealings with third parties shall use the language of the party in question.

In respect of the Capital City Prague special measures must be taken to ensure the reflection outwardly also of the fact that this city is common to all the peoples and ethnic groups of the Republic.

In keeping with the fundamental principles described above the following institutes and organisations must also be reorganised: the Re-Discount and Collateral Loan Institute, National Bank, General Banking Institutes, General and Special Funds of the Banking Institutes, Post Office Savings Bank, Hop District Corporation, Export Institutes, Export Credit Insurance System, Central Social Insurance Institute, Social Institutes, Public Health Fund, Professional Chambers, Economic Advisory Board, Financial Advisory Board, Savings Banks Advisory Board, Investments Advisory Board, Insurance Advisory Board, Electricity Board, Road and Highway Advisory Board, Water Power Advisory Board, Watering Places Advisory Board, State Statistical Bureau, State Statistical Board, Permanent Commission for Determination of Official Place-Names, Czecho-Slovak Press Bureau (ČTK), Radio Times, Undertakings under State influence, Fund Administrations of the State and Provinces, State Monopolies, State Lottery Administration, Fiscal Procuratorships, etc.

In the field of foreign exchanges administration a system of national double signature must be introduced to signify the equal status of the German language. In the case of the officials and employees the principle of proportional representation must be enforced.

Measures must be taken to pass a fiscal law which may not be amended except by the unanimous desire and will of all the peoples and ethnic groups. This law must be based upon the following principles: The Public Estimates must be divided in

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respect of expenditure by nations. The division must be effected on the basis of a key to be determined by agreement between the several national senates of the National Assembly for a definite period. This agreement in re the key to be employed must be approved by the President of the Republic. In the event of it proving impossible for the national senates within the period available to come to an agreement, the Government shall decide by Order respecting the provisional Budget, which shall be for only a short term. Such Order must be countersigned by the President of the Republic.

When making the agreement respecting the key determining the several quotas, due account must be taken of any special conditions in force at the time. Moreover, measures must be taken to ensure the reparation of the disadvantages to which the German ethnic group has been subjected. Until the tax system reform has been carried into effect, the State Estimates must comprise also the sums required for the operations of the national self-governing administration. These sums must be shown in gross total and must be placed at the unrestricted disposal of the national self-governing administrations.

To ensure the observance of the key determined, a special national control office shall be organised and attached to the Supreme Public Audit Department.

The re-organisation of the State shall be perpetuated by a comprehensive legislation — according to the matter dealt with, either by constitutional laws or by simple laws — in a manner precluding any change being made by "packing" tactics.

Special measures of a legislative and administrative character for the purpose of repairing the losses inflicted upon the German ethnic group must be carried into effect in particular in the following fields: — land reform, university legislation, minority schools, high schools and colleges, legionary legislation, re-construction of banks, etc.

Slovaks against Seton Watson

Dr. Seton Watson, Professor in King's College, London, who — as is well known — is perhaps the most ardent protagonist of Czecho-Slovak interests in England, paid another visit to the Republic in July and attended the festivities arranged at Luhacovic. In one of his speeches he declared that the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic was the unity and reciprocity of the Czechs and Slovaks. Professor Seton Watson deplored the fact, which came as an unpleasant surprise to him, that the Slovak People's Party had chosen this time to "demand political and administrative impossibilities".

In reply, the organ of the Slovak People's Party, the "Slovak", said that they had never demanded impossibilities; all

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they had wanted for the past twenty years was what T. G. Masaryk had promised them in the Pittsburgh Convention. Had that promise been kept, as one might expect gentlemen's political agreements to be kept, they would have nothing left to demand in these difficult times, but would have been content with what T. G. Masaryk by signing the Convention had pledged his honour to grant. There was no question of administrative and political impossibilities. What they desired were natural guarantees of the rights and liberties of the Slovaks, in default of which they could not continue to exist. (July 12.)

Next day the "Slovak" reported the conversation that took place on 12th July in Pozsony (Bratislava) between Professor Seton Watson and M. Peter Hletko, a prominent member of the American Slovak League. (M. Hletko headed the delegation which brought over the original text of the Pittsburgh Convention from America, and after his companions returned home, he stayed on in Czecho-Slovakia. — Ed.) *Hletko* told Dr. Seton Watson that the only way out of the present *impassa* was to honour the agreement contained in the Pittsburgh Convention. This would fully satisfy the Slovaks and result in a reinforcement of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Seton Watson argued that Prague was ready to grant certain concessions to Slovakia (an extension of the sphere of authority of the Provincial Governor, the organization of a Slovak educational council, etc.). To this Hletko replied that this was not the substance of the Pittsburgh Convention. Slovakia demanded a national assembly. The Slovaks were unjustly reproached with insisting on their demands at a time when the Republic was in difficulties. Was it — he asked Seton Watson — the fault of the Slovaks if in consequence of the general European situation the Czecho-Slovak Republic found itself in a crisis? The Slovaks were not responsible for the present situation, and it was wrong to accuse them of an act they had never committed. It was not only this year that the Slovaks had demanded the execution of the Pittsburgh Convention; they had been doing so for twenty years, years in which Czecho-Slovakia's position had been more than favourable. Dr. Seton Watson also argued that autonomy would merely impose a heavier burden on the Slovaks, since they would have to provide for the upkeep of many things at present financed by the State Treasury. Drawing on the experience gained during wellnigh two months' sojourn in Slovakia, M. Hletko answered that the upkeep of a self-governing Slovakia would not cost the Slovaks more than now, for the Province of Slovakia as such was supporting also institutions and other things in the provinces beyond the Morva which were for the most part maintained by the State (roads, hospitals, schools, etc). What the Slovaks would have to expend in the framework of a

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self-governing Slovakia would simply help to increase the Slovak national assets (July 13).

According to a supplementary report published the day following, M. Hletko declared that he had travelled all through Slovakia, had spoken with hundreds of people, officials of high rank as well as simple workers, and had heard the same complaints everywhere. Commenting on Professor Seton Watson's information from Prague, according to which Slovakia was to receive concessions, the "Slovak" wrote as follows:

"We, who received so much information as early as 1920 from the most authentic sources about a Slovak educational council and the extension of the Provincial Governor's sphere of authority, judge the value of Prague's promises in the light of the past.

"We do not believe Prague.

"*Scotus Viator* does.

"In a few months' time we shall remind Scotus Viator of those promises, and he will see what they were worth. It is rumoured that his son is to study in Czecho-Slovakia. It is a pleasure to hear this; and when he has learned the language of the country, let him travel through Slovakia as M. Hletko did, to see things for himself and hear the voice of our people. We believe that Mr. Seton Watson's son will gain a better insight into our misery and grief than his father has done."

Governor of Ruthenia's Damning Criticism of Governor's Bill.

We have repeatedly reported that the Czecho-Slovak law passed last year (No. 172/1937), which deals with the sphere of authority of the Governor of Ruthenia, has not carried the problem of Ruthenian autonomy. which has been on the carpet for the past two decades, one step nearer solution. Namely, this law does not invest the Governor with the rights to which in terms of the minority treaty of St. Germain he would be entitled, that is to say, it does not make him the Governor of this territory responsible to an autonomous national assembly, but keeps him in the position of an official responsible to the Prague Government. How well warranted our opinion was, is best proved by the statement made by Governor Hrabár himself to the correspondent of the "Slovensky Dennik", in which amongst other things he said: —

"All I wish to say about the Governor's Bill is that it has already revealed its weaknesses. It was drawn up in too great a hurry and contains many formal and material faults. The leaders of the Agrarian Party have elaborated a new Bill dealing with the political administration of Ruthenia. In this Bill special stress is laid on the endeavour to eliminate the so-called system of

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"double rails" which does not serve the end it was intended for. Life is different from the spirit of the law. As things stand at present the sphere of authority of the Governor and his Council is — to put it mildly — problematic."

Only a few months have passed since this law came into force; and it is already a failure. This is a typical example of how bad Czech legislature is. It also reveals how the system of "double rails" — a system which, with a Czech Assistant-Governor, allows the Ruthenian Governor only a few crumbs of authority — is regarded and how little it is valued even by Ruthenians who, like M. Hrabár, are Prague's henchmen.

En masse Desertion of Nationality Soldiers.

According to a report from Teschen, nowadays it very often happens on the Czecho-Polish frontier that Czech soldiers make their escape to Polish territory. This usually takes place in the dark; the deserters cross the frontier at places far away from the ordinary routes and then report to the Polish frontier authorities. In the month of July over one hundred Czech soldiers crossed the frontier. The reasons for their desertion given by all of them were a hard life and bad treatment. Similar reports arrive from other frontiers too.

Slovaks against Czech Military

The feelings with which the Slovaks welcomed the Czech mobilization of 21st May are vividly illustrated by the following report: Joseph Skokán, a well-to-do farmer of Csütörtökhely, was arrested by the local gendarmes and taken to the jail in Lőcse. The cause of his arrest was that Skokán had been agitating against the army and trying to persuade the people of the place to drive out the Czech soldiers billeted in the local Minorite Monanstery ("Szepesi Híradó", July 2.).

The situation before going to press

Lord Runciman spent the first week of his sojourn at Prague in the study of the Czecho-Slovak situation. Besides interviewing the President of the Republic and a number of leading statesmen the Lord has also taken steps to see the leaders of the Sudeten German and Hungarian parties, and it is expected that he will subsequently arrange for a meeting with the Polish, Ruthenian and Slovak leaders too. Although his presence in the Czecho-Slovak capital has undoubtedly exercised a moderating influence in general, yet it is equally pure that certain occurrences have — on the other hand — contributed towards a further aggravation of the political situation. Among these occurrences were the

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assassination of Wilhelm Baierle, a Sudeten German worker, by a socialist emigrant from Germany. An even more characteristic feature of the present situation is presented by an article published in the "Dustojnicke Listy" — which is the mouth piece of the association of Czech officers in the reserve — according to which "it is impossible to go even a foot, or an inch, further in the satisfaction of the minority claims". This article does by no means contribute towards the stability of the Hodža cabinet, which has already been exposed to constant attacks by certain journalists of the left wing (e. g. Stránsky) whose relations with the Hradjin are generally known; it also proves that the Czech army, which is getting more and more reckless since May 1st, is the principal obstacle in the way of a repprochement between the Czech and the minority point of view, and that it will present a number of further problems to the Government to cope with. In this way we may safely say that the situation has not changed considerably in the second half of August. The minorities are not satisfied with the three projects of the Government, while the Government in their turn will not even listen to the home-rule claims of the minorities. However, it is almost impossible to think of any internal solution of the Czech problem if the Government refuses to deal with the question of the self-government of the minorities. The minorities of the Republic are unanimous in claiming the same rights as those expressed by M. András Jaross, President of the Hungarian Party, at a party meeting at Léva (Levica), namely: national self-government, a new constitution and the neutralisation (in matters of foreign policy) of Czecho-Slovakia.

THE VISIT TO ROME

Even the stirring events engaging the attention of international politics failed to prevent the visit to Rome of the Hungarian statesmen being in the limelight of European interest. The political and moral importance among the nations of the world achieved by Hungary as a consequence of the sage, cool and sensible foreign policy pursued by her during the last ten years, once more asserted its power as a living force, for Hungary was once more able to claim a role of a significance far exceeding the relative geographical importance of the country or the size of its population, not only in the Danube Valley question, but also in the general political life of Europe. And the role played by Hungary was followed, not merely by universal interest and sympathy, but by a far-reaching understanding too.

Nothing unforseen or unexpected happened in Rome. No new agreement was concluded: nevertheless, what happened there is of great significance and throws a penetrating light on the

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probable future development of the reciprocal relations between the States of the Danube Valley.

For the official *communiqué* stated that the representatives of Italy and Hungary agreed spontaneously to once more emphasise the circumstance that *the Rome Protocols* — in all matters concerning the two States — were to remain in force intact both in political and in economic respects. This means, not only that Italy will continue with unabated energy and determination to resort to the co-operation of Hungary for the protection of her interests in the Danube Valley, but also that the cordial ties of friendship which have already for more than ten years united the Italian and Hungarian nations have not been in the slightest degree weakened or made less intense and that on the contrary they have been actually strengthened and made firmer both morally and in substance by the trials to which time has subjected them.

The discussions between Dr. Imrédy and Signor Mussolini had for their object primarily to establish the fact that the aims inspiring the policy of Italy and Hungary without in any way running counter to the aims of the Rome—Berlin axis — the determination to serve the cause of peace and justice — were to be more effectually than ever the *sine qua nons* of a wider co-operation in international affairs which should at the same time safeguard and preserve intact the interests alike of Italy and Hungary. Peace and justice were the two leading chords struck by the representatives of the two States in their toasts; and peace and justice were the points emphasised also by the *communiqué* issued after the discussions had been concluded: and now — while expressing sincere gratification with this turn of affairs — we would only add that to us the term peace means only a peace founded upon complete equality of rights, upon uncurtailed political, economic and military liberty and equality of rang among the nations, while the term justice means the righting of all the wrongs done to Hungary since the conclusion of the treaties of peace. The first of these wrongs was the dismemberment and mutilation of the territory of Hungary and the wrenching of three and a half million Magyars from the body of the Hungarian nation. All the danger and fear, all the trouble and misfortunes constantly accompanied by the nightmare of war which for the last twenty years have lain like an incubus on the souls of the peoples of Europe, originated in the disastrous peace-edict — a fact which is as clear as daylight already even to our former enemies. It is equally evident that without all these wrongs being righted there can never be any order, security or uninterrupted development in the Danube Valley. In this respect it will, we believe, suffice to refer to the articles dealing with the question of revision which appeared quite recently — by way of comment

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on the discussions in Rome — in "*The Times*" and the French "*République*".

There has been a disastrous deterioration — particularly in recent years — in the situation of the Hungarian minorities living in the territories wrested from Hungary. This is painfully in evidence, not only in Czecho-Slovakia, but also in Rumania, which latter country has flouted the obligations undertaken by it under the Paris minority treaty and has veritably excluded the Hungarians living there, not only from the Constitution, but also from political and civil life. Apart from restricting its political and cultural liberty, and from depriving it by means of ordinances dealing with linguistic, educational and administrative matters of its national equality and its national spirit, the Rumanians have imposed on the Hungarian (Magyar) minority restrictions in the economic field too which threaten to eliminate the most elementary conditions even of a physical existence. Is it a wonder, then, that under such circumstances Hungary should ask the world for justice as well as for peace and should in her endeavour to obtain what she asks turn for assistance first to that Rome where the first words of encouragement were spoken in 1927 — where it was first enunciated that Hungary was indeed fully entitled to a place in the sun and that this unfortunate country must have an end put to its sufferings by the spirit of history which creates justice and opens the way to its discovery.

Before going to Rome Dr. Imrédy spoke of the great historical force of the Latin world and of the presence of the ancient conquering Latin spirit in the constructive national achievements of modern Italy. It was this Latin world which had presented St. Stephen — through the agency of Pope Sylvester — with the Holy Crown; and it was this Latin world that had ruled in Hungary during the glorious reigns of her Angevin kings and had achieved an importance, not only of a political, but of a cultural character, in the days of King Matthias Corvinus. It was this Latin world that had lived on like a burning torch through the darkest centuries of Hungarian history and kept alive the national spirit and ensured an unbroken intellectual contact with Europe. And it was this same Latin world that echoed in the words spoken recently by Signor Mussolini, as it has always echoed in the words of that great Italian statesman when he has spoken of Hungary and of the justice which Hungary demands; and we cannot but feel this same Latin world behind the enthusiastic articles of the Italian Press declaring unanimously that Italy will never abandon her traditional interests in the Danube Valley.

In the given situation this moment is the most significant and the most re-assuring of all; for the often dangered equilibrium in the Valley of the Danube of which Hungary is the pivot cannot possibly be maintained unless Italy concentrates her whole power

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and influence on the work of watching over the security of that equilibrium.

As always happens on those occasions when the leading statesmen of various countries meet, on the present occasion too there were naturally articles in the international press indulging in guesses in connection with the Rome *pourparlers*. Some papers, for instance, "had reason to believe" that initiatory discussions were to be started shortly for the purpose of prevailing upon Yugoslavia to take the place of Austria as third Signatory to the Rome Protocol. For the moment we have no means of adequately probing the justification of these rumours and "combinations"; but we must point out, not only that the rumour in question was discussed seriously by the leading organs of the German Press, but that the "*Corriere Padano*" — the usually well-informed organ of Marshal Balbo — informed its readers that the principal theme discussed in Rome was the ways and means to bring about a *rapprochement* between Budapest and Belgrade. On our part we certainly think it most desirable that there should be a *rapprochement* between Hungary and Yugoslavia — not only in economic and cultural, but also in political matters — of a much more intensive character than that existing at present. It is true that in this connection there are still formidable obstacles impeding a complete adjustment of the situation, seeing that — as is well known — Yugoslavia is still Member of a Triple Alliance formed against Hungary; but recent events must have convinced every one that in politics nothing is everlasting or even constant: and, if Austria has been able to once more become a Member of the great German Empire, why could not Yugoslavia too re-consider her relations with the Little Entente? For the moment, of course, this is merely a *pium desiderium*, and very much depends upon developments in other fields of international politics. In any case, however, it was our duty to take cognizance also of this moment in the Rome discussions; for we cannot but regard it as in essence of fundamental importance and — if realised — of decisive significance in respect of Hungary's position in the Danube Valley.

The Hungarian statesmen, who have brought with them from Italy, not merely the friendship of Signor Mussolini, but also the blessing of Pope Pius XI., must have felt pleasurably gratified, when they crossed the Hungarian frontier, at the consciousness that what they had done and decided for their country had been well and nobly done. And the importance of this work is enhanced by the circumstance that this was the first meeting of the leading statesmen of Italy and Hungary since Hungary and Italy had become neighbours of the German Empire. This new historical and geographical fact certainly afforded the statesmen an

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opportunity of expressing their sincere friendship for the German Empire in other than merely official statements.

LLOYD GEORGE ON THE MINORITY PROMISES MADE BY BENES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE

In July Mr. Lloyd George began a series of articles in the "Daily Telegraph" on the way the Peace Treaties came into being. The following is what he says in the July 25th issue of that paper about the creation of Czecho-Slovakia and the rôle played by Benes:

"As soon as the Peace Conference met in Paris the Czechoslovak Government presented their case, which, except in one important particular, had been generally approved by the experts of the British Foreign Office.

"Dr. Beneš, their Minister for Foreign Affairs, presented it with remarkable skill and adroitness. He was full of professions of moderation, modesty and restraint in his demands for the new Republic.

"He drew attention to the exposed situation of the Czechoslovak nation as the advanced guard of the Slav wold in the West, and therefore constantly threatened by German expansion.

"The Germanic mass, now numbering some 80.000.000, could not push westwards as its road was blocked on that side by highly developed nations. It was, therefore, always seeking outlets to the south and east. In this movement it found the Poles and the Czechs in its path. Hence the special importance of the Czechoslovak frontiers in Central Europe.

"It might be hoped that the Germans would not again attempt forcible invasions, but they had done so in the past so often that the Czechs had always felt that they had a special mission to resist the Teutonic flood. This accounted for the fanatical devotion of the Czechs which had been noticed by all in this war. It was due to the deep feeling of the Czechs that they were the protectors of democracy against Germanism, and that it was their duty at all times to fight the Germans."

"As for he Germans in Bohemia Dr. Beneš said that they fully understood their position. "Whether they were bourgeois, workmen or peasants, they all realised that they must remain in Bohemia. They said freely in their Chambers of Commerce that they would be ruined if they were united with Germany."

"The competition of the great German industries was such that they could not possibly survive. If they forbore from expressing their feeling openly, it was only because they were terrorised by a small number of Pan-German agitators from Vienna. It was not the Germans of Germany proper who exercised any pressure on them, but only the Germans of Austria.

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for it had always been a deliberate policy of the Austrians to set German and Czech against one another."

"As far as Teschen was concerned, Beneš admitted that the Poles were a majority of the population. There were 230.000 Poles, 115.000 Czechs and 80.000 Germans. He contended that the Polish majority was due to the industrial exploitation, which began about 50 years ago when cheap labour, mostly Polish, had been introduced.

"The coal in Teschen was absolutely essential to the development of the Czechoslovak industry, and by losing this region the Czechoslovak State would loose one of the essential things on which its life depended. Moreover, the only important railway linking up Bohemia, Moravia and Northern Slovakia passed through Teschen. This territority also contained the only pass through the mountains affording connection between Silesia, Moravia and Slovakia.

"Dr. Beneš similarly justified the Czech claim to the Slovakian boundaries, while admitting that this region would include some 350.000 Magyars. This turned out to be an underestimate.

"Finally, he put forward one very audacious and indefensible proposal. He demanded that there should be a corridor joining up Czechoslovakia with Jugoslavia. He thought that this could be done by means of a strip of territory, either under the Czech or Jugoslav Government or under the League of Nations, and that thus a means of communication could be established.

"I viewed his proposed incorporation of territory occupied by German and Magyar majorities with serious misgiving. It was a departure from the principles laid down by the Allies during the war. He defended it partly on historical but mainly on economic grounds.

"I was so disturbed about Beneš's proposals that I requested Gen. Smuts, when he visited Budapest to deal with the Béla Kun incidents, to extend his journey to Prague and investigate the effect of these proposals, and to report upon them there. He was full of misgivings, and on his visit to President Masaryk, gave outspoken expression to his apprehensions.

"He pointed out to the President the grave undesirability of including in the Czechoslovak State a very large purely Magyar population living north of the Danube. According to his report to us President Masaryk agreed and said he would prefer to waive all claims to the Magyar territory and withdraw the Czech frontier to the north, so as to leave all this ethnologically Magyar territory to Hungary, but he made one condition, that, in exchange, Czechoslovakia should get a small strip of Hungarian territory south of the Danube at Pressburg (the town now known by its Czech name of Bratislava).

"Gen. Smuts urged us very strongly to agree to this sug-

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gested exchange and he gave as his reason that, "with some millions of Germans already included in Bohemia in the north, the further including of some 400.000 or 500.000 Magyars in the south would be a very serious matter for the young State, besides the grave violation of the principle of nationality involved."

"When the Council of Four came to consider this proposal, Dr. Beneš interposed with a statement that President Masaryk had been entirely misunderstood and that he had never agreed to the proposition. Of the many misfortunes that befell Austria in the day of her great calamity, one of the worst was that Czechoslovakia was represented at the Peace Conference not by her wise old leader, President Masaryk, but by an impulsive, clever but much less sagacious and more short-sighted politician, who did not foresee that the more he grasped the less he could retain.

"But the Czechs were specially favoured by the Allies. They had rendered considerable service to the Allied cause by starting the rot in the Austrian Army which hastened that process of disintegration which destroyed its value as a fighting machine. The result was the recognition of the polyglot and incoherent State of Czechoslovakia, and the incorporation in that State of hundreds of thousands of protesting Magyars and of millions of angry Germans."

LEGISLATION IN HUNGARY GOES ON BUSILY IN ATMOSPHERE OF PERFECT ORDER AND PEACE

Anti-Hungarian propaganda, perhaps in order to distract attention from Czecho-Slovakia and create hostility between Hungary and Germany, has of late been spreading the most fantastic rumours in certain capitals of the West. To counteract this, partly overt, partly covert, propaganda, we are driven to state most definitely that perfect peace and order prevail in Hungary. Premier Imrédy has the reins of goverment well in hand, and even if, as in every other country, there do exist malcontent elements here too, they have not the slightest prospect of being able to create any serious disturbances in the country. Particularly since Parliament, quick to read the signs of the times, has set itself deliberately and resolutely to the task of solving the nation's most pressing problems. To show what has been accomplished, we shall briefly summarize below the laws framed by the Hungarian Parliament during the past year.

Last summer Parliament passed a law extending the Regent's sphere of authority, and passed it unanimously. This — especially as the law is a fundamental one affecting the Constitution — is not an everyday occurrence in the history of Parliaments. In terms of the new law the Regent is elected for life and has the

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right to veto twice any Bills passed by Parliament. The law also provides for the election of a new Regent when the office falls vacant. The date of the election is fixed by a Council of State consisting of the Premier, the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, the Prince-Primate, the Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and the Court of Administration, and the Commander-in-chief of the National Defence Army. The retiring Regent is entitled to recommend in writing, for choice as his successor, three Hungarian citizens. But whether he exercises this right or not, the right of nomination lies with Parliament. In the first case a joint meeting of the two Houses decides by vote whether they wish to nominate other candidates besides those recommended by the Regent. If so, three other candidates are to be nominated and the new Regent will be elected from among the six nominees. Should the Regent waive his right to recommend a successor, the new Regent will be elected from among the nominees of Parliament.

In the spring of this year another important political Bill, the new Election Bill, was passed. In terms thereof, in future 135 members will be elected by vote in the same number of constituencies and the remaining 125 on proportional representation lists. In the first case a relative majority will suffice, provided the candidate receives at least 40% of the votes cast; in the second, the seats will be allotted on a proportional basis. The significance of the new law lies in the circumstance that it introduces secret balloting in every constituency, inflicts severe punishment on all persons found guilty of any kind of abuse, and relegates the question of disputed elections to the sphere of authority of the Court of Administration. These measures will do away with the major grievances which were the source of dissatisfaction with the Election Act of 1924. This reform of the electoral system also shows that, in spite of the anti-parliamentary tendency so popular today, Hungary adheres to the principle of parliamentarism, which in this country is as old as in England herself.

The greatest achievement accomplished by the Hungarian legislature, not only in the past year, but also within the last ten years, is the law ensuring the realization of the Five Year Plan, in which Parliament voted 1000 million pengő for the development of national defence and for a whole series of economic investments. This law is expected, on the one hand, to bring about the urgently imperative restoration of Hungary's power of self-defence, wellnigh completely destroyed by the Treaty of Trianon, and, on the other, to stimulate the pulse of economic life. Since the Government proposes to raise 400 of the 1000 millions by means of a long-term loan and the rest by means of a progressive levy on capital exceeding 50.000 pengő, the Five Year Plan will impose no burdens on the poorer classes.

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The interests of the latter are protected by a recent law which determines the minimum wages and maximum working hours in each branch of industry, compels employers to give their employees holidays and secures a pension to all agricultural labourers over sixty years of age, to be paid out of the insurance tax paid by employers, supplemented by contributions from the Treasury.

Primarily social in its aims is the law dealing with the restoration of the economic equilibrium, which decrees that the proportion of Jews (who constitute no more than a round 5% of the total population) employed on the clerical and technical staffs private firms and as journalists, actors, film actors and managers, may not exceed 20% of the aggregate number of persons employed in those branches. In this way legislation wishes to provide the Christian youth of the country, who form an overwhelming majority,with possibilities of work in branches of occupation from which, owing to the increasing encroachment of the Jews, they were hitherto debarred. That this law is not based on a racial principle is obvious from the fact that the quota of 20% does not include Jewish ex-servicemen, war widows and orphans, or those who were converted before 1st August 1919.

The law framed to keep cartels in check establishes a State monopoly of spirit and empowers the Government to buy up, partly on a cash basis, party in exchange for State bonds, all distilleries with the exception of two.

To raise the level of Hungarian education a law has been passed establishing a teachers' academy, with which the period of training is extended from 5 years to 6. Another law sets agricultural, commercial and technical secondary schools on the same level as *gymnasiums* and *real schools*. These schools will in future give their pupils a leaving certificate enabling them to enter technical colleges. In this way an attempt is being made to induce a larger number of young people to take up practical occupations.

In terms of an Order issued by Premier Imrédy's Government, which since its formation in May has become proverbial for its energetic measures, civil servants may not be members of any party, organization or society which asks them to make a vow incompatible with their official oath, nor may they wear party badges in their offices. To exercise a restraint on the activities of the "yellow press", no papers except those which appear regularly may be published without the express or tacit consent of the Public Prosecutor. On the other hand, to enhance the prestige of the legitimate press, measures have been taken and a special Government Commission appointed, to pave the way for the establishment of Chambers of Pressmen. — *y* —

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VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE AND THE CZECH QUESTION

(Daily Mail, July 18)

"In 1919 the Allied statesmen at the Peace Conference in Paris disrupted the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire, which had at least been a prosperous economic unit. They did so on the pretext of securing "selfdetermination" to its various peoples.

"They then proceeded to construct out of its ruins an entirely artificial country called "Czecho-Slovakia", which reproduced the defects and injustices of the Empire they had destroyed.

"Of all blunders committed by the men who made the peace, this was the worst. The penalty for it may easily prove to be another European war.

"A new mongrel State of 15.000.000 people was formed around a nucleus of only 7.000.000 Czechs. A few thousands out of these 7.000.000 had deserted from the Austrian Army during the war, and joined the Allies. If the peacemakers had been content to reward the Czechs by giving them independence in the province of Bohemia, where they live, there would have been nothing to say against it.

"But the Czechs had as their representative at the Peace Conference one of the cleverest intriguers living, Dr. Beneš, now their President. He knew that, by themselves, the Czechs could not form a nation of any importance. He set himself to eke out their numbers by bringing subordinate minorities of other nationalities under their yoke.

"Using various devices, he got the frontiers of his hybrid country so drawn that they also included:

2.500.000	Slovaks.
3.500.000	Germans.
750.000	Hungarians.
500.000	Ruthenians.
100.000	Poles.

"The Slovaks were tricked into this political Noah's Ark. Many people of that race live in the United States. Dr. Masaryk, afterwards President of Czecho-Slovakia, induced the leaders of these American Slovaks to sign, on May 30, 1918, a document called the "Pittsburg Convention". In this the Czechs promised that, if the former Slovak subjects of Austria-Hungary would join with them to form a State, they should have a Parliament of their own and local self-government.

"That pledge has not been fulfilled. The Czechs have kept the control of the country in their own hands.

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"The 3½ million Germans protested strongly against being handed over to the Czechs, and demanded to remain as part of Austria. Their appeal was overruled.

"The Hungarians have never ceased to claim to be returned to the nation from which they were ruthlessly severed.

"When the Czechs revealed their plan at the Peace Conference, the Slovaks sent a delegation to Paris to denounce the humbug of bringing the proposed bogus State into existence. They addressed a memorandum to the Allied statesmen, beginning with the words:

"We are not Czechs; we are not Czecho-Slovaks; we are simply Slovaks, and Slovaks we wish to remain."

"They demanded a plebiscite for their people. It was refused. As M. André Tardieu, one of the pro-Czech French delegates at the Conference, has frankly admitted, "We had to choose between a plebiscite and the creation of Czecho-Slovakia".

"For 18 years the Czechs have had it all their own way. They have kept the country under the heavy hand of their police.

"By banning the languages of the subject traces; by depriving their members of opportunities for public service and employment, they have tried to suppress their national sentiment.

"All "Czecho-Slovaks" have to pay the same taxes, but the country's revenue is spent in overwhelming proportion upon the Czechs alone.

"The rest of Europe turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the minorities. The Czechs, who are cunning propagandists, bamboozled British opinion by glib talk of their devotion to "democratic principles". The "democratic" nature of their methods may be judged from the fact that when, in 1929, a Slovak leader, Professor Tuka, called attention to the non-fulfilment of the Pittsburg promise of autonomy for Slovakia, a Czech court condemned him to 15 years in penal servitude, where he still remains.

"At last, however, one of the subject-races of Czecho-Slovakia found a champion. As Germany grew strong under Nazi rule, she began to interest herself in the fate of her kinsmen living just across the Czecho-Slovak frontier. Hope started to revive among the dispirited victims of Czech tyranny.

"The Czech Government grew alarmed. It already had an alliance with France; in 1935 it made a military alliance with Soviet Russia.

"By doing this the Czechs prepared their own doom. The Bolsheviks are the natural foes of Nazi Germany. That they

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should obtain a footing in a country which is thrust like a deep wedge into the very heart of Germany was intolerable to the German Government. From that day retribution has been rapidly overtaking the despotic Czechs.

"The sudden annexation of Austria to the Reich last March opened their eyes to the peril they have brought upon themselves. The western end of Czecho-Slovakia, including Prague, the capital, is now bounded on three sides by the formidable race to which the largest of the oppressed minorities belongs. The German jaws are closing upon Czecho-Slovakia.

"The Czechs, in ther alarm, have begun to talk of reforms. For some weeks past their Government has professed to be preparing a new "statute" for redressing the grievances of the minorities.

"This is manifestly no more than a device for gaining time. The Czech Government hopes that some unforeseen turn in the international situation may provide an escape from the penalties of its past misdeeds.

"Meanwhile, business in Britain and throughout Europe is being kept under the cloud of a grave war danger.

"Czech obstinacy is helping to increase unemployment and lower prices in this country. It has done even more than the troubles in Palestine to depress our trade.

"In these columns I have repeatedly warned the Czechs against the consequences of their ill-treatment of the minorities I repeat that warning to-day with great emphasis, and with the additional statement that if this question is not settled to the complete satisfaction of Germany by the end of September, no astute observer of European affairs will consider Czech independence to be worth three months' purchase.

"The Czechs have been the petty bullies of Central Europe long enough. They have not a single friendly neighbour. Their French and Russian allies are far away.

"When Poland, last March, sent an ultimatum to Lithuania, which had as allies both Russia and Czecho-Slovakia herself, neither of these countries made the slightest move to help her, because they knew that behind Poland stood Germany.

"As for this country, the Czech Government will have a rude awakening if it imagines that Great Britain will ever lift a finger to save Czecho-Slovakia. Whatever the future fate of that political patchwork may be, it is no concern of ours. If Czecho-Slovakia becomes involved in war, the British nation will say to the Prime Minister with one voice: "Keep out of it!"

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CELEBRATION OF STEPHEN RADITCH'S MEMORY IN CROATIA

On June 11-th the Croat nation celebrated the birthday of the late Stephen Raditch and his brother Ante Raditch. The celebration began with the unveiling of the Raditch memorial in the house of the Croatian Peasant Party at Zagreb, at 4 o'clock in the morning. This unusually early hour was intended to signify that the coming of the two Raditch brothers meant the dawn of Croatia's new national life. The main celebration took place at Raditch's birth-place, Duvno. The memory of the two leaders of the people was celebrated with great enthusiasm all over Croatia. ("Obzor", June 14.)

June 20th was the tenth anniversary of the tragic day on which Puniša Rašič, a Serb deputy from Montenegro, shot Stephen Raditch, leader of the Croat people, together with two other Croat deputies at a public meeting of the Skupstina (the Serb Parliament) and wounded two Croat deputies. In memory of this sad event, memorial services and festivals were held all over Croatia on June 20th to the memory of Croatia's great national hero. — *y* —

COUNT PAUL TELEKI SPEAKS OF LORD ROTHERMERE AS A "HUNGARIAN MAECENAS"

In the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, on 8th July, a large and distinguished gathering met for the opening of the exhibition of fifteen paintings from Viscount Rothermere's famous collection. These pictures have been lent to the Museum for the period of one year by Hungary's great friend. Among the masterpieces of exceptionally great value are, "The Coronation of the Virgin" wrongly attributed to Giotto, Sasetta's "Birth of Mary", Botticelli's "Madonna", Bellini's "Pietà", Tintoretto's "The Resurrection of Lazarus", two Venetian pictures by Guardi, two pictures reminiscent of the *quattrocento*, by Venturi, the portrait of Charles IX. by François Clouet, a portrait of a painter praying, by the Flemish Jan van Eyck, a portrait of a young woman by Van der Weyde, several famous portraits by Cocxe and, the greatest masterpieces of all, a self-portrait by Rembrandt and a "Madonna" by Rubens. These two are the pride of the collection. Another picture worthy of note is Philip de László's portrait of Lord Rothermere.

In opening the exhibition Count Teleki, Minister of Education, amongst other things expressed the gratitude of the Government and the nation to the noble Lord.

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"Now when I take charge of this beautiful collection" — said the Minister — "I should like to express my gratitude to Viscount Rothermere, who is never forgetful of any phase of Hungarian life. He has not forgotten the past of this country, its troubles and its national evolution. He has not forgotten the Hungarian Boy Scouts, and has now given proof that he wishes to participate in the very necessary work of raising the level of artistic taste in Hungary. *I regard Lord Rothermere as a Hungarian Maecenas.* I count him as one of ourselves, and my gratitude is all the greater because a Maecenas such as those who existed at the time when these pictures were painted is a *rara avis* today."

The British Legation was represented at the opening ceremony by Mr. Gascoigne, *Chargé* d'Affaires, and Mr. Edwards, Commercial *Attaché.* — *y* —

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