CONTENTS

Hungary and the French Peace Scheme . . Count Stephen Bethlen
British Professors and Territorial Revision . . Béla de Póka-Pivny
English Volunteers at Recovery of Buda . . Francis Endrödy
Chair of English in University of Budapest
   Celebrates Its First Jubilee . . . . . Dr. Stephen Ullmann
Political Mosaic . . . . . . . . . .
How Minorities Live . . . . . .
Books . . . . . . . . . .
   V. M. Goblet’s “The Twilight of Treaties“ George Lukacs
Political Economy . . . . . . . .
Sports . . . . . . . . . .
At present there are two peace schemes lying on the operating table of European diplomacy — that of Germany and that of France; Great Britain having undertaken the office of mediator. When we contrast these two schemes, we are struck by the fact that the German scheme does not embrace all the European problems, confining itself to proposals for the adjustment of the relations between Germany and her neighbours on the West and the East.

The German scheme is therefore not a peace scheme of general application, seeing that its object is exclusively to bring about a state of rest in two critical zones of Europe, proposing to attain that object by having recourse to two distinct methods. It is not concerned with the other storm centres of Europe; and though one or two points in its proposals do certainly exceed the limits referred to above (as for instance in the matter of disarmament), the proposals in question do not claim to solve the questions of peace and security in principle by systematic application of the means proposed to all the States of Europe alike.

The French peace scheme, on the other hand, embraces the whole of Europe, employing the strictest logic in formulating concrete and detailed demands relating to collective security and to the system of sanctions based upon the theoretical attitude which France has adopted in these matters. The object of this scheme is to finally and definitively stabilise the situation prevailing today in Europe — both the general situation and more particularly that prevailing in the Danube Basin; the method employed is based upon the principles of political hegemony already so familiar to us all, though in many respects the new proposals actually expand those principles. Although the French scheme refrains from any positive comment on the military equality of Germany, thus apparently suggesting a tacit acquiescence, it nevertheless declares that the equality of rights proposed in the very first point is compatible with inequality in military matters; that declaration being made with the object of preventing the recurrence of demands similar to that made by Germany by letting down the "safety curtain" of collective sanctions and of a European Commission to be delegated by the League of Nations which would serve to control the observance of the treaties already in force.

Indeed, the French scheme goes farther still in this respect, starting an offensive to neutralise what is practically the only clause in an otherwise intolerable treaty of peace offering us some comfort, by proposing unilaterally to confiscate the possibility of revision contained in Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations — doing so by making the application of that Article dependent upon the unanimous approval of all Member States (a stipulation not expressed so far at all in Article 19, so that this question was at least an open one) and on the other hand by proposing that it shall be impossible for a period of twenty-five years to submit any request for a revision at all, that being an alteration in peius of the treaty of peace. And when I add that the scheme proposes further that in the event of any international authority (scilicet the League of Nations, in which France is the decisive factor) ascertaining a breach of any so-called "regional" or disarmament convention, all the Member States should immediately and autonomically put military sanctions into force, I believe that every unbiased critic must decide that what lies hidden behind this scheme of peace is not the dawning of a better understanding, but on the contrary the open and undisguised intention to provide that the settlement of the German question — in whatever way that may be effected — shall be accompanied by measures providing that the minor allies of France in the Near East shall be enabled to continue to brutalise and terrorise their conquered neighbours. As against Germany these weapons are bound to prove feeble and ineffectual; but they would ensure the supremacy of the Little Entente over Hungary. To show that this is no exaggeration, I would refer my readers to a single instance: had these measures been in force in the days of the "Hirtenberg affair" and had the League of Nations ascertained that Hungary had committed a breach of the military provisions of the peace treaty, — and a relative majority could always be obtained for that purpose —, Hungary would legally too have been subjected to military occupation by the Little
Entente; and what that means, the experiences of the Rumanian occupation in 1919 has taught us to understand — an occupation the effects of which it took us ten years to live down.

The fact that the French scheme onesidedly aims at stabilising the domination of the victors over the vanquished, leaving the latter at the same time entirely helpless to defend themselves against breaches of treaties committed by the victor States, is shown even more clearly by the circumstance that, whereas in the case of any breaches of treaty against which the victorious Little Entente may think it necessary to defend itself (though we have never committed such breaches) provision is to be made immediately for the putting into force of sanctions of the most brutal character, not even the slightest protection is guaranteed Hungary or the other defeated States against breaches of treaty such as have already been so often committed by the other side at our expense — breaches of treaty obligations which are therefore not merely theoretical cases, but are on the contrary everyday occurrences.

I would here refer to only a few cases of such treaty-breaches chosen at random. The first instance of this method of treatment was the infringement of the Armistice Agreement committed when — during the Károlyi régime — Hungary was occupied in defiance of that Agreement prior to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace. Later on Hungary was forced — after the signing of the treaty — to surrender her King as a prisoner to her enemies and to dethrone the dynasty, — that being a grave outrage on the sovereignty of Hungary guaranteed in the Treaty of Trianon. At The Hague the Hungarian Government was forced — in defiance of the terms of the peace treaty — to reduce to 20% of their original value the claims of certain Hungarian nationals due to them under the Treaty of Peace, the final decision in respect of which should have rested with an international tribunal; this meaning that the Entente Powers usurped the jurisdiction reserved for the international tribunal to which I have referred.

Daily — hourly — every minute — we hear of breaches of the minority treaties the signature of which by our neighbours was the only compensation offered us for the unprecedented and cruelly unjust territorial claims made against us. Our enemies have infringed — and are still infringing — the obligation of general disarmament undertaken as a means of justifying the onedish disarming of Hungary stipulated in the Treaty of Trianon. And this game is going on day after day. Uninterruptedly.

Does the French scheme of peace contain even a gentle hint allowing of our hoping for a cessation of these treaty-breaches, — or at least an open door offering a possibility of realising that issue? Is there any passage in the French scheme providing for the enforcement of sanctions against these brutalities? Where are the provisions for retaliatory measures or for guaranteeing and ensuring the cessation of these brutalities? Not a word do we find in the scheme touching these matters; yet these breaches of treaties have already inflicted on us losses amounting to thousands of millions — losses still being inflicted on us; losses which bring tears to the eyes of three and a half million Magyars daily, — which are plunging thousands and thousands of our racial brethren into ruin and starvation and suicide. The cup of our bitterness and sufferings is truly full to the brim; for the international organs established for our protection — the League of Nations and the international tribunals, etc. — become deaf and blind the moment they are called upon to do their duty as guardians of those of our interests which the treaties of peace entrusted to their care.

If the victors think that the application of this double standard is calculated to ensure a lasting peace in Europe, they will one day awake from this delusion and from the dream of supremacy resulting from that delusion, — and that awakening will be a very serious shock. For the employment of methods of the kind merely steepens the souls of the peoples in the poison of hatred and the lust of vengeance; and that poison will work insidiously in those souls until the occasion arises for fresh bloody conflicts which will plunge the world into the flames of a fresh devastating conflagration and may lead to the death of European culture and civilisation.

But, I would ask, can any person of common sense believe in the possibility of inventing and realising any system — however complicated and unnatural such a system may be — calculated to stabilise a situation of the kind and to maintain it by compulsion and make it perpetual? For nearly twenty years the diplomacy of Europe has been hatching and botching this system; but today it is farther off than ever from achieving its aim. The concern established by the victors — through the medium of the League of Nations — dreams complacently of some collective security to extend to the whole of Europe (to West and East alike) — a security based upon the status quo which it is proposed to carry into effect by means of general or regional reciprocal assistance treaties, of the collective military sanctions to be enforced against "peace-breakers", and of punitive expeditions to be carried on by a flying army acting under the League of Nations. And the victors actually believe that the defeated States will of their own accord fall into the trap thus laid for them!!! For the scheme could never be realised unless the vanquished countries and peoples were to voluntarily submit to the yoke and acquiesce in the fate foisted upon them by the treaties of peace, — or unless they were compelled by force to acquiesce!!

But, I would ask, would that make the situation any better or safer than it is today?

It is proposed that the States now scowling at one another across the frontiers in the various danger zones of Europe should conclude reciprocal assistance treaties and should mutually guarantee the frontiers running between the respective countries which were demarcated by the treaties of peace; reciprocal guarantees are expected of States the one of which desires to maintain those

4 DANUBIAN REVIEW MAY, 1936
frontiers at all costs, while the other would without fail have them changed. Indeed, the latter would be expected to promise armed assistance to the other Party in the event of any State proposing to encroach upon the territorial possessions of that other Party. Do the powers that be not realise that what they demand is humanly impossible? Could I be expected, in the event of any one — in my opinion — illegally stealing my watch, to hasten to the assistance of the thief if a friend of mine were to attack him for having robbed me? Yet that is what they are really demanding of me when, to crown all, they would have me know that for twenty-years I may not attempt to recover my watch, even by appealing to the competent court of law. I am convinced that this would try the patience and long-suffering even of a saint; and the demand could be complied with only by people wishing at all costs to get rid of their own values. That is why I believe there is no nation in the world ready to accept such terms.

Nations using their common sense are not in the habit of concluding reciprocal assistance — or even reciprocal security treaties — except in two cases. The first of these cases is when both nations are afraid of a third nation and are anxious to unite in defence against that nation; though two nations in opposition may also conclude such a treaty when one of them is in conflict with a third nation too and undertakes treaty obligations of the kind for the purpose of reassuring its partner and showing it that there is no danger of its joining the third Party. As for a nation voluntarily and without more ado undertaking to guarantee the territorial integrity of another nation, even though it is fully aware that that other nation has illegally deprived it of territories of vital importance to itself, — that could never happen unless the other nation agreed in advance to accept the finding of some absolutely impartial arbitrator in the matter in dispute and unless every guarantee was forthcoming to ensure that that finding would be carried into effect.

Consequently, these two stipulations of the French scheme are in contradiction; for while demanding that the nations in conflict shall reciprocally guarantee their territorial integrity, that scheme at the same time does everything it can to prevent the matter in dispute between them being adjusted peacefully by appeal to an impartial judge.

But let us take the concrete case of Hungary. That country has to face the three States of the Little Entente, which have made an alliance, not only for the purpose of joint defence against Hungary in the event of that country attempting to recover the territories taken from it, — not only for the purpose of keeping Hungary in a state of disarmed helplessness, — but also in order to be able by joint action to evade the obligations undertaken by international treaty, to exterminate with impunity the Hungarian minorities entrusted to their charge, to internationally inflict upon Hungary as much injury as possible in political, economic and moral respects, and where they believe such a procedure to be to their interest, even to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary. The French peace scheme, on the other hand, demands of us that we shall join Austria in guaranteeing the territorial integrity of these three countries. It proposes, further, that in the event of either of the five countries attacking any other of the five, the other four (including Hungary too) should immediately rush to the rescue of the country thus attacked; it demands also that we should respect all the one-sided and unjust military provisions of the treaties of peace, for otherwise we should expose ourselves to military sanctions being enforced against us by the whole of Europe: and finally it demands that we should for a period of twenty-five years renounce all attempts even to broach the question of a peaceful revision of the territorial provisions of the treaties. I would ask, What would such an agreement benefit or profit Hungary? How would such an agreement advance her security? And could we, in the event of our being attacked by either of the three States forming the Little Entente, reckon on the other two States for that reason declaring war on the aggressor? On the other hand, can there be the slightest doubt that the military treaties binding the States of the Little Entente would impel those two countries in defiance of all the duties devolving upon them to support — not Hungary but — their Little Entente ally?

But let us take another eventuality — one that today would seem an even more burning question. Let us suppose that a war has broken out between Germany and France, or between Germany and Russia. In the latter case — by virtue of the treaty with Russia — Czecho-Slovakia would be employed by the Russian troops and military aeroplanes respectively as a basis and would therefore declare war against Germany. In that event — either out of fear that despite our declarations to the opposite effect we might hasten to the assistance of Germany, or because of her failure to trust our declaration of neutrality, — in other words, for the purpose of protecting her back door against all emergencies, — Czecho-Slovakia would in all probability decide to occupy Hungary or at any rate certain territories of that country. Does any one believe that in that event Yugoslavia and Rumania would mobilise their armies in defence of Hungary? Would we not on the contrary have to be prepared to find those countries too mobilising against us? And indeed we should be guilty of the greatest folly if we believed that a reciprocal assistance treaty of the kind was likely to benefit us at all? And the scheme would be even less acceptable to us if it were proposed to conclude a treaty providing for the five Danubian States reciprocally guaranteeing assistance, not only in the event of attack by either of the five, but also in the event of the aggressor being a country outside the Danube Pact, for in that case Hungary would be compelled to assist Czecho-Slovakia, for instance, against attack by Germany, — or Yugoslavia against attack by Italy, — or Rumania against an attack by Russia resulting on a revival of the Bessarabian question.
Hungary on the other hand would never have the remotest chance of receiving any return from the Little Entente; for she has no conflict with either Italy or Germany or Russia — or, I venture to say, with any other country except only the Little Entente States: nor has she any reason to fear being attacked by any other country.

We would be building on sand also if we were to rely for our security, not on reciprocal assistance treaties, but on the proposed League of Nations military sanctions which the French peace scheme desires to make obligatory as against any Party branded as aggressive or against Parties guilty of breaches of the military provisions of the treaties. In my opinion every Hungarian statesman proposing to base the security of Hungary on agreements of the kind ought to be put in prison. As against Hungary these "sanctions" would be very effectual, of course; but they would be impossible of execution the moment it was a question of enforcing them in the interests of Hungary against one of her Little Entente neighbours. In this connection it will suffice to refer our readers to the veritably tragi-comic diplomatic episodes of the past year, — Great Britain and France alternately using the "sanctions" slogan and then the next moment changing places and eating their words, expressing convictions diametrically opposed to those which the moment before had seemed inevitably necessary to the peace of the world. Yet in these cases the Party opposing the idea of sanctions was not bound to the State against which the sanctions were aimed by any ties so close as those which for instance unite the members of the French Block.

Although in international questions the public opinion of the world is rather primitives naive, nevertheless perhaps its naiveté does not go so far as to allow of its believing, particularly at the present juncture, that the League of Nations "sanctions" are the only philosopher's stone calculated to check the war passions of the peoples and ensure peace.

And indeed the peace scheme submitted to the League of Nations by France would not offer the vanquished small nations any security and would therefore be of no value whatsoever to those nations. To them it is quite clear that the only object of the scheme — an object which scarcely any attempt has been made to disguise — is to reinforce the countries already allied with France by compelling the European States which have so far been neutral (and indeed the defeated countries too) to support the "sanctions" policy, employing them for the purpose of tightening their own bonds and of securing their helplessness and of guaranteeing eternally the maintenance of the inequalities, injustices and shocking territorial provisions of the Paris treaties of peace. The drafters of the scheme are concentrating an absurdly complicated and intricate political, legal and military apparatus which shall on paper be under the control of the League of Nations, though its secret "scene-shifters" will be exclusively those States which as allies of France have so far too dominated the vanquished countries of Central Europe. Is there, I would ask, any trace in this peace scheme of goodwill or fairness or understanding? Does it betray the slightest token of any honest desire of peace? This scheme is on the contrary the direct and logical continuation of the ruthless post-War supremacy policy, — Clemenceau being followed by Poincaré, whose policy — after the short intermesso when Briand was in power — was continued by Barthou. The present French Government would seem to be following in Barthou's wake, taking over the undisguised "alliance formula" which proposed to divide Europe openly into two hostile camps and presenting it to Europe in the form of this League of Nations medley, though in the interests of its friends in the Little Entente outdoing even Barthou in the endeavour to frustrate a revision of the treaties of peace.

There can be no doubt that this scheme will not be realised — that it will share the fate of all the previous schemes that also attempted to disguise the real character of their peace policy aiming at the maintenance of the present state of things by a lot of talk about "collective security", — this latter formula being offered as a baft to catch the vanquished. The scheme will come to nothing, because most of the peoples of Europe are sick and tired of the policy which has plunged Europe into crisis after crisis. Nor could it be expected to succeed, seeing that it is solely in the interests of those who are the onesided usurers of the present situation and runs contrary to the interests of most other States. It cannot go through, because the public opinion of all other countries except only the usurers of the peace treaties is beginning to see more and more clearly that Europe will have to enter an entirely different path if she would bring into being a definite and lasting peace. And that other path is simply the abolition of all inequalities, the elimination of all injustices, together with a peaceful revision and the serious reconciliation that must follow in the wake of such a revision.

Unfortunately the official Governments, for the most, part still persist in their former policy. It is true, indeed, that we are beginning to hear statements made by distinguished statesmen to the effect that the world is dynamic and not static, and that treaties are not eternal or unalterable; though at the same time unheard-of exertions are being made in practice, to make the worst and most intolerable treaties in history perpetual and to evade the necessity of changing or amending them.

And yet during the eighteen years which have elapsed since their conclusion many changes have been made in the treaties of peace, — though not by way of agreements or as the result of friendly negotiations, but via facti, — by fait accomplis (forces majeures) which the victors found themselves utterly unable to repudiate unless they were ready to go to war. So there are precedents. Though the success achieved was obtained by
force and by a onesided, arbitrary repudiation of obligations.

I would ask the lords and masters of Europe whether this is a wise or clever or even prudent policy? Or whether on the contrary it is not a direct challenge to rebel — a direct way of proving that whereas nothing can be obtained by peaceful means, there is much to be gained by arbitrary force? Is it not a direct moral endorsement of the principle of self-help and of “taking the law into one’s own hands” against which we are now hearing such vociferous outcries?

BRITISH PROFESSORS AND TERRITORIAL REVISION

by Béla de Póka-Pivny, LL. D.

International life is devoting more and more attention to the question of “revision”. Mankind realises that the Paris peace-treaties are bad.

All classes of society alike also realise that the seventeen years which have passed since the treaties were drafted have already invalidated numerous provisions of those treaties. And society everywhere feels that the most important part of the work is yet to be done — viz. the work of territorial revision.

Public opinion wishes to see clearly in the problem of territorial revision. Those co-operating to that end deserve gratitude. Those who aim at obscuring the problem and at retarding its just solution, are undertaking a serious responsibility in the eyes of history.

Below will be found two studies on the question to which we have added comments of our own.

I.

An exceptionally valuable article was published by Professor Arnold J. Toynbee in the February—March number of "International Affairs", with the title "Peaceful Change or War? The Next Stage in the International Crisis". The article is essentially a recapitulation of an address given by the professor before the Royal Institute for Foreign Affairs (Chatham House) at the end of last year.

The essay is quite comprehensive and exhaustive and both politically and scientifically stands on a very high level. It might serve as a classical example of how to study objectively — with due regard alike for the political and legal factors and for all those historical and moral moments which must be taken into account — a problem which moves on absolutely new ground.

The subject of the article is the possibility of a peaceful amendment of the peace treaties of 1919. The writer — apart from coming to the conclusion that the unsatisfied "have nots" or Powers not obtaining what they want will sooner or later attain their objects — advises Great Britain herself to set a good example and accept the proposal made by the Labour Party Member Mr. Lansbury, to the effect that Great Britain should surrender certain of her colonies, seeing that otherwise any practical pacifism is inconceivable. The article is based upon the dual conception recently in evidence in the foreign policy of Britain which postulates that no collective security is conceivable in the evolution of life without periodical amendments of the peace treaties.

Professor Toynbee explains how ticklish a matter it is to renounce territories at all. He then enumerates in succession the overseas colonies which are either claimed or menaced and the "irredenta" territories in Europe, proceeding to deal with cases in the past of the surrender of territories involving the payment of material compensation. Yet these cases cannot be regarded as precedents. Despite the difficulties and the lack of familiar ways and means, a solution must be found, for otherwise — continues Toynbee, inspired by the practical principles of a higher pacifism — there cannot be any spiritual peace.

The writer then enumerates the dissatisfied countries — Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Lithuania in Europe. He then adds:

"In order to limit the scope of our survey, we may venture, at the risk of being thought cynical, to ignore, for the moment, the grievances of the smaller countries, and this on two grounds: in the first place because they lack the strength to bring about violent changes by their own unaided efforts and in the second place because their claims are likely to stand or fall with those of their greater companions in discontent. If the claims of Germany and Italy are satisfied either peacefully or by force, the claims of Hungary and Bulgaria have a fair prospect of being satisfied simultaneously by whichever of the two methods it may be".

This is a very serious warning not to be ignored by those who keep imposing intolerably heavy burdens of taxation on their nationals for the purpose of being able by force of arms to defend against revision the territories unlawfully acquired by them.

Speaking of the "irredenta" territories, Professor Toynbee takes the several countries in succession. Italy has no more "irredenta" claims on her neighbours promising any important or positive results. In respect of Germany however the
writer says that "...the list of German terre irredente is a large one. Leaving out of account the distant and isolated German minorities in the Soviet Union and Rumania and Yugoslavia, and confining our attention to terre irredente claimed by Germany which are directly contiguous with the present territory of the Reich, the list includes Austria (with the adjoining South Tirol), Deutsch Böhmen (or Sudetenland), Danzig, Memel, Eupen and Malmédy, and the Polish Corridor, this last-mentioned territory being claimed on geographical and historical grounds, in spite of the fact that its inhabitants are not Germans but Poles. The list is formidable enough..."

On the splendid essay written by Professor Toynbee we Hungarians have only one observation of importance to make, — viz. that in the nature of the case there is a vast difference between the terre irredente of Germany and the terre irredente of Hungary. It would have been better — in order to make the matter more easily intelligible — not to regard the German claims and the Hungarian claims as homogeneous. For such an attempt to level those claims must inevitably lead to unfortunate misunderstandings.

The bulk of the German terre irredente — as may be seen from the enumeration given above — are the territories inhabited by the 11 million Germans living in Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. These Germans do not belong to the "Second" German Empire; consequently they cannot be "placed in the same box" as the terre irredente inhabited by the three and a half million Magyars which for over a thousand years formed integral parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, never having been separated from that country until the peace conference of 1919 — by treaties of peace based upon a brutal outrage on the Wilsonian principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples.

In this connection it should be stressed that the Hungarian "revision" movement confines its direct claims to the territories inhabited by Hungarians. Consequently, there is some exaggeration in the statement of the illustrious writer that "the Germans and Magyars are resenting the loss of their dominion over alien populations". The Hungarian attitude in the question is to the effect that its must be left to plebiscites to decide — on the basis of the right of self-determination included in the Wilsonian points — the fate of those territories which ethnically are non-Magyar. Hungary was once accorded the right of appeal to a plebiscite — viz. in the case of Sopron (under the Treaty of Venice), which town, despite the fact that a large proportion of its inhabitants are "aliens", voted for incorporation in Hungary.

As for the Hungarians (Magyars) living in the territories wrested from Hungary, their tragic fate has aroused the pity and horror of many an unbiased inquirer. This fact is so well known today that it does not need to be proved. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the new States are incapable of governing without oppressing the millions belonging to their minorities, thereby acting as a constant menace to peace and oppressing the League of Nations the object of criticism and in deed of scorn and derision owing to the fact that the decisive factor in settling the complaints dealt with in the Memorandums submitted by minorities is not justice, but intrigue and political interest and political alliance.

We are firmly convinced that Professor Toynbee's article — the attitude and conclusions of which were endorsed by the serious discussion on the same at Chatham House — will contribute to the formation of a uniform international attitude in the all-important question of "revision".

II.

An article of a very striking character appeared in the February number of the "Fortnightly Review". The article was entitled "The Mischief of Revisionism"; its writer being Professor R. B. Mowatt.

When I first read it, I could not help wondering how the historian whose work on the history of diplomacy I had been reading so eagerly for years could have written an article containing so large a share of prejudice and bias the very title of which was calculated to unfavourably influence the reader. Certainly the article is in crying contrast to the objective study of Professor Toynbee, which conscientiously reproduces the opinions of both the opposing camps. But the article is a contradiction also of the views of the numerous enlightened British scholars and politicians who have made a serious study of the question of "revisionism" as a new phenomenon of international politics due to the bad treaties made in Paris and do not simply dub as "mischief" the endeavour to obtain a revision by legitimate means, through the channel of the League of Nations.

Professor Mowatt is particularly mistaken in speaking of revisionism as propaganda. By so doing he exposes himself to the risk of being dubbed a "propagandist" in the event of his anti-revisionist arguments failing to hold water.

And they surely do fail to hold water. Let us take his arguments in succession:

1. Professor Mowatt says that "...the League Powers have been vigorously indicted in various quarters for not having made use of Article 19 of the Covenant in order to make such a ratification of frontiers as would satisfy discontented peoples and remove the sense of grievance".

Then the writer continues as follows: "Article 19 was never seriously intended to apply to frontiers".

Where does Professor Mowatt get that from? Article 19 counterposes Article 10. The latter Article postulates territorial inviolability — though only in principle and only in the event of aggression. Article 19, on the other hand, refers to changes in territory. Originally these two Articles (10 and 19) were one Article. If he reads the historical data relating to the origin of Article 19, Professor Mowatt will have to admit that.

And perhaps we need only quote the well-known words of Colonel House:

"The contracting Powers unite in several guarantees to each other of their territorial integrity and political independence, subject,
however, to such territorial modifications, if any, as may become necessary in the future by reason of changes in present racial conditions and aspirations, pursuant to the principle of self-determination, and as shall also be regarded by three-fourths of the Delegates as necessary and proper for the welfare of the peoples concerned; recognising also that all territorial changes involve equitable compensation and that the peace of the world is superior in importance and interest to any question of boundary”.

2. Professor Mowatt attributes to Article 19 only a minor importance when he says that “Article 19 was meant to deal with subjects which can be appropriately dealt with by mediation and conciliation”. However, Professor Mowatt’s views are contradicted by the usages hitherto in force in the practice of the League of Nations or in international politics. In respect of the reparations payments, of the equality of Germany in respect of armaments and of the re-militarisation of the “de-militarised” Rhine territories etc., — each of which measures was really an act of revision — Article 19 was never taken into account.

When, during its session at Folkestone in 1934, the International Federation of League of Nations’ Unions discussed Article 19, the representatives of thirty nations, during a debate on a motion submitted by Lord Cecil of Chelwood, unanimously decided that Article 19 did refer to territorial revision, and would doubtless have adhered to that decision even if Professor Mowatt had appeared at the session and attempted to get his one-sided opinion approved.

3. Another view of Professor Mowatt’s which is quite incomprehensible is that enunciated by him when he says that “some small-scale transfers of territory, on the basis of exchange or purchase, are possible. One or two particularly glaring anomalies in the distribution of racial minorities or in the allocation of markets, might be corrected by this means, along the frontiers of, say, contiguous Central European states. Such rectifications are well worth making, but of course they would not satisfy land-hungry states”. This attitude on his part shows that Professor Mowatt is quite unfamiliar with the situation in Central Europe. In particular he fails to understand that it is not a question of the states being “land-hungry” or not — nor even of the “anomalies” being “glaring” or not; the essential point is that the legal basis of the Paris peace treaties was the armistice agreement, the pivot of which was the Wilsonian right of self-determination, and that the said right of self-determination has either never been carried into effect at all or has been realised in an incredibly erroneous manner. It is for that reason that the peoples are “discontent” and are anxious to amend the situation. It is therefore a question of principles; not of a bargain. The policy of barter practised at Geneva for the past fifteen years has shown that the path chosen must inevitably lead to a fresh crisis — or rather that it is high time to enter the path of justice and truth.

4. Equally untenable is the view expressed by Professor Mowatt when he says that “it is impossible on an old Continent that any state should contain no racial minorities. No amount of territorial revision would straighten out the racial tangle and leave no racial minorities within state-frontiers”. This means practically that we should not protect ourselves against infection because we cannot possibly destroy infection. Or that we should not persecute sin and crime because there will always be criminals and sinners. It all smacks of propaganda, and is certainly not scientific. Professor Mowatt either does not know or has forgotten that the situation existing between Rumania and Hungary in this connection is that, whereas there are some 1,353,675 Hungarians living in Rumania, there are only 16,221 Rumanians in Hungary. If there were 16,221 Rumanians and Hungarians respectively on either side of the frontier — and not 1,353,675 Hungarians against only 16,221 Rumanians —, Professor Mowatt would be right. But he will never be right as things stand today. We should have expected Professor Mowatt to come to the conclusion that the only way to enforce justice is to leave the matter to the free decision of the population itself, particularly when we remember that he himself knows and declares that “everybody knows that many of the racial minorities are badly treated. The demand for territorial revision is largely due to this ill-treatment.”

5. Professor Mowatt sees so clearly and acknowledges so frankly that the condition of the minorities is intolerably bad; how then can he conceive the possibility of realising in practice his suggestion that if “the political frontiers cannot be revised”, they “can be made invisible”. “Invisible” frontiers are inconceivable in view of the fact that the gaps previously existing between the opposing cultures, religions and philosophies have been made far wider by the fifteen years which have passed since the conclusion of the treaties of peace.

What revisionism desires is to restore justice to its throne. Anti-revisionism is employing every kind of stratagem to prevent that issue, resorting even to misinterpretations and mystifications. Professor Mowatt too has fallen a victim to these political wills-o’-the-wisp and treats the question one-sidedly. His article ought really to be entitled “The Mischief of Anti-revisionism”.
ENGLISH VOLUNTEERS AT RECOVERY OF BUDA

by
Francis Endrödy

Two hundred and fifty years ago the news of a long-awaited decision spread through almost all the countries of Europe. The Christian hosts had determined to re-capture Buda, one of the most important key-fortresses of the mighty Turkish Empire. The news was received with unanimous acclamation and enthusiasm in every Christian country. Pope Innocent issued a Crusade Bull proclaiming indulgence to everyone who in some form or other contributed towards the issue. Besides the numerous gifts of money sent to the Vienna Court, about 1000 foreign volunteers reported there for service. These volunteers were recruited mainly from the ranks of the aristocracy, for whom Hungary, alongside of the wars of Louis XIV, had been a kind of military school for over a century and a half. No soldier could well lay claim to being an experienced warrior unless he had fought once or twice against the Ottoman hordes. Dukes, counts, barons and other nobles flocked from England, France, Spain, and the German and Italian Duchies to lay siege to Buda.

Most of what we know about the English who took part in the siege comes from the diary of Jacob Richards, "one of His Majesty's Engineers", who had been sent out in an official capacity. It was the duty of this young engineer, acting on the instructions of the Royal Ordnance Office, to keep his eye on matters of interest to the engineering staff and the artillery, and make his reports thereon.¹

Throughout the entire duration of the siege he assiduously co-operated in directing the work of the engineers; indeed, in all probability, the Imperial troops made use of an invention of his in their attacks — a small mortar which threw grenades to a distance of 600 yards.²

In particular the sixteen-year-old James Fitz-James distinguished himself on more than one occasion by his bravery. He had been sent by his father, later on James II of England, to fight under the supervision of a French nobleman, de Villevison, in the army of Charles of Lotharingia.³ After having fought bravely right through to the end of the very attack on September 2-nd he returned to England. In recognition of his services his father created him Duke of Berwick, and made him honorary colonel of the Oxford Cavalry Regiment. But he did not stay long at home. His enthusiasm brought him back again to the Imperial Army. Leopold I raised him to the rank of colonel, and as commander of a regiment of cuirassiers he took part in the war of 1687, and was present at the battle of Mohács.⁴

Besides Richards, whose official duties gave him a prominent role, and Fitz-James, whose birth and later on his high rank made him an outstanding figure, there were many other Englishmen whose deeds of valour, wounds or deaths secured their names a place in the golden annals of Hungarian history. During the whole length of the siege they were permanently on duty in the regiment commanded by Francis Taaffe, a lieutenant-general of Irish extraction. On two occasions in particular they displayed reckless bravery and a courage ready for the greatest sacrifices. The first time was on the occasion of the abortive attack of July 13th. The irregular nature of the orders for the attack were disapproved of by several foreign eye-witnesses, amongst others by Richards himself, and the results justified their misgivings. The martial spirit and recklessness of the troops were responsible for a great sacrifice of life. More than 40 noble volunteers fell and about 300 were severely wounded in this one unfortunate attack. Among the English killed were Duke Robert, the son of King Charles's illegitimate son, Mr. Wise­man, Mr. Moore and Captain Talbot, all scions of famous English families, whilst among the wound­ed were Colonel Forbes, Captain Belassis and Captain St. George, as well as Lord Saville, son of the Earl of Halifax, who later died of his wounds.

Their second important military feat, undertaken on August 14th, was a complete success. On August 12th the Grand Vizier Suliman arrived with a relieving army. A considerable part of this army attempted to gain entrance to the fortress. A detachment consisting mainly of volunteers under Count Taaffe and Baron Mercy, lieutenant-generals of artillery, played an important rôle in

¹ Jacob Richards, A Journal of the Siege and Taking of Buda by the Imperial Army. 1887.
² Dictionary of National Biography XLVIII. p. 213.
³ Arpad Karolyi, Buda és Pest visszavétása 1686-ban. p. 166.
repulsing this relieving force. Baron Mercy was one of the swiftest and most formidable artillery commanders. Followed by his men he threw himself on the galloping Turks, and his brave soldiers slaughtered so many of them that only three or four hundred of the three thousand Janissaries remained to tell the tale. It was no wonder that when they reported their defeat to the Grand Vizier, they said that they had "charged like Lions, but had been received by Devils". About fifty flags and pennants, eight cannon and a rich booty fell to the victors.

The third and last attempt of the Grand Vizier to relieve the fortress was also frustrated by a daring cavalry movement led by Baron Mercy. It ended badly for him, however, for he died of a wound received in the head. His death was the greatest loss sustained by the English at the siege of Buda.

September 2nd brought the long-awaited event. Buda again passed into Christian hands. All through the month of September thanksgiving services were held almost everywhere in Europe. In Vienna, Rome, Berlin, Paris and Madrid the firing of cannon, bonfires and memorial medals proclaimed the great victory. The news reached London on September 12th, and solemn Te Deums were sung in Whitehall and Windsor.

The English volunteers bravely did their part in battle and shared in the glory of the victory. We owe a debt of gratitude to those foreign heroes who were led by a lofty ideal — the ideal which in the Middle Ages ruled in the hearts of all faithful Christians and inspired them with the glorious idea of the Crusades. They came from their distant country, ready to die for the faith, for the triumph of their ideals. It therefore behoves us to recall with reverence this little group of unknown heroes.

CHAIR OF ENGLISH IN UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST CELEBRATES ITS FIRST JUBILEE
by Dr. Stephen Ullmann

Just fifty years ago — on April 30th, 1886 — Arthur J. Patterson was appointed Extraordinary Professor of English Literature in the University of Budapest.

But, although no Chair of English was established in the University of Budapest until 1886, the teaching of English in that university can be traced as far back as the eighteenth century. In 1792 several Hungarian Counties (Pest, Zala, Csongrád) applied to the Government for English teachers. In 1823 John Lemouton, who was a Frenchman by birth, began to lecture in the University of Budapest on English; but his lectures were not systematic: and he did not even write regular reports on the results of his activity. It was not until 1849 that the teaching of English in Budapest University was officially begun, — and that was due to the efforts of Thun, Austrian Minister of Public Instruction. For some time, however, there was no separate Chair of English Philology; the teaching of the language was entrusted to private teachers (Lewis Egan): later on one of the private teachers (G. Dallos) obtained an appointment as "reader" or "Privat-Dozent".

The first really important event in the history of the Department of English in Budapest University was the establishment, just fifty years ago, of a Chair of English Literature. Its first holder, Arthur J. Patterson, an M.A. of Cambridge, who was already Corresponding Fellow of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, remained an active professor until his death in 1898. Professor Patterson was well known as an authority on Hungary who had already rendered his adopted country eminent services as a publicist. His splendid library, now — through the courtesy of the University Library — in the possession of the Department of English, contains fine collections of poetical works and of scientific publications on language and literature.

From 1899 to 1908 Arthur B. Yolland, a graduate of Cambridge who subsequently proceeded to the degree of Phil. D. in the University of Budapest, functioned as lecturer. In 1908 he was appointed Extraordinary Professor of the English Language and Literature; in 1914 — just prior to the outbreak of the Great War — he was appointed Ordinarius and the Chair was made an ordinary chair.

During the past twenty years the Chair of English has developed rapidly and on a very considerable scale, as is shown clearly enough by the enormous increase in the number of students enrolled in the Department. This upswing is due primarily to the rapid headway made by English in

---

7 J. Richards, A Journal of the Siege and Taking of Buda . . . p. 32.
8 Árpád Károlyi, Buda és Pest visszavártása 1686-ban, p. 372.
9 J. Richards, op. cit. p. 36.
10 John Evelyn's Diary.
the public and social life of Hungary, as also to the introduction into Hungarian secondary schools of English as an ordinary subject. In 1924 English was included among the subjects for examination before the Secondary School Teachers Examination Board. Since 1917 a reader has also been attached to the Chair of English in the person of Dr. Alexander Fest, whose research work is concerned primarily with connections between Hungary and Great Britain.

Today the Department of English is one of the most popular and attractive departments of Budapest University. Since 1928 there has been a seminar connected with the Chair; and the library is well equipped and quite up-to-date. There is also a lecturer attached (Major J. C. Lawrance) and a professor's assistant (Dr. Eva Róna), while two praeseminar classes are preparing the students for serious work in the Seminar. Every year a few dissertations are published under the auspices of the Department; since 1929 these dissertations have formed a collection of "Publications of the Department of English of the University of Budapest". The number of such dissertations is already 15. The popularity of the Department was strikingly illustrated in 1933, when the Members celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first appointment of their professor. On this occasion Professor Julius Németh, then Dean of the Faculty of Arts, gave expression to the esteem of his colleagues for Professor Yolland and his Department.

The number of students working under the auspices of the Department — originally about 20 — has risen to nearly 150.

Quite recently the Department issued the first of its Annuals — "Studies in English Philology" — containing dissertations by Dr. Eva Róna and Stephen Ullmann. It contains also a most valuable bibliography of works, articles etc. illustrating the literary and political connections between Hungary and the English-speaking peoples. This bibliography will be continued; the Department hoping that thereby it may contribute also towards elucidating many problems incidental to the history of the relations which have existed for so many centuries between the Hungarian and the British and American peoples.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

THE BELGRADE CONFERENCES

Early in May Belgrade was the scene of two important conferences. First the Balkan Alliance and then the Little Entente Council assembled in the Yugoslav Capital for the usual periodical discussions; and, seeing that Rumania and Yugoslavia are in both groups, the two conferences were connected, not only in point of time, but also politically.

The Balkan Conference had to face the fact that Turkey — by one-sidedly proclaiming the fortification of the Dardanelles — had foreclosed the relevant Article of the Treaty of Lausanne. Of the allies of that country, Rumania in particular felt that her interests had been injured; and according to the press reports which found their way to the outside world she endeavoured to obtain from Turkey a declaration to the effect that even in the event of the closing of the straits she would guarantee Rumanian boats the right of unimpeded navigation. However, — again according to the reports — Turkey was only prepared to make a promise to the effect that she would not in the future demand any further revision of the treaty provisions. So the Balkan Alliance will willy-nilly be compelled to acquiesce in the revision of the provisions of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey relating to the Dardanelles which will probably be put into effect at the conference to be held at Montreux on May 24th.

Equally serious were the difficulties arising as a consequence of the attitude adopted by Greece in respect of the interpretation of the obligations devolving on the allies. Whereas Yugoslavia would apply the terms of the treaty extensively and would regard the casus foederis as ensuing also in the event of any violation of her Central-European frontiers too (thus not allowing the relevant provision to refer only to her Balkan boundaries), according to the Greek interpretation the obligations of the allies do not extend to attacks from States outside the Balkans (that referring to attacks from Albania too), seeing that the Athenian Government does not consider the latter country either — which in respect of international politics is controlled by Italy — in the light of a "Balkan State". This interpretation the other three allies had to accept; for otherwise they might have induced the break-up of the Alliance.

There were differences of opinion also regarding the eventual armament of Bulgaria. As a consequence of the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria the official circles of Belgrade do not regard the restoration to Bulgaria of equality in military matters to be so impossible as people do in Bucharest. In Constantinople and Athens, indeed, people are apparently prepared to support Bulgaria's endeavours to that end. And, seeing that the Balkan Pact was aimed primarily against Bulgaria, the differences of opinion that have arisen on the subject have made a breach in the political unity of the members of the group even wider than that caused by the two other questions in dispute referred to above.

Under such circumstances we could not help smiling when we read the stereotype phrase in the official communiqué issued relative to the Balkan Conference to the effect that the four Foreign Ministers were "in perfect agreement". The same is true also of the Little Entente Conference — now held for the first time without M. Beneš —, of which the whole world knew in advance that it would have to cope with the shoals of conflicts of a bitterness never previously experienced. For on the eve of the Conference "Le Temps" — the mouthpiece of the French Government, the protector-in-chief of the Little Entente — openly pointed to the serious differences of
opinion between Prague and Belgrade in respect of the most important Central and Eastern questions. People in Paris too are fully aware that Czecho-Slovakia is prepared to try to come to terms with Germany, Austria and Italy, whereas Yugoslavia — owing to her absolute refusal to hear of any restoration — is far less able to trust Austria. And, while Czecho-Slovakia is in alliance with Soviet Russia, Yugoslavia fosters feelings of hostility towards the latter country.

Austria and Italy, whereas Yugoslavia — owing to its preparedness to try to establish friendly relations with Germany.

We wonder whether the Little Entente Conference succeeded in avoiding these dangerous shoals? Our impression is that it did not; and we believe that the only result it was able to book to its credit was that it saved the damaged boat for the moment from sinking a fatal leak.

According to point c) of the official communiqué the States of the Little Entente all show the same attitude — and will continue to show the same attitude — in all international questions, particularly in respect of the question of their relations with France, Austria, Italy, Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, the States being Members of the Balkan Alliance, and Soviet Russia. We cannot help thinking that there is something wrong somewhere. For after the situation report of "Le Temps" — hallmarked with the authority of the Quai d'Orsay — who can possibly believe that the relation between Austria, Germany and Russia and Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia respectively is absolutely the same? or is there any one ready to believe that the relations between Belgrade and Rome and Warsaw respectively are in perfect agreement with the relations between Prague and the respective Capitals of the Powers on the other side?

It would seem far more likely that the Little Entente is actually in perfect agreement in the question of territorial re-adjustment; for that was the question which led to the formation of that alliance fifteen years ago — the object of the alliance being to use every means available to maintain and defend the territories secured under the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly respectively. Since then there has been a thorough change in the world in which the Little Entente is living. The situation which has developed in Europe is an entirely different one — a situation by no means favourable to the Entente alliance; numerous new forces have made their appearance, and new groups have arisen. To refer to only one moment, the victory of Italy in Abyssinia and the parallel advance in her authority and prestige quite recently brought about a fresh change in the balance of power in the Valley of the Danube.

It is perhaps the consciousness of this fact that lies behind the sentence in point 7. of the official communiqué which declares that the Little Entente States will never agree to any amendment of the obligations contained in the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly, unless negotiations are first opened with them and an agreement concluded. Put into a positive form, this statement means, we believe, that negotiations are possible? If our interpretation of this sentence is correct, it may be taken as the starting point for a settlement of the Danube Valley problem; for from the very outset the Hungarian revisionist movement has never thought of any amendment other than a peaceful revision of the treaties based on mutual agreement.

It is desirable that the conference which the Heads of States of the Little Entente countries propose to hold in June should explain more concretely the sound suggestion which the communiqué just issued considered it necessary to wedge in between a few sentences with a threatening sound.

VISIT TO BUDAPEST OF POLISH PREMIER
FURTHER CEMENTED HISTORICAL FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN POLAND AND HUNGARY

The sojourn in Budapest — from April 23rd to April 26th — of M. Marjan Zyndram Koscielkowski, the Polish Premier, who thereby returned the visit to Warsaw, in October, 1934, of the Hungarian Premier, General Jules Gombos, served to further cement the ties of that cordial and profound friendship which has for centuries so closely united the two nations, which are so similar in temperament, in social organisation and in their attitude towards life. We doubt whether it would be possible to summarise more pregnantly and more concisely the continuous contact between and reciprocal influence of the Polish and Hungarian nations, than in the speeches made by the two premiers at the dinner given by Premier Gombos in honour of the Polish guest of the Hungarian nation. From the two speeches made on this occasion before the distinguished gathering assembled in the Hungarian Prime Minister’s residence in Buda, we quote the following more important passages:

“During past centuries” — said General Gombos — “our kings and our armies fought shoulder to shoulder on both sides of the Carpathians in defence of Europe and Christian civilisation. The names of those who sacrificed their lives in the holy cause during those struggles are recorded in the pages of history; — King Wladislas (who died at Varna during the great battle against the Turks), Hedvig of pious memory (daughter of Louis the Great of Hungary and later Queen of Poland), Stephen Bathyory (Prince of Transylvania who in the second half of the sixteenth century was King of Poland), John Sobieski (the King of Poland who relieved Vienna and then Ersekijivar from siege by the Turks), “Father” Bem (the heroic Polish general who fought with the Hungarians against Austria in the 1848/49 War of Independence), and all the other great personalities whose memory is still treasured by both nations alike. What is however most remarkable when we look back at the history of past ages, is that phenomenon practically unparalleled in the history of the world — the fact that there has never been any serious conflict between our two neighbouring peoples. We must not try to explain this phenomenon by attributing it exclusively to the indubitable sagacity and moderation of the leaders of the two nations; for it was due primarily to certain given natural causes. Her geographical position has impelled Poland to play the role of a political Power to the north of the Carpathians, while we Hungarians have at all times been the defenders of the southern confines.

“The mighty ring of the Carpathians has furthered the development of the Hungarian State; but it has not prevented the peoples following the
same ideals in respect of liberty and progress from meeting. In their worship of liberty and their devotion to their fatherlands the Poles and the Hungarians have always been united; and they have always known that the heroes of liberty when brought to their fall would find a cordial welcome and a friendly refuge with the other nation,—a refuge to which unfortunately the best representatives of our respective peoples have so often been compelled to resort.

"This feeling of solidarity — I may assure Your Excellency — still lives in the hearts of the Hungarians today. In no country in the world did the wonderful resurrection of Poland and the Polish people cause greater or more sincere delight than in Hungary; for the fact seemed to us a proof of the triumph of eternal justice and encouraged us in our embitterment not to falter but to go on hoping. And when barely a year ago the inscrutable power of Fate summoned to his home beyond the grave Marshal Pilshudski, the creator and greatest son of your New Poland, the tolling of the bells of the Wawel Cathedral found an echo in the hearts of us Hungarians too, who mourned the loss of a true friend."

M. Kosciolkowski said in reply:

"Hungary and Poland have every reason to be proud when they survey those glorious pages of their histories so full of events displaying the high moral values of the two peoples.

"Our histories offer evidence of the profound understanding existing between the two nations, of their mission as standard-bearers of culture and civilization, of their sincere attachment to Western culture, and of their unflinching and devoted affection for their respective countries. It is this ideal which is the source of the many common features of the two peoples. The friendly relations between the two countries date back to the earliest period of our histories. The glorious figures of our histories of whom Your Excellency have just spoken — together with many others of less eminence — have never lost the glamour of their greatness.

"These personalities embodying the most striking virtues and excellences of the two nations, could never have risen to the glory they achieved without the bonds of profound friendship and confidence cemented by a community of interest, which inspires the peoples to reciprocal support and on many occasions to an common struggle against a common foe.

"The consciousness of this solidarity living in the two nations never failed to manifest itself during the struggles for independence and liberty fought by the Hungarian and the Polish people respectively. During the insurrection in November, 1830, the Hungarians gave eloquent proof of their lively sympathy for the cause of Poland; while in 1848 Poles gave their lives in an endeavour to achieve the independence of your country. Kossuth, Bem and Görgye, — to mention only a few of the innumerable common national heroes of Hungary and Poland — are all remembered by both nations alike for symbols of self-sacrifice and unselfish patriotism.

"The sentiments shown by the Hungarian nation towards our great national hero, Marshal Pilсудski, and the moving words in which Your Excellency have just done homage to his memory, are fresh ties of friendship and are bound to awaken profound echoes in the hearts of all Poles.

"Polonia Restituta clings warmly to the moral values which she has inherited from the traditions of our ancient ties.

"As always in the past, Poland will continue to preserve intact this invaluable inheritance.

"It is gratifying to be able to establish the fact that the mutual relations between Hungary and Poland — at all times marked by a spirit of implicit confidence and complete understanding — are a guarantee of stability and balance in this part of Europe."

From the moment they entered Hungarian territory the Polish Premier and his suite were made continuously conscious of the cordial enthusiasm and affection felt by Hungarians for them as representatives of the friendly Polish nation. At Hegyeshalom, the frontier station, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Moson welcomed them at the head of a large assembly. At the gaily decorated Eastern Railway Terminus in Budapest the Hungarian Government, with Premier Gömbös at their head, were waiting to receive them. And as they drove from the station to their hotel, the crowds lining the streets acclaimed them with enthusiasm, waving their hats and cheering. And when, just before their departure, they paid visits to the State studs at Bábola and Kisbé, the inhabitants of all the villages they passed on their way erected triumphal arches and decorated their houses gaily with bunting as a token of their homage for the guests of the Hungarian nation.

The official results of the Budapest pourparlers of the Polish and Hungarian statesmen are contained in the conventions signed on April 24th. These conventions are 1. the Polish-Hungarian Consular Convention, 2. the Extradition and Legal Redress Convention, 3. the Third Supplementary Convention being an annex to the commercial treaty dated March 25th, 1925. A Tourist Traffic Convention was also discussed; the same is to be drafted in its definitive form by an exchange of diplomatic Notes. The official conferences issued in re the negotiations expresses gratification and satisfaction at being able to establish the fact that there is a notable advance in evidence in respect of the economic and cultural relations between the two nations. A complete agreement of opinion had been established in respect to all the questions discussed, as also unanimity in respect of the necessity of rendering closer the friendly relations which had so happily united the two countries for so many centuries. And finally the fact was established that the co-operation of Poland and Hungary in the interests of peace is both possible and desirable.

The traditional hospitality of the Hungarian people left no stone unturned to make the Polish guests feel at home in Hungary. The Regent of Hungary, Admiral Nicholas Horthy de Nagybanya, gave a lunch and Dr. Valentine Homan, Minister of Education, a gala dinner in their honour; while a grand reception in their honour was given in the Great Hall of the House of Parliament by the President (Speaker) of the Lower House, Mr. Alexander Sztranyovszky. The chief of the press department of the Foreign Ministry Dr. Francis Mengèle, entertained the Polish journalists who had accompanied the Polish Premier to Hungary. A ceremonial reception was arranged in honour of the Prime Minister of Poland by the Budapest "Peter Pázmány" University of Sciences. The Rector of the University, Professor Julius Kornis in his address to the Polish Premier, said: — "Lo! Poland and has risen from the grave: and it is our ardent wish and hope that we may follow her example". Then the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor John Me-
also shown over the Hungarian Museum of Agriculture; and they expressed their profound appreciation of what they had seen. One of the outstanding events of their Budapest sojourn was the gala performance in the Budapest Opera House, — the programme including the first Act of the Hungarian Opera "Carnival Wedding", during which the principal singer came to the front of the stage and raising his glass on high drank to the glory of the Polish nation. This led to an outburst of thundering applause; and the enthusiastic ovation which followed made it impossible for some minutes to continue the performance.

RESOLUTION OF A POLISH MEETING FAVOURS REVISION OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON

At the assembly convocated in Warsaw by the Union formed for the purpose of fostering the idea of Polish independence; the President of the meeting, M. Bobrzyński, pointed to the danger threatening Poland as a consequence of the Czech-Russian treaty having brought into being an aerial connection via Rumania between Moscow and Prague which was a menace to Poland from the South. Professor Bossowski explained that in order to provide a defence against bolshevism there was urgent need for a rapprochement between Poland and Hungary. For the history of a thousand years proved that without a strong Hungary there could not be a strong Poland. The Poles were grateful to Hungary for having in 1920 supported Poland by the supply of ammunition, that having enabled her to overcome the bolsheviks, — whereas the Czechs had always proved the worst of neighbours to the Poles. Poland must support Hungary in her efforts to secure a mitigation of the injustices committed in the Treaty of Trianon. According to the resolution passed by the mass meeting, it is deemed necessary that Hungary should by peaceful means and under international treaties be given a mandate to administer Ruthenia on behalf of the League of Nations, and that a plebiscite should be held in Slovakia in order to enable the Slovaks to decide for themselves which State they desire to belong to — to Czecho-Slovakia or to Hungary? — or whether they would prefer to be an independent State? finally that the Hungarian frontiers should be re-adjusted as provided in the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand.

* * *

An interesting study was published recently in Teschen. The title was "A common Polish-Hungarian frontier", its author being a Polish publicist, Count W. Bem de Cosban. Taking his stand on the findings of historical and political literature, Count Bem de Cosban came to the conclusion that it would be greatly in the interests of the nations immediately concerned to give Ruthenia back to Hungary and so restore the common frontier between Hungary and Poland. This would be almost the only effective line of defence against a further expansion of Bolshevism, and as such an indispensable factor in the peace of Europe.

ARMY OF THE SOVIET IN SLOVAKIA

In the February number of the "Review" we published long extracts from the Memorandum of the Slovak National Council submitted to the League of Nations in re bolshevism and the Slovak question. A few days ago Francis Jehlicka, former university professor, President of the Slovak National Council, Mr. Dvorčak, Vice-President, and Mr. Unger, Secretary-General, addressed to the League of Nations a further Memorandum dealing with "A Menace to Europe: the Army of the Soviet in Slovakia".

This new Memorandum establishes the fact that the action taken by the Council has created a stir all over the world, exciting the interest in particular of those nations and governments which are exposed to a direct menace from Soviet Russia. It then proceeds to quote Czech and Slovak statements in illustration of the terrible distress and misery which the rule of the Czechs has brought upon Slovakia, pointing out at the same time that on the occasion of the recent parliamentary elections in that province the Communist Party was in consequence able to claim 220,000 of the 950,000 votes actually recorded. Next the Memorandum offers supplementary information respecting the position occupied by the Red Army in Slovakia. Particular importance attaches to the following facts recorded in the Memorandum: —

"On April 8th 1935, a commission of Russian Air Force officers headed by Lawrow visited Prague to study Czech aviation industries. On May 6th of the same year a delegation of Czech pilots conducted by Raubik left for Soviet Russia to make preparations for the establishment of a Prague—Kiew air line. On May 30th and June 5th 1935 a Czech air squadron under the command of Fajfr flew over Slovakia, Ru-
thenia and Rumania to Moscow. Mechanical innovations for military planes were discussed, as was cooperation regarding the use of the Prague—Kiew line by military planes; and the question of allowing the Soviet to make use of the Czech air-ports was also broached.

"In the first fortnight of July 1935 four Russian Staff officers arrived in Slovakia via Pozsony (Bra-tislava) in mufti. They came to view the fortification. In the same month a military commission arrived in Bohemia from Soviet Russia. In Pilsen they discussed the question of the heavy motor artillery batteries.

"Between the 13th and 23rd of August 1935 Sapor-nikov, former Chief of the Soviet General Staff and at present commander of the military academy, took part in the Czech manoeuvres at the head of a mili­tary commission. Between the 5th and 13th of Sept­ember, 1935, the head of the Czech General Staff took part in the Soviet manoeuvres round Kiew.

"Soviet journalists on a fifteen days' tour spent nine days, (October 5—13, 1935) in Czecho-Slovakia. They were received by the Czech Government and warmly welcomed by the press.

"From the autumn of 1935 on Czech officers have been paying visits regularly to Soviet Russia in order to establish the closest possible intercourse with the Red Army. Colonel Destal spent six months (from November 1st 1935) with the Russian cavalry.

"In February 1936 N. I. Bucharin, one of the most prominent leaders in the Soviet, accompanied by the chief editor of the "Izvestia", arrived in Prague, where they were received with enthusiastic acclamation. Since March 26th 200 Polish families have been driven out of Ungvár (Užhorod) and Munkác (Mukačevo) by the Czech authorities; and although no reason was given for their expulsion, it is evident that it is closely connected with the construction of the Russian aerodromes.

"On March 27th 1936, Bogatyrew, a Russian Bolshevik Jew, was called to the chair of ethnography in the Pozsony University. The Slovaks protested energetically against the introduction of a Communist "cell" into Slovakia's only (Czech) university. They fear that, instead of collecting folklore in the Slovak villages which as professor of ethnography he will visit, Bogatyrew will spread the contagion of Bolshevism. ("Slovák" 1936, March 27.)

"Soviet military and civil delegations have been particularly active in Slovakia since February and March (1936). Military delegates are taking part in the work of constructing and reconstructing the air-ports. The Ungvár air-port, storehouses, gas depot and hangars are to be found on ground lying to the east of the road between Ungvár and Minaí. The storehouse for explosives is two kilometres to the west of Ungvár, on the bank of the river Ung. A sub­terranean hangar to accommodate sixty planes has been built at this air-port. The work of construction was finished in March. The landing-stage is of asphalt.

"The Soviet has established itself so firmly at the confluence of the Danube and the Ipoly that the inhab­itants of that territory are convinced that it will assume military command there. Soviet troops are in garrison in Czecho-Slovakia already. In Bohemia as well as in Slovakia many newly built barracks are to be seen in which Russian troops are billeted and which are guarded by sentinels. Special permission is required to enter them. They are intended to provide quarters for the Russian Air Force and for engineer­ing troops. Russian barracks of this sort have been built in the neighbourhood of the air-ports at Tren­cézn and Pštvén. Close to the air-port at Pštvén (Pistany) trenches are being dug and drilling is going on till late in the night by the light of powerful re­flectors. The Slovak and Hungarian inhabitants of the district gaze in astonishment at the Russian soldiers making preparations for the next war, so openly in the heart of Europe.

"In the months of February and March a series of lectures was arranged in schools and private houses in certain towns and villages of Slovakia, such as Poz­sony, Nyitra, Samarja, Dunaszerdahely and Poljóság. During these lectures the members of the Soviet delegation expounded the ideas of the Communist state and explained its organization. The members of the military delegation did not take part in them. One of the lecturers said: — "Slovaks, do not desert Czecho­Slovakia, which through her friendship with Russia has become greatly reinforced, and in the near future will overthrow her neighbours. Then the Great Plain of Hungary, your pre-War granary, will become legally yours". Russian commissioners supported by the Czech authorities have begun a campaign among the Slovaks to induce them to emigrate to Siberia for forest work. According to the Czech newspapers 50,000 Slovaks are to be induced to emigrate.

"The Slovak Council is of the opinion that the Czechs must be pushed back behind their ethnographic boundaries. The Czecho-Slovak State is not merely diseased; it is a barrel of explosives out of which the flames of revolution and war may burst at many mo­ment." The memorandum cries with Danielou, a former French Minister: "Poland, Slovakia, and Hun­gary: they are the bulwarks of Western Europe! Asiatic pan-Bolshevism threatens the whole of Europe. Nations of Europe! join hands and form an alliance against this peril!"

— y —

**PERSECUTION OF RUSSIAN EXILES IN PRAGUE**

Thirty Russian exiles who were holding a night meeting on May 5th at a restaurant in Prague, were arrested by the police, while the homes of many others were ordered to be searched. The documents confiscated by the police show that the exiles arrested belong to an organization which is being directed from Belgrade and has a local branch in almost every European capital. This organization has been formed with a view to destroy the Bolshevist régime even at the cost of surrendering a certain area of Russian territory to the neighbouring countries. The reason why the Czech police interfered with the activities of the Russian exiles was that the Czecho-Russian agreement stipulates that Czecho-Slovakia shall suppress all activities carried on in the country injurious to the territorial integrity of Soviet Russia.
FORMER RUMANIAN PREMIER'S STATEMENTS THROW ON RUMANIAN POLITICAL METHODS

The "Adevărul" of May 5th contains a very enlightening passage from the speech delivered by M. Vajda-Voivod at the meeting of the Rumanian Jurists in Jassy. He said:

"The conspirators at the students congress in Marosvasarhely were my political offspring, although they refuse to acknowledge me as their father. When I was a university student I vowed to sacrifice my life. In Vienna I was member of a band of conspirators sworn to murder the Hungarian Premier."

Equally illuminating is a statement made by Vajda-Voivod at a meeting of the Rumanian Front held at Jassy. On the occasion the former Rumanian Premier told his hearers how during the Paris Peace Conference he had misled the French Freemasons in order to secure their support for Rumania's extravagant territorial claims. "At that time" — was the cynical comment of Vajda-Voivod — "Freemasonry played an important role; Bratianu was Member of the Grand Lodge which had contributed so effectually to bring about the political union of Italy. At the Peace Conference held in Paris after the Great War I acted as the delegate of Transylvania; while Jonel Bratianu was President of the Rumanian Peace Delegation. A matter in dispute was the question of the Banate; the question had been treated in a pamphlet that had just appeared — in which the Serbians behaved treacherously with the backing of those freemason politicians who were present at the Peace Conference. Seeing how things stood I called upon Bratianu and asked him whether he approved of our also getting into touch with the Freemasons in order to counteract the action undertaken by Serbia? He answered: — "Do as you think best." I then entered into touch with those persons of understanding — doing so for the cause of Rumania. I entered one of their lodges, the Master of which was the Editor of "Le Temps", the great French daily. After the Peace Conference I returned to my country without paying my membership fee. As a natural consequence I was struck off the rolls of the Freemasons. It goes without saying that the country profited enormously as a result of this situation, — as contrasted with the action of George Cuza, who played a prominent role in the lodge to which Pangal and Argetoianu belonged, through the country never profited by his action. ("Adevărul", May 5th, 1936).

---

EPILOGUE TO BLOODSHED AT KERESTINEC

The April issue of this paper contained a report of the wholesale murders that took place in Kerestinec and its environs, to which 13 human lives fell victims. Belgrade was particularly shocked by the tragedy of the six young Serbs who with one exception were beaten to death in the castle of M. Mihailovich, the former Ban, at Kerestinec by Croat peasants made desperate by the behaviour and constant threats of the chetniks (komitachis). The Croat peasants took these young men to be chetniks. One of them, a certain Kalanetz, had been a prisoner on trial for a long time some years ago, charged with an outrage on the person of Dr. Mile Budak, a leader of the Croats. Official circles, on the other hand, declare that the victims did not belong to the chetnik organization, but were members of the Government Party who had gone to see M. Mihailovitch as President of that Party in the Zagreb district, merely to ask for advice and instructions relative to the future work of organization. In course of the investigations into the murders at Kerestinec fifty-three persons were arrested by the authorities, and other measures were taken to restore order and tranquility as speedily as possible. The Regency has dismissed from office Dr. Mark Kostrentschitch, Ban of the Save Banate and Dr. Stephen Dahzhi, Vice-Ban, and has appointed Dr. Victor Ruzhitch, a Croat lawyer of Susak, Ban of the Save Banate and M. Stanjo Mihaldzhitch, a police chef of Zagreb, Vice-Ban. The lawless excursions of the chetniks have been put a stop to by the Government's disbanding of the chetnik organization in the Save Banate. Any further comments on the bloody events in the press have been banned. That the censorship has been made stricter is evident amongst other things from the fact that no reports were published about the bloody conflict between Croat peasants and the gendarmes that took place recently in Sesvite, a village near Zagreb, on which occasion two men were shot down by the gendarmes, while seven were severely and several slightly wounded.

---

YUGOSLAVIA DEMANDS NEW TERRITORIES FROM AUSTRIA?

It is a widely-known fact, today, that the new arrangement in Central Europe was based mainly on the falsehoods and misstatements with which those who were called upon to determine the terms of the peace treaties were misled. The methods and means used then have not been laid aside yet, as the following example will show. The Belgrade "Politika" of March 2nd contains an article about the hard struggle for the cultural autonomy (?) of the Slovene minority in Austria. The article states that "several hundreds of thousands of Slovenes" live in Klagenfurt and its environs (the plebiscite territory in Carinthia of 1920); but the truth is that about 30,000 Slovenes and about as many Vends live there. The Peace Conference was bombed with ethnographic, economic, historical, geopolitical, etc. statistics of this and a similar nature, and — as the results show — not without success. This systematic and dangerous game has been continued ever since by the States of the Little Entente, not only for the purpose of accentuating certain minority or political differences, but also to prepare the way for candidly admitted fresh territorial conquests.
DR. SCHUSCHNIGG'S THIRD CABINET

The most important event in Austrian internal politics this month was Herr Schuschnigg's resignation on May 14th, after which President Miklas entrusted him with the formation of his third Cabinet. The new Cabinet differs from the last principally in that Prince Starhemberg, ex-Vice-Chancellor and leader of the Heimwehr, and Baron Berger-Waldenegg, former Foreign Minister, have no place in it. The Cabinet crisis was brought to a head by Prince Starhemberg's telegram to Mussolini congratulating him on the victorious conclusion of the war in Abyssinia, which telegram contained strong censures against democracy. The new Government has stated its chief aim to be the concentration of all the patriotic forces, and to further this Herr Schuschnigg has taken over the leadership of the Patriotic Front. The Heimwehr will continue to be represented in the Cabinet by Herr Baar-Baarenfels, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has also been appointed Vice-Chancellor. These changes do not signify any shifting in Austria's foreign policy. This is patent from the telegrams Herr Schuschnigg sent to Signor Mussolini and General Gombos immediately after the formation of his new Cabinet. In them he stated that the Austrian Government not only adhered firmly to the successful policy laid down in the Rome Pact, but also desired to strengthen the bonds of friendship with Italy and Hungary.

THE PRESENT LEAGUE IS NOT THE LEAGUE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

In the House of Lords (March 11) the Earl of Mansfield among other things pointed out: "That in the opinion of this House (a) the Covenant of the League of Nations now stands in need of revision for the purpose of removing any unconditional guarantee by member States of the territorial integrity and existing political independence of other member States and any necessary obligation on the League or non-member States to enforce the Covenant by any kind of sanction in cases in which it is disregarded, and (b) pending a convenient time for such revision the continued adherence of this country to the League should be made subject to reservations framed with the same purpose.”

He said that no one would quarrel with the idea for which the League of Nations was instituted, the maintaining of peace throughout the world. But there were distinct differences of opinion whether the League, in the form and with the Covenant under which it was set up, was an appropriate or convenient instrument to achieve this end, and on the success which the League had in the efforts it had made. The League as at present constituted was not the League that was in the minds of President Wilson and others who originally conceived it. A League which had never had the United States, and which had lost Germany, Japan, and Brazil, could not be regarded as a real League of Nations.

There were many countries who regarded the League of Nations purely from the point of view of what they were likely to get out of it. The most crushing indictment that could be brought against the League was that it had come to be regarded, with some justification, as a mere instrument for the preservation of the status quo. The British Government should take steps to bring about a more satisfactory state of affairs. Unless and until that was done we were always going to be faced with the menace of war. It was to be not only a potentiality but before long a certainty.”

DISTINGUISHED BRITISH VISITORS IN BUDAPEST

Sir Austen Chamberlain, former British Foreign Secretary, spent the Easter holidays in Budapest with Lady Chamberlain and his son. Although his visit to Hungary was entirely private in character, he nevertheless called upon General Gombos, the Hungarian Premier, the visit lasting an hour and a quarter. The Regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy, then received in private audience the eminent British statesman, who then lunched with the Regent, the members of his family being also present. In the house of the British Minister, Sir Geoffrey Knox, whose guest he was during his stay in Budapest, Sir Austen had an opportunity to meet several prominent members of the political and economic life of Hungary—the latter including Dr. Béla Imrédy, Governor of the National Bank of Hungary. Sir Austen, who— as is well known—is president of the Loans Control Committee of the League of Nations, inquired exhaustively into the financial affairs of Hungary.

On the Thursday of Easter week Lord and Lady Astor, accompanied by their two sons, arrived in Budapest. Their visit was entirely unofficial in character. The Regent, Admiral Horthy, received the distinguished English visitors, who spent more than an hour with him.

After his return to England Lord Astor gave an interview to a correspondent of the “Evening Herald” and made the following statement respecting his experiences in Hungary:

“One impression I gained is that certainly there must be a revision of treaties in the sense that countries like Austria and Hungary must be allowed equality of armaments.

“There will only be a sense of injustice until this is done. The action of Germany has removed any reason for refusing to give these other countries equal rights of defence. This does not mean that there would be heavy armaments in either of these countries, owing to economic stringency there.

“I am more than ever convinced that the best form of government is representative government. It is the one which is fairest all round and makes for peace. Anyone can see that the peace of Europe to-day is threatened by dictatorships, but in Yugoslavia, difficulties of establishing Parliamentary Government are very great owing to the differences of race, religion, civilization and tradition between large sections of the country which have been grouped together in one unit as a result of the war.

“The late King had to assume personal power...
owing to the breakdown of Parliamentary Government. Had he not been assassinated he would probably have endeavoured as quickly as possible to re-establish constitutional government. The Regent appears to be using his influence in the same direction. People here do not realize that in that country a section of members of Parliament refuse to attend Parliament, that disturbances in Parliament have been very violent, with an occasional shot fired. I mention this to show how difficult it is to establish Parliamentary Government.

Another impression I brought away is that we should think out very clearly our commitments. We in England in particular have talked a great deal about collective action and collective security, and, as recent events have shown, we have done this without having considered the implications and possible commitments.

"Under collective action we may, in fact, allow ourselves to be used as partners of a semi-military alliance to preserve the status quo, and not only so, but an alliance in which a certain number of the partners were unprepared to take adequate military steps to meet obligations. As a result, the enforcement of obligations may depend mainly upon a minority of the Powers.

"The British public must make up its mind whether to have limited commitments involving, if necessary, military action, or unlimited commitments, also involving military action.

"Many are beginning to think that as people face realities they will be reluctant to bind themselves to unlimited commitments involving participation in war on their part, particularly in order to maintain a status quo which in some cases is difficult to justify.

"If this is so, then we must cease using in the loose manner that we have been doing the phrases 'collective action' and 'collective security', and we must let other countries know exactly where we stand and how far we are prepared to go.

"Though the British public is probably unwilling to bind itself blindly to war in connection with the South-East of Europe, it is ready to give an undertaking to take immediate action if countries like Belgium or France are invaded.

"When the war ended there was much use of the phrase 'self determination', and small nationalities were encouraged to start separate States. As a result there has been a development of economic nationalism and an increasing stoppage of that interchange of goods on which Europe has been built up, and on which a rising standard of living depends. Until these barriers are reduced it is difficult to see how you can get prosperity, confidence, or peace.

"The longer one waits the more difficult it becomes to put things right because new vested interests are constantly being set up in the different countries. What has happened in Ireland bears this out."

Major Henry Adam Procter, British M. P., spent Easter in Budapest. He was present on Easter Sunday at the celebrations held before the National Colours, and also delivered a stirring address to the thousands of people gathered there. In the course of his speech Major Procter said that what he had seen and heard in Hungary had only strengthened his firm conviction that Hungary had been very unjustly treated. It was his firm belief that what selfish and ignorant politicians had so arbitrarily created, the forces of justice would change. In conclusion he said that it would not be long before a revision of the Treaty of Trianon took place. The crowds greeted Major Procter's announcement with a storm of applause.

In the afternoon Major Procter had tea with the Archduke Joseph Francis. On Easter Monday he visited Sátoraljaujhely, where he saw for himself that the little river Ronyva could never be considered seriously as a natural frontier. At the Paris Peace Conference it was described as a navigable stream and the frontier was drawn accordingly. From Sátoraljaujhely he returned to Budapest via Sárospatak, where he was welcomed by M. Alex Novak, rector, on behalf of the ancient Reformed Church College and by M. Julius Szabó, headmaster, on behalf of the English boarding-school founded in that town by Count Kunó Klebelsberg. In replying to them, Major Proctor declared that were he a Hungarian he would find it as impossible to acquiesce in what had happened as the Hungarians themselves. He spoke of an interesting conversation he had recently had with Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister of the Peace Conference days, who had told him that the way the Trianon frontier had been drawn did not correspond with the intentions of the then responsible factors, indeed he had been entirely misled when the new frontier was being drawn. Major Procter went on to assure the Hungarians that the two hundred members of the British House of Commons who had united to see that justice was done in this part of Europe, would never rest until their object had been accomplished.

---

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

ILLUMINATING DETAILS FROM THE NEW CZECHO-SLOVAK DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC BILL

In our last issue we referred briefly to the new Defence of the Republic Bill introduced by the Czecho-Slovak Government. Since then the Bill has passed the Senate; and in a few days it will be signed by the President of the Republic. Below will be found a few excerpts from Chapter III. of the new Bill ("Undertakings of Importance in connection with the defence of the republic"), which show what far-reaching powers are being conferred on the Czecho-Slovak Government by the legislature to enable it to enforce the most severe measures against "unreliable" elements even in times of peace.

In terms of § 18 an Order in Council may declare as important in connection with the defence of the republic a certain category of undertakings in general, the same right being exercised in respect of individual undertakings by the National Defence Ministry.
§ 19 contains the following provision: — "The authorities responsible for granting licences permitting the carrying on of undertakings of importance from the point of view of the State shall be required to ascertain also whether the persons to whom the licence is to be given are suitable or reliable from the point of view of the State? and no such licences may be given to persons whom the competent hundred (police) office has qualified as unreliable".

"Should the competent hundred (police) office in consequence of any event ascertain that the owner of any undertaking is unreliable from the point of view of the safety of the State, it shall take a decision to that effect which shall be delivered to the owner of the undertaking in question."

"Against the decision of the competent authority referred to in paragraph 2 above an appeal may be filed with the council formed in connection with the national (provincial) office to which that authority is subordinated. The decision of this council is final and definitive; the council consists of a chairman appointed by the Ministry of the Interior and of two members, one of whom shall be appointed by the Minister of National Defence, the other to be appointed by the Minister of Industry and Commerce, — or where the undertaking in question is subject to the control of another department, by the Minister who is head of that department. If so required, more than one council may be appointed to function in connection with the several provincial offices. An Order in Council shall be issued for the purpose of fixing the rules relating to the organisation of the councils, to their manner of representation before third parties in particular, to the adjustment of the matters belonging to their jurisdiction and to the manner of carrying their decisions into effect.

Where the legal owner of any undertaking of importance from the point of view of the Defence of the Republic who has been described officially as unreliable fails to comply with the demand of the competent authority that the decision qualifying any undertaking from the point of view of national defence to be administered under official control.

Under § 21 undertakings of importance from the point of view of national defence may not employ persons who are politically unreliable. Should any of the persons referred to above have been officially designated as unreliable and the owner of the undertaking in question nevertheless fail to comply with the demand of the competent authority to replace the said person or persons within a fixed period of time by appointing a suitable person or suitable persons in his (their) stead, the authority may appoint another person (other persons) to sit on the board of directors, management or committee of supervision respectively of the undertaking in question, or 2. may — or rather shall — on the proposal of the National Defence Ministry deprive the undertaking in question of its concession or of any other licence authorising it to carry on its business, — or 3. may — or rather shall — for such period as may prove necessary at the expense of its owner place the administration of the undertaking in question under control.

Under § 21 undertakings of importance from the point of view of national defence may not employ persons who are politically unreliable in any capacity whatever. As soon as he is informed by the competent authority that the decision qualifying any employee as politically unreliable has become law, the owner of any such undertaking is required to at once dismiss from his employ the person in question and also to provide that the operations of the undertaking shall not in consequence be in any way interrupted. Should the said owner fail to comply with his duties in this respect, an Order in Council may — or rather shall — place the said undertaking under official control.

§§ 20—21 contain provisions relative to the taking of decisions ascertaining the fact of unreliability and to appeals against such decision analogous to those contained in § 19.

No "foreigners" may without the previous approval of the military administration be employed in undertakings of importance from the point of view of...
MAY, 1936

HUNGARIAN POLITICIANS PERSECUTED

The Supreme Court of Justice in Kassa has sentenced Deputy Joseph Szent-Ivány, one of the leaders of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia, to three months’ gaol for an article in the Budapest daily, the “Pester Lloyd”, in which he disputed views expressed by Mme Anna Kethly, Member of the Hungarian Parliament (Social Democrat). Szent-Ivány’s defence was that the German translation of his article written in Hungarian was not exact, and that when he read it he complained about it to the editor of the "Pester Lloyd". But the Court pronounced what for the offence was a very severe sentence, without permitting Szent-Ivány to prove his statement.

The police magistrate in Kassa has sentenced M. Ladislas Tost, Vice-Burgomaster of the town, who is a Hungarian by race, to seven days’ imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 Czech crowns for “a breach of public order”. His offence was that at the general assembly of the municipality on February 27th he had protested with the words "No, no, never Brepta!" against a Czech architect of that name being appointed supervisor of the building of the elementary school in the northern ward, the town having its own regular architectural expert. The sentence caused great consternation among the inhabitants, particularly because Burgomaster Maxon himself, who had been chairman of the meeting, gave evidence at the trial that he had taken M. Tost’s remark as a jest, and had therefore not seen it necessary to rebuke him for it.

DATA TYPICALLY ILLUSTRATIVE OF HUNGARIAN EDUCATION IN SLOVAKIA

M. Géza Szüllő, President of the Parliamentary Club of the Hungarian Deputies and Senators, in his last question to the Minister of Public Education said that although the mother-tongue of at least 60% of the pupils attending the state school in Nagyborwa was Hungarian, and although the children could not speak any other language, no teaching was done in Hungarian. In fact the headmaster, M. Jan Piaček, was strictly forbidden the scholars to speak Hungarian. M. Piaček had slapped one pupil for speaking in that language with his class-fellows. He had also forbidden the children to address each other in Hungarian in the streets. The other teacher of the school was a Moravian who could not speak a word of Hungarian. The Hungarian children had hitherto received religious instruction in their mother-tongue from the Rev. Mr. Stefanović, the parish priest of Egyházfa, but M. Piaček now insisted on its being imparted in “Czecho-Slovak”. The priest protested and asked for a meeting of the parents to be convened for the purpose of deciding the language in which they wished their children to receive religious instruction. The headmaster prevented the meeting. Thanks to his intervention the children were also forbidden to pray in Hungarian in church. M. Piaček had always discriminated in favour of his Slovak pupils. When, for instance, Christmas gifts of clothes, boots and underclothing were being distributed, only Slovak children got any, although there were many among the Hungarians more in need of aid.

SLOVAKS COMPLETELY OUSTED BY CZECHS FROM CIVIL SERVICE

Of the 553 officials employed in the Railway Head Office in Pozsony (Bratislava) only 81 (14.6%) are Slovak nationals. Only 12 (14.2%) of the 85 officials holding university degrees, 1 (20%) of the five head councillors, 6 (16.6%) of the 36 councillors and 3 (8.8%) of the 34 engineers are Slovaks. There is not one Slovak among the referendaries on matters concerning the personnel. ("Slovak May 1."). These fig-
ures prove how the Czechs who have settled in Slovakia since 1918 refuse to give the Slovaks a chance of getting their share of work in the railway service. In other branches of public service the situation of the Slovaks is even worse.

---

THE SITUATION IN RUTHENIA

M. Charles Hokky, a Hungarian Senator for Ruthenia, in his recent speech on the Budget in the Prage Senate made the following statements illustrative of social conditions in that Ruthenia which for sixteen years has been urging its claim to the autonomy guaranteed in the Treaty of Saint Germain.

The Provincial Office in Ungvar demands the sums required for the material expenses of the state schools from the Ruthenian towns and villages, although this practice has been condemned as illegal by the Supreme Court of Administration in Prague. This burden makes it impossible for the villages to meet the most elementary requirements of hygiene, such as the laying of water pipes and the construction of sewers. Epidemics literally rage, and typhus, scarlet fever and other contagious diseases take a terrible toll of victims among adults as well as children. Because of the lack of running water, the water supply in Beregszasz, Nagyszollós and many other places is inadequate, and the wells are so foul that they are simply hot-beds of contagious diseases. The villages, towns, and even the Province itself, are so heavily in debt that they are bound hand and foot. The villages have no money to pay the salaries of their officials, still less to clear themselves of debt. There was a time when in many a village the inhabitants were exempt from the burden of taxation because the village itself paid their taxes for them. This is all changed now.

Today the population groans under the burdens heaped on its shoulders and the State refuses to assist, in vain did M. Hokky apply to Government to declare the district of Nagyszollós a "distressed" zone. In 1933 it was laid waste by floods, in 1934 by terrible hailstorms and in 1935 by drought, so that every reason was forthcoming to declare it a "distressed" zone. But no, the petition was refused. Farmers, craftsmen and shopkeepers are insolvent to an incredible extent. The unemployed receive practically no aid the whole winter through. While hundreds of millions (Czech crowns) were paid out to the working classes in the historical provinces, the starving in the Hungarian districts were grudged a few thousands.

---

SUDETA GERMAN PARTY’S PETITION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Sudeta German Party (Henlein Party) has submitted to the League of Nations a petition signed by all its members — deputys and senators. It is a protest against the decree issued by the Czecho-Slovak War Ministry in re, military supplies, which ordains that enterprises in the hands of German nationals may not supply the army unless they employ the requisite number of "Czecho-Slovak" national officials and workmen. The petition asks for a League of Nations' commissioner to investigate the matter on the spot and see for himself the results of the decree.

---

RUMANIA

SAXON OPINION OF NEW ANTI-MINORITY LAWS

Now that this last Parliamentary session is over we publish below a few statements made by Saxons, in order to show that the laws recently passed seriously affect not only the Hungarians in Transylvania, but also the Saxons.

An important newspaper, the “Kronstädtter Zeitung” (9th April 1936, Vol. C.) says in its leader: — "The German people may be said to draw a breath of relief when Parliament rises, for while the recess lasts, at least no new laws can be passed to undermine the existence of the German race. The situation of the Germans is bad when Parliament is in session; it is bad even when there is no Parliament; but it is worst of all when, as in the present instance, laws, one more important than the other, are introduced and passed before there is time even to go through them properly."

The "Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tageblatt" of 8th April 1936 (Vol. LXXXIII) says: — "The Parliamentary session just over has also been responsible for heavy losses to the Germans, for great dangers and bitter misunderstandings. Both the new Administration Act and the Industry Act are prejudicial to the racial and economic existence of the German people. State grants have again been withheld from the schools, although that constitutes a violation of the minority treaties. Our volunteer fire-brigades have been disbanded."

In his speech on the Budget Dr. Hans Otto Roth, leader of the German parliamentary group, pointed out that German denominational schools did not receive any grants, while 20,578,000 lei had been set apart this year for the Rumanian minority schools in Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania, although the number of Rumanian nationals in those countries was considerably smaller than that of the Germans in Rumania. Dr. Roth was of opinion that the State was doing "its level best to ruin the Germans economically first, so that it might be able the easier to curb them politically afterwards. ("Kronstädtter Zeitung" 4th April 1936, No. 79 and "Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tageblatt" 5th April 1936 No. 18991.)

---

COURT MARTIAL FOR HISTORICAL ESSAYS

Dr. Martin Roska, one of the directors of the Archaeological Institute of the Rumanian University of Sciences, an archaeologist well-known even outside the frontiers of Transylvania, wrote three essays on "Prehistoric Transylvania", "Transylvania and the period of the Migration of the Peoples" and "The original settlement and Transylvania" for a work entitled "Historical Transylvania" published in Budapest by the Society of Transylvanians. For these three essays court martial proceedings were instituted against Dr. Roska, and his flat was ransacked. In these new essays Dr. Roska had adhered to the theory expounded in earlier essays of his which appeared in 1913, 1914, and 1927, viz. that the Hungarians made their appearance in Transylvania in 896 A. D. and not after the lapse of the first millennium after the birth of Christ; and he did not use the Rumanian names that were given to places in Transylvania first
after 1919. Dr. Roska's three archaeological essays are entirely unbiased. They are scientific works and to court martial the author is a flagrant insult to the principle freedom of thought.

---

HUNGARIAN MEMORIAL TABLETS REMOVED

After the Szatmár memorial tablet to Alexander Petőfi had been removed by order of the Minister for the Interior, four others of Hungarian historical interest were removed from the walls of buildings in Nagyvárð (Oradea Mare). Two of them marked the birthplaces of famous Hungarians, the great actor Edward Szigişeti (1814—1878) and Desiderius Szilágyi (1840—1901) an eminent authority on Hungarian law who was also Minister of Justice; a third showed the house in which General Alexander Nagy who died a martyr's death in 1849 passed his youth, and the fourth, set in the church of St. Ladislas, commemorated the end of Turkish rule in Hungary. ("Keleti Ujság", May 7.) These memorial tablets were no offence to Rumanian national feelings, but their removal has given rise to deep bitterness in the hearts of two million Hungarians.

---

ARBITRARY ATTEMPTS TO RUMANIANIZE FAMILY NAMES

The Hungarian Party in the County of Arad on the strength of the new Names Act has applied for protection against the endeavours of the authorities to rumanianize family names. These endeavours begin to assume increasingly extensive proportions. ("Keleti Ujság", May 2).

---

THE LANGUAGE TESTS

In four counties of Transylvania 106 minority midwives have been dismissed because of their failure to pass the language tests. ("Népujság", April 20.) In Arad 17 minority football referees were plunged in that examination, and were consequently struck off the list of persons authorized to act as referees at football matches. ("Brassó Lapok", April 20.)

---

DUTIES ON HUNGARIAN BOOKS

An international treaty provides that books shall be duty-free. This treaty was signed by Rumania too. And yet the Rumanian Minister of Commerce and the Customs Department have imposed a duty on all bound books from foreign countries. It is called a "luxury duty" and this duty of 32 lei per kilogramme is on the bindings which, no matter how poor they may be, are classified among the articles called "luxuries". Seising that French books are usually in paper covers, this measure applies primarily to Hungarian books, now that it has become the fashion in Budapest to publish most books in a bound form.

---

LATEST MEASURES AGAINST RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

All the clergy belonging to the religious minorities in Fogașar have been summoned to police headquarters, where the Head of the Police force has read to them a decree forbidding assemblies or religious meetings of any kind whatsoever except Divine Service in the churches. ("Brassó Lapok", April 24, 1936, No. 95.) The Reformed Church minister in Déva has been informed by the police that no religious meetings may be held in the church in future without a special permit. ("Keleti Ujság", May 1, 1936). Although under the minority treaties the principle of equal treatment for the majority and minority denominations should be in force, we see that the State grants to the minority denominations have been reduced by 80%, whereas the grants to the Rumanian clergy have suffered a reduction of only 8.25%. The grants accorded to clergy-men in the same status are distributed thus: Greek Orientalists 3200, Greek Catholics 3000, Evangelicals 2900, Calvinists 1800, and Unitarians 1200 lei a head. The purely Hungarian Calvinist denomination has suffered a cut of 13,000,000 and the Unitarians one of 2,400,000 lei. ("Keleti Ujság", April 16, 1936).

---

YUGOSLAVIA

INTERESTING STATEMENTS AT GENERAL CONGRESS OF DOBROVOLIACI

The Yugoslav dobrovoliaci (war volunteers) in Belgrade on April 26th held a congress attended by about 5000 men. It was a jubilee meeting to commemorate the formation twenty years ago of the first detachment of war volunteers in Russia. At the congress mention was made amongst other things of the fact that in 1919 and for a few years after, at the time when the dobrovoliaci were getting free grants of land, most of the dobrovoliaci certificates were sold for money at a price ranging between 5000 and 10,000 dinars to men who had never been at the front. It is typical in connection with these certificates that 35,000 of them were issued, although previous official records show that at the end of the war the number of genuine war volunteers did not exceed 10,000. From what the congress speakers said, it may be gathered that the settlement of war volunteers in the new territories, especially in the Voivodina, is intended to raise a strong barrier against the attacks expected from the north (?), and also to insure if possible a majority of "national elements" in the minority districts. According to the speakers the settlement has been a success from a nationalist point of view so far that it has raised the percentage of "Yugoslav" national elements to 45% of the total population in Bácska, Baranya and the Banate, that is to say in the Voivodina. But viewed from an economic standpoint the settlement has been less of a success, for the war volunteers lacking "adequate financial resources" (?) are not able to work their fields properly, they have fallen into debt and are being compelled to sell the land and their other possessions for next to nothing to Hungarians and Germans.

---

Creative Commons Attribution 4.0
These statements call for certain corrections and comments. If this 45% result took seventeen and a half years to achieve and even then has been brought about only by the settlement of dobrovoliaci and chetniks (or komitachi), the departure of optants and refugees, the importation from Serbia and Montenegro of officials, employees and soldiers, and the influx of masses of immigrants, numbering over 100,000 — then we may take it as a fresh proof of the irreproachable fact that the Voivodina was attached to Serbia against the will of the majority of the inhabitants by a wofully misled Peace Conference.

As regards the allegation that the war volunteers are not doing well on the land they got for nothing, all that can be said is that their failure is not due to a want of "adequate financial resources", but to their inefficiency, lack of industry, and carelessness. The war volunteers, settled mainly on land belonging to the Hungarian villages, and the other Southern Slav settlers, not content with enjoying a maximum of financial and moral support from the State and corporations, fail even to pay the interest on and sinking fund instalments of the loans received from the State for building purposes; so that recently the State was forced to waive the greater part of their debts and to prolong the term of amortization. Besides this, they persistently refuse to pay communal sur-taxes, their contributions to draining and dyking charges and other duties, and are allowed to do so without incurring the displeasure of the law. What the effects of their illegal behaviour are, especially on the Hungarian villages in the neighbourhood of their settlements, may be seen at Temerin, an almost purely Hungarian village, which has hitherto been compelled under various pretexts to invest 2,000,000 dinars in the adjacent dobrovoliaci settlement, while the settlement owes the village over 2,500,000 dinars for arrears of sur-taxes.

Because of these conditions, which would be inconceivable anywhere else, some of the Hungarian villages have been brought to the brink of financial ruin.

PROMISES AND REALITY

In one of its April issues the "Samouprava", the mouthpiece of the Radical Party (Government Party), invited the minorities to join the Government Party; in return for this they may hope that their grievances will be redressed and their claims complied with "within the limits of the law". It is not the first time that the Government, or its Party, has approached the minorities in such a flattering manner, but so far such promises have never been followed by actions. Nor is it likely that the situation will change now. The following cases seem to confirm our opinion. At the end of last year the municipal council of Zenta, a city with a considerable Hungarian majority, submitted a memorandum to the Ministry of Education, asking it to allow the city to re-open at its own expense the four upper classes of the grammar school, which the Ministry had some years ago degreed to a lower-grade school (with only four lower classes). The petition was refused by the Ministry (on April 23rd), that meaning that the 30,000 Hungarians living near the river Tisza (in Yugoslavia) are not allowed to have a Hungarian secondary school even at their own expense. The new municipal council of the city of Ujvidék (Novisad) which was appointed on April 14th, has only five Hungarian members, though the minority, forming one third of the population, would be entitled to hold at least 18 seats on the Council.

BOOKS

V. M. Goblet's "The Twilight of Treaties" Translated from the French by Warre Bradley Wells. (London, G. Bell and Sons Ltd.)

M. Goblet is a famous French geographer. In this work of his he proves that without an accurate knowledge of natural circumstances, geographical conditions and cohesion, it is impossible to settle successfully the political conflicts that arise among the nations. Statesmen, on the whole, are inclined to treat international intercourse and the clashes that disturb it from a political point of view, and solely as legal questions. And yet the problems which set the nations against one another cannot be solved satisfactorily unless facts and the given circumstances are taken into account, and the actual needs of the living communities of the human race supplied. The nature of a region, its geographical situation, its natural resources, the way of life of its inhabitants, their possibilities of livelihood and wage-earning, are all factors closely linked together. Political attempts to eliminate coherence and interdependence, and to distribute the component parts among other kinds of circumstances, are costly, dangerous and usually futile experiments. The spirit of modern times will not brook such artificial and forced adjustments. It is high time to allow the points of view of geography, natural history and economics free scope.

In connection with the decisive influence of the geographical factors the author treats separately of the Saar, Schleswig, Danzig, Austria, Mandsukuo, Abyssinia and the Chaco — all of them problems towards which the attention of public opinion has been directed during the past few years. M. Coblet considers Mandsukuo, for instance, a sort of extraneous, separate province of the Chinese Empire, which never was an integral part of China proper, and the development of which has naturally led to its separation from the latter. Two possibilities existed. Either Mandsukuo would belong to China, or a new political formation would arise and link Korea with Mandsukuo and Inner Mongolia. Geographical factors were against the first solution. But they could never have accomplished what they did without Japan's political intervention. Japan, on the other hand, would have...
had no chance of success without the support of the geographical factors.

We of the Danube Valley are most particularly interested by what the author states as his opinion of Austria's problems. In his eyes the great trouble with the present little Austria created by the peace treaties has been that she could not think except in the ideology of the past. The Holy Roman Empire had passed away; the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy had followed it; and little Austria was born. But for a time she continued to live in the old ideology, and wanted to join the republicanized German Empire. That, however, was not her place. She must become the centre of the Danube Valley.

New Austria as a homogeneous national State was ideal; for her inhabitants were all Germans. Her most burning problem was Vienna, which houses one third of the entire population. Prior to the great war Vienna had been the centre of the banking and trade organizations of Central Europe, and as such an international city. In the great past of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Vienna had not merely become an Imperial city, but also an international centre. It cannot prosper except as a center of trade and communication. Present Austria's greatest trouble is that the roads leading to her traditional markets are blocked by customs barriers. In the time of the Monarchy Vienna was the channel of commerce towards the Balkans and the Levant. It was more of an international clearing-house than a market of local production and consumption.

If Austria proved strong enough to cope with the Nazi peril she should be called upon to play a very important rôle, small though she is. The Austrian Republic — i.e. Vienna — might become the clearing-house of continental trade and the centre and channel of communications, commerce and banking. But the sine qua non of Austria's regeneration is that she and the other States of the Danube Valley shall restore free intercourse and free trade among themselves and develop on a larger scale the throbbing economic life that in the past existed in the uniform, great customs area of the old Monarchy.

In many respects the author's views on Austria are our own; but we regret that he did not make a separate study of the Hungarian question. For if there ever was an area in the world that formed a perfect geographical unit, the inhabitants of which were, so to say, compelled by the forces of nature to live in a common economic frame, it was pre-war Hungary encircled by the belt of the Carpathians. And the restoration of her integrity is a sine qua non of economic prosperity. If anywhere, it is in Hungary that the arbitrary and artificial international treaties — the Treaty of Trianon which refused to take into account natural circumstances and the dictates of geography and economics — have created such an intolerable situation that a renaissance in these areas, which would be a blessing to the whole of mankind, is only conceivable if the twilight of the Treaty of Trianon comes very rapidly.

George Lukács.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

BULGARIA

EXPORT TRADE IN FIRST QUARTER

The total value of Bulgaria's exports in the first three months of this year amounted to 858 million leva, while her imports represented a value of 704 million leva. The quarterly balance shows an excess of exports of 154 million leva as against an excess of imports of 85 million leva last year. The bulk of both import and export transactions were negotiated with Germany.

---

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

UNEMPLOYMENT

According to the reports of the Public Employment Offices the number of unemployed at the end of April amounted to 797,770.

---

60% OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS UNDERFED

A conference was recently held by the Czechoslovak Institute of Public Welfare and the Commission delegated to study the Czechoslovak economic plan, to lay down the principles of consumption and nourishment; on this occasion it was stated that, if we base our calculations on the economic and social situation of a working family of five, not more than 40% of the industrial workers are in a position to secure normal nourishment, while the other 60% are underfed.

---

1.4% MORE WHEAT-LAND

Discussing the current problems of agriculture, the "Prager Presse", the Czechoslovak semi-official organ, declares that it is exceedingly important to provide for the regulation of arable land as soon as possible. The Ministry of Agriculture must insist on the enforcement of its orders referring to the regulation of arable land. The statistical reports show that farmers have not obeyed these orders, so that — in defiance of the regulations — the total amount of wheat-land has been increased by 1.4%.
43% OF CAPACITY OF BREWERIES UTILISED LAST YEAR

The report read before the general meeting of the breweries in Czecho-Slovakia states that the total amount of beer brewed last year amounted to 7,477,078 hl, which corresponds to only 43% of the working capacity of the breweries. Compared with the records of 1934 beer production has fallen by 3.1%.

DESTINATION IN SUDETA GERMAN AREAS

An appalling illustration of the destitution obtaining in the German areas of Czecho-Slovakia has been reported in the Czecho-Slovak press: — Dr J. Palma, an articled clerk of Warnsdorf, lost his job at the beginning of May. He therefore applied to the authorities for a hawker's licence. His application was rejected, and in a fit of despair the young man hanged himself on a tree. When he was discovered by passers-by, life was extinct.

HUNGARY

RAILWAY TRAFFIC INCREASING

According to the figures published by the Ministry of Finance, the number of passengers on the Hungarian State Railways in March was almost 5,500,000, an increase of over 1,000,000 as compared with the same period last year. An improvement was also noticeable in goods traffic. The quantity of goods carried was about 1,200,000 tons, an increase of 5,000 tons as compared with last March. Truck-loads advanced from 80,787 to 86,903. Accordingly the returns this March were 16,800,000 pengő as against 13,600,000 in the March of the past year.

INCREASED EXPORT OF PIGS

New foreign markets were found last year for Hungarian pigs. As a result the value of this line of exports rose from 34,700,000 pengő in 1934 to 70,200,000 pengő in 1935; this exceeded the value of exports in grain. Compared with the value of Hungary's aggregate exports, the proportion rose from 8.5% in 1934 to 15.3% in 1935, so that pigs form one-sixth of Hungary's sum total of exports.

The increase of exports of live pigs was due to the increased purchasing power of the old markets and also partly to the agreement concluded last year with Czecho-Slovakia.

The biggest item in the export of pork was the quantity, bought by Germany determined by Germany's food supply problems. It must be remembered that the number of pigs in Germany had sunk from 22,400,000 in 1934 to 20,000,000 in 1935. Germany also provided a market for Hungarian lard and bacon, the exportation of which articles to that country was stipulated in the commercial treaty concluded in 1934 and prolonged in 1935. Great Britain may also be included among the new markets. The sudden rise in the price of American lard in 1935 opened up a market in Britain for Hungary's surplus stocks.

FINANCE MINISTER DR. FABINYI ON THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION OF HUNGARY

On May 18th. Dr. Tihomir Fabinyi, Minister of Finance, closed the debate on the Estimates in the Lower House, making a long speech, from which we publish the following excerpts:

The economic situation shows a decided tendency to improve. The important question in principle is the maintenance of the value of our currency.

The Minister considered it important that the deficit should gradually be reduced. That was symbolised already in the present Estimates with their — slight, but significant — decrease of the shortage by 200,000 pengő. Countries far more wealthy than Hungary were operating at losses which were relatively too greater than that shown by the Hungarian Budget. The proportion of the deficit of our Budget consisting of actual Treasury shortage was comparatively slight.

In the case of the State Railways the work of rationalisation had achieved great results, which far exceeded those shown in the same field by foreign railways. It was impossible to entirely eliminate the shortage on operations of the State Railways, partly as a consequence of the additional charges devolving upon those railways under the Treaty of Trianon, and partly owing to the benefits which have necessarily — in defiance of mere business considerations — to be conferred on the economic (and in particular on the agrarian) life of the country. The deficit shown by the State machine factory had declined by 825,000 pengő. In the case of the latter undertaking too the enormous charges resulting from indebtedness and pensions were making their effect felt; as also was the fact that the equipment of the plants had not been renewed for a very long time.

In the case of personal expenditure too there was a certain improvement in evidence as compared with the previous year, seeing that the ration of personal expenditure to the aggregate amount of expenditure — which in 1924/25 had been 33.5% — had in 1935/36 decreased to 30.8% and in the present Estimates had been reduced to just about 30%. In those countries which were not compelled to so strictly restrict their expenditure, the personal expenditure represented a smaller percentage of the aggregate expenditure than it did in Hungary.

The Minister of Finance also announced a reform to be submitted shortly to the House in the matter of dues payable for the administration of justice. There was need also for a reform of the income tax affecting movables and of company taxation. The Order in Council recently issued to exempt from ta-
RATION of houses (apartments) consisting only of a room and a kitchen, had met with universal approval.

The investments programme of Government opened up a new period, including as it did the irrigation and canalisation of the Lowlands and in connection herewith also the regulation of the river Körös. The programme embraced further the afforestation and strengthening of the Lowlands.

General approval had greeted the appearance of the system of uniform premium (on foreign exchanges). The maintenance of the standard therewith fixed was the common interest of us all; and that referred also to the level of prices, which in the case of agrarian produce had risen to a very gratifying extent, the result being that the divergence between agrarian and industrial prices had shrunk more than in any other year for some time.

The Minister hoped that the simplification of the credit organisation hitherto operative would be followed by further rationalisation measures on the part of the banking companies too. The recent amalgamation of the agrarian institutes had resulted in a gratifying strengthening of confidence both in Hungary and abroad. There were already several encouraging symptoms pointing to a gradual strengthening of the credit life of the country. One of the factors acting towards that issue was the adjustment of the debts of the agrarian classes.

RUMANIA

DEFAULTS ON LOAN SERVICES AND LOSES CREDIT IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The "Universul" of May 2nd contains a remarkable article on the recent negotiations in Bucharest re methods of payment. It says: "The conclusion of foreign commercial and financial agreements and their subsequent amendment has become an everyday entertainment for the Rumanian Government. Agreements are concluded and then — broken. When one has been signed and ratified, the signatories immediately decide that it cannot be put into execution. And their decision is always based on the same explanation viz. the Rumanian State finds it impossible to fulfil the obligations undertaken. This is what has happened to the agreements re payments made with Britain, France, and Holland, indeed also to those concluded with countries such as Egypt, Greece, Turkey, etc. with which Rumania has a favourable trade balance. And, what is more curious still, Rumania has proved unable to discharge her obligations even when the creditor States themselves have come to her assistance, and to no mean extent either, by offering to buy from her a large quantity of commodities, or to raise substantially the quotas of their imports from Rumania. This has happened in the case of Great Britain. Britain was ready to accept Rumanian wheat and maize in lieu of the obligations undertaken but not fulfilled. Rumania, however, could not pay even in this way. In view of these circumstances Britain again sent representatives to negotiate with Rumania, but the Rumanian circles concerned displayed anew their usual flurry, unpreparedness, shilly-shallying, hesitation, and confusion. However, foreigners are not accustomed to that sort of thing and when it is forced on their notice that these phenomena are habitual Rumanian traits, they are bound to lose faith in the Rumanian State. This is the reason why the present régime has completely spoilt Rumania's credit in foreign markets as well as with the foreign Governments which in the given circumstances would have been willing to assist Rumania.

STATE'S SHARE OF RUMANIA'S PETROLEUM HAS PASSED INTO FRENCH HANDS

After months of negotiations the State's share of Rumanian petroleum has been bought by France. It is generally known that the making over of this petroleum to France was the most important stipulation in the Franco-Rumanian financial agreement, as the best security for Rumania's debts to France. Like Rumania's orders of arms and munitions from France, the petroleum deal will also cover a period of 12 years and the annual service will be 75,000 wagons of oil (50,000 wagons of crude oil and 25,000 wagons of petrol).

RUMANIA'S BEST AGRICULTURAL MARKET IS HUNGARY

Recent reports published by the National Institute of Rumanian Export show that the total volume of agricultural exports in the first three months amounted to 198,745 tons, as against 122,172 tons during the same period last year. This shows an increase of nearly 50% within a year. Two thirds of this amount were maize (132,675 tons); in the first quarter of 1935 nearly 50% within a year. Two thirds of this amount were maize (132,675 tons); in the first quarter of 1935

YUGOSLAVIA

CZECH COMPENSATION BUSINESS SUSPENDED BY YUGOSLAV NATIONAL BANK

M. Sourek, a Czech engineer, was sent to Belgrad by the National Bank, to represent the Czech-Slovak Government in the negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement respecting Czechoslovak clearing transactions. Czechoslovak goods transactions have hitherto been negotiated on the basis of clearing and compensation. Export and import transactions had to be approved of by the National Bank in both countries. The situation has changed since the first half of April, because the Yugoslav National Bank refuses to license compensation transactions, which will only be allowed in very rare cases. The Czech-Slovak Legation in Belgrade has repeatedly taken steps to persuade the Yugoslav Government, but its intervention has so far proved a failure. Many Czech-Slovak exporters have considerable sums lying in Yugoslavia now and they would like to mobilize these sums and realize their claims, but the Yugoslav Government — probably for this very reason — approves only of the compensation transactions of new firms.

--- y ---
ARMISTICE BETWEEN RUMANIA AND HUNGARY

The above title will seem strange to Anglo-Saxon eyes, and public opinion in western Europe will be a little bewildered to learn that a truce in sport has been concluded between Hungary and Rumania. In the west of Europe it is difficult to imagine how two countries should need to conclude peace over sport. But anyone familiar with conditions in Central Europe will know that there are countries where political differences are so acute that they penetrate into territories which have nothing at all to do with politics. The best instance of the kind was the attitude adopted by the Rumanian authorities towards the Hungarian teams, which were either refused permission to enter Rumania or the matches arranged were prohibited. These unhappy conditions acted adversely more particularly on Rumanian football itself, which was thus deprived of the advantage to be gained by matches with the Hungarian teams, whose standard is very high. This has at last — thanks to the appeals of the local circles — induced the Rumanian Government to allow regular sport relations to be resumed. When the negotiations for this object had been successfully concluded, an agreement was arrived at in Budapest at the beginning of May which provided exhaustively for the resumption of the connections that had been broken off. Hungarian public opinion was pleased to learn that the Rumanian frontier was open again to Hungarian players, all the more so as a considerable number of perhaps the best players in Rumania’s football teams are Hungarians from Transylvania.

FOOTBALL

The outstanding event of the past few weeks was the arrival of the Irish representative team. The match, however, did not prove of special interest, for most of the Hungarian players were too self confident, with the inevitable result. Although the Irish team was decidedly poorer than its opponents the match ended in a tie (3:3). In fact, at half-time the Irish were leading 2:1.

In Central European football the most important event was the English representative team’s match with Austria in Vienna. Sixty thousand spectators witnessed the game, which was won by the Austrian home team (2:1).

SWIMMING

Regular training and races have been going on all winter in the covered swimming-pool, but the Hungarian swimmers are particularly busy at present in view of the approaching Olympic Games and the other international swimming contests. As a result of this systematic work Francis Csik, who has repeatedly held several Hungarian and European titles, has established a new Hungarian record for 100 metres (57 secs). This is only 0.2 secs. behind the German Fischer’s record for Germany and Europe established but a few days ago. Csik’s record is relatively better, however, because Fischer’s was made in a 25 metre pool with three turns while Csik’s was set up in a 33 metre one with two turns. The pool for the Olympic Games will be 50 metres, so that Csik’s result must be considered better.

The Austro-Hungarian swimming contest held at the end of April was looked forward to with great interest by both nations. At the Austro-Hungarian swimming contests held since 1912 Hungary had beaten the Austrians 16 times and lost twice, one match having ended in a tie. This time, too, the Hungarians beat the Austrians in every event. At water-polo the Hungarian team, which played rather poorly, won by 6 goals to 1. The Spanish tour of the Hungarian swimmers and water-polo players is part of their training for the Olympiad. They have been winning everywhere on the tour, both in swimming and water-polo. So far they have not lost any contest.

TENNIS

With the advent of spring Budapest has been the scene of one brilliant tennis tournament after the other. Several players whose names are a household word in tennis came here to pit their skill against Hungarian or foreign players. Perry, for instance, England’s champion for some time back, played here recently, winning his matches easily. Then came Miss Jacobs and the Polish woman-champion, Mme. Jedrzejowska. On both occasions the beautifully situated Budapest courts were packed with spectators.

There have also been some interesting team matches. The Argentine Davis Cup team on its way to Greece was beaten by the Hungarians by 2:1. The Hungaro-Polish tennis tournament played according to the Davis Cup rules also ended in a victory for the Hungarians. (3:2). The Hungarian Davis Cup team was less fortunate in Dusseldorf. The Hungarian players, all of them young to the game, were beaten by the older and more experienced German team. The round tournament played in Vienna between Austria, Italy and Hungary was won by Italy. Hungary was second and Austria third.