

The
Tragedy
of
Trianon

SIR
ROBERT
DONALD

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THE
TRAGEDY OF TRIANON:
HUNGARY'S APPEAL TO HUMANITY

By
SIR ROBERT DONALD,
G.B.E., LL.D.

Introduction by
VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE



FACSIMILE OF ADHESIVE STAMP
USED BY HUNGARIANS TO DRAW THE ATTENTION
OF THE WORLD TO
THE TRAGEDY OF TRIANON

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THE TRAGEDY OF TRIANON: HUNGARY'S APPEAL TO HUMANITY

By

SIR ROBERT DONALD,
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THIS book deals with a subject with which every business man and taxpayer has direct concern. A nation can know no such condition these days as isolation, 'splendid' or otherwise. The War showed how the politics of an obscure part of South-Eastern Europe could convulse the world; and another war, in any part of Europe, must inevitably have its repercussion in every English town and hamlet.

The most pressing international problem of to-day is undoubtedly the boundary dispute between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, and it is of this that Sir Robert Donald, the well-known publicist, treats in this illuminating book. Sir Robert Donald has made exhaustive investigations in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia (where he was dogged by spies), and his striking exposure of the shabby treatment of Hungary through the Treaty of Trianon, and his plea for a revision of the terms of the treaty before Hungary's resentment leads to another war, are backed up by a wealth of first-hand knowledge, and important documents and illustrations.

THE TRAGEDY
OF TRIANON

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Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

A DANGER-SPOT IN EUROPE

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Map showing the former territory of Hungary and the area of that country as reduced by the Treaty of Trianon, with particulars of the partitions and allocation of the alienated territory to Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Rumania and Austria.

..... pre-war boundary of Hungary.
 ————— present boundary of Hungary.

THE TRAGEDY OF TRIANON

Hungary's Appeal to Humanity

by

SIR ROBERT DONALD, G.B.E., LL.B.

With an Introduction by

VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

“Peace, which by universal tradition is supposed to assume the aspect of a dove, descended upon Hungary in the form of a vulture and tore her limb from limb; tore her to pieces without the least regard to the economic interests of what remained, and left this unhappy country absolutely paralysed and impotent in the face of ancient and determined foes.”

LORD BUCKMASTER, *in the House of Lords,*
17th November, 1927



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A national symbol in wide use as decorative posters, maps, etc., or in the form of personal decorations—
buttonholes, pins, brooches, etc.

The literal translation of the epigrammatic slogan is :
“Remember and see to it, that no one forgets Trianon.”

INTRODUCTION

By

VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

The tenth anniversary of Armistice Day, ending the Great War, is approaching and South Eastern Europe is still strewn with the same inflammable material which was the cause of the last conflagration. The next decade may decide whether another catastrophe will overwhelm the world—more devastating, more brutalising than the last holocaust of humanity—and seal the doom of Western civilisation. There is, in my opinion, no escape from this grave danger if things are allowed to drift.

Public opinion throughout the world must be educated to realise the peril which menaces mankind. This volume by Sir Robert Donald is the result of several years' study of the situation in Central and South Eastern Europe. Sir Robert is an independent journalist and an experienced investigator. He presents a strong case supported by striking facts, gathered by painstaking inquiries on the spot. His book is a valuable contribution towards the enlightenment of public opinion on the momentous issues raised by the oppression of Minority races and the non-observance of Minority Treaties. His indictment is well documented and his revelations of the treatment, by the governments of Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, of Hungarians will be new to many English readers. The conduct of the Czechs, whose cynical disregard of Treaty rights and of their own Constitution is described with some detail, is a challenge which must be met.

The author is quite right in devoting special attention to Czecho-Slovakia—the country which I have described as

“Europe’s powder magazine.” The Czechs put forward an audacious claim to be the most cultured people in the Succession States. They play a notable—frequently at Geneva a dominating—part in shaping continental politics and they have been accepted by western countries as the finest flower raised by the Peace Treaties in the gardens of Versailles. The Czechs are extremely sensitive to foreign opinion and make strenuous and, it is said, lavish efforts to cultivate it. The author of this book describes them as heartless and cruel in their treatment of the Hungarian Minority whose ill fate it is to be incorporated in the polyglot State of Czecho-Slovakia. The Czechs treat Minority races worse than they were ever treated themselves in the bad old days before the War. They suffer—like other races in the new States—from the strange misapprehension that two wrongs make a right, and that they are entitled, as a measure of national policy, to deprive racial Minorities of their rights and confiscate their property because in pre-war days, or in remote ages, other dominating or conquering races are alleged to have done the same to their ancestors. To end for ever such outrages inflicted by one race on another was one of the objects for which the Allies poured out their blood and treasure in the Great War. These sacrifices were made to free the oppressed—including the Czechs, whose freedom was won for them by others. In some respects the Magyar Minorities suffer more crying injustices from the Rumanians than they do from the Czechs, and the author includes an account of their illegalities and outrages in his indictment.

It was from a sense of the danger which might at any moment provoke another war in Central Europe that I took up the cause of mutilated Hungary. Of all the Treaties which followed the Great War the Treaty of Trianon is the most indefensible. It has left a festering sore in the heart of Europe which will never heal until existing wrongs are redressed. The Peace Treaties were never intended to be sacrosanct. The experience of nine years has proved that rectification of the frontiers of crippled Hungary is imperative if peace is to be preserved and economic progress assured. We want a new Locarno for Central Europe and the Balkans.

Sir Robert Donald considers that the first thing to be done is to hold an enquiry into the administration of the Minority Treaties, which should be one of the functions of the League of Nations; it is provided for in the Covenant. There are objections to this method. In the first place the League of Nations has a predilection for recognising faits accomplis, however unjust the deeds may have been. An enquiry under its auspices might probably be prejudiced and not free from suspicion. The League Council is on occasion stampeded by a strong man who takes a decided stand, but more often its policy is directed by subtle wire pulling in the background. Moreover, the League would be unspeakably slow in an enquiry of the kind contemplated. Procrastination, as we have seen in the case of the Hungarian optants in Rumania, is the usual course adopted to sidetrack a solution. If an enquiry into the working of the Minority Treaties—which hardly seems necessary, in view of the flagrant way in which they have been broken—is to be undertaken, then I think it should be carried out under the auspices of the great powers (Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States)—whose delegates at Paris were chiefly responsible for the Peace Treaties. Plebiscites should be held under the supervision of the United States and of countries which were neutral in the Great War.

I have pointed out that no reasonable being can contemplate revision of Treaties, involving rectification of frontiers, by force of arms. At the same time, if causes of war are allowed to persist and the will to peace does not dominate public opinion, then an outburst may take place and uncontrollable forces be let loose. Now is the time for readjustment to be taken in hand, for pacific influences to be put into operation.

There are other potent forces which can be brought into play to convince the Governments of the Succession States, who are draining the life blood of the Hungarians within their territory, of their folly. These are economic and financial factors, including the powerful financial houses of London and New York. Together with the League of Nations they should satisfy the new States that it is in their own interests for their stability, progress, and even self-preservation that they should co-operate

in removing the potential causes of war. I have already said that "we ought to root up all the dry grass and dead timber of the Treaty of Trianon before some chance spark sets fire to it. Once the conflagration has started it will be too late."

I welcome this volume on "the Tragedy of Trianon" as an important and informative contribution on the gravest of European problems.

ROTHERMERE.

THE TRAGEDY OF TRIANON

CHAPTER I

THE ALLIES AND THE TREATY OF TRIANON

IN January 1914 Hungary was suffering from the repercussions of the Balkan Wars. The first war of 1912 was caused by the failure of Turkey to carry out provisions of the Treaty of Berlin in regard to the protection of Minorities—an ominous precedent. The settlement which followed the second war under the Treaty of Bucharest—August 1913—when sections of one people were transferred to the rule of another race whom they hated, left a shadow of war still hanging over the Balkans. The seething pot of racial hate was almost boiling over. Hungary was a centre of the threatened outburst: its Government was striving to suppress the turbulent racial Minorities: the second Balkan League was anti-Magyar.

When I visited Budapest in January 1914 I observed that the threatened revolts were only quelled by the firm statesmanship of Count Stephen Tisza, the Prime Minister. As he stood out a conspicuous figure in the war which was to follow and was involved in the fate which overtook his country, I will give some impressions

which I gathered from interviews with him and of the state of Hungary at the time.

Count Tisza was a strong character, a Calvinist, a man whose mission was guided by faith expressed on Cromwellian principles. He ruled with an iron hand. His life was frequently threatened; he was challenged to one duel after another, and won them all. He stalked calmly through riotous crowds in the streets unarmed, and was untouched. His admirers thought he was a man of fate who led a providential charmed life. Tisza was sustained by strong religious convictions, high moral character and unflinching courage. At the time of my visit he was engaged in fighting obstruction on the part of the Minority members of Parliament. The dissenting members—Czechs, Serbs, Rumanians—tried to wear down Tisza by interminable speeches and systematic obstruction. Angry discussions in Parliament developed into fierce combats. Ink-stands and other missiles were hurled at Tisza and revolvers were fired at him in the Chamber. He remained imperturbable. The object of the organised riots and obstruction was to bring Parliament to a standstill.

Tisza realised quite well that there was no stability or permanency in the governance of Hungary as then constituted. The Croats had been granted autonomy, and other races demanded equal rights. He recognised that concessions had to be made. At the time he was struggling to rehabilitate his country from the reactions caused by the Balkan wars. The cost of mobilisation had not then been met.

Like all Hungarian statesmen Tisza expressed his admiration for England and for British institutions. It was the last thing that he could have wished, to see his country at war with England. He was a Liberal of the old English school—always following England, as he admitted, forty or fifty years afterwards.

Tisza always fought for the individuality of Hungary against Austrian ascendancy and the military domination of Vienna. He wished to hold aloof from all Balkan entanglements. Two years before the Balkan War of 1912 he declared in a communication to the King that Hungary did not want to promote the hegemony of the Balkan Peninsula and would not agree to a partition.

This policy of individuality sustained by Tisza expressed itself after the tragedy of Serajevo, which plunged Europe into the Great War. When that catastrophe overtook civilisation, Tisza was the one statesman of vision representing the Central Powers. He was the only one who fought for a peaceful solution; having failed, then for narrowing the field of conflict. On 1st July 1914 he alone of the Austro-Hungarian ministers protested against a conflict being provoked before acceptable conditions had been formulated for submission to Serbia. He then pleaded against imposing such humiliating terms on Serbia as would make war inevitable. At the Common Council of the Dual Monarchy on 7th July 1914 he raised his voice again against resorting to war without exhausting all the powers

of diplomacy to prevent it. He foresaw, however the War might end, whether limited to the sphere of the Balkans or extended to a European conflagration, Hungary would lose. Should the Central Powers win, she would become more subordinate to Austro-German hegemony, against which he had fought all his life; on the other hand, if the Central Powers lost, he feared that Hungary would be made the chief scapegoat.

Tisza showed prescience in another phase of the War: he was the only member of the High Council of the Central Powers who protested against unlimited submarine warfare, and declared that if von Tirpitz got his way, he would bring the United States into the war against them. The course of his action is traced in a chronology giving chapter and verse as events developed, which I publish as an appendix.*

There is nothing to show in these official and authenticated records that Hungary and its Prime Minister were to blame for precipitating the conflict. On the contrary, the evidence is all in the other direction. And yet a fiction has grown up and threatens to become historic which represents Tisza as the personification of war guilt—the man who schemed and conspired to bring about the cataclysm. Dr. Beneš, the Czech Foreign Minister, has said so; M. Take Jonsescu, of Rumania, said it; wire-pulling propagandists have repeated it; M. Tardieu, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Peace Conference dealing with Hungary, accepted it. And although irrefutable evidence

*See Appendix I, p. 307.

has come to light which destroys the fiction, the psychological effect of the slander lingers in the minds of the prejudiced.

The Peace Conference did not seal the fate of Hungary in ignorance. The Hungarian Delegation to Paris submitted three big volumes of 600 pages each, which gave with an infinitude of detail particulars of thefts, graft, corruption, illegal arrests, imprisonments, expulsions, cruelties, outrages, murders, atrocities inflicted on many thousands of Hungarian citizens in the (illegally) occupied territories, together with a collection of beautiful maps, diagrams, graphs, supported by oral evidence. The Peace Conference knew from these particulars the sort of treatment the Minority races were likely to receive from insurgent and triumphant Czechs, Serbs and Rumanians when they were given the possessions which they envied—that is, assuming that any one of the Big Four, or any member of the Peace Conference, or any one of the Allied Ministers or experts ever took the trouble to read and study the Hungarian defence; which is extremely doubtful. The Hungarian Delegation, with a conscientiousness which was misplaced, overwhelmed the peacemakers with masses of detail which they were quite incapable of digesting.

The Czechs were cleverer psychologists. They sympathized with the over-worked, over-strained, exhausted peacemakers. They presented them with neatly printed brochures made up of concentrated abuse of the Hungarians. There were

no details of evidence, no tedious tables, names, dates, citations, figures, facts, in support of the accusations hurled at the Hungarians. The Czechs were perfectly satisfied with making stinging charges, such as, that the Magyars had falsified their statistics, kidnapped Slovak girls to be outraged or to serve as recruits for the white-slave traffic, without troubling the peacemakers with one iota of proof to sustain these and other shameful accusations which the Hungarians had no opportunity of refuting.

If one traces the course of events after the armistice, the inevitable conclusion is that the responsibility for bringing about the downfall of Hungary and the present unstable and insecure situation is attributable to the policy of the Allies. Everything which they did reacted on weakened Hungary, and encouraged the subversive forces then threatening Western Europe.

The Armistice of Padua was followed by the Military Convention of Belgrade. This Convention did not lay down a definite line of demarcation between Hungary, Serbia and Rumania.

The Supreme Council in Paris were unable to keep the allied forces in the Balkans under control, and the officers on the spot had no desire to do so. Then began a period when, through laxity of the supreme authorities in Paris, the insurgent enemies of Hungary occupied territories for which they had no title. The Allies stood by while the Czechs, Serbs and Rumanians carried on warfare against defenceless Hungary, which had disbanded its army. A circle of spearheads was pointed at

the heart of the country. The Great Powers did not themselves take any steps either to restrain the outrages committed by Hungary's enemies or to restore order in the interior of the country. Hence it was that the ground was ready for a revolutionary movement. The emissaries of Bolshevik Russia were lying in wait. They had their plans prepared. They were ready for action. The transition between the Government of Count Michael Károlyi—weak, vacillating, foolishly egotistical—prepared the way for the Béla Kun revolutionary Government. Károlyi was the Kerensky of Hungary.

In the "History of the Peace Conference," Mr. Harold Temperley admits that the policy of the Allies "had an important influence in producing the Béla Kun Revolution." Again, as M. Tardieu said in his memorandum of 31st March 1919: "No atmosphere is more favourable to Bolshevism than that of national disappointment." M. Tardieu was thinking of the disappointment of national aspirations, while Mr. Lloyd George feared the growth of Bolshevism from national exasperation. He was right. Hungary was crumbling. The people were becoming desperate. In the face of impending doom which might have enabled the Bolsheviks to establish themselves firmly in Western Europe, the Allies encouraged the continued aggression of Hungary's enemies.

Béla Kun, fresh out of prison, set up the Communistic Dictatorship and began a régime of anarchy, murders and depredations more

atrocious than had been committed in Russia. The Supreme Council did not treat the Reds as the enemies of civilisation. On the contrary, they paid them the compliment of sending General Smuts to Budapest to negotiate with Béla Kun. Of this adventure Sir Henry Wilson wrote in his diary: "Curious business: a Welshman sends a Dutchman to tell a Hungarian not to fight a Rumanian." Smuts arrived on the 4th April 1919 by special train, and while he was better advised than to give *de facto* recognition to the Revolutionary Government, the mere fact that his mission had gone to Budapest enabled the Communists to further entrench themselves; so much so that they assumed the aggressive and led by former Hungarian officers, who saw nothing but the extinction of their beloved country, put up such a strong fight against the Czechs that the Supreme Council again became alarmed. The French General at Pressburg was authorised to promise provisional recognition, provided the Reds would stop fighting. Fortunately this short-sighted move was checkmated by the counter-revolutionaries. Another ultimatum from Paris and threats against Hungary followed, while the Hungarian loyal troops ready to serve were not permitted to take part in saving their country. This task was handed over to the Rumanians on the 31st July 1919.

After four months of plundering, murdering, and outrages, Béla Kun and his ministers were permitted to escape. The Rumanians arrived: they were an army of brigands. There has never

been in history such wholesale loot. They carried away food, liquor, provisions, animals, fuel, household goods, linen and beds from hospitals, office fittings, typewriters, machinery of all kinds—cleared out factories, and machines which they could not ship away they destroyed; vehicles of all kinds, railway rolling stock. The railway sidings between Budapest and Bucharest were choked with loot for years afterwards, and only recently Hungarian typewriters could have been seen rotting by railway stations. Hungary was left an empty shell: railways without rolling stock; factories without machinery. The Rumanians did not overlook more portable goods in the form of taxes and jewellery. The total value of loot, depredations and damages to property was estimated at 24,365,000,000 Hungarian crowns. Hungary has not recovered a farthing. In order to receive the loan from the League of Nations Hungary had to waive all claims, otherwise Rumania would have blocked the loan; the decisions of the League Council must be unanimous.

The Supreme Council and the Allies cannot escape responsibility for the depredations of the Rumanians, as they should never have been allowed to run amok.

After having been tortured by the Communists and despoiled by the Rumanians—the greater part of her territory in possession of her enemies—Hungary was in no fit state to fight for a fair peace. She lay prostrate on the operating table of the peace surgeons. The Treaty of Trianon was imposed upon her mutilated frame.

The Supreme Council, while they may not have had any qualms of conscience regarding their treatment of Hungary, made one special reservation in order to appease the Hungarian delegates and obtain their signatures. This was embodied in the letter sent by M. Millerand, promising Commissions to rectify boundary frontier lines and to remove cases of injustice. On these representations the remaining delegates—the Chairman, Count Apponyi, having retired—signed the Treaty.

The framers of the Treaty had no doubt felt that they had taken adequate precautions for safeguarding the political, religious, linguistic, legal, civil, moral and economic rights of the 3,500,000 Hungarians transferred to new States, by the Minority Treaties, which every one of these States signed, as also did Hungary. The final test of the justice of the Treaty of Trianon depends on how the provisions of these Minority Treaties are being observed: whether their fundamental provisions are operating according to the spirit and letter and interpreted on liberal lines with a view to soothing racial antipathies and establishing frontiers of friendship, or whether they are being misinterpreted or ignored in order to restore conditions of racial domination—one of the causes of the Great War. The following chapters, the result of investigations covering only a small part of a vast subject, are intended as a contribution to the elucidation of this problem.

CHAPTER II

IN NEW SLOVAKIA

“Forcible oppression in States with mixed populations involves an enormous waste of energy and a lowering of the moral standard. The people guilty of oppression injures its own interests itself by the exercise of force.”

PRESIDENT MASARYK—“*The New Europe.*”

ANYONE who undertakes a study of the Treaty of Trianon—its effect on Hungary and on Hungarians now torn from the motherland—concurrently with an enquiry into the application of the Treaties for the protection of minorities in the Succession States, naturally begins with Czecho-Slovakia. This State was constituted according to the principles of modern democracy. The high character and sagacity of its President, Dr. Masaryk, the reputation of its accomplished and astute Foreign Minister, Dr. Beneš, its military alliances, have enabled Czecho-Slovakia to worm itself almost into the position of a Great Power. As the creator of the Little Entente it has a preponderating voice in Balkan military affairs. At Geneva Dr. Beneš, by the suavity of his diplomacy and his skill as a negotiator, has arranged compromises, shaped policies, made agreements, which have been more than once deciding factors in the policy of the League of Nations. Czecho-

Slovakia is rich, prosperous, stable. Its premier-ship in political, economic and military spheres over a vast area of the new Europe is acknowledged. Moreover, conditions in Czecho-Slovakia have become normal ; in Jugo-Slavia there is perpetual turmoil, violent quarrels between races—an element of insecurity. In Rumania similar conditions loosen the political fabric of the country, while in the areas inhabited chiefly by Hungarians martial law still exists.

Therefore I began my enquiries in Slovakia, where nearly one million Hungarians live, separated from their kinsmen by the arbitrary line defined by the Treaty of Trianon. I began at Pressburg, and here on the threshold one must avoid confusion over place names. At the frontier station between Austria and Czecho-Slovakia the traveller has the choice of two languages—Czech and French : in Pressburg, a town with a majority of German and Hungarian inhabitants, only the Czech language is permitted at the railway station. The town is a good illustration of the confusion of tongues through territorial changes. To the Romans it was Pisonium, after the name of the General who built a fort on the site : a natural evolution by the Magyars was Pozsony. Hungary crowned its kings at Pozsony and for a time it was the capital. Germans called it Pressburg—appropriate, as it was a centre of the wine trade ; the Slovaks made it Presborok ; it narrowly escaped being christened Wilsonova Mesto, and the Czechs call it Bratislava, a name taken from a Slav prince whose local association is somewhat mythical.

The independent enquirer into conditions in new Slovakia lets himself in for an adventurous time. Czech officials believe that there is only one source of information—themselves. I committed the initial mistake of thinking that the better way of finding out grievances was from the aggrieved people, not from those responsible for their (alleged) oppression. I would have saved myself a lot of trouble if I had accepted offers of official guidance. In that case I would have seen a smiling country and met a contented people. How some of the outstanding grievances would have vanished! Schools? Classes of Hungarian children would have welcomed me in Czech. Citizenship? I would have been assured there was no case; only some shortsighted Hungarians did not opt in time for the precious privilege of becoming Czechs. Colonists? I would have seen them living happily in one community with their Hungarian brothers.

A few weeks before my visit, an Englishman, gathering material for lectures, was bear-led through Slovakia. He was impressed—by the absence of grievances. In the rich Schutt Island, formed by the bifurcation of the Danube between Pressburg and Komárom, where 90 per cent. of the population are Hungarian, the inquirer, when visiting a Czech colony, was introduced to a Hungarian workman and asked him, through an interpreter, how he liked to live among the Czechs.

“Like it,” he replied ; “I have never known for a long time such freedom as I now enjoy.”

Quite true ; he was a Hungarian Communist who had recently been released after serving a term of imprisonment in Hungary. (Czechs are strangely hospitable to Hungarian Communists.)

I had not been in Pressburg since January 1914, although I have frequently visited other parts of the Republic since the War, and followed its progress and its development with critical interest. I was one of the early supporters of the Czechs in the English Press when they fought for nationhood ; I admired the superb confidence they had in their destiny and their passionate devotion to democratic ideals. For the last nine years I have followed their heroic efforts to build up a democratic State on the foundations of an effete Empire. I was prepared to find some reaction at this juncture, but no going back on the fundamental principles enshrined in the Peace Treaties and confirmed by the most democratic Constitution in Europe. After nine years one would have expected to see the country where Minorities live settled down and to have found a liberal régime in administration and the assimilation of Minorities proceeding ; on the contrary, reaction is in full swing, and something like a wave of terror has swept over Slovakia. The Czechs seem to have lost their early confidence. They are stupidly aggressive, apprehensive, suspicious, scared.

Following historic precedent and in defiance of their most solemn pledges, the Czechs resort to the worst methods of the bad old days of Kaiserdom. People are arrested for unknown crimes and detained in prison for indefinite periods.

Freedom of the Press does not exist ; newspapers are censored—sometimes out of existence.

Freedom of speech is conditional. Public meetings are held under police supervision ; police spies dog public men who are opposed to the Government and shadow visitors.

Espionage is universal, and the Cabinet Noir reminds one of the feudal times of Louis XVI.

On 10th Oct. 1927 I left Pressburg for Kassa on the same train as Deputy Géza von Szüllö, the leader of the Christian Socialist Party and of the Hungarian Opposition in Parliament ; not with him, mark you ; he remained in his compartment. I had only a few words with him. Members of Parliament do not enjoy immunity in Czecho-Slovakia ; they are under police supervision. At Kassa Dr. Szüllö was met by two detectives. I had not been in the hotel Schalkház a quarter of an hour when a plain-clothes policeman posted himself outside my window ; my secretary had another guard of honour. Dr. Szüllö was staying at the hotel, but did not show up till next morning. Plans were changed ; instead of local leaders visiting me we arranged a secret rendezvous with them. We met, after dodging the police, at the house of the Roman Catholic Prelate Toszt, and had a conference with leading local men, who sneaked in one by one as if they were on a criminal expedition.

The secret police were, if anything, more vigilant in the Ruthenian towns of Ungvár and Munkács

I had a striking experience with this gentry at Eperjes, which I visited on 7th October. I had a meeting with leading citizens, who came to the hotel one by one. They included the Roman Catholic priest, Father Dobransky, vice-president of the Christian Socialist Party, who spoke only Slovak, a striking personality, with fire and enthusiasm, all out for Slovak autonomy under Hungary. There were half a dozen others, lawyers, business men, landlords representing the Minorities. There also was a Protestant parson, Viktor Fábry, who looked like an English Nonconformist minister of the intellectual type, wearing a frock coat and white tie. He has been a victim of Czech persecution. A few years ago he was imprisoned for four weeks for the offence of having influence with his congregation. On his release he was presented with a bill for two hundred crowns to pay for the skilly which had been his fare during his imprisonment. He was never tried and is now a sort of ticket-of-leave man, liable to be rearrested at any moment for some unspecified offence. During our conference a waiter announced that the hotel was surrounded by police; we were besieged. An inspector demanded from the manager the passports of the two English journalists whom, he said, they had shadowed since we left Kassa. My visitors departed as surreptitiously as they came.

One characteristic of the Czech secret police is that they are not secret; they are obviously watching. My secretary, who was shadowed, like myself, turned on a detective one day and said,

“My good man, why don't you walk with me instead of following? You may lose me.” He bolted back to the hotel.

It is strange to find that under a model democracy men are afraid to meet openly—even among themselves—that they must ever be on the lookout for spies; that the police “black list” and threaten citizens who show independence and oppose the Government. The activities of the police only amused me and gave a touch of romance to my visit.

My experience was similar in other towns. The chiefs of the Minority Parties and their friends are shadowed in Prague and are never secure against the system of espionage. I mention these personal incidents to show that freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution is denied to the Hungarians, and that their leaders carry on their public duties with their political life and personal safety in their hands. The main object of the police was to watch my visitors, then to black list and victimise them. They were not always successful. In order to defeat their campaign I distributed my forces. I had several assistants — English, Hungarian, German, and Slovak—collecting information for me, and by travelling by car we frequently gave the sleuth-hounds the slip.

CHAPTER III

THE CABINET NOIR AND AGENT PROVOCATEUR

“Inviolability of the matter entrusted to the mail is guaranteed.”

Article 116 of the Constitution of Czecho-Slovakia.

THERE are some ugly things described by words for which there are no English equivalents. “Agents provocateurs” sounds familiar in French, and a literal or literary translation of Cabinet Noir is altogether inadequate. A French dictionary gives this meaning: “A secret office established by Louis XIV where Government officials violated the secrecy of correspondence.”

During the perilous days of the Great War the British and other Governments made a practice of it. These were abnormal emergencies. The Cabinet Noir functions still to-day in Rumania, Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia, and directs its sinister operations against members of Minority Parties and those suspected of holding communication with them. It works clumsily and intermittently in Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, but no Hungarian who has any important family business, much less political matters, to write 'about, would

trust the mail. The Cabinet Noir is carried on more systematically by the Czechs. It is little known in Bohemia; it works overtime in Slovakia; it is casual in other parts of the Republic. And not only to the detriment of Hungarians; it also explores the secrets of the Slovaks. In the official "Correspondance Slovaque" of the Slovak Catholic People's Party (Father Hlinka's) dated 30th November 1923, a description is given of the institution "worthy of the black days of autocratic Tzarism." It was stated that in Pressburg—

"It spends 30,000 francs a month and works under the direction of Andre Djuracka, editor of a journal supporting the Czech Agrarian Party. Djuracka every night, accompanied by an official, visits the office of the "Slovak" newspaper, reads the manuscripts for publication and private letters, and explores the office of the People's Party in the same building, and appropriates documents and correspondence. During the five years of "liberty" there have been hundreds of arrests and the victims held in prison for months pending the futile efforts of the authorities to collect evidence against them from purloining their correspondence."

In this instance, and no doubt in others, the Cabinet Noir works in co-operation with the censor's office. During my visit last autumn my private correspondence went through the Cabinet Noir. I have envelopes in my possession which bear evidence, including a registered letter. A

number of my letters were seized, including two letters from members of the British Government. My secretary's correspondence was strictly rationed—only one letter out of six sent from England being delivered.

The system of examining letters is general and the evidence is overwhelming. Even correspondence between representatives of foreign Governments is examined. Of this I have direct testimony. To circumvent the postal inquisition an underground post has been organised, and secret codes are used. And yet, according to the Constitution, "the inviolability of the matter entrusted to the mail is guaranteed."

There is a brisk business done in conveying letters across the frontier, but this system is hazardous, as travellers are subject to personal search.

On 23rd Oct. 1927, in journeying to Losoncz, I travelled part of the way with Mr. Wirt, an architect, who lives in Kassa and is president of the East Slovakian Christian Socialist Party.

A few days later his daughter, Miss Lanka Wirt, went to pay a short visit to friends in Hungary. She carried with her a letter from her father to his political chief, Dr. Szüllö, who was visiting Budapest. Miss Wirt was searched by the police at the frontier, the letter was taken from her, she was conducted back to Kassa under police escort, and she was put in prison—and in the same cell as several gipsies awaiting trial for cannibalism (since convicted). Miss Lanka Wirt is a highly cultured girl of eighteen. She was kept in prison for twenty-six hours and then was released with-

out the charge—whatever it was—being withdrawn.

That is one of the features of justice in Slovakia as applied to Hungarians : the dreadful uncertainty that at any moment individuals who have not committed any criminal offence may be arrested.

In the middle of August 1927 Mr. Ralph Grünenberg, member of the well-known firm of brush manufacturers of Pressburg, who do a big foreign trade, was returning from Budapest with his boy of ten. Both were stripped stark naked at the frontier and even the seams of the clothing examined. These and similar outrages are contrary to the provisions of the Minority Treaty and of the Czech Constitution.

The most diabolically poisonous of all practices is espionage by agents provocateurs. If these pests do not discover evidence against their intended victims they invent it to keep up their record for vigilance.

The "Correspondance Slovaque" of 1st October 1925 said that in order to compromise the patriotic Franciscans of the Monastery at Nizna Sebes of Eperjes, the gendarmes introduced into the Monastery an agent provocateur, who pretended to be a Brother come from Croatia. The monks discovered the traitor and put him out. This was followed by the arrest of the Father Superior, who was put in prison. This action led to something like a battle between the inhabitants and the police, in which several people were injured ; ultimately twenty-four people were arrested and imprisoned.

The police are active in other directions. They listen to telephone conversations, even to conversations between foreign representatives in Prague, and to talks with Consuls in provincial towns. They "jam" broadcasts from Budapest when that station circulates political news.

Agents provocateurs work in association with the political police. They have been active in connection with questions of citizenship, especially in attempts to compromise Hungarians.

Some time ago a landowner not far from Lonsocz had a visit from an individual who requested his assistance to obtain a passport. Although the request was refused, the gentleman was arrested and kept in prison for ten days—perhaps to punish him because he did not fall into the trap.

More recently a man called at the office of a Consul in Pressburg, fell on his knees and implored that official to get him a passport. He had just escaped from prison and feared the terrible consequences of re-arrest. The Consul listened to the tearful appeal and told the man to wait in another room while he would see what he could do. What he did do was to telephone to the Chief of Police telling him that there was an escaped convict in his room, and requested him to send a policeman to arrest him.

The convict was arrested. Two hours afterwards the Chief of Police telephoned to the Consul, saying: "Do you know what you have made me do? Arrest an officer of the Provocative Department" (*propagacua Kanselarie*). "I knew that," said the Consul.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CENSUS

THE well-known platform saying that there are three categories of lies—Lies, Damned Lies, and Statistics—requires to be amplified by students of population figures in Central European and Balkan States. A new superlative is needed to designate census returns. No Government accepts its neighbour's figures. The contending parties at the Peace Conference questioned each other's population statistics. The Czechs said quite bluntly that the Hungarian census returns for Ruthenia and Slovakia were false. The Hungarians, who say the same of the new census taken by the Czechs, wished the Peace Conference to verify their returns.

A government is not always satisfied with its own first attempts at census taking. The object of revision is not always stimulated by an increased desire for accuracy. Rumania held a census in 1927, but it was cancelled; it did not suit the Government. Czecho-Slovakia took a census in 1919, but it did not work out according to expectation. Perhaps the country was yet too unsettled;

the organization too immature. Another census was taken in 1921, the full details of which have not yet been published.

The distribution of the population in the new States is important. The application of Minority rights in particular districts turns on percentages of population. The Governments of Rumania and Jugo-slavia do not bother much about percentages, having no intention of being guided by them in the observance, or otherwise, of Minority rights. Not so the Czechs. They are less crude in their methods: they are statistical scientists.

Census taking, with the best intentions in the world, is a complicated affair in the Succession States. Each State has a polyglot population—five or six races or nationalities intermingling. Races or nationalities must also be classified according to speech and religion. These categories cut across each other; one race cuts across the lot—the Jews. The Jews are never so popular as at census time; they can quite conveniently slip into any classification, keeping themselves in one national classification or not, as they prefer. They disappear and re-appear as it suits the interest of the rulers for the time being. Here is an example. The Hungarian census of 1910 gave Ruthenia a total population of 597,062, of which 56.15 per cent. were Ruthenians, 29.22 per cent. Hungarians, 10.66 per cent. Germans, 1.30 per cent. Slovaks, the balance being “others” and 201 Czechs. In the Czech-Slovak census of February 1921 the total population had increased to 606,568, and all the percentages had changed

except that of the "others." Hungarians fell to 17.18 per cent.; Ruthenians increased to 61.84 per cent.; the Germans were reduced to 1.78 per cent. (it is probable that 50,000 Germans emigrated after the War); the Slovaks only added 2,500 to their numbers; but the Czechs increased to 9,513—a clear proof of the inrush of officials—forerunners of a new invasion. The Jews appear in a separate category, numbering 81,529. Here is the explanation of the discrepancy. Formerly the Jews were hidden amongst the Hungarians and Germans.

According to statements made by prominent Hungarians, Germans and Slovaks, the Czech census of 1921 was a loose compilation rather than an exact statistical record. The enumerators were for the most part Czechs, many of whom did not know the local language. The census papers were filled in by the official enumerators—in pencil. Jews who said they were Hungarians were entered as Jews. At Pöstyén (Pistany) 1,269 persons were registered as Jews by faith, but only 530 as Jews by nationality. Hungarian gipsies were registered as belonging to "other nationalities," while Slovak gipsies were counted as Slovaks. In Ruthenia Greek Catholic Hungarians were registered arbitrarily as Ruthenians although the existence of a Hungarian Greek Catholic See at Hajdudorog testifies to the presence of Hungarians of this Church. Persons who replied to the enumerators in Czech or Slovak were allocated to those races, whatever their profession of nationality. If a person's forbears

as far back as three generations were Slovaks, he was registered as a Slovak. Hungarians who had Slovak names were classed as Slovaks. In this part of Europe there has been intermarrying of races for hundreds of years, so that it is no longer possible to identify men racially or nationally by their family names. Persons who objected to arbitrary classification as Slovaks were threatened and coerced into acquiescence. At Nagykeresztély and Honuszova, 194 and 70 Hungarians respectively were entered against their will as Slovaks. In certain cases streets and families known to be Magyar were simply omitted from the census. At Losoncz, omissions of this sort are known to have been made, and were, in fact, demonstrated by a rationing registration which took place shortly afterwards. The census figures showed 12,418 inhabitants; the subsequent registration recorded a civilian population of 13,725, in addition to which there was a garrison of some 600 troops, making a total of 14,325. In 1910 there were only 10 per cent. of Slovaks; the new census gave the Slovaks a majority, but the local elections of 16th October 1927, in spite of the persecution of the Labour party, gave the pro-Hungarians a majority of over three to one against the Slovaks.

Manipulations of the last census are stated to go very much further than the mere official transference of individuals or families from one classification to another; further changes are said to have been made by diligent use of rubber on the pencilled returns. The statistics for one district

have sometimes been credited to another district, so as to adjust the political and racial balance of the population. The emigrant Czech officials and the presence of soldiers also affected the totals of the returns and the percentages. The net effect, so far as Slovakia is concerned, was that the Hungarians were represented to be 21 per cent. of the population, making a total of 754,774, while according to the Hungarian census of 1910, the Magyar speaking population was 1,066,577. Another Czech official report gives the Hungarian as 745,431, and yet another as 637,183, keeping the percentages the same.

It is transparent that there is a political policy behind the manipulation of population statistics and the gerrymandering of areas. The Czecho-Slovak Government has fixed the proportion of the Minorities entitled to the exercise of Minority rights at 20 per cent. ; therefore the fewer areas in Slovakia containing less than 20 per cent. of Hungarians, the greater the extent to which the prescribed percentage is nullified. Where the percentage could not be reduced below 20 at the census, the judicial areas were re-arranged. Magyar cities were included and partially submerged in Slovak country districts ; where this was insufficient, Hungarian communes were taken away and attached to other Slovak districts, while Slovak communes were incorporated to take their place. By juggling with the villages in this way the percentage of Hungarians in the Kassa district was brought down from 20.34, shown by the Czecho-Slovak census, to 19.03—an infinitesimal

change, which was sufficient to deprive a city which, on the admission of the Czecho-Slovak Minister for Slovakia, was at least 85 per cent. Hungarian in 1919, of its Minority rights, above all, the right to the use of its own language. The Hungarian population of the Rimaszombat district was similarly reduced from 20.99 per cent. to 19.01 per cent. ; Rimaszombat itself had, even according to the Czech census, a Hungarian majority of 70.96 per cent. At Nyitra, the Hungarian population was brought down from 25.62 to 19.21 per cent., and at Gálszécs, from 21.71 to 12.93 per cent. The district of Pressburg had, according to the census of 1921, 26,567 Hungarian inhabitants, who formed 20.3 per cent. of the total population of 130,851. Sixteen purely Hungarian communes were accordingly taken away and incorporated in the district of Galanta, while several Slovak villages were brought in from the district of Somfa, thereby reducing the Hungarian population to 17.6 per cent. These changes were justified on the plea that it was necessary to co-ordinate administrative with judicial areas, but there are still a number of districts which have not been made conterminous, because the effect would have been adverse to Czech policy. It has not always been possible to deprive small units of their Minority rights by enlarging counties, nor by extending judicial areas. Despite the re-arrangement of boundaries, the Hungarian populations in a number of Court jurisdictions still form between 90 and 100 per cent. of the total.

The returns of the recent local elections belie

the census figures. One example is Eperjes, where according to the census figures the Hungarian minority has been reduced to 10 per cent. instead, as the Hungarians claim, and as the election results also testify, of 40 per cent. The same applies to a number of other towns which are officially supposed to contain less than 20 per cent. of Hungarians, and where the votes of the principal Hungarian parties gives a much higher percentage.

The results of the local elections, classified according to racial and not political convictions, support the Hungarian statistical returns and consequently their charges against the honesty of the Czech enumerators. More direct evidence, however, is obtainable. When Dr. Gregory I. Zsatkovics, the American Ruthenian, who was the first Governor of Ruthenia, resigned his position, which had become intolerable because of the systematic deception of the Czechs, he addressed to the President and the Government an exposé in which he described his experiences and gave his reasons for his resignation. The exposé is dated Ungvár, 16th March 1921. In this memorandum he deals directly with this very question of census returns. His request that Ruthenians should be appointed besides Czecho-Slovaks to conduct the census was ignored, in spite of promises made to him by the Government. Quite accidentally he discovered while on a holiday at Tátralomnicz that a policy of terrorism was adopted in the counties of Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén and Ung

(the four Ruthenian counties) by M. Szlavik, zupan of county Zemplén, in taking the census. Dr. Zsatkovics says :

“ Contrary to all promises and agreements, he, in his own name and by means of the officials under him, published a circular in which among others he stated :

‘ In Slovensko there are no Ruthenians, neither male nor female. Let us have a care for this is not a Ruthenian, but a Hungarian movement . . . ’” etc.

Dr. Zsatkovics continues :

“ Besides this circular publicly propagated, this functionary sent secret instructions and orders to the officials of his county e.g. :

‘ 1851—1921. To all officials of Zemplén. Report goes that part of Zemplén is to be awarded to Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. These rumours cause alarm among the larger half of the county’s Slovak population. I therefore make known to you the contents of the ordinance No. 1727—1921, January 19, 1921, of the Minister Plenipotentiary of Slovensko, according to which the Peace Conference having definitively fixed the frontiers between Slovensko and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, the following communities belong besides the rest to the former. (Here a series of villages administered at present by Ruthenia are enumerated.)

‘ I require you to instruct the inhabitants of your district to this effect, adding that all contrary reports are groundless and false.

‘ (Signed) Dr. Szlavik, zupan.’ ”

(The statement, by the way, that the Peace Conference had definitely fixed the frontiers was untrue.)

No wonder that Dr. Zsatkovics says that when this circular was laid before him it made him “almost doubt his own eyes.” He spent four days investigating matters on the spot and he had seen such results of the zupan’s activity as constrained him to dispatch the following telegram to the President, the Prime Minister and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Slovakia :

“ The circular order of the zupan Szlavik stating that whoever calls himself Ruthene is guilty of propaganda for the Hungarians has produced an official terror of which I have gained personal knowledge while passing through Zemplén. I am obliged to protest in the name of the Ruthenes and to declare that owing to this proclamation of M. Szlavik the result of the census in Zemplén will not and cannot be equitable as regards the Ruthenes. I therefore demand energetic measures to insure the consolidation of the Ruthenian element in Czecho-Slovakia.

“ (Signed) Dr. Zsatkovics, governor.”

Dr. Zsatkovics adds :

“ This and the denationalisation provedly carried out on the entirely neutral territory was

what fell to the share of the Ruthenians instead of an honourable understanding of their just demand that a mixed commission of Czecho-Slovaks and Ruthenians should conduct the census in all fairness."

Here we have authoritative and indisputable evidence of falsifying the census returns under the direction of the chief county officials with the approval of the Czech Government. If, therefore, in order to transform, statistically, Ruthenians into Czechs dishonest means were adopted, we are justified in assuming that still worse terrorist methods and manipulations were carried on by the Czech officials responsible for the census returns in Hungarian communities.

CHAPTER V

CITIZENSHIP

“ Every manner whatsoever of forcible denationalisation is prohibited. Non-observance of this principle may be proclaimed by law to be a punishable act.”

Article 134 of the Czecho-Slovak Constitution.

“ The oppression of any minority is to me an offence against mankind and humanity.”

PRESIDENT MASARYK—*The New Europe.*

ONE object of the Minority Treaties which the Succession States signed was to insure that measure of justice to racial Minorities which did not exist formerly in Central Europe or in the Balkans. The old Empires were not under Treaty obligations to safeguard the welfare of the races whom they governed against their consent, except Turkey, which undertook certain responsibilities under the Treaty of Berlin. It was the failure of Turkey to carry out the conditions in that Treaty which caused the Balkan War of 1912. A new political morality was enshrined in the Treaty of Versailles and the other Treaties which followed. Henceforth one of the most fruitful causes of friction which sowed the seeds of war was to be eradicated. National honour and

international obligations were bound up in the Treaties which formed the framework of new constitutions. A new charter of citizenship was created.

It was recognized that the new political boundaries could not coincide with the ethnological divisions, but the inhabitants of the new States were granted the right to opt for their mother countries. Provision was made that their material interests should not suffer by the territorial changes. The chief clause of the Minority Treaties relating to citizenship, as, for example, in the case of the Czech-Slovak Republic, reads as follows :

“Czecho-Slovakia admits and declares to be Czecho-Slovak nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality, German, Austrian or Hungarian nationals habitually resident or possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenzia-Heimatrecht*), as the case may be, at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty in territory which is or may be recognised as forming part of Czecho-Slovakia. . . .”

It is further provided that persons born in the territory of parents formerly resident there will themselves possess the same qualifications, although they have the right to opt on their citizenship within two years. These conditions of nationality were modified in the Treaty of Trianon, which makes the qualification for citizenship that of the right known as “*pertinenzia*,”

which is citizenship of a commune, and obliges the Czech Government only to acknowledge as citizens Hungarians who had been settled on 1st January 1910 in the territory now transferred to Czecho-Slovakia.

In pre-war Hungary, the question of domicile was regulated by a law of 1886, under which every Hungarian citizen had domicile in one, and only one, commune. Domicile was conditioned under this law by a number of premises. A citizen must have resided uninterruptedly for four years in a commune and paid communal taxes. Public officials, including school teachers, and the clergy, of whatever church or confession, were exempt from local taxation, and consequently received domicile solely on the four years' residence qualification. The implication was that exemption from taxation was taken into account when their salaries were fixed. For the purpose of these provisions they were regarded as having contributed to the financial burdens of the commune by their official services. It must be also emphasised that the authorities were not required to maintain any register of persons possessing domicile in the communes, nor were such registers kept. Certificates of domicile were issued only on demand. This contingency, moreover, arose very seldom, since the question of domicile played no great part in the life of the individual, if only for the reason that the acquirement of domicile was the subject of the above legal provisions, and for this reason was seldom or ever challenged by the authorities.

While the new States were concerned in the first instance to devise a scheme by which former Hungarian pensioners could be deprived of their pensions, the system was applied against all old inhabitants. Thousands of old residents were at one fell swoop deprived of their nationality and of their means of livelihood. Thus a sword of Damocles, in the shape of non-recognition of domicile, followed by expulsion, hangs over the heads of all old inhabitants, who live in circumstances of unprecedented mental distress.

The illegal interpretation of the old Hungarian law which was becoming obsolete, was followed by the decision of the Prague Supreme Court for administrative questions, which made an arbitrary change in the law and was therefore a breach of the first article of the Minority Treaty, which lays down that the Article of Citizenship is fundamental and cannot be altered by any new laws, decrees or ordinances passed by the Czecho-Slovak Government. A petition was presented to the League of Nations in 1925, not by Hungary, but by Hungarian members of the Czech Parliament, containing a long list of professional people and others who had suffered from the Czech denationalising policy. The petition was withdrawn on a promise that a more liberal interpretation of the law would be introduced. In 1926 a new law was passed on the motion of Dr. Ivan Dérer, a Democratic Czech, which modifies the law, conceding something in certain clauses, but imposing other provisions which make the so-called reform futile and ineffective.

Less than a hundred petitions for citizenship have been granted under it.

Grotesque and impossible conditions are frequently imposed; thus, Mr. Charles Köves of Kassa was asked to produce the certificate of baptism of his son, although he never had a son. The fortunate Hungarian who can pass through the needle's eye of the Czech nationality test is required to pay a heavy tax for the privilege—10 per cent. of his capital, or a month's income. A Protestant clergyman, named Janossey, of Komárom, was deprived of his citizenship although he had been priest of his church for thirty-two years and his son was serving in the Czech army. He was informed on the 19th October 1927 that he could get a certificate of citizenship if he paid 10,000 crowns for it. His monthly salary was only 1,000 crowns. There are thousands of former Hungarians and Austrians who by the imposition of tests for citizenship, not contemplated by the Minority Treaty, have lost their nationality. They opted for Czecho-Slovakia, thereby relinquishing their former citizenship, which they are unable to regain after being deprived of their Czecho-Slovak nationality. They are unable to get passports to leave the country and are living in great distress. Many professional men—teachers, doctors, lawyers and ex-officials—are living on charity. Even those who draw pensions are paid in depreciated currency, that is one-seventh of the pension to which they are entitled. The object of the policy pursued is transparent. The Czech Government want, in

the first place, to denationalise as many former Hungarians as possible, in order to get rid of them, and they object to paying pensions to officials who were formerly in the service of Hungary.

There is more than one way of purging the service of Hungarians. Post office officials, for instance, were expected to acquire a knowledge of the Czech language in a short period, which is beyond the capacity of any individual. The result was that they were denationalised and received no pension. One such official at Losoncz who could not learn Czech in three months was dismissed after thirty years' service. He obtained his citizenship, but no pension. There are cases in which applications for citizenship have been lost by the Prague bureaucrats and in any case before applicants are dealt with the delay reduces them to a state of penury. It is an expensive and tedious process. When a certificate is at last granted, a paper must be signed by the recipient in which he agrees to give up all financial claims against the Government. Young men who are not accepted as citizens must serve in the army. A man who was deported to Austria surreptitiously returned. He was arrested and conscripted.

An example of the heartless denationalising policy was brought to my notice at Munkács. Dean Louis Szabó, of the Roman Catholic Church, was the victim. He was born in that part of Hungary which is now annexed to Rumania. He became a resident in 1902 in the town of Beregszász, where he was a priest for six years. In 1909 he obtained the domiciliary citizenship

of the village of Királyháza. He went to Munkács in 1920 and in 1921 was received as a citizen of that town. He became a member of the City Council and at the election of 1925 stood next on the list of the Hungarian Christian Socialist Party for election. About that time the Czech authorities held an inquest on his citizenship. They decided that he was not a citizen of the Republic. Dean Szabó appealed against the decision and after a year and a half the supreme authority at Prague rescinded his certificate of nationality, on the ground, amongst others, that the decision of the local authority was wrong and that he had not been a citizen in the year 1910. He was allowed to continue his service in the church for only a short time. He was expelled on a few hours' notice in November 1927. The reasons given for his expulsion were that he had held conversations with me during my visit to Munkács and was one of the party who accompanied me through Ruthenia, that he had failed to fly the national flag from his church on the 28th October, the national fete day, and that he had made statements at the funeral of Dr. Nagy which displeased the Government. All these charges were trumped up. I never saw Dean Szabó until I met him in Budapest, in January 1928.* The flying of the flag from the church did not concern him but the church authorities, and no request had ever been made for its display. Dean Szabó's

* I was under the impression that I had met Dean Szabó in the office of the Christian Socialist Party at Munkács for a few minutes, but when I saw him subsequently I found I had been mistaken.

speech at the grave of his friend dealt chiefly with the dangers of Bolshevism. He was given six hours to clear out and take all his belongings with him. He was sent to Rumania, but the Rumanian Government declined to recognise him as a citizen, although he had been born in the territory, and expelled him to Hungary. Dean Szabó has lost all his property and belongings in Munkács, and is a man without a country.

Another most flagrant case is that of Mr. Louis Körmendi-Ékes, who was a member of the Prague Parliament when he was deprived of his domicile, which involved automatically his loss of Czech citizenship. His mandate was annulled and he was expelled.

Mr. Szinyei-Merse, brother of the world famous Hungarian painter, was deprived of his right of domicile in a place where his family had been living for more than six hundred years. (I give particulars of this case in an appendix.)

The Czech Government manipulate the old citizenship laws of Hungary to suit their purposes.

While resurrecting the old law which made citizenship conditional on the payment of taxes and rates, they entirely overlooked the fact that a very large list of Hungarian subjects were exempt from national and communal burdens. The payment of these imposts was implied and was provided for in the Law, No. 138, 1886, which exempted from taxation all civil servants, all military officers, teachers, notaries, priests, and all persons in the communal services. As some doubt had arisen about the exemption from local

rates, the Supreme Civil Service Court of Hungary decided in 1907 that all those persons who by virtue of the law of 1886 were free from the law of taxation, were also free from communal rates. The same law applies to day labourers who are exempt from the additional communal taxes, according to a law passed in 1883. The Czech Government ignores these laws and has been most active in its illegal denationalising policy among teachers and civil servants. One can appreciate the fact that it goes against the grain of the Czechs to pay pensions to ex-Hungarian officials, and this drives them to resort to thoroughly illegal and immoral proceedings in order to relieve them of their responsibilities.

One result of the denationalising policy pursued by the Czechs is that thousands of former Hungarians and Austrians who opted for Czech nationality and were acknowledged as citizens have since been denationalised and are citizens of no country. They cannot get passports to leave Czecho-Slovakia; they are compelled to live in Czecho-Slovakia and are deprived of civil rights in the country, but they are obliged to serve in the army. They are in the most unfortunate position of all the population in this area, and many of them live partly on the charity of their former compatriots. It will be seen that the Czecho-Slovak Government does not act either on the letter or in the spirit of the Minority Treaty.

The provisions in the Czech Constitution regarding the admission of citizens, drawn up in

harmony with the Treaty, are also ignored, and how can they reconcile their merciless denationalising policy with Section 134 of the Constitution, which says :

“ Every manner whatsoever of forcible denationalisation is prohibited. Non-observance of this principle may be proclaimed by law to be a punishable act.”*

* See also Appendix V, page 330.

CHAPTER VI

BOGUS DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST LORD ROTHERMERE

“ There was in Slovakia a vast and spontaneous agitation of all Slovak parties—including the Populist (Autonomist) Party—against Lord Rothermere’s extravagant pro-Hungarian doings ; many hundred thousand people protested in public assemblies against this Magyar plot and in favour of the Trianon Treaty.”

KAREL CAPEK, *the Czech author and dramatist.*

BEFORE giving specific examples of the “ vast and spontaneous agitation ” I will describe the general effect of Lord Rothermere’s intervention on behalf of helpless Hungary. While the Rumanians and Serbs were seriously perturbed, the Czechs were staggered. They were still reeling under the effect of his championship of the Magyars when I visited Slovakia in October and November 1927. They could not see straight or act with common prudence.

While the Czechs pretended that the bomb which Lord Rothermere threw into Central European politics was a dud, they acted as if it were a high explosive. On the one side of the frontier he is welcomed as a deliverer and presented with the greatest testimonial which any public man ever

received ; on the other he is regarded as a malevolent fiend. He has inspired a proud race, humiliated in the dust by the tragedy of Trianon, with new hope ; he has so enraged the Czechs and their political partners that they are unable to restrain their fury against the Magyar minority in their midst.

The first thing which puzzled the Czechs was why Lord Rothermere should butt into their affairs at all. The Treaty of Trianon was all right for them ; moreover, it is nine years old. They were getting on quite comfortably with the Hungarians, having, by divers devices, put them into the place to which they properly belong—inferiority to their Czech masters. Why did Lord Rothermere want to disturb the existing order ? His action was all the more perplexing because the ruling Czechs remember that the Harmsworth Press was the foremost in England in insisting on the ruthless punishment of the Central Powers—which included Hungary—and at the same time lent their support to the creation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, allowing the fathers of that country facilities for carrying on their propaganda. (We must remember that the Czech Republic was created by the pen, and not won by the sword.)

The first explanation which springs to the mind of the Chauvinists is that Lord Rothermere had been bought by the Magyars—a solution which comes quite naturally to the Czech politicians : it is according to the standard of political morality recognised by some of their party leaders. The better informed leaders, who know something

of English conditions, and, perhaps, have heard rumours about Lord Rothermere's wealth and independence, were not quite satisfied with this sordid explanation. Then it was discovered that Lord Rothermere was a Jew. A leader of one of the parties which supports the Government said so openly in a speech at Kassa. It so happens that the ablest and wealthiest Jews in Czecho-Slovakia sympathise with the Hungarians. It was said that "Rothermere" was a corruption of "Rot Moricz," which, of course, means Red Moses. This association, on reflection, looked a little far-fetched, so a more plausible ancestral origin was found for him. His name is a corruption of "Rot-Meer"—Red Sea. Clearly Lord Rothermere's ancestors crossed the Red Sea with Moses. If the Czechs can trace Lord Rothermere's genealogical tree back to the flight from Egypt he could claim to be a member of the oldest known family in the world. One thing is certain, when the Czechs hear the name they see red. It does not, of course, occur to the leaders of the anti-Lord Rothermere campaign that he has a family name.

Another explanation is that Lord Rothermere is an estate owner and has come to the help of the Hungarian landed nobility because of a fellow feeling. These and other grotesque statements were published in the pro-Czech Press and in a pamphlet circulated in Slovakia during my visit. It was entitled "A Fresh Offensive against the Hungarian People by English Lords and Hungarian Magnates. The true object of Lord Rother-

mere's campaign is the salvage of the latifundia." This pamphlet is in Magyar. (The Czechs use the Magyar language occasionally with the object of deceiving the Magyars. They run a newspaper in that language for propagandist purposes.) The author was a former Hungarian Communist journalist. The outside cover contains the picturesque tattered figure of a professional beggar—found in Ruthenian towns—meant to indicate the fate of the people if the latifundia were salvaged by Lord Rothermere.

The mention of "Rothermere" at a public meeting is a signal for police interference. When the name appears in the Press it is wiped out by the censor or the offending newspaper is confiscated. Numerous demonstrations were organised as "spontaneous" expressions of public feeling against Lord Rothermere. The people of Slovakia were not interested, except officials who had to save their skin, or were given free motor rides, or some other inducement at the expense of the community.

During my visit to the country all the "spontaneous" outbursts of indignation against Lord Rothermere were organised by officials or Governmental parties. And they were generally fiascoes. I only cite what happened in the towns or districts which I visited.

As there was considerable excitement because of the local elections, the occasion was favourable for the pro-Czech parties. Audiences were got together frequently by official pressure. I refer elsewhere to the official invitation to new

owners and applicants of land in respect to an expropriated estate to attend an anti-Rothermere meeting held at Paloc, a village in the county of Ung.

The Czech Minority on the Town Council of Eperjes called a meeting to protest against Lord Rothermere's action. Only thirteen members out of sixty-three turned up. This so infuriated the Czech parties that they placarded the town with posters inviting the electors to "defend the integrity of the Republic against those who wish to rob it of half of Slovakia in order that the Hungarian Pharaohs may have more slaves"—and to defeat the Christian Social Party, who "serve the Hungarian Counts and Lord Rothermere."

A demonstration was held outside the St. Gilliert Hotel and attended by people from the country, who were given free motor rides. Yet the Czech parties suffered a humiliating defeat at the elections.

The Town Council of Pressburg passed a resolution against Lord Rothermere by eighteen votes to twelve, the majority included six officials ; the other members abstained.

A "Manifesto to all teachers of the district in the action of Lord Rothermere, No. 2325/927," inviting them "to come willingly to a meeting to be held for teachers in the former comitat of Sáros, on 30th September 1927, in order to protest against the action of Rothermere," was issued by the school directorate at Eperjes on the 26th September 1927. The manifesto was signed

“ Paul Gallo, District School Inspector.” Any teacher who did not attend was black-listed.

In Kassa teachers were invited to sign a protest. All signed except a woman teacher ; she was dismissed.

Signatures for the anti-Rothermere campaign were obtained by coercion and terrorism, the work of collection being carried out by local officials and school teachers. This is proved by a letter in the possession of one of the Deputies for Slovakia, in which a notary writes to the teachers of his district :

“ I have received instructions from my superior authorities requiring me to collect signatures for a protest campaign against Lord Rothermere’s activities, and I therefore request you to return to my office by 31st October the forms left with you, duly signed. They should be signed also by the children attending your school.”

A railway service telegram was issued from Kassa on the 26th August 1927, “ to all stations included in district No. 1142,” and in order to ensure the “ spontaneity ” of a demonstration against Lord Rothermere and to give participants a holiday the following concession was made :

“ The Railway Ministry informs all the participants in the demonstration against Lord Rothermere’s action, which is to be held in Kassa on August 28th, that a 50 per cent. decrease on all fares for either passenger or express trains for

the journey to Kassa on the 27th and 28th August, and for the return journey on August 28th will be allowed without any limitation as to the size of the party so travelling, on the condition that they are accompanied by a lawyer or a notary."

The following is the announcement of another sweetened "spontaneous" demonstration.

"The Nograder Peasants and the O.J.S.R.D. will hold, on the 25th September 1927, in Losoncz, under the leadership of Minister Dr. Hodza and Bishop Zoch a

HARVEST FESTIVAL

which will be combined with a flag dedication of the local Republican Party as well as that of Kékkö. Included in this ceremony there will also be a demonstration for the unity of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic and against the destructive action of the English Lord Rothermere, and for proclaiming the solidity of our frontiers and our love, faith and confidence in our beloved fatherland and our nation."

There followed a programme of attractive festivities, beginning with a procession through Masaryk Street and Wilson Square, peasants in costume on horseback, allegorical waggons, riders representing soldiers in the war of liberty in the sixteenth century, luncheon, speeches, etc.

To save the "spontaneous" enthusiasts the trouble of drafting their own resolution the Czech

and Slovak Agrarian Parties in Pressburg issued a circular to district organisations inviting them to call a meeting to denounce the action of a "newspapermonger named Rothermere, who has accepted the Hungarian lies." It goes on :

"Being certain that there is not a single Slovak who would care to go back again under the Hungarian yoke, it is necessary to make this sentiment of Slovensk which is held by highest and lowest known to the public abroad. Therefore record your protests at every meeting ! It is our patriotic duty to warn the world at every public meeting of the offensive intentions of the Hungarian irredenta, the ruling purposes of the Hungarians and the cunning intrigues of the Hungarian land-owners, to get back their estates which have been justly allotted to the Hungarian small farmers."

The circular was signed "Francis Seda, Chief Secretary." The wording of the stereotyped resolution was ridiculously extravagant, denounced Lord Rothermere by name, and added :

"The Treaty of Trianon stretched out an avenging hand and pulled the Slovaks, Rumanians, and Jugo-Slovakians out of the Hungarian hell. From that day to this neither the Hungarian counts nor large estate owners have been able to sleep."

The final, conclusive answer to Lord Rothermere and to the attack on Trianon was to be a somewhat belated plebiscite, but it was explained

“ it is necessary that Europe should know by means of definite facts, that the inhabitants of Slovakia, regardless of their nationality, are loyal citizens of the Czecho-Slovak State.”

So the National Committee in Pressburg, “ representatives of the whole nation, decided that both Rothermere and the Magyars should get written proof in the form of signatures as to the loyalty of our Czecho-Slovak citizens.”

Declarations written in three languages were issued, and every citizen was requested to sign. The plebiscite was in the form of a petition to the Prime Minister, who was requested to “ circulate it wherever you may think fit,” and read as follows:

“ Certain political committees in Hungary are propagating a campaign at home and abroad which has for its object the revision of the Treaty of Trianon and favours the cession of certain territories of our State to Hungary.

“ We, as loyal and tried citizens of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, regard it as our duty to declare before the whole world that we resolutely condemn this propaganda and reject it entirely, and that we are ready to defend the integrity of our Republic in its present unity with all the means at our disposal and against everyone.”

Simultaneously the same party made the signing of the document a test question at the elections then taking place. Every voter received a circular saying :

“Our delegates will call upon you during this week and get you to sign a document, addressed to the Prime Minister, in which Lord Rothermere’s action is condemned and your sympathy towards the Czecho-Slovak State is expressed.”

The delegates bullied the citizens. If they did not sign they were deemed disloyal. The secretary of a public company was requested to sign for all the company’s employees, and a house owner for his tenants.

The plebiscite was a failure. The results were never published. Europe was not given definite facts. I was in Pressburg at the time that coercion was employed to squeeze confessions of loyalty out of citizens—who, if they were Government loyalists would regard the petition as superfluous, and if they were honestly independent, would exercise their right of freedom of conscience under the Constitution. I was told that not 50 per cent. of the people signed. The Government newspaper, the “*Narodny Dennik*,” of Pressburg, published black lists of citizens who had not signed, and incited the loyalists to boycott them. The article was headed “*Irredentists show their heads. Result of the signatures against the Rothermere campaign. Remember the names we publish.*” The journal stated :

“We are informed that the lists, supplemented by others, of all those who did not sign the anti-Rothermere declaration, will be issued

in the form of a booklet, so that every Slovak and Czech should be able to have one."

The booklet, if issued, would be documentary proof that Slovakia is disunited.

The anti-Rothermere campaign in Rumania and Jugo-Slavia took the form of maltreating the unfortunate Hungarians rather than in officially organised demonstrations.

CHAPTER VII

CZECHISING HUNGARIAN TOWNS

TO illustrate the strenuous efforts of the Czechs to Czechise communities in which they were in a minority, I will examine the fate of several Hungarian towns. Take, for instance, the Zips towns. The Zips country, lying on the north west of Slovakia, close to the Tatra range and bordering with Poland, was colonized at the invitation of the Hungarian kings by Saxons in the twelfth century. They have remained a distinct racial and cultural community. The houses are German in style, the villages German in plan; the inhabitants retain their German names, their language, and character, after being cut adrift from the fatherland for over a thousand years. They are excellent farmers, and the land is divided chiefly among small owners. In spite of the pressure of Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Hungarians, the Saxons stuck to their sixteen cities, which were a sort of Hanseatic League enjoying special privileges from Hungary. They had the full use of their language in schools, and developed on their own lines. Their passion for education and their industry made the Zips the Scots of Hungary;

they became leaders in the universities, institutions, and undertakings.

There was a break of over three hundred years as regards thirteen of the cities, which came under the suzerainty of Poland. But the remarkable thing—and a fine testimony to the magnetic influence of the Magyars—is that during the centuries the Zips remained more Hungarian than the Magyars. The long interregnum in regard to the thirteen cities under Poland did not interrupt their fealty to Hungary. The Saxon island remained firmly anchored to Budapest. Even when the free cities—in the period of reaction—lost their political privileges in 1875, and had to give first place to Magyar, they never wavered in their loyalty. Slovaks entered the country, acquired small holdings or laboured for others until they outnumbered the Zips, but the original colonists retained their ascendancy in all spheres of public activity.

After the armistice the County Council declared unanimously for Hungary. The Czechs did not like it. Here were colonists who had been under the Magyar yoke for centuries and were perfectly contented with the shameful burden. They were well educated people, too, with a high standard of civilization and institutions which would have been a credit to larger communities. Something had to be done to make them see the error of their ways and to appreciate the blessings and soothing effects of Czechised rule. There were no Czechs in the Zips country. The Slovaks numbered more than half, according to the new Czech census,

and less than half according to Hungarian statistics. The Czechs made a distinction between Germans and Hungarians, although they are one politically.

Czechising began before the Peace Treaty was signed. The old officials were at once superseded, and after the arrival of their Czech successors all counties which had enjoyed autonomy under Hungary were dissolved; the Zips country, which had been an entity for over a thousand years, was dissected: the German Gollnitz Valley was annexed to the county of Kassa, and all the cities were reduced to the status of communes and placed under the administration of a "notary."

[In 1923 new super-counties (Zupa-Gaue) were formed, and Zips was included in the XIX Sub-Tatra Gau. The new county town was Liptovsky Svaty Mikulas, a large town in the west of the county, which can only be reached from the three districts of Gömör by a detour through two other county towns. The county elections returned twenty-five members of the Opposition and eleven members of the Government parties. The balance was redressed by the nomination of twelve members and the appointment of twelve officials with voting power.

The effect of this measure is seen in the employment of the local taxation revenue, which is devoted almost exclusively to the improvement of the Slovak Liptau district; the roads of the Zips county, which bear much tourist traffic to and from the Great Tatra, are neglected. Nothing is applied to Hungarian or German cultural

objects. In addition to this several hospitals have been sequestered and diverted from their humanitarian and hygienic purposes.

Immediately after the revolution all the Hungarian schools in the county were closed ; there is now no single school or even class in which the children are taught to read and write Hungarian ; even in the purely German districts Czech schools have been established for the children of the three or four resident Czech officials. Of seven intermediate schools there are now only four : two German and two Czech. The Igló Gymnasium, which had been in existence for three hundred years, has been Czechised ; it now has one German, one Slovak, and thirteen Czech teachers. In the Igló teachers' training college there are two Slovak and eight Czech professors.

All the Zips towns, Eperjes, Késmárk, Lócse, Poprád, Korompa and others, were subjected to Czech penetration ; local institutions were closed and industries destroyed.

THE PATHETIC CASE OF EPERJES

The Zips town of Eperjes deserves special notice because of the humiliation from which it has suffered. It was one of the first towns to embrace Protestantism, and in the year 1530 expressed its religious faith by the establishment of a Protestant college. It has been a famous centre of learning throughout the centuries. This university college included schools of theology, a gymnasium, a training college, and a

faculty of law. Around this central institution grew up other cultural societies, so that the town became known in Central Europe for centuries as the "Little Athens." The professors attached to the college were frequently men of European reputation, and among the students who passed through the Faculty of Law was Kossuth. The college is the most prominent building in the centre of the town, and in the Great Hall is a library containing over thirty thousand volumes, which have been free to all the citizens. Under the auspices of the college over one hundred years ago a society was established for the encouragement of dramatic art. The municipal theatre was regarded as a branch of education. A further cultural society known as the Széchenyi Society was founded fifty years ago by Professor Adalbert von Berzeviczy, afterwards an eminent Hungarian statesman and President of the Hungarian Academy of Science. Under the auspices of this cultural society twelve to fifteen addresses were given by distinguished scholars annually, which were open to all, irrespective of race or language. Classical concerts were also organized, which were equally popular, and lessons were given in French, German, and English. Before the War this little town possessed besides college, one law and two theological faculties, two gymnasiums, one secondary girls' school, three teachers' training schools, one institution for the blind and dumb, and one trade school. What town in England or in any other country with only a population of 16,000 could boast of such a wealth of educa-

tional facilities or such a devotion to cultural institutions ?

Eperjes before the War had a mixed population, about 40 per cent. of which was Magyar. In later years educational and cultural institutions were used to promote the Magyarizing policy of the Hungarian Government.

Eperjes can now only look back on its cultural traditions. Its treasured college was dissolved in November 1922, and although the High Court granted an appeal the political authorities have ignored it. The property of the college has been confiscated, and no redress has been obtained. In the Great Hall and Library, where the intelligentsia foregathered to hear lectures by eminent men, jazz bands now play and occasional popular concerts are given: I noticed that the books lie dusty and neglected on the shelves. In the theatre Hungarians are not allowed to give performances except by amateur companies, and then only two or three times a year in the summer months. The privileged Czechs have not succeeded in attracting the public to their dramatic performances.

[The Széchényi Society has been dissolved and its property confiscated—confiscated on the excuse that the Hungarian population is in a minority of 10 per cent. The argument is invalid, as the Minority rule does not apply to cultural societies. Moreover, it is not correct.

It is said that the Government was unable to maintain the higher educational institutions even with Czech teachers, as the teachers were not

available. This was no adequate excuse for destroying them. Czech is now the universal language of education in the schools, and the Hungarians have only one small Evangelical elementary school with one Hungarian teacher.

For many years Eperjes maintained a voluntary institution for social welfare. It has been confiscated by the Government and handed over to the Red Cross Society. No indemnity has been paid.

In 1919 it was recorded that the Hungarian population of Eperjes was 40 per cent. The census of 1921 gives it as 10.2 per cent. While there has been the usual immigration of Czech officials, police, privileged tradesmen, and the new landowners, Eperjes still retains its Magyar sympathies. At the municipal election on 16th October 1927 the Hungarian Christian Socialist Party headed the list of returns, receiving 2,003 out of a total of 7,735 votes cast. Together with the Hungarians included in the Ruthenian, Industrial, and Jewish Parties, they form at a very moderate estimate 40 per cent. of the total voters who went to the poll, which strikingly enough coincides with the census returns of 1919 and the claims which the Hungarians put forward to-day.

LOSONCZ

Losonc was a thoroughly Hungarian town, and lies about twelve miles from the new frontier. It was a centre of thriving industries, and was proud of its scholastic institutions. Of its popu-

lation of 16,000 a majority was Hungarian in race or sympathy. The Czechising campaign proceeded on several lines. Hungarian officials were dismissed and replaced by incompetent Czechs, who were ignorant of the Magyar language and of administrative work. The Chief of the Police was formerly an agent for machinery; the Town Clerk had been an employee in a bank; the Zupan was a Protestant clergyman without judicial or administrative qualification; a professor at the training college for teachers had to retire after two years failure in order to be taught himself.

Prominent citizens were arrested and imprisoned on the flimsiest of pretexts or without any pretext at all. The case of Dr. Giller is notorious; he was imprisoned for three periods, although no offence could be proved against him. Dr. Béla Szilassy underwent a similar experience; no formal proceedings were taken against him.

The elementary and higher schools have been Czechised or closed. The Hungarian gymnasium, the property of the Reformed Church, was confiscated and converted into a bilingual establishment, instruction in Hungarian being given a secondary place. It is natural that the Czechs should wish the national language taught in all schools, but this should not be done to the detriment of the predominating local language. All cultural and social societies were closed, and only in one or two cases allowed to re-open, and then only conditionally that they were available to Czechs and Slovaks. The Kubinyi Library, one of the most valuable

collections in the town, was seized and the books dispersed.

No district has suffered more than Losoncz from the Czech policy of de-industrialising Slovakia. There was the usual manipulation of census returns in order to defeat Minority language rights. The Magyar language is only used in official notices for taxes and elections, and calling conscripts to the colours.

RIMASZOMBAT

First the Hungarians in Rimaszombat had to be assigned to a minority position in the census. The Czech census of 1919 gave them a population of 5,709 out of 6,133. The next census, in 1921, more than doubled the number of Czechs and Slovaks, chiefly officials and gendarmes, and by expulsions reduced the Hungarians to 4,909 out of a population of 7,000. That proportion would have assured the Hungarians in the exercise of the Minority rights. They were placed in a minority of 20 per cent. in the judicial area by the incorporation of fifteen Slovak villages (Ministerial Order 55/1926). In the district court Hungarian must not be used, nor interpreters employed; only Czecho-Slovak is recognized. All the schools were Czechised. The Hungarian school of agriculture was superseded by a Czech school, at which last year only five pupils attended. The Association of Public Culture in the Comitatus of Gomor was suspended in 1922 and its funds

confiscated. After five years the Supreme Administrative Tribunal on appeal reversed the decision on formal grounds, but the association has not been able to resume its former activities.

KOMÁROM

Komárom is one of the ancient, historic cities of Old Hungary. It was founded by the Romans, evidences of whose civilization have been brought to light in abundance by archæological researches which have now been in progress for many years. From the sixteenth century onwards it enjoyed the rank and privileges of a royal free city. Before the War it was the capital of Komárom county, the seat of eighteen administrative departments, and an important educational and industrial centre. It stands astride the Danube on the main railway route which connects Vienna with Budapest and Bucarest. Its main railway station is on the Hungarian side of the river, and near it had grown up a number of important factories and works, which exported their products to Austria, Germany, and the Orient. This part of the town has remained Hungarian. On the other side of the river was the residential, or "Old" town, where lived the whole of the working population; here were all the schools, training colleges for teachers, hospitals, a sanatorium, museum, library, water, gas, and electricity works, and other institutions. This part of the town became Czech. The first act of the new rulers was to reduce the town to the status of a village; the chief administrative

departments were centralised, and the Hungarian officials either discharged or pensioned off. As in other towns, the schools and other institutions were more or less completely Czechised. Those branches of industry which lay on the Czech side of the river atrophied; those which have not been closed down entirely lead a precarious existence in the face of the competition of the industries of Bohemia. There is much unemployment among the Hungarian population, while Czecho-Slovak workmen have been brought in from other parts of the Republic to carry out constructional work at the docks. The population, which in 1910 numbered 24,400, of whom 91½ per cent. were Hungarians, had by 1921 dropped to a total of 17,700, which included a considerable number of Czech officials and Slovak workpeople, but the Hungarians were still in a majority.

Owing to its sheltered and fortunate situation on the Danube it has for many centuries played an important part in Hungary's trade, and it escaped the effects of the Turkish and Kurucz wars. Thanks to the combination of these circumstances, it was regarded in the light of a Hungarian national and intellectual reserve. The people of Komárom were held to embody the type of "100 per cent. Hungarian." They were at any rate the finest and purest stock of old Calvinistic Magyardom, and Komárom was the birthplace of many illustrious Hungarian authors and statesmen. Maurice Jokai, the greatest Hungarian novelist of all time, was a native of the town, which he immortalised in several of his

finest novels in the same way in which Thomas Hardy immortalised Wessex. Surely if ever there was a place that could be called Hungary's inalienable national inheritance, it was Komárom.

The town was the seat of the Trans-Danubian Calvinistic bishops. The last Hungarian bishop, the Right Reverend Bishop Stephen Németh, had to flee before the Czech occupation, leaving his family behind. His wife became ill and he was not permitted to go to her death-bed. This broke the poor man's heart, and he followed his wife soon after her decease.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

CHAPTER VIII

REVOLUTIONARY LAND REFORM

AFTER the War land-hunger spread among the peasants throughout those countries of Europe where a latifundian aristocracy exercised dominion. The demand was insistent, ominous, and had to be satisfied. It recalled the revolt which swelled up in France from the sans-culottes during the French Revolution. The peasants were appeased by tempting offers of land. In Russia, land, houses, and property of the landed aristocracy were confiscated wholesale. In the Succession States the system adopted approximated more or less to the Russian model, except in Hungary, where the landlords received a fair price for their property. In Russia, landlordism met with sudden death: in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Jugo-Slavia, it has to endure prolonged agony. I am concerned with the bearing of these revolutionary land reform schemes upon the Treaty of Trianon and the welfare of Hungarians, and in the social and economic reactions which followed from them.

The new States plunged into Agrarian Reform before their boundaries were delimited by the

Peace Treaties or their representative parliaments elected.

President Masaryk, speaking on the ninth anniversary of the founding of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, pointed out that Land Reform, which was "the crown and consummation of the Czech Revolution," obviated the risk of social explosions, since it offered the masses the prospect of obtaining land. The President contrasted the work of Land Reform in Czecho-Slovakia with results elsewhere, notably in the United Kingdom, and pointed out that while in Czecho-Slovakia no single drop of blood had been spilt, in Ireland landowners had been murdered. There were no outrages against landlords in Czecho-Slovakia before the War, and there is no analogy between the land problem in Ireland and in the territories of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The land campaign in Ireland, with its boycotting, pillaging and shooting—the greatest tragedy in Irish history—was carried on for many generations, and was directed against landlords who were absentees and were also looked upon as aliens. In Slovakia and Bohemia, on the other hand, the landowners lived on their estates and occupied leading positions in public life. They developed their farms and practised scientific agriculture and stock raising on a large scale. The contrast might be pursued: the British Government paid the Irish landlords, who had failed to develop their properties, full value for their property and over and above a 12 per cent bonus.

CZECHO-SLOVAK LAND REFORM*

There is quite a library of literature on the Czecho-Slovak Land Reform—most of it propagandist—all treating the system in a sympathetic spirit and evading the moral issues involved. It rests on an immoral foundation. It is confiscation. When the nominated National Assembly met in Prague, in 1918—without the Minorities being represented—the Czechs passed their land nationalization scheme, and put an embargo on all lands. The process of expropriation has gone on ever since, until now almost the whole of the arable land in Bohemia and Moravia has been seized and re-allotted.

The Czech land policy is founded on revenge for the defeat of the Czechs in 1620 at the battle of the White Mountain, in an age when robbery of private property was accepted as the legitimate reward of victors. To resort to confiscation now for something which happened three centuries ago is to plunge civilization back into the morals of Mediaevalism. Also the greater part of the land has passed through several ownerships since 1620. The battle, which plays such a vital part in the resurrection of the Czechs, occurred in a war, not between races, but between religions, and many Bohemian Germans were on the side of the Czechs.

The scheme for land spoliation was worked out with meticulous care. The land was divided into four categories, according to its productiveness.

*See Appendix IV, p. 325.

The average yield per hectare was taken as the basis of purchase price. There were also other factors taken into consideration, such as the distance from railway stations, from markets, as well as the nature of the soil and the amount of profit. Owners had to show their books. After taking all the factors into consideration a coefficient was arrived at which represented what was considered to be a fair value. The basis of price could be seen by the owners of the land. There could be an appeal to the Courts after the purchase had been effected.

The price fixed was based on the average value between 1913 and 1915, but payment is made, not in gold crowns, but in depreciated Czech currency, with the result that at the best the owners only receive from one-sixth to one-seventh of the value for their property. This basis of payment only applies to estates up to one thousand hectares; in the case of larger properties there are deductions from the price, rising to 40 per cent. There are cases where the owner, after having paid the capital levy on the real, not the fictitious, value of his property, and been charged to provide pensions for his employees displaced by the transfer, or for the maintenance of local churches, has been left without any compensation whatever.

The Land Office was placed under the nominal supervision of a committee consisting of Czechs. That Committee was to function for three years; but it has never been re-appointed, and still functions. The Land Office is autocratic. It controls over three million acres of agricultural

land, most of which, except in Slovakia, where operations are now being carried on, has been transferred, and about 6,500,000 acres of forests, prairie lands, etc.

The usual process of acquiring land is to invite owners to offer so much of their land to the State. It does not make the slightest difference whether they give up their land voluntarily or not. A pistol is put at their heads. They are held up and must deliver.

Theoretically, the owners are supposed to receive the half of the depreciated purchase price in cash and the other half in deferred payment. As a matter of fact, very little cash has been paid, and payment is spread over fifty years. The owner receives 4 per cent. on from one-seventh to one-tenth of the value of his property, and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is charged for redemption. No bonds are issued. The owner's name is inscribed in an indemnity register, but the State will not accept this inscription in payment of any obligation, nor can the owner market it.

The prices are fixed in an arbitrary way. The Land Office has complete discretionary power. It gives no reasons for its action; it issues no reports to justify its proceedings. It carries on its legalized robbery in secret and with impunity.

The Czechs in defending their spoliation policy make a strong point of their claim to do exactly what they like with property in their own country, ignoring the principles of international law. They have also, however, supplemented this statement by saying that there must be equality

in the way in which the law is enforced. While the Agrarian Law is of general application, there has been a wide difference in the way in which it is enforced. Inequality in the enforcement of Czech Land Reform is as gross a scandal as the re-sale of the land. The prices paid and the amount of land left in the hands of the owners vary according to racial sympathy and political influence. Only a small portion of the land belonged to Czechs, who receive differential treatment. The original law fixed the maximum amount of land left to the owner at 250 hectares, of which 100 hectares might be forest land. Many owners are left with larger minima. One owner told me that he had been allowed to retain two thousand hectares. "It cost me a bit," he explained. On the other hand, the Hungarian family of Benyovszky have been despoiled of their possessions in the Schütt Island to below the minimum. Over and over again purchases by members of Minorities have been declined and the land sold to Czechs or Slovaks for very much less. An immense amount of dealing, and double dealing, goes on in connection with the Czech land system. An Austrian owner made a present to the Land Office of 500 hectares, on condition that he was left in peaceful possession of the balance. The Land Office broke the agreement after a year and confiscated most of the remainder. In Slovakia nearly all the big land-owners were Hungarians, and they have had to yield up property to the utmost limit.

There are some notorious cases of unequal

treatment of foreign owners. There is the case of Baron de Forest, a naturalized British subject, whose property was sequestrated by Austria during the War. His estates at Rossitz in Moravia consisted of 6,775 hectares. He received forty-five million crowns in cash. The State renounced the Capital Levy against him and other rates amounting to thirty million crowns, and also paid two millions for legal costs. The entire sum received was seventy-seven million crowns, or 11,360 crowns per hectare, which amounted to practically the full value instead of the usual tenth part in the case of large estates belonging to Hungarians.

Take by way of comparison the treatment meted out to the Whitehead family. Mrs. Whitehead, a member of an English family long resident in Hungary, owned a fourth of an estate in Slovakia—total about six thousand hectares—of which one thousand were occupied by forests and vineyards. The Land Office seized the whole of her share of the property except about one hundred and twenty hectares. Mrs. Whitehead will never receive any compensation, as the small amount which should have been paid to her has been allocated to the upkeep of two parish churches and the payment of pensions to former employees. She says: "Therefore for me, the owner, there is nothing left to live on." She adds the significant sentence: "The population is entirely Hungarian."

Vindictiveness for the White Mountain defeat is practised with cruel severity against Hungarian

owners, who are now being squeezed to the uttermost. Throughout the country castles and manor houses are left unoccupied as white elephants, the owners having been deprived of means of maintaining them and the land attached to them.¹

A few months ago (in November 1927) the Czech Land Reform Office, in response to the challenge by Lord Rothermere, issued a report on the operations of the Department for the last six years. It is a mere skeleton—more notable for its omissions than for the information which it gives.

The statistics are impressive, but no particulars are given of the prices paid the owners nor of the distribution of land according to races.

The confiscatory methods adopted are concealed, but the colossal scale of the transaction shows the scope which has existed for the favouritism and corruption which have been practised.

The total area of agricultural land which has been allotted or released, that is taken over by the State, amounts to 1,005,574 hectares (about 2,500,000 acres), leaving only 224,114 hectares to be expropriated. The forests and uncultivated land, occupying an area of 2,733,376 hectares (about 6,750,000 acres), are nearly all retained by the State. The land which remains to be allotted is chiefly in Slovakia.

While the State only makes utterly inadequate payment for the land, the Land Office lends money on easy terms to the favoured new owners, of whom 90 per cent. are Czechs or Slovaks.

The report states that credits amounting to nearly 500 million crowns (about £3,650,000) have been granted to the new owners.

Many thousands of employees on the large estates were thrown out of work by the spoliation, and to these only 49,429 hectares have been allotted—mostly to Czechs.

The Land Office is a bureaucratic department, not represented in Parliament by a Minister, and interpellations usually fizzle out.

The object of the law is roughly observed. The land is parcelled out among small owners; a peasant proprietary is being created. Many of these new owners are inexperienced as farmers, and production has declined.

The process of distribution is on the following lines: When the State obtains possession of property worth from six to ten times the price paid for it, the Land Office makes its selection of buyers from the numerous applications received. The first favourites are the Czech legionaries or Czech small-holders—if they belong to one of the Government parties: Slovaks who have local interests and pass the political test are in the next batch. In every case relatives of Ministers, of Government officials and political party hacks have prior claims. The new owners are expected to play the game politically, and fulfil party obligations. For example, in October 1927 new owners who had received land from an expropriated estate and others “who lay claim to such land” were invited to attend a meeting against Lord Rothermere. Land is being rented to Hun-

garian villages near the border, on condition that the inhabitants support the Government.

New owners only pay deposits and get easy credits for long periods. Thus things are evened up : the State seizes land and does not pay for it, or postpones payment ; it sells the land against loans for long periods at low rates of interest. While the former owners were excluded from disposing of land at a fair price, the new owners are free to sell at once and make big profits.

The State becomes possessed of a vast amount of wealth, which is used to a great extent in distributing favours among political supporters and in winning over opponents—especially transparent in colonization schemes. No accounts have been published by the Land Office ; no particulars given of the prices paid or of the re-transfers which have taken place with big intermediate profits, or of the racial and political affinities of the new owners.

The son-in-law of a senator offered 2,700,000 crowns for an estate for which the commune of Schwatz offered 3,500,000 crowns. He got it, but he re-sold it and made a profit of 2,000,000 crowns on the transaction. Three local sheriffs and their relatives were allotted 5,460 acres in a rich agricultural district near the Hungarian border. A chief forester was able to acquire an estate for 12,000,000 crowns, which he leased for 200,000 crowns per annum. A former Vice-President of the Land Office got an estate of 400 acres, which he disposed of at a profit to sugar-beet growers without ever having seen it. A Government

official at Pozsony (Pressburg) obtained 1,200 acres, and an official of the District Land Office at Nyitra became the possessor of 400 acres. A departmental chief at the Ministry of Commerce was allotted an estate at Petrovic, but as he knew nothing of farming, passed it over to his sons-in-law—who were engineers! Ten years ago a man named Janco was a railway labourer near Csorba Lake. He became a keen local politician and supported the Czech Agrarian Party, and a few years ago he was able to acquire an estate at Mece-dlovce, which formerly belonged to Count Csáky, for nine thousand crowns. He sold the timber on the estate for 1½ million crowns.

There are scores of other examples of the new landed aristocracy. They have been published in the Press and mentioned during discussions in Parliament. The Government has never responded by revealing the inner activities of the Land Office. Until a detailed inventory of the new ownerships is published, the Land Office can hide its policy of graft.

LAND IN RUTHENIA

Land Reform practice in Ruthenia has not differed from expropriation in other parts of the country, except that the land is less fertile. A landowner who purchased his land out of his own savings, or reclaimed it from waste, or raised its productivity by his own labour and the expenditure of vast capital, finds it confiscated by the State, and receives a bare unmarketable

promise of payment of one-seventh to one-tenth of the sum he could easily have obtained in the open market, if he were allowed to do so. The injustice of the system and the iniquities of its application are well illustrated in the case of a number of Ruthenian estates. Portions of these were taken over by the Land Office at fractions of their true value. Part of one estate was transferred for one-fortieth of its fair value. The land was then allotted to Czechs—to officials in the employ of the Land Department, to officials or active members of the Czech Agrarian Party, and others who were “deserving”—who paid negligible sums for it. Local Hungarian applicants were passed over. In this process Hungarian communes were deprived of pasturage rights, often running back over generations, and forced to pay heavy grazing rents. One small piece of land which was acquired by a Hungarian commune for use as a cemetery was charged for at an exorbitant rate. A few examples may be given of harshness in dealing with the Ruthenian owners.

When the Schönbrunn estates were sequestrated, 18,000 acres were provisionally confiscated. Of these the State took over 5,000 acres at a price varying between 60 and 100 crowns an acre—an average of, roughly, one-seventh of the actual value of the land. An estate at Nagyszöllös, covering 1,500 acres, and belonging to Baron Bartholomäus Perényi, was sold compulsorily at, roughly, one-fifth of the price it would have realised in the open market. Part of another estate

in the same district, belonging to Madame Atzel, was also sold at, roughly, the same fraction of its true value. Part of another estate, still in the same area, belonging to Baron Sigmund Perényi, was taken over at a price of one thousand crowns per acre, although the real value was 40,000 crowns an acre.

LAND REFORM IN RUMANIA

Land Reform is no new thing in Rumania. Already in the middle of the eighteenth century there existed an Agrarian movement. Revolts, finding their source in the belief of the Rumanian peasant that the soil belongs by Divine right to him who tills it, have many times convulsed the country. Prior to the outbreak of the War of 1914, Agrarian reform applicable to the domains of the Crown in Old Rumania and to the estates of absentee landowners had been decided upon in principle. At this time Rumania had no hope of annexing the rich and fertile lands of Transylvania. The Land Reform introduced since the War is not connected with the previous Rumanian Agrarian movement. Neither is it uniform for the whole of the kingdom. Four different Acts passed by Parliament at four different times regulate the parcelling out of estates in Old Rumania, Bessarabia, Bukowina and Transylvania. These Acts show undeniable discrepancies and always to the detriment of the territories severed from Hungary. The Act passed in July 1921, which applies to Transylvania, is compre-

hensive in its scope. It applies to property of owners in active management of their estates, and also land belonging to "fictitious public persons"—corporations, churches, schools, hospitals—and "fictitious private persons"—limited private companies, banks and absentee landowners. It defines absolutely the maximum of land to be left to each original owner, but not the amount that may be taken from him.

Of all the provisions of the Law, however, the one (Art. 50) which fixes the maximum compensation payable for the expropriated estates at the assessable value in 1913, the value of the lei being estimated for this purpose as equal to a crown, is most open to adverse criticism. The difference in the value of the same amount of money in 1913 and to-day is enormous. In 1913 a paper lei was practically equivalent to a crown, whereas to-day the Napoleon d'or is quoted at 470 lei, and 23.5 lei in notes are the equivalent of one gold lei. Consequently, the owner whose land is expropriated receives about 5 per cent. only of the real value of his property. Further, according to Article 85, the State is not bound to pay even this compensation in cash, but is entitled to pay by means of non-transferable annuity bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest and redeemable within fifty years.

The Agrarian Reform in Rumania is more confiscatory than in Czecho-Slovakia. The law respecting absentee landowners in Bukowina and Old Rumania provides that only those persons shall be regarded as absentees who between

August 1st 1909 and August 1st 1919 had lived for five years outside the country—Austria not to be regarded as a foreign country. The Law for Transylvania and other Hungarian provinces classes everybody who had not been in residence between December 1st 1918 and March 23rd 1921—a period of revolution, enemy occupations and other troubles for Hungary—as absentees, and ordains the expropriation of his fields, forests, house, farms, orchards, and vineyards. The respective laws of the other provinces permit the absentee to reclaim his property with the sole exception of the fields, provided the land has not yet been parcelled out and he claims no compensation for possible damage caused by Government management.

Preferential treatment is also strikingly evident where the expropriation of private forests is concerned. Only for Transylvania and the former Hungarian provinces is the sequestration of private forests ordered. Of the 680,000 hectares obtained in this way 185,388 hectares only have been allotted to rural communities and the remainder have been retained by the State. Rural communities, if they apply for forest allotments, are obliged to pay full current price for property which was expropriated by the State without paying compensation. In Old Rumania and in Bukowina for such forests as have been allotted to rural communities, the current price has been paid to the owners, including interest from the day of expropriation.

As in Czecho-Slovakia Land Reform in Ru-

mania has been prolific of corruption and graft. Claimants have been refused land because the members of the district Land Reform Commissions were busy dividing up the available land among themselves; local Land Reform officials seem to have allotted land only to those who were prepared to bribe them, and they often withdrew and re-allotted it to persons who had subsequently paid more; the lands allotted were frequently sold by the new Rumanian owners at enormous profits; areas of land "disappeared" in the records of transfer. Official inquiries have at different times led to the suspension and arrest of innumerable officials, even of the Central Land Reform Commission and of the Land Office itself, who were accused of having extorted bribes or misappropriated lands, but they were generally released, and no details were ever published.

The number of Hungarians who have received land is given as over 23,000. This total includes expropriated Hungarian peasants who were allowed to retain diminutive fragments of their land. In other places the numbers of Hungarians who are said to have received land exceed by as many as four times the total number of persons entitled to land. The preferential treatment of Rumanians is very marked. In old Rumania a farmer is entitled to retain 50 hectares of land in respect of each son trained in agriculture; in Transylvania one son only is recognised, and his allowance is limited to 28.77 hectares. Concessions are made in Old Rumania for improvements made by farmers themselves farming

their lands : in Transylvania there are no such concessions. In Old Rumania the owner retains the maximum allowance from each property ; in Transylvania all properties of an owner are counted as one unit. In Old Rumania owners and peasant claimants each delegate one member to the local Land Reform Commissions : in Transylvania the Commissions consist only of nominated officials. The total amount of land to be expropriated in Old Rumania is fixed at two million hectares : for Transylvania no limit is set. Old Rumania was a country of mammoth estates, many of which remain wholly or substantially intact. Large estate owners, such as M. Anghelscu, Minister of Education ; M. Alexander Vajda, the former Prime Minister ; M. Stefan Pop-Csicsó, the former Rumanian Minister of Justice ; M. Vintilla Bratianu, ex-Finance Minister ; M. Constantin Bratianu, the brother of the late Prime Minister ; M. Victor Antonescu, the former Ambassador at Paris ; Prince Barbu Stirbey, the Cantacuzine, Argetoianus, and Manoilescu-Strungas families, and last but not least, M. Constantinescu, the Agrarian Minister himself—landed aristocrats such as these have succeeded in preserving their estates from all but the most superficial encroachment. The Minister of Agriculture in the Avarescu Government stated in a report issued at the commencement of 1927 that the great estates remaining in Old Rumania aggregated 1,121,397 hectares ; those in Transylvania, on the other hand, only 149,913 hectares.

CHAPTER IX

LAND REFORM AND THE CHURCHES

LAND Reform has been used in the anti-Hungarian Succession States to undermine the power of the Churches and to make life almost unbearable to the Hungarian clergymen.

The Rumanians applied this all-destructive weapon against the Hungarian churches of Transylvania until they were rendered practically powerless. For centuries these churches had been endowed with lands, which were the main source of income with which church and school buildings were maintained, stipends and salaries provided, and the other expenses incident to a religious community paid. The religious and intellectual national life of the Hungarian population of the country was therefore peculiarly susceptible to attack through these properties. The Agrarian Reform Law thus achieved at one stroke the double purpose of transferring the land into the hands of the new dominant race and eliminating the foundation and mainstay of the Hungarians as a national community; and it achieved these objects under the forms of legality. Even if the Reform had been carried out with scrupulous impartiality,

even if the land taken from Hungarian churches had been given to Hungarians to enable them to support the churches themselves—roughly, 90 per cent. of it was given to Rumanians—equity would still have required some modification of its principles so far as it was applied to the churches of Transylvania, the majority of which are almost entirely dependent on the revenues and products of their lands. So far, however, from any differentiation in favour of Transylvania, it has been penalised in one important respect in that the amount of land which the owner is nominally entitled to retain is considerably lower there than in Old Rumania, owing to the application of the coefficient to different units of measure in the two territories, and in addition not even the legal minima have been observed.

The most drastic effect of Rumanian Land Reform as applied to the churches is that the properties of all churches with smaller congregations than three hundred are totally expropriated. This rule, which has been carried out relentlessly, spells extinction to the parishes affected, since these, being small, are the least able to subsist on their resources; the peasantry themselves cannot provide the funds for their upkeep; the compensation paid is not as a rule equal to the rent for one single year, and in many cases it is not paid at all; and the Government subsidies, reduced almost to vanishing point and paid often many months in arrear, help but little. There is a whole host of villages in which the churches have lost the whole of their property

under this regulation—Ribicze, Dios, Fehérviz, Kisküllö, Marosszentimre, Clopadia, Buna, Karansebes, Ciavos and Nadlock among them.

In the case of congregations numbering more than three hundred, fifty acres are allowed to each parish church, and sixty-six to churches which maintain confessional schools. "On the basis of the provisions of the Agrarian Law," the Rumanian Government states, "steps are taken that, where the churches have no land (even if they belong to the Minorities), they be endowed with the necessary areas of land, in the limits of possibility." These amounts, even if they had been conceded, would have been inadequate for the maintenance of buildings and the payment of stipends and salaries. Yet, by the time the process is complete, it seems certain that the Hungarian parishes which will have been allowed to retain even these amounts will be few indeed. So far from the churches which possessed less than the quotas having received the balance, land has been taken away from them. The whole of the land owned by the Calvinist Church in Transylvania before the passing of the Land Reform Act—58,502 acres—would have been insufficient to provide every parish with the necessary sixty-six acres; yet up to the end of 1924 about 21,000 acres had been expropriated. At one place, in fact, the village of Firtos, thirteen out of fourteen and a half acres belonging to the Hungarian church were confiscated. In general, the churches seem to have been left with between twenty and thirty acres. At Tarcesto, in the

district of Cristur, the Unitarian church lost 128 out of its 150 acres. The Unitarian church and school at Turdeni, in the same district, had sixty-six acres, of which thirty-seven were taken. At Aita Mare, in the district of Treiscaune, the Unitarian church and school had sixty-five acres, of which thirty were seized. At Meresti, in the district of Odorheiu, the Unitarian church was left with thirty-seven out of a total of 230 acres.

Much of the land thus taken was given to Rumanian churches. At Cehetel in the district of Cristur, and Sarosulunguresco, in the district of Tarnava, the Unitarian churches and schools had fifty-two and fifty-three acres respectively, which amounts were already less than they were entitled to retain; yet nineteen acres were confiscated from each and given to Rumanian churches. At Lisnyo the Unitarian church had thirty-two acres; ten were taken and given to the Rumanian church, which received ten further acres in each of two adjoining villages. The Calvinist church in the same place had 248 acres of forest land, 218 of which were taken and divided between the Greek Catholic and Rumanian Orthodox churches. At Cornesti, in the district of Kolozs-doboka, part of the property of the Hungarian church, which was also below the quota, was similarly taken and given to a Rumanian church. At Retin, Narkosfalva and Szilágysomló land was taken from Calvinist churches and given to Rumanian churches which had not yet even been built. The same thing happened at Zágón.

Where applications have been made by Minority churches for the balance of the quotas, their applications have in most cases not even been acknowledged, although land has been given to local Rumanian churches. At Seuca, district Tarnava, the Unitarian church had fourteen acres, and applied for further land, which was being apportioned in an adjoining village. It received nothing, but the Rumanian church was given forty-two acres. At Diciosanmartin, district Deaj, the Roman Catholic church had twenty-one acres, and applied for the balance of its quota. It received no answer, but a newly-built Rumanian church was given fifty-six acres and large grants were also made to Rumanians in the district. At Nagyfalva the Calvinist church, with 1,800 members, had twenty-two acres, and applied for the quota; it also received no answer, while a projected Rumanian church in an adjoining village was given 140 acres. At Satulcioc, district Mures, the Unitarian church had twenty-four acres and applied for further fourteen. No answer was given, although the Rumanian church at Szökefalva, with only ninety-seven members, was given forty-two acres, and Rumanians in another adjoining village also received land.

The Greek Catholic churches, which were also recognized in the Constitution as "Rumanian," were naturally also among the hyenas of the battle-field until the encroachments of the Orthodox Church rendered their own position precarious. Meanwhile, however, they had contrived to wrest a number of churches from the Hungarians.

The most revolting case was that of the small but ancient Calvinist church in the village of Maros St. Imre, which, according to legend, was built by John Hunyadi to commemorate his victory over the Turks in 1442, but which is considered to date back beyond that to the twelfth century. The parish comprised 150 persons living in the surrounding villages. Under the Agrarian Reform Act the church lands were confiscated and handed over to the Greek Catholic Church. This was followed a few weeks later by the confiscation of the church itself, the compensation allotted for the whole of the property being £50. A new lock was then fitted, and the key handed to the Greek Catholic priest, the pretext advanced being that the church was catalogued as an ancient monument, and that the Greek Catholic priest was always at hand to admit visitors, whereas the Calvinist minister was frequently absent. The Sub-Prefect stated that the Calvinist minister might still hold services in the church; nevertheless, despite repeated applications and appeals to higher authorities, the key has never been handed to him for this or any other purpose. Commenting on this case, the "Unirea," an organ of the Greek Catholic Church, said that the expropriation was illegal, and that if they were concerned the church would never be taken without the consent of the Calvinists.

In Transylvania Land Reform has thus proved a powerful weapon for the destruction of the Hungarian churches and educational system; and it has been used unscrupulously. The American

Unitarian Commission which visited Transylvania in 1924 wrote in its report: "The most effective means for the weakening of churches is the so-called 'Agrarian Reform.' In a general way we do not discuss the necessity of this Law, but we have seen enough of its practical application to come to the conclusion that it is used for lessening the strength and influence of the Hungarian churches."

OSZK

CHAPTER X

LAND REFORM IN HUNGARY

“ In 1779 the first agricultural school was founded, a date which gives Hungary the place of pioneer in agricultural education.”

Eighty Club Report on visit to Hungary, 1906.

LITTLE has been heard about Land Reform in process of being carried out in Hungary. It is not spectacular ; it complies with the principles of commercial morality ; it is carried out cautiously, slowly, on sound lines, and safeguards progressive production. It is an essay in honest economics. The Hungarian Government recognises that property acquired must be paid for.

Existing Hungary, which consists very largely of the great Danubian plain, is essentially agricultural : 60 per cent. of the total area is arable land. It is a country of immense estates—to a less extent than it was—and a very highly developed agriculture. Hungarian flour held the first place in the London market for its excellence before the War. Breeding pedigree stock has been carried on for centuries. I read in Budapest letters from Charles Darwin to an agriculturist in Hungary, asking for information for scientific purposes concerning

the production of pedigree stock and crossing of horses. The establishment of agricultural schools, organisations of experimental farms on a large scale, scientific breeding and the best methods of cultivation has long since placed Hungary in the first place of continental countries in agricultural progress.

The present Land Reform legislation is not a product of post-War conditions or racial animosity ; it is a reasoned continuation and extension of a work of reform, the beginnings of which go back to the War of Liberation of 1848. In that year was enacted the emancipation of the serfs, who became the owners of the land they worked, the nobles being compensated a few years later by the issue of Land Bonds. In the last decade of the century, colonies were founded on domain lands in the south of Hungary, and in 1894 a Federal Law was passed, creating a fund out of which further colonies were formed in South Hungary and in Transylvania. A fresh measure came before Parliament in 1919, the outstanding feature of which was the encouragement given to co-operative societies, which were to take leases of large estates. This measure, however, was never put in operation owing to political conditions and the subsequent outbreak of war.

After the Revolutionary and Communist Governments had passed away, and the drastic measures of land confiscation which they had already put into operation had been rescinded, the work of reform was resumed by the Christian Small-Farmers' Party, one of the two strongest

political parties in the country. At the head of this party were Mr. Stefan Szabó, and Mr. Julius Rubinek, who was one of the leaders of the Hungarian co-operative movement. The present Land Reform Law (No. xxxvi of 1920) was drafted by Mr. Rubinek during his term of office as Minister of Agriculture, and was presented to and passed through Parliament by Mr. Szabó under the succeeding Ministry.

Under this law any Hungarian citizen may obtain land, provided that he was born in Hungary, and is under no legal disability. First preference is given to war cripples and widows, landless farm workers, and existing small-holders. Officials and officers follow in the order of preference, but it is to be noted that they may only obtain land to the capital value of their pensions—a safeguard against such abuses as have been particularly flagrant in Czecho-Slovakia.

In its choice of properties to be transferred the law has much to commend it from the standpoint of morality. Primarily, it is directed against properties which were acquired during the War, when ill-fortune on the one hand and the proceeds of profiteering on the other were responsible for the transfer of many valuable properties at prices which bore little relation to their real value. The State is entitled to claim the alienation of any portion of any large estate which is not essential to the rational working of the whole, any part which is essential being expressly immune. Estates which have been acquired during the past fifty years may, if it is necessary for the

operation of the scheme, be transferred under the law in their entirety, but only so far as the owner possesses other property. The law, however, is not applied indiscriminately or arbitrarily, even to the properties which are nominally alienable, nor is it directed unfairly against any social or racial class. Properties are subject to the operation of the law in the following order :

Properties of persons of unsound mind, and without children.

Properties acquired during the last fifty years.

Properties of owners resident abroad.

Badly administered properties.

Properties in excess of the number of children of the owner.

Properties of persons without children.

If the new or would-be owner is a near relative of the original owner, or if the property has formerly been in the possession of his family, particularly if it was sold during the War, the State is not entitled to demand the transfer. Medium and small properties in general do not come under the Act.

The work of Reform is carried out by four Land Reform Tribunals, whose duty is to fix the price. The owner is then credited with the full value of the land, which will be paid as soon as funds are available, so far as the purchasers are unable to find the necessary capital themselves. Pending payment the purchaser pays the former owner rent, the rate of which in normal cases varies between 10 pengös 80 fillérs and 60 pengös per

joch, according to the category to which the purchaser belongs, and the income derived from the land. The annual rental represents 4 per cent. of the purchase price fixed for the land. The new owners are allowed thirty to fifty years in which to complete payment.

There is a supplementary measure of Land Reform in operation in the form of the Capital Levy—Statute No. xlvii of 1921—which in the case of estates covering more than 1,400 acres has to be paid in land. The amount of land to be surrendered under this law varies between 14 and 20 per cent., according to the size of the estate; the latter rate applies only to properties covering more than 70,000 acres. In this way 630,000 acres of land have passed into the possession of the State and have been distributed.

Under the Land Reform scheme proper the State itself has taken over very little land, the reason being that no funds have been available for this purpose. The normal method has been that of transfer, as described above. Under this head, up to 7th December, 1925, the last date on which transfer proceedings under the law could be commenced, land had been earmarked in 3,700 out of 3,800 communes. Up to the end of 1927 over 1,700,000 acres in 3,295 communes had been distributed.

In addition to these amounts, 254,767 house-plots had been allocated up to the end of 1927. The new owners of these are supplied with timber at cost price for the building of their houses, and will receive credits up to fifteen years, for

which they pay 4 per cent. interest as soon as funds are available. Meanwhile, however, 80,000 houses have been built without any assistance whatsoever.

Hungarian Land Reform has been moderate in comparison with that carried out by Hungary's neighbours. Its moderation, in fact, has been turned to propagandist account by the Succession States among the peasantry of their own Hungarian Minorities: in the event of any revision of the Treaty frontiers, they say, the Hungarian landed proprietors would again take possession of the land, so that the peasants would be reduced once more to a condition scarcely distinguishable from serfdom. There was never any intention in Hungary to make the present reform more drastic than was necessary. When the law was passed in 1920 the need of reform was acute. Existing property conditions were well calculated to accentuate the land hunger which was clamant throughout Europe. Giant estates accounted for 36.8 per cent. of the total area of Hungary; medium properties for 16.7 per cent., their low percentage being a legacy of the agricultural crisis in the second half of the last century; while the remaining 46.5 per cent. were squandered in diminutive holdings which were already incapable of sustaining their owners in anything other than poverty, and which were crumbling rapidly in the devolutionary process of inheritance. The need was to provide the masses of landless farm workers with land, and to enlarge the existing diminutive units into

holdings capable of economic exploitation. It was necessary, however, to safeguard the productivity of agriculture, the stable industry of the country.

Agriculture in Hungary is still in a high state of efficiency, and Hungary exports more wheat than any other country in Europe—which is due partly to the lessened production in the Succession States owing to their Land Reform policy. Nevertheless, there is a great shortage of capital for the development of agriculture. The chief former market for pedigree stock—Germany—is closed by protection or by stringent veterinary regulations affecting imported livestock ; and Hungarian industry is crippled by new tariff regulations. High efficiency and expansion in agriculture are therefore vital. Everything is accordingly done to help the new owners to prosperity, and thus maintain the productivity of the land. Under the auspices of the Government they are organized in associations, which supply them with the use of modern agricultural machinery at moderate charges. Government lecturers tour the country districts, imparting instruction in modern farming methods. If the new farmer-owners wish to justify and retain their ownership, they have to turn the facilities offered them to account, for their property rights are contingent on good husbandry ; if they are found guilty of bad farming they forfeit their holdings.

CHAPTER XI

CONFISCATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

ANOTHER phase of the so-called Land Reform is its application to foreigners resident in the Succession States. Rumania, inspired and defended by Czecho-Slovakia, holds that it can expropriate foreign owners on the same terms as its own nationals. The case brought by Hungary to test this issue has dragged on for five years. Much more is involved in this matter than a dispute between Rumania and Hungary about a bit of property. The questions are :

Should machinery set up under the Peace Treaty to deal with such disputes be used ?

Is the opinion of the world's greatest jurists to be invited and respected ?

Is the prestige of the League of Nations to be maintained ?

Is the policy of arbitration to be recognised or receive a deadly blow ?

These are far-reaching issues. As Mr. Titulescu, for Rumania, told the Council in September 1927, that " The Hungarian optants are an advanced guard. If this attempt succeeds you will

have to settle a formidable problem of Minorities,"

Without following the history and complex tangle of this case through its devious course, its recent development may be recalled.

In January 1927 the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal at Paris, after long discussions, declared competence to deal with this case. Rumania refused to accept the Tribunal's opinion. Sir Austen Chamberlain was appointed the Chairman of a Committee, his colleagues being the representatives of Japan and Chili, to advise the League Council. In one recommendation Hungary was asked to bind itself beforehand to accept judgment of the Arbitral Court on the basis that Hungary had no case. The High Court of International Justice was not invited to give an opinion on the competency of the Mixed Tribunal nor to submit an interpretation of the Peace Treaty on the points at issue. It was all the more necessary that an appeal should have been made to the High Court as, according to the common-sense reading of the Covenant of the League, Article 15 precludes the Council from intervening in a dispute already the subject of arbitration or judicial proceedings.

A weighty memorandum was submitted by Dr. Beneš, the Czech Foreign Minister, who, although no longer a member of the Council, constituted himself the advocate of Rumania and the defender of Czecho-Slovakia. His Memorandum concerns the position of Czecho-Slovakia, but the case in regard to land reform is precisely the same in the two countries. Dr. Beneš put forward a defence with great clearness and plausibility

which held that "the International Arbitral Tribunal had no jurisdiction and that its interference was inadmissible and illegal." One of his strong points against the interference of the High Court was that the Czech Land Law which the Czechs contemplated putting into operation was known before the Peace Treaty was signed, and its terms communicated to the Peace Conference. The draft Bill, which stated that the owners were to be compensated, was no doubt before the Peace Conference, but the basis of compensation was not known. The Versailles Treaty was signed in June 1919; the Czech laws regulating compensation were not passed until April and June 1920. What is in dispute is not the principle of expropriation of landed estates, but the practice of confiscation. Another thing: the members of the Peace Conference were not told that the Czech land policy was based on revenge, openly and brazenly avowed. Nor was the Peace Conference made aware of the terms of compensation.

Dr. Beneš emphasised another point. He said that :

"the provisions of the Peace Treaty did not exclude the application to Hungarian Nationals of a general scheme to Agrarian reform."

but he added :

"There must be no inequality between Rumanians and Hungarians, either in the terms of the Agrarian law or in the way in which it is enforced."

These conditions are regarded as fundamental to the issue at stake. There is no inequality in the terms of the Agrarian law, but wide differences in the way in which it is enforced. Hungary has declared on several occasions that the Czech laws were directed specially against Hungarian subjects, and has insisted that the practice of liquidating or expropriating property should in all circumstances involve equality of treatment.

I have already produced evidence to show that inequality in the enforcement of the Land Reform laws is a gross scandal. Prices paid, and the amount of land left in the possession of the owners, vary according to racial sympathies and political influence.

It was alleged in the evidence submitted to Sir Austen Chamberlain's Committee that British, Italian, French and Belgian owners receive precisely the same treatment as Czech Nationals, Hungarians and Germans. As I have shown, that is not correct, and many other examples of inequality are available.

The meeting of the League Council in September admitted its failure to advance the settlement of this long-drawn-out dispute by transferring the negotiations to the Governments of the countries concerned. Hungary submitted a reasonable proposal in order to reach a solution. It recognised that it was impossible to get back land already confiscated, and was prepared to discuss reasonable terms of compensation. Property not yet dealt with under the alleged Agrarian Reform scheme was to be paid for at present day value.

This property consists chiefly of forests and prairie land. Rumania adopted the usual policy of procrastination, and no progress was reported to the meeting of the Council in March 1928. The Council showed its impatience at the delay. Sir Austen Chamberlain proposed that a judicial committee of five be set up to deal with the question. Rumania has declined so far to accept this new proposal and the deadlock remains.

The principles of international justice as well as the practices of commercial morality in international affairs are on the side of Hungary. Among the eminent jurists who have given opinions on this question are Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P., Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., M.P., Mr. Ralph Sutton, Mr. Edwin M. Borchard, professor of international law, and Maître René Brunet, professor of law at Caen, and barrister at the Paris Courts, and M. Lapradelle of Paris, Sir Frederick Pollock, K.C., Mr. Roland E. L. Vaughan-Williams, K.C., Maître Charles Dupuis, Member of the Institute of France. More impressive than these opinions were the speeches delivered by the most eminent jurists in the House of Lords on 17th November 1927. These were Lord Phillimore, one of the founders of the League of Nations and framers of the Covenant; Lord Buckmaster, a former Liberal Lord Chancellor; Lord Haldane, a scholarly lawyer and former Labour Lord Chancellor; Lord Carson, a distinguished Law Lord who has held high office in Conservative Governments. The opinions which these world's greatest jurists ex-

pressed were definitely convincing and unanswerable. And they were uncompromisingly against the case put forward by Rumania and forcibly in favour of Hungary.

CHAPTER XII

COLONISATION

“No surer means of alienating the Magyar peasantry could be devised than the plausible, but short-sighted, design of planting Czech and Slovak colonists along the frontier, to serve in the long run as instruments of Slavisation.”

R. W. SETON-WATSON—“*The New Slovakia*,” Prague, 1924.

IN centres throughout Slovakia where there is a concentration of Hungarians the Czech Government has planted colonies as part of their Land Reform scheme. The policy is intended to make for peaceful penetration, to dilute the Magyar people by isolated settlements of Czechs or Czech-Slovaks. As Dr. Seton-Watson says: “This is a policy which has lamentably failed where it has been tried, and it is not for Czecho-Slovakia to indulge in the same folly.” Yet the colonising campaign is being carried on with increasing vigour.

There have been successful cases of colonisation in the past, but only successful when conducted on entirely different lines. The Zips country was colonised by Saxons in the twelfth century, and at later dates Germans established colonies in Transylvania. In both cases they occupied terri-

teries which were depopulated by wars and were brought in by the kings of Hungary. The colonisation of Ulster by English and Scots was on a large scale, but in the first place the native population were driven out. The purpose was to establish a Protestant garrison in the North of Ireland. While the solid blocks planted by King James have held their own in Ulster, the isolated colonies introduced by Cromwell became merged in the Irish population after one generation. The Ulster colonisation did not make for peace between the two races. On the contrary, it has been a source of political and religious antagonism through the centuries. Prussians and Poles have equally failed in their system of penetration by isolated settlements. The Czechs are following the failures of history, and add another to the record. Block settlements would have a better chance than village colonisation, but the Prague Government cannot expel all the people in occupation, although it deprives many of them of their means of livelihood and has driven thousands across the frontier.

Throughout Slovakia one sees hundreds of villages. These Czecho-Slovak colonists are looked upon as aliens. They occupy land which formerly belonged to Hungarian landlords, which was farmed by Hungarian tenants. They get that land for a fraction of its value. It is suspected that in many cases they will not be pressed to complete payments. Fine new dwelling houses and farm buildings are erected for them under the auspices of a Governmental organisation and paid

for on easy terms. They are like garden cities : the well-built, white-walled, slate roofed homesteads stand out like oases on the plains. New roads are made, new schools and churches erected. The larger communities are mainly supposed to be self-contained.

The colonists come not as pioneers to rough it, but as pampered children of the State to lord it over the displaced and landless Magyar peasantry. They obtain long term credits at low rates of interest from the State ; the Ministry of Public Welfare helps them ; seeds are supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture, horses are lent by the War Office, the State railways carry their goods and material for the colonists to and from their old homes at 50 per cent. less than the usual rates, and grant 30 per cent. reduction in passenger fares. They are exempted from taxation for six years. The interlopers and political hirelings living under these privileged and corrupt conditions simply provoke ill-feeling on the part of the neighbouring population. They are regarded as enemy aliens. A Czech school follows a colony, and as there are not sufficient Czech children to maintain the school, Hungarian children are forced into it.

Holdings sold to the new colonists vary from seven to thirty hectares in extent (seventy-five acres). There are thirty different styles of houses.

Near the village of Jenke, in the neighbourhood of Ungvár, I visited one of the few examples of Hungarian peasants having obtained land in the same colony as the Czechs or Slovaks ; not on

the same conditions however. The land was that belonging to the Premonstratensian Order, whose lands have been sequestered, leaving the Order in an impoverished condition. As usual, the State has not yet paid for this land, and the Order is unable to maintain its educational and other institutions. A road separates the two settlements. The Hungarian houses and farms are smaller, the larger lots having been given to the Slovaks. Several of them informed me that they had only paid a small amount on account of their property, and hoped they were not expected to pay more. They were very satisfied with their conditions. The language of the colony was Magyar.

A much larger colony, which I inspected, is at Batyu, near Ungvár—a purely Hungarian village with a population of 2,000. The State acquired under the Land Reform Act 4,500 acres (jochs) from Count Lonyay, of which 1,400 acres (jochs) have been allotted to 56 Czech families established in two new colonies. The local roads leading to and from the old village are in a deplorable state. The ruts have become small trenches, but new roads have been made, to serve the colonists and to connect the two settlements, which are fit to carry main highway traffic. A school has been built for the colonists, but no church, and the resident Catholic population suspect their new neighbours of holding heretical sentiments. Before this land was distributed to the alien settlers the Hungarian inhabitants of Batyu presented a petition to the Government, begging to be allowed to acquire part of this land for cash payment. I

interviewed the leader of local life, who informed me that the petition was rejected and that all the land they were permitted to acquire was two acres (jochs) for a burial ground, for which they paid 4,000 crowns.

One of the most tempting areas for colonisation is the rich Schütt Island, formed by a branch of the Danube, known as the Little Danube. It contains some of the finest wheat-growing lands in Old Hungary. Prior to the War the population was 97.2 per cent. Hungarian, the small minority consisting of Slovaks and Germans. The inhabitants of the Schütt Island have always been bitterly anti-Austrian, and Léva, the second largest town in the district, is famous for the stout resistance it offered to the Habsburg dynasty. The whole of the land of the Island has now been expropriated and a number of Czech colonies wedged in between the purely Hungarian villages. In the neighbourhood of Bratislava (Pressburg) the colonists' houses are exceptionally large and well built and the colonies kept in good condition. How an old country estate has disappeared is illustrated in the case of Castle Nagylegh, situated an hour and a half's run from Bratislava (Pressburg), and belonging to the Benyovszky family. The castle was surrounded by a large park, manor farm, two villages, with stores, church, etc. The villages have been transferred to new ownership, and Count Benyovszky and his family are left with a minimum of 250 hectares each. The count clings to his castle in order to keep up mediæval traditions, but he himself lives in a small lodge

with one servant. The castle, which contains seventy rooms, is unoccupied. The land attached to the castle is not fit for cultivation, so that beyond the insignificant interest which he received from the State the count's income has disappeared with his property. On part of the estate, near the original manor-farm, a Czech colony has been built with thirty families, only seven of whom are Slovaks. The Slovaks are Roman Catholics, while the Czechs are Hussites, and the two communities do not harmonise. They had to call in the Zupan to settle their religious difficulties, but he declared that the settlement of religious quarrels was outside his province.

Every colony is a centre of Czech propaganda. Every colonist a subsidised rival. The colonists cannot absorb their neighbours, and the neighbours will not absorb them. The two races face each other in perpetual antagonism, a representation in miniature of some of the unsettled frontier areas in new Europe.

CHAPTER XIII

VANDALISM

“Death comes even to the monumental stones and the names inscribed thereon.”

THE new born Governments of the States allotted territory from Old Hungary were expected to respect the artistic treasures and cultural institutions of the Magyars which they inherited. Their appreciation of art, confidence in their own strength and security should have restrained them from committing outrages which would brand them as vandals. On the contrary; no sooner were they in occupation of their newly-acquired possessions than they laid sacrilegious hands on monuments in detached Hungary, whether they were in honour of Hungarian poets, artists or reformers, or commemorating the heroism of the Magyars as the guardians of Western civilisation against the Turks and other barbaric hordes from the East.

One would have expected the Czechs, who pride themselves on their devotion to art and their passion for culture, to have set an example to the other Succession States, and that their expressed desire to live peaceably with their Minori-

ties and observe treaty obligations would also have induced them to respect artistic treasures of the displaced races. Yet the Czechs were the ringleaders in the devastating campaigns.

The Czechs had no opportunity during the War of fighting the Austro-Hungarians; they were incorporated in the same army—fighting the Allies; many of them held the rank of officers. As soon as they were given independence they declared war on the dumb symbols commemorating the former Habsburg tyrants, and wreaked their vengeance on the monuments to national leaders, poets, artists, and philosophers of world renown by razing them to the ground. Statues and columns in marble, bronze, granite, went down before the effervescent and wanton expression of the new Czech nationalism. Sometimes the enemy was decapitated or mutilated, or a pedestal was left vacant; but as a rule victory was complete: not a trace of the victims remained. The one-sided fight was sometimes prolonged. The outrages were not all committed at a time when the unreasoning frenzy of war warped the minds of men.

The most notable monument in Pressburg (Pozsony), the work of the world-renowned Hungarian sculptor, Fadrusz, was destroyed in cold blood three years after the Armistice. It was erected in honour of the Empress Maria Theresa, in 1897, to commemorate the stand made in this town against Prussian, Saxon, and Bavarian troops—a battle associated with deeds of heroism which rang through Europe. The statue was of white

marble ; the Empress—a noble figure—was represented as advancing on horseback with a Hungarian magnate on one side and a Kurucz on the other. It faced the Danube, artistic and imposing. The battle for its destruction lasted for two days. Steel wire ropes were attached to the statue and tugged by motor lorries. The ropes frequently snapped ; more than once reinforcements were called up. The majestic and dignified figure of the great Empress offered stubborn resistance, like the heroes it commemorated. Finally she was unhorsed and the battle won. Operations were supposed to be carried on by undisciplined Czech legionaries ; the police stood guard and protected them from interruption. One of the onlookers photographed the progress of destruction. He was arrested. When taken to the police office he revealed his identity : he was the Italian Consul.

In an appeal to the conscience of the civilised world the leading men of letters and artists of Hungary said :

“ The hearts of the people of Pozsony were trampled on by the wrecking of this monument, which they were justly proud of, which they were treasuring as their most precious possession. Such vandalism, three years after the world-war, is unique in the history of civilised people. Pass your judgment on this deed of the Czechs, who are for ever boasting of their advanced cultural standard.”

Statues in honour of Louis Kossuth provoked

the fury of protected mobs in all the three countries. That the Czechs should have shown such intense enmity to memorials of Kossuth, a born Slovak, is surprising, seeing that he fought for freedom against the Habsburgs, whom he defeated, and was responsible for the introduction of a more liberal régime. He preached democracy and the freedom of the Press, and paid the penalty for his patriotism and devotion to liberty by years of imprisonment. Moreover, he advocated independence for Bohemia and Moravia as well as the independence of Hungary.

One of the monuments to Kossuth destroyed was at Érsekújvár, another at Nagymihály. A statue of the liberator, of high artistic merit, by the famous Hungarian sculptor Barnabás Hollö was destroyed by the Czech soldiery in the first night of their arrival at Losoncz—in January 1919—thirsting for blood. The pedestal was allowed to remain several years after the figure had been smashed. The police ordered its removal in 1925. It is now hidden in the seclusion of a private garden. Hordes of Czechs who invaded Slovakia after the War as legionaries or adventurers outraged the local population by destroying wayside shrines and using the figure of Christ as a target for shooting.

Hungarian Millennium monuments have all gone. Usually they took the form of obelisks or high, massive columns. One was erected at Munkács, on the rock two hundred feet high, upon which the castle of Munkács stands. At the top of the column was a bronze Turul—

the Magyar eagle. Scaffolding was erected to assist the work of destruction, but the image of triumphant Magyarism withstood the engineers and had to be blown to bits. It is said that the demolition cost over 100,000 crowns.

Another Millennium monument was in the gorge of Verecke. Here a tablet was inset in the face of a precipitous rock, with the Turul standing out in bronze. Its destruction also proved an expensive engineering job. It was through this valley that the Magyars in the year 896 came to the western country, which they made their home. This same valley, with its steep banks and swift torrential river, was a line of communication during the Great War where contending hosts passed. Near by the advance of the Russians was checked, and a short distance from the site of the Millennium tablet, in a small meadow, there is a war cemetery where two thousand unnamed Russians, Germans, Austrians and Czechs are buried—in common tombs. This comradeship in death has not had its lesson on the living. The mutilated tablet offers a more patriotic appeal and awakens wider interest than did the original memorial. I was taken out of my route a good many miles in order to see this act of vandalism.

Monuments erected to the memory of Rákóczi have, of course, been crushed to dust. Statues to Hungarian national heroes and monuments referring to the War of Independence of 1848, and to the defeat of the Turks, have shared the same fate. Not only so, but memorials to Hungarian poets, composers, and artists have been destroyed. In-

scriptions are also obliterated. The King of Hungary, Joseph II, presented a Church House to the Greek Catholics in Eperjes in 1788 ; the dedication lettering has been removed.

Cemeteries have not been immune from the raids of the vandals ; inscriptions were ordered to be removed from a number of family monuments, and where the order was not obeyed the irresponsible legionaries or other Czech patriots, under the protection or with the connivance of the police, took the matter in hand themselves. The inscription on the tombs of the Beniczkys in Rako cemetery : " We await resurrection " was obliterated. The resurrection of Magyars, dead or alive, is naturally one of the things which the Czechs must guard against.

The destruction and mutilation of Hungarian historical monuments and inscriptions took place in Rumania just as in Slovakia, and to a lesser extent in Jugo-Slavia, as the opportunities were fewer. In every case monuments of Kossuth were destroyed. In Rumania the authorities sometimes found it cheaper to carry away and hide the monuments than to smash them on the spot. Poets, actors, reformers, suffered equally with national heroes at the hands of the uncultured authorities. The Rev. Sidney B. Snow reported, for instance :

" The destruction and mutilation of National Memorials increased the embitterment. At Marosvásárhely the monuments of Kossuth and Petöfi, the greatest Hungarian poet, also those

of the national heroes Rákóczi and Bem were demolished. The destruction of these was carried out by the soldiers at night and the population was not allowed in the streets.”

The equestrian statue of King Mathias in Kolozsvár which had won the Grand Prix at the Paris Exhibition in 1900 was mutilated. The memorial to the Hungarian poet Ferencz Kölcsey at Szatmár was destroyed, and the same fate befell the memorial to the great Hungarian actor Márton Lendvay, at Nagybánya. Two memorials to actors inside the national theatre at Kolozsvár were also destroyed. A long catalogue might be given of mutilated and demolished monuments.

This vandalism is passed over by those who are now ashamed of it as merely an incident in the outburst of Czech nationalism ; but every vacant site where a statue or memorial stood is another sore place in the hearts of the Magyar people. The perpetration of these outrages on the memories of a proud and sensitive people suggests that the ruling Czechs are weak, narrow and foolishly vindictive—or stupidly fearful.

In countries of Western Europe where revolutionary movements have changed dynasties or wars created new frontiers, monuments representing former families or national heroes have been respected.

CHAPTER XIV

CZECH BETRAYAL OF RUTHENIANS

“Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians within frontiers delimited by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit within the Czecho-Slovak State, and to accord to it the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State.

“The Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians shall possess a special Diet. This Diet shall have power of legislation in all linguistic, scholastic and religious questions, in matters of local administration, and in other questions which the laws of the Czecho-Slovak State may assign to it. The Governor of the Ruthene territory shall be appointed by the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and shall be responsible to the Ruthene Diet.”

Articles X and XI of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye.

“The autonomous territory of Carpathian Russia, which shall receive the widest measure of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-slovak Republic, shall be an integral part of this unit. . . Carpathian Russia shall have its own Diet, which shall elect its presiding officer and other officials.”

“This Diet shall legislate in linguistic, educational and religious matters, in matters of domestic administration and in such other matters as may be assigned to it by the laws of the Czecho-slovak Republic.”

Provisions 2, 3 and 4 of the Constitutional Charter of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

RUTHENIA forms the eastern spur of the Czech Republic. It is a picturesque and

romantic country, tucked away in an amphitheatre of mountains and inhabited by some of the most miserable people on the Continent. Geographically Ruthenia is an integral part of Old Hungary, economically its interests are linked with the rich Hungarian plains, ethnologically it is akin to Ukraine, on the other side of the Carpathians. The Peace Treaty gave it to the Czechs—under conditions which have not been carried out. One result is that the Ruthenians are in a worse plight than before the War. Many of those who have not become Communists are to-day more in sympathy with Hungary than were their ancestors under a thousand years of Hungarian rule.

The country is inhabited by 400,000 Ruthenians (Little Russians), 180,000 Hungarians, 40,000 Germans, and about 100,000 Jews. The frontier between the territory and Slovakia has not been definitely fixed. The Ruthenians claim that 200,000 of their kinsmen live outside the provisional boundary. The country is divided into three sections, and the people into four racial and social strata. There is a rich level agricultural land in the south producing wheat and sugar-beet. Nearer the foothills of the Carpathians, sheltered from the northern and eastern winds, are some of the finest vineyards of Old Hungary. (I saw grapes growing in mid-October a few miles from the town of Nagyszöllös as luscious and as big as English hot-house grapes.) Further east, where the peninsula narrows, the ground is less fertile; the crops are chiefly potatoes, rye and

maize ; while near the impenetrable wall of the Carpathians come the real Ruthenians, a primitive, illiterate people, 80,000 of them living in wretchedness and misery.

Formerly these unresourceful people were relatively better off. In summer they migrated to the Hungarian plains, now cut off by the new frontier, or they worked in the factories further east, then fostered by Hungary, now partly or entirely closed, or they found work in the forests in winter, now disorganised by the Czech policy of nationalisation. Under former conditions these people returned with their summer's wages, with sacks bulging with grain—wheat, stocks of maize—and potatoes, and fared better in winter, when they are snowbound for five months. The Hungarian Government also supplied them with cattle and gave them easy terms of credit. It had planned development works on a large scale—reclamation, hydro-electric power plants, new industries. The annual budget for relief works and subsidies amounted to nine million pre-war crowns. Assistance covered a wide programme : leasing land on easy terms ; purchase of smallholdings of 13,616 jochs (about 19,000 acres) ; supply of pedigree animals for breeding ; agricultural machinery, tools for workmen ; local industries were fostered : weaving, wood-carving, basket-making ; there were model farms, agricultural schools, afforestation, and a variety of eleemosynary efforts, from the breeding of cray fish for the mountain rivers to giving free legal advice to labourers. An impression was being

made on illiteracy which, however, still applied to 77 per cent. of the Ruthenians in 1910. The great wholesale society of Co-operative Stores—the Hangya—co-operated with the Government by serving as distributive agents and by supplying cheap goods in the villages. There were two hundred branches in Ruthenia. This economic organisation has been destroyed by the partition.

The Czechs have made no impression on the country, they have not replaced the industries which they crippled, nor found new outlets for the old markets which are destroyed. Excessive railway rates and favouritism shown to the “historic provinces” fall upon Ruthenia with the weight of a hostile tariff. Rich orchards in the Valley of the Tékso, just on the Rumanian border, are ruined because the owners have lost their former market in Hungary, and prohibitive freight charges cut them off from their outlet in Bohemia.

Along the frontier factories have been deprived of their former water supply, farm-houses separated from their fields; conservancy works on the rivers running into Hungary are controlled by the Czechs. A cut has been made across a sphere where economic interests were inextricably intertwined.

The Ruthenians were not consulted about their fate. There was a self-determination pact four thousand miles away in Pittsburg, but it was between Dr. Masaryk and other Czechs and Ruthenians who had no intention of returning to their native land.

President Masaryk said that as the Ruthenian

people "never had a chance of thinking politically and therefore could not decide their own fate in such a case the voice of the leaders must be decisive." There was no need to go to Pittsburg for the advice of men who were never leaders and had ceased to be Ruthenians. The nearest approach to the opinion of leaders was given by the Ruthenian political party in a memorial dated Vienna, August 1919, to the Peace Conference, proving conclusively that the economic interests of the country imposed union with Hungary with political autonomy under that country. Local public opinion, so far as expressed, favoured that policy, but the anarchical conditions which existed in Hungary at the time gave the Peace Conference an excuse to ignore the demand and also the appeal for a plebiscite, while the Czechs seized the opportunity of crushing the local organisms by military occupation. There was no plebiscite, and the fate of the territory was decided otherwise.

Memorandum No. 6 presented to the Peace Conference by the Czech Delegation said: "The Czecho-Slovak Republic does not make any claim upon the territory," but the elaborate thesis which followed led to the conclusion that "it would be contrary to all principles of justice and democracy in the name of which the present war is being waged," if the territory was given to any other country. The solution therefore was that Ruthenia should join the Czecho-Slovak Republic as an autonomous province, a solution which the Czechs said "would best respond to political reality and to the principles of justice." In the

Peace Treaties Ruthenia is always described as an autonomous territory. It is so referred to in the Czech Constitution and in all official books. It was to have its own Diet, language, local laws, the fullest measure of autonomy compatible with national unity. Its members in the Prague Parliament were only to vote on certain national questions. The understanding was that this Ruthenian Parliament was to be set up without delay—within ninety days after the meeting of the national Parliament. The Czechs have not fulfilled their undertaking; they have ignored the Peace Treaty. Constructive policy has consisted in appointing a Ruthenian Governor, a mere figure-head, with a Czech assistant who has autocratic power. The territory has been invaded by thousands of Czech officials, who exploit it according to obsolete colonial methods. They have changed the name from Ruthenia to the harsher sounding name of Podkarpatska Rus—in harmony with their policy. The Nationalist parties are opposing autonomy, and the new Act setting up Provincial Councils is the absolute negation of the autonomist undertaking in the Peace Treaty, as it puts Ruthenia on a level with the other provinces, under a form of government which is utterly anti-democratic—a centralised bureaucracy. The Province returns to the Prague Parliament nine members, of whom five are Communists, one represents the Russian Labour Party, and one is an Autonomist who supports the Hungarian Christian Social Party.

The excuse given by the Czechs for the failure to

fulfil their solemn undertakings is that the Ruthenians are not yet fit to be granted the privilege of self-government. (They are considered to be fit for universal suffrage in local and parliamentary elections.) The same argument can be applied to other backward races in Central Europe, where the people have taken a leap from feudalism right into full-blown democracy. In 1919 the Czechs satisfied themselves that the Ruthenians were fit for immediate Home Rule. They convinced the Peace Conference that this conclusion was based on their intimate knowledge of the people and the country. There is also the Pact of Pittsburg which, while not a legal document, has a moral force.

“But,” said the Czechs, “you cannot expect us to do in ten years what the Hungarians have failed to do in a thousand years, to advance civilisation and develop the territory.” It was on their undertaking that they could accomplish this feat that they were given a territory to which they had no claim. The Hungarians offered autonomy to the Ruthenians; the Peace Conference preferred to accept the pledge of the Czechs. That pledge has not been kept. In every respect the territory is infinitely worse off than under Hungary. Ruthenia is a danger to Central Europe. It is a breeding ground of Bolshevism. Politics has become a corrupt business, and never was there such a Jacob’s coat of many political colours. There is competition for the purchase of votes between the Czech Agrarian Party and the Communists.

I was in the country when the local elections

took place in October 1927. There were as many as fourteen rival lists in a small commune. There were three Ruthenian lists (Communists, Irredentists, and Autonomists); there were four Jewish lists (Communists, Small Traders, Zionists and the rich Industrialists); there were several pro-Hungarian lists, and also several Czech parties. The main battles, however, were between the Hungarians, who increased their strength, the Communists, who lost some seats, and the Czech Agrarians, who improved their position. The elections were thoroughly corrupt. Everyone in Ruthenia over twenty-one years of age has a vote. Illiterate flappers sold their votes for a few crowns; so did the peasants. Russian roubles rolled over the Carpathians in an inexhaustible stream. The Czech Agrarians, the most Nationalistic party, distributed bribes not only in money but also in privileges, and succeeded by various illegal devices in upsetting Hungarian lists in many communes. The ballot is supposed to be secret. The whole of the administrative machinery in the country districts was mobilised before the elections by the Government parties to obstruct the election campaign of the Opposition parties. There was coercive setting up of neutral lists, which were subsequently booked to the Czech parties.

Through the officials and employees of the administrative machine the Agrarians are able by threatening the termination of leases and by a host of kindred devices to exercise pressure on the population and thus compel support at the elec-

tions. The Jews, who are owners of the taverns and shops in the villages, are, for opportunist reasons, also instruments of the party. The natural leaders of the Ruthenians, the clergy and teachers, who are at heart autonomists, are compelled to remain passive, since they are dependent upon the administrative departments.

The Czech parties, which were transplanted to Ruthenia (Agrarians, Socialists, National Socialists, and National Democrats), recruit their supporters from the 50,000 or so Czech officials, traders, and workpeople who have been transferred to or settled in the country. These parties, without exception, oppose autonomy, and their activities are directed not so much against the Communists as against the Ruthenian Autonomy Party.

I could give many examples of arbitrary methods which came under my notice. Opposition lists of candidates were suppressed where possible by divers devices; thumb prints were demanded in the case of illiterates in place of the customary cross, and even then the lists were not admitted.

Local magistrates refused to certify the acceptance of lists within the prescribed period—a penal offence.

Party officials were arrested and held in custody for twenty-four hours in order to prevent them from returning the lists of candidates within the legal period. In twenty communes in the Comitatus of Ung alone lists were invalidated in this way. In other districts the Opposition parties (principally the Autonomous League of Farmers, the

largest Ruthenian party) were compelled to designate their lists "Communal List," "Economic Group," or by some other name; these lists were then amalgamated with those of the Agrarian Party. This was done in seventy communes in Ung.

In a number of communes the local officials deleted the names of the parties from the lists and inserted that of the Agrarian Party (at Ivani-voe) or that of a neutral party, and although in these communes the autonomous Kurtyák Party was successful, the lists were transferred to the Agrarians.

Meetings organised by the Autonomous League of Farmers were dissolved by the authorities, or sanction for holding such meetings was refused.*

At Batar candidates of the Christian Socialist and Hungarian Nationalist Parties were threatened with imprisonment if they did not withdraw their candidatures. In the same commune a private conference of candidates was being held, when the Notary of the Commune, Ludwig Kocsy, gained admittance to the house in which it was taking place, and demanded its dissolution. Despite repeated requests, he refused to leave the house. Dr. Korláth, Deputy, immediately telegraphed a protest against the violation to the judicial authorities, but received no reply. In another commune the threat was used that no funds would be

*I have lists of the places where these things happened.

A common practice is for peasants to be promised land for grazing their cattle if they vote for Government candidates.

granted for the building of a parish school, with the result that no Hungarian list was entered.

Whether the Ruthenians were ready for universal suffrage in 1919 or could have been educated politically since to appreciate the value of the vote, it is certain that the Czech Government parties have now made them the easy victims of political corruption and graft. They now know that politics can be made demoralising and sordid, but at times a profitable business.

So far from fulfilling their Treaty obligations the Czechs have substituted for their promised solution in self-government a system of centralised bureaucracy.

Petitions on behalf of the inhabitants have been slighted by Prague and passed over without serious consideration by the League of Nations.

In September 1921 the Hungarian Political Party in Ruthenia sent a petition to the League of Nations, complaining of the failure of the Czech Government to carry out their Treaty obligations after occupying the territory for two and a half years. The Governor, Mr. Gregory Zsatkovics, was completely disillusioned and had returned to America. Ninety per cent. of the officials who were natives of the territory, had been expelled, and instead of 4,000 officials being employed, as under Hungary, nearly 18,000 Czechs were necessary. Other charges were brought against the Czechs for their interference with the churches and their failure to recognise Minority rights.

The Czech Government submitted a very long

reply, the burden of which was that Ruthenia had been so shamefully neglected that there had been no time to make up the arrears. They had resolved to execute to the full extent their engagements. Arrangements had already been made for holding the election of the self-governing Diet. The excuse for appointing the officials was that the country had sunk to such a depth of social and intellectual misery that they were necessary in order to lift up the administration.

Characteristically the Czechs in their reply harp back to conditions under Hungary. All Czech propagandists evade current issues by the resurrection of the past. Misrule under Hungary before the War has nothing to do with delinquencies to-day. The more guilty Hungary was, the more imperative it is for the new rulers to redress the wrongs without delay.

The petition was not ignored altogether. A small committee consisting of representatives of Belgium, Italy and Japan examined the document and reported to the Council on February 8th 1922—five months later—and accepted the Czech reply to the charges that “the rights of Minorities were fully protected,” and added the pious declaration :

“We express our confidence in the Czechoslovak Government, and our conviction that it will in the near future find means to establish the Ruthenian territory south of the Carpathians as an autonomous unit within the Czechoslovak State, in accordance with the Treaty of

September 10th, 1919, and that it will continue, as hitherto, to keep the League of Nations informed of any measures taken to this end."

This touching confidence in the sincerity and good faith of the Czechs has been sadly misplaced. No member took action ; the Czechs had nothing to report.

A more formidable indictment of the Czech misrule in Ruthenia was presented to the League in October 1922, on behalf of Ruthenian emigrants. This petition contains details, well authenticated, in reply to accusations against Hungary, which formed the burden of the Czech former response, and follows up with a crushing arraignment of Czech misrule, sins of omission and of commission in every branch of public administration. It is a convincing document. It concludes as follows :

" We, the educated Ruthenians, originating from the people and therefore one with them in feeling, raise our voice in protest requesting the high Areopagus of the League of Nations to whom in perfect respect and full confidence we address our complaints, to save our people from despair, and to restore their faith in the force of the Treaty concluded with the Principal Powers and in the special protection to be afforded them by the League of Nations."

There is the usual casuistic rejoinder from the Czech Government. It is long and does not come to grips with the main accusations. It belabours Old Hungary, which politically, like the rest of

Europe, belongs to a bygone age—anything to get away from living issues and direct answers. I do not propose to examine the quibbles and tergiversations which disfigure the document. Statistically, it directly contradicts the petition. So far as my observations went, the claims about the condition of the roads, the provision of housing, the amelioration of sanitary conditions and the economic development of the territory, are not justified. Another reason why it is superfluous to pursue the Czech argument through its forty pages is that the Council of the League of Nations seem to accept without question defences set up and explanations given by the Czech Government. A brief for the Czechs is taken as read or as interpreted by Dr. Beneš. That is the explanation which naturally suggests itself in view of the action, or rather inaction of the League.

A committee, consisting of representatives of Great Britain, France and Sweden, were appointed to study the document. Their study was negative. It is simply recorded in the Council's Minutes that they had studied certain documents which "dealt with the autonomous territory of the Ruthenes" (this is a figure of speech, as their failure to set up autonomy is the chief charge against the Czechs), and requested the Secretary General to obtain further information on the subject, which request was "communicated to the members of the Council who took note of it."

The report is dated 23rd April 1923, five years ago. Nothing has happened, except things have

worsened in Ruthenia, and the Czechs, after nine years of procrastination, have barred and bolted the door against Home Rule.

As a supplement to the Petition which was thus summarily disposed of, there is an exposé by Dr. Gregory I. Zsatkovics, who was the first Governor of Ruthenia. He was the American Ruthenian who more than anyone else was responsible for the Pittsburg Treaty. He came to Europe to help rebuild his native land as a federal unit and a democratic State. He had high ideals and implicit trust in the good faith of the Czechs. He stuck it for two years. He was disillusioned. He found that the Czechs were politically corrupt; they were hypocrites, shifty, insincere, selfish—scheming all the time to impose their hegemony on the Ruthenians and regarding honourable Treaty obligations as scraps of paper. No Government which considers itself as standing for a civilised democracy has ever been convicted on the facts of such a shameful betrayal, or held up to such contumely.

Dr. Zsatkovics' indictment runs to thirty-three closely printed pages. It deals first with the declaration of the Ruthenes signed in Philadelphia on the 28th October 1918 by President Masaryk and himself, when the President assured the Ruthenes that they would "form a perfectly autonomous State," and that "the frontiers shall be fixed in a way that shall satisfy them." On these understandings and pledges the support of the Ruthenians in America was obtained. Dr. Zsatkovics mentions incidentally that in spite of the alluring

prospect of joining the Czech Republic as an autonomous unit, the National Council of Ungvár preferred autonomy with Hungary and that of Huszt with Ukraine, leaving the Council of Eperjes with the Czechs. It was only when Dr. Zsatkovics went to Paris to obtain the permission of the Allies to occupy the territory with Czech troops that "the union of the three councils was affected by amicable agreement." Dr. Zsatkovics gives details of how he was tricked by the Czechs at every turn in regard to frontiers, in taking the census—when terrorism and deceit was practised—in the appointment of officials, in drawing up a constitution without the co-operation of the Ruthenians. No pledge was redeemed; every promise was broken.

"I regret having to acknowledge that the Czech Government's expected support consisted of promises only, not actions."

"These promises, however, fared as the rest of the promises received,"

and so on.

Dr. Zsatkovics reminds the Czechs of their solemn undertakings and says :

"This is our history, and I am bound to say it is a sad one."

His farewell message was :

"As one of those who are to a great extent responsible for the Czecho-Slovak Ruthenian Union, allow me to propose not only in the name of probity and honour, but in the interest of

the future welfare and consolidation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic to *grant Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia full autonomy within just and suitable frontiers, and that with the least possible delay.*"

Here we have a leader of the race incorporated in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, not a representative of the discredited Magyars, convicting the Czechs on irrefutable evidence of their treachery and dishonest political policy. The disillusioned Ruthenian patriot resigned on 16th March 1921—seven years ago.

How did the Czechs meet Dr. Zsatkovics' crushing charges? They did not meet them. They ran away from them. In their reply of thirty-nine pages they only devote about two pages to Dr. Zsatkovics. They suggest that this gentleman, who is a clear-headed, scholarly, Americanised Ruthenian, was so dense that he could not distinguish between pourparlers, conferences, proposals and resolutions "which have frequently no historical value," and obligatory conventions and legal declarations. Moreover, he did not understand the Constitution, and the details which he gave to prove his case were insignificant. Then Dr. Zsatkovics knew little of the country from which he had been so long absent. His chief offence seems to have been that he wanted things done—conditions improved quickly—and honest obligations fulfilled. He would not dilly-dally and be a confederate to the betrayal of his kinsmen. He would not play the game of the aggrandising Czechs. Audacity pays

with the Czechs. They threw over as little less than an ill-informed adventurer the man who, with President Masaryk, was responsible for the incorporation of Ruthenia in Czecho-Slovakia. Audacity also pays with the League of Nations. Like the Petition of the Ruthenian emigrants, Dr. Zsatkovics' unanswerable indictment of the Czech Ruthenian policy has remained buried in the files of Geneva.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

CHAPTER XV

BREEDING BOLSHEVISM

One of the official reasons given for Land Nationalisation in Czecho-Slovakia was that it would counteract Communism.

THE betrayal of Ruthenia by Czecho-Slovakia and the growth of Communism in that territory is not a matter which concerns that country alone. It affects the neighbouring States: it is a European problem: it is a menace of Western civilisation. After Trianon and under Czech rule, Carpathian Russia—the Ruthenia of the Peace Treaties—has become a breeding ground of Bolshevism. The inhabitants are Little Russians; their kinsmen are just on the other side of the Carpathians. They are in constant touch with Moscow. Soviet emissaries overrun the country and control an organisation which receives liberal support from Moscow and has tentacles throughout the Republic.

The Communists are now the second largest party in the Czech Parliament. At the last general election in 1925 they obtained 833,700 votes, and are represented by forty-one deputies and twenty senators. They are the only united party orga-

nised on national lines regardless of race or language. The majority of the members from Ruthenia are Communists.

Ruthenia stands between Hungary, of which it formed a part for a thousand years, and Ukraine in Russian Poland. The Bolsheviki are still brooding over the failure of the Béla Kun Communist revolution in Hungary. Among their underground workers in Ruthenia and Slovakia are men who took part in that revolution. Others operate from Vienna, which is governed by a Communistic Council. The Béla Kuns and Pogánys are lying in wait, watching for the opportunity to raise again the red flag. And there is no co-operation among Central European countries to safeguard humanity from this common danger.

The Czechs tolerate the settlement of alien revolutionists in Ruthenia. Russian agents who enter Czecho-Slovakia through Ruthenia are able to obtain naturalisation, while Hungarians who have spent their whole lives in Slovakia are deprived of their citizenship and expelled. The Catholic Conservatives in Slovakia fear that the Czechs are capable of coquetting with Communism. Many of the men who backed Béla Kun were journalists and some of those who sought safety in Czecho-Slovakia are occupying positions of influence on the Press, writing for or editing papers which support the Government parties. They are tolerated in their venal positions because they can always be relied upon to make venomous attacks on the Magyars.

The policy of land confiscation, which was intended to check Bolshevism, has really encouraged it. Communism in Czecho-Slovakia is an overflow from Russia, and the leaders do not fail to point out that while the landed aristocracy in Russia were robbed not only of their land but of their mansions, the half-hearted policy of the Czechs leaves the latifundian capitalists in possession of their castles and other tangible assets which ought to be given over to the proletariat. Dr. Šmeral, the leader of the Communist Party in Parliament, has lately spent more time in Moscow than he did in Prague, and it is said that he was one of the emissaries that the Soviet sent to China to provoke hostility to British interests.

I met conspicuous evidence of Communistic activity in Slovakia first of all in Kassa. The population was formerly Hungarian with a Slovak minority. The Czechs now claim that Hungarians are only 20 per cent. It is one of the centres of Communism—spreading the contagion westward in Slovakia. The “cell system,” under which agents work in the dark independently of each other and under the direction of one unknown man, is in full operation. Three big buildings are occupied by the Communists, who are permitted to flaunt their red star—the sign of their sinister mission—while Hungarians are imprisoned for showing their national emblem. The Communists carry on their propaganda openly, unchecked by officials. A hostel for divinity students belonging to the Roman Catholic training college is occupied by the Communists,

and jazz bands play nightly in halls formerly held sacred to religious devotion.

The seeds of Bolshevism germinate in the mountain valleys of Ruthenia. Old Hungary did much for these primitive people in improving their social conditions, but was slow in educating them, and did nothing to advance their political intelligence. State charity, State subsidies, patronage and loans were not the best means of developing a political sense and a conception of freedom. Hungary treated Ruthenia as a colony—in a benevolent spirit. Its promise of autonomy came too late. Hungary's cautious policy has given place to neglect and betrayal.

By drawing an arbitrary frontier line the Czechs have not only reduced the geographical area of Ruthenia ; they have created a territory peopled by a race largely illiterate and partly primitive. Had a boundary been fixed by the Allies, as was intended, ethnographical considerations would have prevailed and the Ruthenians would have numbered at least half a million by the inclusion of the richer lands in the northern plains. As it is, the more wealthy and the intelligent members of the race have been joined to Slovakia.

No one can appreciate the state of things in this no-man's land of Central Europe who has not penetrated into its recesses where the most miserable section of its people exist under appalling conditions. Everything that might be done for the poor country remains undone, and the territory is further away from European culture and civilisation than is the most remote part of the Balkans.

Whosoever has heard that the leaders of the Ruthenians speak little beyond Hungarian and Russian, that Ruthenian literature is restricted to prayer books, that the peasants in the terrible districts of Verchovina have no greater desire than to be able to work in the Hungarian plains as they did before the revolution, that thousands of people suffer from disease and food shortage ; whosoever has heard that the place is seething with conspiracies and that rebellion is being studied has obtained a general idea of the Ruthenian territory.

The more primitive Ruthenians live in Verchovina, the strip of land about forty kilometres wide, along the Polish frontier from north of Ungvár to the Rumanian frontier. Verchovina has wild and luxuriant mountain forests ; it has the Eastern Carpathians ; the dense and unexplored woods of the Polish mountains ; the deep, winding valleys of the Ung ; the pastures of Jasina ; the gorges of Vereczke ; the peaks and ridges of Wolowoje, a cold, silent and majestic mountain range covered with snow for six or seven months in each year, and perhaps the most beautiful and the least spoilt mountains in Europe. Untouched, almost unknown, one might say hardly discovered, they face the traveller who works his way upwards and northwards from the plain, like an endless and terrible wall. The inhabitants of this region dwell in small hovels in miserable villages. Anyone wearing boots or shoes is a man of property ; anyone owning a sheepskin coat is a Cræsus. But the people do not complain, they

say nothing ; they smile helplessly, hoping for a return of old associations. That is the impression one receives in every place one visits—in Sucho, Slusice, Bukovce, Trha, Husna, Piliplw, right up to Uzsok, where wire entanglements can still be seen, the rusting relics of the Russian invasion—overgrown with grass—and wooden crosses of the trenches, rotting and crumbling from the effects of snow and rain.

Bolshevik agitators working in this country, telling the poorest of all the peasants in the world, the majority of whom can neither read nor write, of the fertile land they will receive from Moscow when they have driven away their new rulers, and of the beauties of the new world-system which will be set up with the help of their votes, find their task an easy one. These peace-loving, incredibly patient, gentle and simple folk are beginning to wonder whether it is really necessary for them to suffer such a miserable existence ; whether it might not be possible to drive out the “masters” who live in the valley and take from them all the rich soil, the great forests, the timber and the saw-mills.

Before the War the Ruthenians from the mountains used to live on the product of their work in the Hungarian plains. The men went there for the summer in their thousands and returned in the autumn, bringing with them the proceeds of their labour—10 per cent. of the harvest they had garnered, wages, and material comforts. They had enough and to spare to exist upon during the long winter. The women passed the greater part

of their time doing needlework, which was also sold in the plains, and the men carved. To-day all this has changed. There is no money to purchase material or tools. There is no work in the Hungarian plains, no means of descending there, even if work were obtainable.

The housing conditions are appalling, and no new houses for those most in need of accommodation, even for the peasants in the villages, have been built. The Czech Government and Land Office have built houses, but chiefly for their officials and alien colonists.

The ground is also prepared for implanting Bolshevik ideas further afield along the new Hungarian frontier and in the Slovakian towns. One can trace the growth of Communism in the centres where industries have been suppressed or crippled. Thus we find that at Losoncz, where there is a large number of unemployed, due to the stoppage of industries, the Communists at the last local election headed the poll and trebled their strength. The same thing happened at Késmárk, where textile works have been shut down, and at Korompa, where the mines and iron works have disappeared, and in every place where local industry has suffered through the new policy of the Czechs to favour Bohemian interests at the expense of Slovakia.

The Czechs have made no impression on the country; they have sent an army of Czech officials to take control and to batten on the impoverished people. There has been no attempt to build up a new economic structure.

Only the removal of the frontier restrictions can help this woe-begone country. So long as the Ruthenians are denied free access to the Hungarian plain they will continue to suffer. So long as the Czechs fail to fulfil their treaty obligations and fail to stimulate local industries, so long will these people remain an easy prey to the seductive gospel of Communism.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

CHAPTER XVI

PRESS CENSORSHIP*

“Freedom of the Press as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms and to form associations is guaranteed. It is therefore inadmissible to place the Press under preliminary censorship.”

Clause 113 of the Constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

“Our Republic must ensure full liberty of conscience to every citizen so that discussion may be free and every conviction be expressed.”

PRESIDENT MASARYK, in “*The Making of a State.*”

THE Minority Treaties impose on the Succession States the duty of maintaining a free Press. Rumania and Jugo-Slavia have not confirmed their treaty obligations by definite guarantees in their Constitutions. Freedom of the Press can hardly be said to exist in these two States. Newspapers belonging to the Minorities are only tolerated when they are entirely innocuous—withhold advocacy of Minority interests on the one hand and criticism of the Government on the other.

The Press in Czecho-Slovakia is on a different footing. The founders of that country have always professed a fervent devotion to the liberty

*See Appendix II, p. 315.

of the Press. In pre-War days they groaned under a fettered Press and suffered imprisonment for the sake of freedom of conscience. It was to be expected, therefore, that in the democratic Republic it might be said of the Press :

“ Here shall the Press the People’s rights
maintain
Unawed by influence, unbribed by gain.”

And so the recognition of the fact that a free democracy cannot live without a free Press was expressed in Clause 113 of the Constitution. To emphasise the importance of this guarantee and to draw a contrast between the iniquitous system of the old tyrannical Empire of the Habsburgs and the liberalism of the new Central European State there is this footnote :

“ Under the Austrian régime publications were submitted to the censor before being issued.”

It is deplorable and almost unbelievable to English people, who judge the Czecho-Slovak Republic from the ideals and representations of its founders, to find that censorship and suppression of newspapers is still enforced. There is a Press department of the Ministry of Justice whose duty is to censor newspapers. I have a big collection of newspapers of recent date with more blanks than print. In Tsarist Russia the system was to black out censored matter ; in Czecho-Slovakia the terrorists cut out the censored matter and leave white space. The result is the same. My collection includes Slovak, German and Hungarian

papers. The mutilation of papers applies chiefly to the evening and weekly Press. All morning papers have to be submitted to the public prosecutor when the first copies leave the press. If any get out the police hurry round the bookstalls and seize the copies. Frequently the whole issue is confiscated. Until a few years ago the iniquitous system, condemned by the Constitution, of "preliminary censorship" was practised. Copy was censored before it could be printed. At least it can be said of this system that it is less costly to the newspaper proprietors.

Censorship varies in different localities. I have a copy of a Hungarian paper which was permitted to print Lord Rothermere's reply to Bishop Zoch, and another copy of the same issue in which only blanks appear. The paper is the "Ruszinszkói Magyar Gazda," dated 16th October. The heading left in the censored issue reads :

"Correspondence which aroused the attention of the whole world. Lord Rothermere's reply to Bishop Zoch. How the famous English statesman sees our condition."

The uncensored copy was sent through the post before the censors got busy. This reminds me of the drastic way in which M. Clemenceau's articles were censored in the "L'Homme Enchaîné" during the War, when he was in an unofficial position. Nothing was left of his article on one occasion except the heading, which was : "What I think should be done." Similar sup-

pressions take place in Czecho-Slovakia—but there is no war on.

A Labour paper, the “Magyar Közlöny,” the organ of the Hungarian Labour Party, has been obliged to publish more blanks than print for the last few months. On the 5th July the party sent the following telegram to Lord Rothermere :

“For your noble endeavours for truth and lasting peace we Hungarian labourers in Czecho-Slovakia, being for years without employment and in misery, send you heartiest greetings and warmest thanks.

“Losoncz-Lučenec (Czecho-Slovakia)

“5th July 1927.

“Hungarian National Labour Party for Slovakia and Podkarpatska-Rus.”

While this telegram was allowed to appear in the issue of the paper of the 7th July, the leading article alongside of it was slashed out. I met the secretary, who sent the telegram, of the Labour Party at Losoncz. He is Josef Varecha, and was formerly a carpenter. He received two summonses, which he showed me, for having communicated with Lord Rothermere, one returnable on the 31st October and the other on the 4th November. He appeared, and the trial was pending when I left the district. Dr. Heinrich Gärtner, who translated the telegram into English, the typist who typed it, and the editor of the paper, Alexander Manks, were also summoned. They are also awaiting their punishment. On the 16th October, the day of the local elections, the police

stopped the issue of this Labour paper. Money which is sent to the Hungarian Labour Party through the post is returned to the senders. Mr. Varecha's house is periodically searched by the police. A more effective answer would have been for the authorities to prove that the statement in the telegram was not true—if they could.

The Labour "*Magyar Közlöny*," above referred to, in its issue of August 18th, the front page of which is almost a blank, states that provocative action by the police is encouraged by the Czecho-Slovak Chauvinist Press, particularly by a local journal called the "*Jövö*" (Future), with the object of calling forth repressive measures. "The Ivan Party, on the other hand, are able to agitate and even to utter threats against the lives of Hungarians in Slovakia with impunity."

Journals in the Slovak language continue to be censored as rigorously as the newspapers in the Hungarian language.

The "*Slovák*," which is the organ of the Slovak People's Party, a daily newspaper, has usually been confiscated on an average sixty times a year. For the greater part of last year it was supporting the Government, but when it became critical of the policy of the Government to fulfil their pledges it was confiscated on ten occasions.

The "*Magyar Néplap*," the official weekly organ of the National Christian Social Party, and the "*Slovenské Ludové Noviny*," the weekly paper edited by the Slovak Deputy, Florian Tomanek, were each confiscated on eight occasions. All the other chief papers in Bratislava, the

“Hiradö,” “Magyar Ujság”—two German papers—were confiscated on more than one occasion. All these papers are published in Bratislava (Pressburg).

Censorship has been particularly severe recently on the newspaper organs of the Slovak People's Party. Even the party's Almanac for 1928 was confiscated. It is published in Pressburg. No sooner was it put on sale in the New Year than the police descended on the shops of the newsagents and booksellers and tore out the two pages containing an article by Father Hlinka, the leader of the Slovak People's Party, whose members keep the present Government in office. The “Slovák” newspaper was once censored because it complained that justice was not done to the Slovak language, the authorities, by this action, giving evidence in support of the statement which they suppressed.

The issues of the Prague Hungarian newspaper, the “Magyar Hirlap,” for 23rd November 1927, 1st December 1927, and 1st January 1928, were censored for articles which contained mild criticisms of Government policy in regard to Hungarians. One of the offending paragraphs simply stated that in the village of Tötgyarmat, containing 383 inhabitants, of whom 351 were Hungarians and thirty Czechs and Slovaks, the Hungarian school had been closed and a Czech school had been opened. The officials order Hungarians to send their children to the new school on pain of being fined. The censor also cut out the news item that Lord Rothermere, when in America, received a

telegram of welcome from the Slovaks of Pittsburg, and also deleted this innocuous statement :

“ Should the action of Lord Rothermere have no other result but to draw the attention of the Prague Government to the complaints of the Hungarian Minority, even then we should consider his intervention of great value.”

It will be seen that journalism is a hazardous profession in the Czech Republic. I had the curiosity to examine some of the matter which had been censored. There was nothing in it which should be objected to by the Government of any country which was not at war or under martial law and professed to live under liberal institutions. Editorial opinion criticising the Government or discussing problems in Central Europe or referring to Lord Rothermere or to irredentism sets the censor's blue pencil flying. I have before me a copy of the Bratislava “ Magyar Néplap ” of the 9th October, which should have contained a report of a speech by Dr. Szüllö, the leader of the Hungarian Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies. The paper was not permitted to report the following part of the speech. I give the English translation as supplied by Dr. Szüllö :

“ We, the people of Slovakia, who were born here, now have to unite and stand together, and I cannot terminate my speech without casting a reflection on the stir which the famous and well-known articles published by Lord Rothermere have created.

“ Lord Rothermere is an old and staunch friend of Czecho-Slovakia. He spoke up in the very interests of Czecho-Slovakia to point out such matters which imperil the safety of this country, and therefore I thought it my duty openly to voice our gratitude towards him in open parliamentary session. My lot for this action was a world of attacks and invectives of the worst sort, in spite of the fact that this action of mine was guided by the absolute knowledge that we are being treated as the stepchildren of this Republic, a minority singled out and condemned to eternal persecution. We are grateful to anyone who tenders us a helping hand in our struggle to obtain justice and who is willing to further consolidation.”

There is nothing in the above or in other deleted portions of the speech which is intended to hit the integrity of the Republic, or of a seditious character. If such speeches are censored it would suggest that the Czechs fear free discussion.

The “ Slováč ” of 18th September 1927 was confiscated because it published a report of a conversation between a peasant, Ignac Laktis, and the President, which took place at Topolčianky while the President was staying at his summer residence in Slovakia.

In reply to the President’s enquiries the man spoke very frankly about the situation :

“ How is it possible that I should not complain when we are weighed down with so much misery ? In the former days I paid less for my

large farm in rates and taxes than I do to-day, when I have had to divide it between my sons and only have a small piece over for myself. Even if we work our hands to the bone we could not get enough out of the land to live on, and there is no help forthcoming, although we do nothing else but send in our complaints. There is nobody anywhere to help us. But there is one thing, Mr. Masaryk, that will, and that is we must drive the Czechs out of our lands."

A petition of protest against the confiscation of the paper, numerous signed, was presented to the Minister of Justice on the 30th November 1927. Nothing happened.

The blank front page in an issue of the "Hlas Slovenskych-Zelezniciarov," another official Slovak party paper, was intended to be occupied with an article of protest against the failure of the Government to carry out their pledges towards Slovakia. This article pointed out that Czechs still occupied official positions in Slovakia, in the railway and post office and public departments, to the exclusion of Slovaks, and that Czech was the only official language.

The censorship and suppression of newspapers which criticise the Government creates a bad impression; a blank space may speak more eloquently than print. On the other hand, the Government maintains a number of spoon-fed papers and organs of the parties in office, which are not "unbribed by gain."

Censorship is not confined to the newspapers. At the general election in 1925 the Slovaks reproduced as a poster the Treaty of Pittsburg, in which President Masaryk and other Czech leaders offered themselves to give Slovakia Home Rule. It was torn down by the gendarme.

The censorship has never been clearly defined. Newspaper editors have no rule to guide them. They are at the mercy of local censors, who may be uneducated political hirelings. It happens that a reprinted article is cut while the original publication goes uncensored. Editors are in a quandary, and the uncertainty of the system places newspapers under a financial strain which sometimes leads to their extinction.

No complete list of censored articles or confiscated newspapers is obtainable, but I give in an appendix some detailed particulars, including censorship of recent occurrence. It will be noticed that the Press is not free to write articles on the Vatican or Church matters, and two papers on my list were censored for criticising the censorship.

Censorship is not confined to newspapers alone, but is applied to all publications and also to Radio.

The Peace Conference regulated wireless and telegraphic communications, but did not foresee the coming of Radio. Radio obliterates frontiers, broadcasts news, entertainment, information, education. It keeps racially related people within the family circle. It is a medium for promoting understanding and friendship between peoples. The Succession States assume a Canute-like attitude towards, and obstruct, the new science.

They would rather, and do, deprive their own nationals of the benefit of Radio communications than run the risk that they should learn the news from Budapest or Hungarian music. Consequently listeners get licenses under severe restrictions.

In Rumania very few Hungarians are granted licenses. In Czecho-Slovakia the Budapest station is jammed by the military station at Kassa and by other stations using the Morse code when news is broadcast. Budapest is now building a 20 k.w. station which will override interruptions and will be heard throughout the whole of Europe.

The Czechs not only suppress their own newspapers, they prohibit foreign newspapers from entering Slovakia. No newspaper, periodical, or publication issued in Hungary is allowed to enter the country, with the exception of a theatrical periodical and two Social Democratic newspapers, the "Népszava" and the "Magyar Hirlap." Scientific, medical, cultural publications of universal value are prohibited. Passengers are searched at the frontiers and the papers seized.

This is a particularly short-sighted proceeding. Hungary possesses a high standard of scholarship, issues scientific publications of the utmost value, and is the most advanced country in Central Europe and the Balkans in agriculture; its journals devoted to the farming and wine-growing interests would bear practical service to the Czechs. Curiously enough, the Hungarian papers can be imported into Bohemia at the other end of the far-stretched Czecho-Slovak Republic. The only effect of this policy is to intensify the pangs

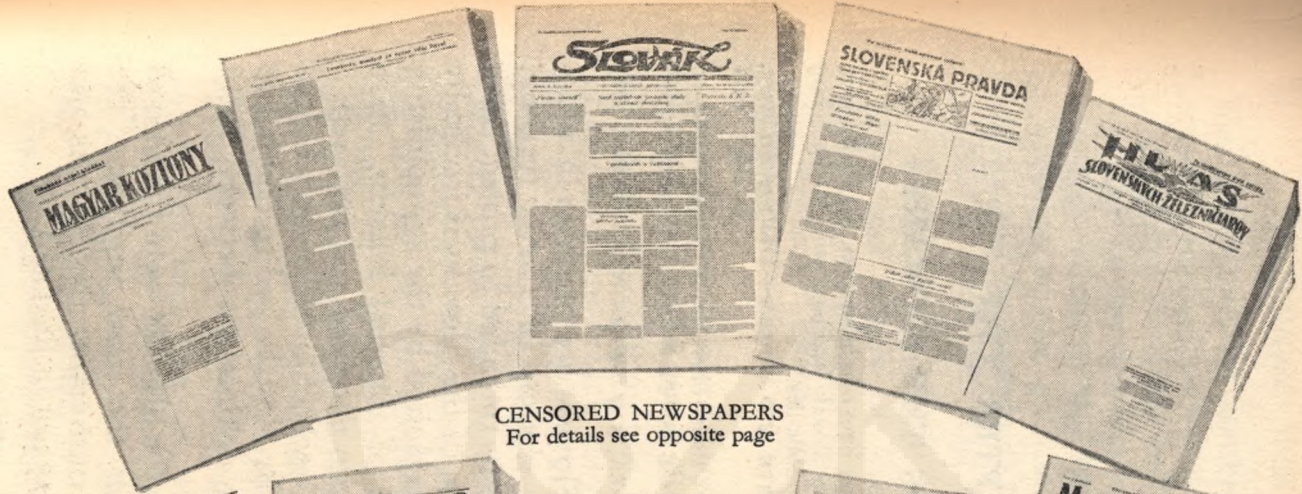
of anguish felt by Hungarians separated from their kinsmen by the Treaty of Trianon.

The closing of the frontiers to Hungarian newspapers deprives them of a profitable sphere of circulation. All the big towns of old Hungary beyond the capital and Szeged, which has less than 100,000 population, were in the detached territories where the reading public lived. The result is that the Hungarian Press is in a parlous condition, and with the exception of one or two newspapers is not self-supporting.

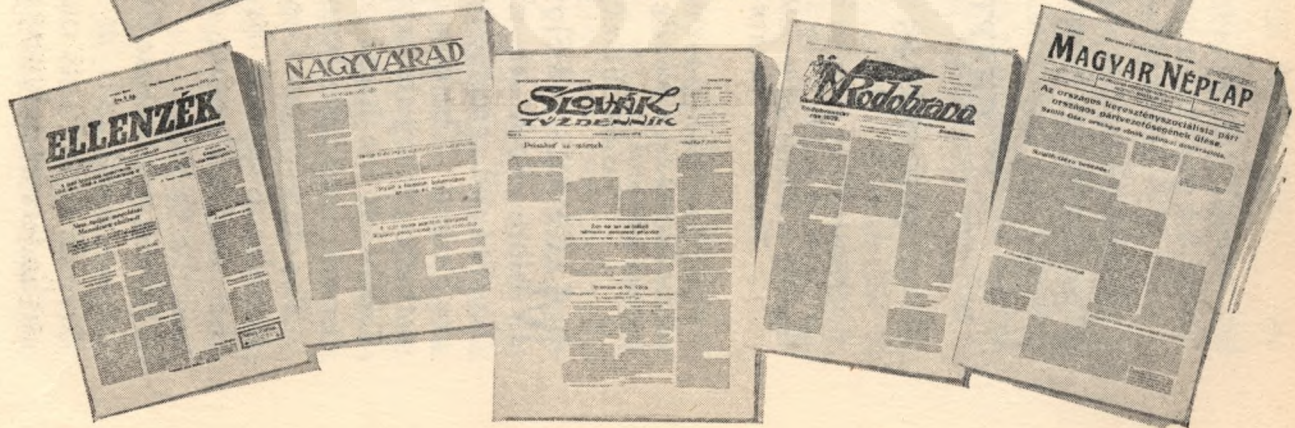
OSZK

The names of the newspapers reproduced on p. 169, which are selected from a very large number of papers which shared a similar fate, are as follows :

- “ Magyar Közlöny : Hungarian Labour paper, published at Losoncz, 18th August 1927.
- “ Ruzsinszkói Magyar Gazda,” published at Beregszász, 16th October 1927. The censored article is Lord Rothermere’s reply to Bishop Zoch, which was allowed to be published in some other journals.
- “ Slovák ” : the official organ of the Slovak People’s Party, 20th December 1927.
- “ Slovenská Pravda ” : a Slovak paper published at Kassa, 23rd October 1927.
- “ Hlas Slovenských Železničiarov ” : Slovak journal, published at Zilina, 15th November 1927.
- “ Ellenzék ” : Hungarian journal, published at Kolozsvár, Transylvania, 4th November 1927.
- “ Nagyvárad ” : Hungarian journal published in Nagyvárad, 1st January 1928.
- “ Slovák ” : official organ of the Slovak People’s Party, published in Pressburg, 1st January 1928.
- “ Rodobrana ” : Social Democratic paper, 23rd December 1927.
- “ Magyar Néplap ” : Hungarian paper, 9th October 1927, published in Pressburg.



CENSORED NEWSPAPERS
For details see opposite page



CHAPTER XVII

DECEIVING THE SLOVAKS

“Slovakia will be given her own administration, her Parliament, her Courts of Justice. The Slovak language will be the ruling language in schools and in public life.”

THOMAS G. MASARYK AND OTHERS.—*Treaty of Pittsburg,*
30 May, 1918

“The Czech Government treats Slovakia as though it were an unhonoured colony, a dumping ground for indifferent goods, both material and moral.”

FATHER HLINKA, *in an interview on 23 November, 1927*

MAGYARS and Slovaks are brothers in affliction. Both are victims of Czech tyranny. Treaties and agreements intended to protect them are broken. The case of the Slovaks is ironically pathetic as they are exploited by the aggrandising Czechs in the name of fraternal kinship. Also because they have been deceived and betrayed.

The clumsy name Czecho-Slovakia was invented in order to appease the Slovaks and to emphasise the racial and other distinctions between them and the Czechs.

(It was not because the Slovaks were the second largest racial unit in the new republic; the German inhabitants outnumber the Slovaks and are leaders in industry and in finance.)

The object was by combining the Czechs and Slovaks in one name—the two forming a majority—to submerge the other racial units.

The fate of the Slovaks was not decided by a plebiscite. It was settled by an agreement signed at Pittsburg on the 30th May 1918 by President Masaryk and the leaders of the Czech and Slovak societies in America. The agreement was that

“ Slovakia is to have its own Government, Diet, and Court of Justice. Slovak is to be the administrative language in schools, Government offices and in public life in general.”

Slovakia was to be a State in a Federal Republic. The Slovaks claim to be the older branch of the Slav race settled in middle Europe; they settled in the territory which they now occupy in the year 528. The Czechs and the Slovaks have grown up separately in every respect and developed distinctive characteristics. The Czechs are industrial; Slovaks agricultural. The Czechs are not devout or religious; the Slovaks are intensely devout Roman Catholics. The Czechs are materialists; the Slovaks idealists. Slovaks have had more community with, and understanding of, the Magyars, sharing a common sovereignty for a thousand years. There is as much difference between the Czech and Slovak languages, as between Norwegian and Danish or Flemish and Dutch. The Slovaks have their own art and literature.

The Slovaks considered themselves racially a

separate nation and only agreed to join the Czechs in founding a Republic on the basis of obtaining their own Federal Parliament. The pledge entered into by the Czech leaders in America was broken at the Peace Conference. Delegates from the Slovaks were not permitted to attend. Father Hlinka and others who went to Paris on Polish passports were imprisoned when they returned. In a petition which they presented to the Peace Conference in September 1919, they said that

“Instead of obtaining autonomy, we have fallen under the domination of the Czechs. The Magyar hegemony has been changed for Czech hegemony ; instead of the Magyar yoke we have had imposed upon us the Czech yoke, all the more crushing and cruel because it is imposed by those who term us brothers.”

The promise made in the Pittsburg Treaty has never been implemented. The Czechs treat Slovakia as a colony. Its people are exploited in the interests of the predominant race. All the best public positions are for Czechs.

The Czechs provided themselves with more schools in proportion to the population than they gave to the Slovaks. In 1926 there were 1,610 higher elementary schools in the Republic, of which Slovakia only had 7.2 per cent., while it represented 22 per cent. of the total population. Out of the 768 teachers of these schools in Slovakia, 500 were Czechs. These figures were issued by the Slovak People's Party. The excuse that there was an insufficiency of qualified teachers

for the Slovaks should not apply ; after eight years of the Republic, trained teachers should have been available. There is a still less percentage of Slovaks permitted to become professors in the University of Bratislava. There are only two Slovak professors. The same favouritism is shown to Czechs in all branches of the public service. In Slovakia there is only one Slovak amongst the higher officials of customs and finance services. Amongst the lower employees the Slovaks have two out of a staff of 427. Among the ordinary custom house officers there are only 33 Slovaks out of a total staff of 2,157. In the gendarmerie no Slovaks are admitted amongst the higher officers. Out of a total of 523 there are only 15 Slovaks, while in the rank and file, out of 12,334 men, the Slovaks have 410. These figures are from the " *Correspondance Slovaque* " of June 1926. The relative proportion remains the same to-day. If the dominating Czechs treat their brother Slovaks like this, what treatment can the Hungarians living in Slovakia expect ?

In the list of appointments issued on 1st January 1928, not five per cent. of the higher posts were given to Slovaks. The Slovaks have been displaced from the lower positions which they occupied under Hungary in the railways and the post office, and other public services. The support of a certain proportion of Slovaks has been bought over by the patronage of the Governments in issuing licenses, conferring privileges, granting small-holdings and estates on favourable terms. From the foundation of the Republic, the Slovaks

never ceased to set a solid frontage against Czech hegemony. At every election they rubbed in their demand for the fulfilment of the contract upon which the new State was founded. They saw a sinister design in the omission of the hyphen in the name of the State. There is no Czecho-Slovak language nor a Czecho-Slovak distinctive race. In some respects the Slovaks receive worse treatment than if they had been recognised as a Minority race under the Treaty. Their newspapers have suffered quite as severely from the censor as have the Hungarian Press and worse than the Slovak Press did under Hungary.

The Slovaks have been insistent in formulating their demands and the Czechs have systematically ignored them. They contrast their treatment by their brothers with the methods of the Magyars. A Slovak said to me :

“Under the Magyars we knew where we were; they did things in a high and mighty way, but once their policy was decided, we knew where we stood; we had freedom. Under the Czechs there is no end to the petty tyrannies directed against us. Our lives are fettered. We have less freedom. We never know from day to day what new measures we are up against—all irritating pinpricks making life uncomfortable and liberty insecure.”

The exploitation of the Slovaks went on unabated, but after the General Election of November 1925 the domineering Czechs had

to sit up and take notice. The support of the Slovaks was wanted to keep a Coalition Government in office. A deal was entered into between the parties.

Monseigneur Hlinka and the leaders of the Slovak People's Party wanted nothing more than an honest deal, which they had been waiting for. They were promised the belated autonomy and agreed to support the Government. There were considerations which tied Father Hlinka and his friends to the Government without binding them, as it turned out.

Father Hlinka had founded the Ludova Bank in Ruzemberek to finance local industries. It was in a state of insolvency. The Government granted a loan of twelve million crowns for a long period for very little interest, and also made an allowance for war loans which the Bank held. Members of Father Hlinka's party received other considerations. They were granted permits to import coal. Every year a large quantity of coal is imported from Poland. No one can import without a permit. The aggregate value of the permits per annum given to Father Hlinka's followers amounted to between two and three millions crowns. Members of other Government parties also shared in the graft at the same time, but to a lesser extent.

For a whole year the Prague Government made no move towards implementing the first part of the bargain. On the contrary, they carried on a repressive campaign against the Slovaks with increasing intensity. Their papers were suppressed

and rigorously censored. More Czechs were quartered upon them. Slovakia was deprived of its fair share of State contracts. When many leaders among the Slovaks welcomed Lord Rothermere's gesture, the thumb screw was given another twist. The "Slovák" and other newspapers of the Party expressed independent views at their peril. The position at the end of last year could not be more authoritatively expressed than in an interview which Father Hlinka granted to my assistant at Ruzemberek on the 23rd November 1927. He said :

"The position of the country is far worse economically than it has ever been. Factories are still closing down, the people are still being oppressed, unemployment increases day by day."

He was asked if the treatment of the Slovaks as a people was worse than it was under Hungary. He replied :

"Not in all ways. We are allowed to use our language in the primary schools, but—the Hungarian Government helped industry by granting subsidies. The Czech Government treats Slovakia as though it were an unhonoured colony, a dumping ground for indifferent goods, both material and moral. Our factories are closed so that the factories in Bohemia may flourish, work full time, and develop. Workers are brought from Bohemia and employed on Government construction while the men and

women of the district concerned go in want. We are being crushed to make way for a hybrid—the Czecho-Slovak. Even the name of the State itself is being altered to Czechoslovakia instead of Czecho-Slovakia, denying us the existence of our country as a separate unit in the Republic.”

Father Hlinka draws a great distinction in every respect between the Czechs and Slovaks, and the compound Czecho-Slovak he describes as “a Slovak who is guilty of treachery to his country, who denies its individuality and mostly for individual gain has given his allegiance to the Czechs. Such a person is a Czecho-Slovak.”

Only by the grant of autonomy will Father Hlinka and his friends be reconciled to the Czecho-Slovak Republic. They are simple folk, sincere, devout, honest, intent on doing their duty loyally and faithfully.

Anyone who visits purely Slovak village communities notices the changes which have taken place in the face of the country and in the social economy of the people. There has been deterioration all round in the cultivation of the land and a disruption of social relationships. Formerly much of the land was farmed by Jews for the big land-owners. Jews were excellent farmers; with the break-up of the big estates they were displaced and the land which they farmed distributed chiefly amongst Slovaks who had been smallholders or labourers, or to Czech legionaries and Czechs from Bohemia. The productivity of the

soil was very soon reduced by nearly 50 per cent., owing to the inexperience of the new owners and their lack of equipment. Many of them find, although they bought the land for about one-third of its value, that they are unable to meet the instalments in payment, and the former Jewish farmers are now lending money to the Slovaks and will by and by become the owners. The jealousy and ill-feeling engendered through the revolutionary land reform has made co-operation extremely difficult. There are still many small Hungarian owners of land who have not come within the land reform scheme, but they do not co-operate with the Slovaks or the immigrant Czechs in buying agricultural produce or in selling stock. All this business has fallen into the hands of middle-men. Formerly co-operative stores, the immense organisation of the Hangya, whose headquarters were in Budapest, and which was modelled on the Rochdale pioneers, were a valuable source of credit to the farmers and supplied seeds and fertilisers at very moderate rates. As this organisation has now been dispersed, the new owners and farmers have to pay more for credit and get less for their stock. The Hangya was a many-sided institution and had a cultural and social mission as well as a business purpose. It organised agricultural organisations, village reading-rooms and libraries. The Treaty of Trianon deprived the Hangya of 1,349 branch societies.

The community of economic interests between the Czechs and Slovaks does not exist. Their

racial affinities are slender ; their political ideals antagonistic. Just now the brotherhood proclaimed by the patronising Czech is akin to the feeling between the Capulets and the Montagues, or the historical relationship between the Irish Catholics and the Ulster Protestants.

When the Czechs celebrate their national fete day on the 28th of October, the Slovaks hold aloof and their churches are empty. The Slovak national fete comes two days later, the day upon which they drew up their Charter of freedom and autonomy.

As I have described in another chapter, the Slovak newspapers have lately suffered from severe attack from the censors.

Czechophiles pretend that it is only since Lord Rothermere's action that a severe coercive policy has been adopted in Slovakia against Hungarians and Slovaks, more especially in relation to the Press. That is not correct. If it were, it would only be an additional testimony to the hopes or fears which Lord Rothermere's action has aroused. The unsympathetic attitude of the Czechs towards the Slovaks has gone on practically without interruption. The correspondence of the Slovak party leaders and of their newspapers has never been immune from the prying eyes of the police. The "Slovák" threw a bombshell into Prague officialdom at the beginning of January 1928 when it published a sensational article by Professor Tuka, the acting editor, dealing with the tenth anniversary of the Slovak National Declaration at Turciánsky St. Martin, which falls on the 30th

October. This Declaration was issued at a time when Hungary was falling to pieces, and when the only hope of the Slovaks was Home Rule under Prague. Professor Tuka, recalling this momentous day in the history of the Slovak people, revealed a secret portion of the Declaration which limited the agreement with the Czechs to a period of ten years. This period expires on 30th October 1928, and signifies that the Slovaks are open to revise the conditions which they think should determine the future of their race. The article was officially suppressed.

So far from fulfilling the aspirations of the Slovaks as expressed at St. Martin or signed under the Pittsburg Treaty, the present Czech Government are establishing a system of local administration which will exclude, so far as one sees, any possibility of democratic evolution, unless there is a complete change at Prague. Dr. Seton-Watson, with his sublime confidence in the wisdom of the Czechs, expressed the hope in his "New Slovakia" that the Czechs would adopt the British practice of devolution, and after the establishment of local representative bodies in each zupanate or county "will ere long follow this up by the formation of the wider elected assembly provided for in the Zupanate Law"; instead of which a Provincial Council for Slovakia is established, which, by the inclusion of one-third nominated members, assures a Government majority. So far from leading to the establishment of local representative bodies, this new Council is empowered to suppress them. The proceedings

are regulated by a Government-appointed president. The Council is precluded from passing any resolution of a political character : in Czecho-Slovakia the word " political " covers a multitude of issues.

CHAPTER XVIII

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DISRUPTION

IN old Hungary there were five custom houses ; in present Hungary (one-third of the territory of the old) there are thirty. This multiplication of custom houses in itself indicates some of the visible signs of the economic Chauvinism which has sprung up in Europe since the War. Barriers are erected to intercept the transit of goods among people who formerly enjoyed uninterrupted means of communication. Your economic Chauvinist is aggressive and self-centred. He wants his country to be self-contained ; the balance of trade is his obsession, believing that this is the secret of industrial wealth—an economic heresy which he hugs with satisfaction. He wants to sell to foreign countries and buy as little as possible. The wall of tariffs which now surrounds Hungary increases the cost of living to all the inhabitants of the Succession States as well as to Hungary. Tariffs are not all ; there are prohibition, partial or complete, licensing systems, transit facilities, permits and passports, commercial law, and labour questions. The practical effect of these restrictions is to look upon the exchange

of goods as an international offence against national well-being. Hungarians in detached Hungary also face differential—or rather, vindictive—taxation. Together with other causes—so-called land reform and bad management—production has declined and the cost of living has gone up, not alone among the people concerned, but also in the world markets. That is why the bankers issued a manifesto appealing to European statesmen and industrialists to take reconstruction seriously in hand, and why the League of Nations called a World Economic Conference and has set up Economic Committees for collective action to influence mass opinion.

Before the War, Hungary was to a large extent self-contained. It formed part of the Dual Monarchy customs union, with a population of over fifty millions. Hungarians were always striving to be industrially independent of Austria. The Chauvinist policy of the Hungarian Government in the years before the War was directed more against its predominant partner in economic development and the German language than against any of the other Minorities and their mother tongue. Hungary was planning to become economically more and more independent within its own borders, to serve itself with raw materials ; companies were subsidized to manufacture the goods and were further assisted by preferential railway tariffs. Hence the jealousy between Slovakia and Bohemia—separated not by tariffs, not merely by a range of mountains, but by local patriotism and protective sentiments.

The disruptive consequence to commerce and communication is best illustrated by the new relationship between Hungary and Slovakia. Slovakia was an area which was complementary to Hungary. It was part of the same watershed, and was encircled by mountain ranges forming a natural frontier between Old Hungary and Austrian Bohemia and Galicia. Orographically, physiographically, hydrographically, and economically, Slovakia and Hungary were one. No cut could be made through any part of the territory which was not damaging to both divided portions.

The economic consequences of the partition, which presses most heavily on Hungary, have been threefold. Separation in itself restricted the movement of population as well as that of goods. Inhabitants of Slovakia who were dependent on seasonal occupations, or whose livelihoods otherwise depended on their free circulation between the territories, are now handicapped in earning their livelihood.

Former Hungary, being unable to raise tariffs for the artificial protection of its industries, developed a system of subsidies to foster artificially industries in Slovakia. The extent to which this development took place was described by Count Apponyi in his statement to the Peace Conference, in which he said that "State subsidies were received by 222 metal factories, 223 spinning and weaving factories, 185 chemical factories." There were also grants for the development of mines and other resources and for agriculture.

A brochure on Slovakia prepared under the



MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF HUNGARY IN RELATION TO THE NEW STATES CREATED BY THE PEACE TREATIES : CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, RUMANIA, YUGO-SLAVIA AND AUSTRIA.

direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office and issued in 1920* contains in a concise form a great deal of valuable information with regard to the economic situation in Slovakia. It was recognized that the incorporation of Slovakia in another State would deprive Hungary of a region which is rich in timber and minerals and contains some of its best coal mines. The wealth of the country, it was stated, lies mainly in its mineral, and notably in its iron deposits, which it is claimed are not likely to be exhausted for centuries. It was pointed out that there might easily be latent economic forces in Slovakia which remain to be developed in happier political conditions. The analyses given of the mineral, metallurgical, and manufacturing activities in Slovakia prove that it played an important part in the industrial wealth of Hungary—the iron-ore and iron production made up from 25 to 33 per cent. of the total for the whole of the country. Two of the chief centres were in the county of Esztergom and the Igló district. These two districts produced in 1913, 1,457,209 tons of pig-iron, together with iron, copper, zinc, antimony, and manganese ore valued at 30,122,000 crowns. In some cases the average percentage which the output bore to that of Hungary as a whole was over fifty. In the Igló district there were foundries and rolling mills, limestone quarries, and magnesite pits. The Hernád Valley Hungarian Iron Industry Company employed

* "Slovakia," edited by G. W. Prothero, H. M. Stationery Office, January 1920.

3,000 workpeople. It was a rapidly developing and progressive industry, its output of ore having increased 100 per cent. since 1900, and its worked iron and steel by over 400 per cent. There were a large number of other works in the same district producing 384,629 tons of iron and other ores and kindred products. In many cases these were very healthy industries, the companies recognizing their obligations to their workpeople by building workmen's dwellings, schools, and other institutions. The Royal Hungarian Iron & Steel Works, situated in the county of Zólyom, employed 2,664 persons, who had a special Roman Catholic church, a State elementary school, and a continuation school for young people between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years. This company also introduced a special form of sick benefit insurance club, which had its origin as far back as the sixteenth century, and in the nineteenth was not only recognized but enjoined by State law. The "Bruderlade," as it was called, had in 1912, 11,119 members.

At Krompach there is an iron industry dating back to the second half of the sixteenth century. It had been in difficulties towards the end of last century, but after a number of changes commenced to develop rapidly and continued to do so up till 1918, when the works and mines combined employed 3,000 workpeople together with officials. These were accommodated in six colonies in the neighbourhood, and had special schools, welfare institutions, sick benefit and old age pension funds, and also a hospital with X-ray and other

modern plant. From the moment of the incorporation of the county in the new Czecho-Slovak State the works declined, in consequence of the competition and favoured position of the powerful industry in Bohemia and Moravia, the cutting off of the Rumanian market by the new frontier, Communist and Czecho-Slovak nationalist agitation, and adverse railway tariffs. Finally, financial difficulties led to a proposal to dismantle and liquidate the works, which despite the protests of the local Slovak authorities and of the workpeople was sanctioned by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The three thousand workpeople, with the exception of some hundred or so, were thrown out of employment.

In fact, it is safe to say that nearly all the industries which existed and were fostered by Hungary have disappeared or have been crippled, and have not been replaced by other industries. The agricultural-machinery workshops at Losoncz—which before the War kept 1,000 workmen employed—have wilted away until they can only maintain one hundred. The glass industry, with its centres at Zlatno, Utekac, Kokova, Poltar, and Huta, is atrophied; factories have decreased their production and their numbers of workmen employed to fractions of their former level, processes have been discontinued and whole factories closed down. The textile factory at Halic, which had a productive capacity of 400,000 metres of cloth per shift, and which employed 800 hands, has been closed down; the factories at Apatova, where 1,000 workpeople were en-

gaged, now only employ 200. The enamel works at Losoncz, which were established nearly fifty years ago, and which employed 900 workpeople, are also closed.

In some cases the causes, apart from the loss of the Hungarian, Rumanian, and Jugo-Slav market, have been high railway freights, in others the inability of the works, being Hungarian, to obtain State subsidies, in others, e.g. quarries, the competition of State undertakings in Bohemia.

The Czechs have pursued a policy of de-industrializing Slovakia in order to promote the Czech industry in Bohemia without at the same time developing Slovakia's immensely rich agricultural and forest resources.

References have been made to the differential penalising treatment accorded to the Slovaks in other chapters. This is manifested in many ways. Taxes were for nine years levied on two scales : tradespeople and professional men in Slovakia were assessed at three times the rate levied in Bohemia ; other taxes were charged in Slovakia on a 60 per cent. higher scale than in Bohemia. The plausible explanation is that the Czechs have been applying the old Hungarian taxation laws. An equality of taxation burdens should have been effected in less than nine years. Moreover, the ratio of salaries of officials is in the opposite direction.

Complaints are made that the Government withholds State contracts from Minority undertakings. In May 1927, the Hungarian and German printing firms in Slovakia passed a resolution

complaining that the Government not only withheld orders, but competed with them. This complaint is general. Slovakian industry by its taxation ratio should receive from 15 to 18 per cent. of State orders: it has only received 5 per cent. Of the 5,400,000 tons of coal used on the Czecho-Slovakian railways in 1926, only 120,000 tons were obtained from Slovakia; Slovakian railways used 800,000 tons, so that the local mines supplied only 11.6 per cent. even of the fuel used on their own railways.

No attempt has been made to adjust the railway system to the new political conditions. Slovakian railways trended S. and S.E., and were designed to facilitate communication with Pressburg and with Budapest. In consequence of the new frontier, the lines now run in the wrong direction; main lines have sunk to subsidiary importance, while local routes, which have now become main lines, are incapable of coping with the traffic. The lateral railway communications have not yet been developed, and the mere extent of the long, sprawling Republic would in itself place the eastern provinces at a disadvantage. Hungary was a comparatively compact area and very few places in Slovakia were more than six or seven hours' journey from Budapest; now to the more populous parts of Czecho-Slovakia, ten to twenty-four hours are required from Prague. This question of railway communication is vital. Slovakia is not self-supporting, nor is it capable of absorbing the whole of its products in certain branches. Consequently good railway facilities and low

freights are a *sine qua non* of its economic welfare. Not only, however, is the railway system paradoxical, but the rolling-stock is out of date, 36 per cent. being over thirty years old, and the freight policy of the administration capricious. It is cheaper to export sugar via Trieste than over the shorter route to Hamburg, although the latter route would carry goods over 500 to 800 miles of Czecho-Slovakian railways, thus providing employment for home railways and reducing an invisible debit in the balance of trade. The freight even from Prague to Kassa is nearly twice as high as from Prague to Trieste.

Besides the deliberate policy of stifling Slovakian industries, there is the loss of markets. The textile factories at Késmárk are unable to sell their output in their former markets in Hungary, and cannot compete because of excessive railway freights with the textile factories in Bohemia. I visited a linen factory at Késmárk which formerly employed 2,000 workpeople: now only 200 are employed, making fine damask for America. Other factories in the neighbourhood were closed. In Old Hungary there was a natural interchange of raw material and manufactured articles across the line of the present frontier, which shuts the door or levies tariff tolls.

The damning consequences of the mutilation are seen most dramatically along the frontier. The main line from Vienna to Budapest passes through Slovakia; Komárom has been cut in two (see page 77); farms are separated from their water supply, and wheat centres from flour mills. Or-

chards are shut off from their markets. At Técso I saw the remains of rich orchards which formerly found their markets over on the other side of the Tisza river and also in Prague. The other side—over a bridge—is now Rumania, and a tariff kills the trade; and the Bohemian market—formerly very profitable—is now impossible because of excessive railway freights. A lady grower told me that while she formerly sold thirty waggon loads of apples and pears, she now sells one.

George A. Birmingham (Canon Hannay), the well-known author, in his book, "A Wayfarer in Hungary," where he spent two years as chaplain to the British Legation, gives a few examples of frontier inflictions which came under his observation. He writes :

"What is to be the future of a place like Esztergom, where the town is in Hungary, its railway station in Czecho-Slovakia, and someone has blown up the bridge which leads from the one to the other? How are Pécs and Szeged to get on? Both these towns are in Hungary, but the railway which joins them crosses the frontier twice. Pécs has coal, and Szeged has factories which want coal. By the natural route these places are about eighty-five miles apart, but you cannot send coal by that route, for it would have to pay an import duty each time it crossed the frontier. The only way of getting coal from Pécs to Szeged is via Budapest, a journey of five hundred miles or so. What are we to think of the position of the miners in

Salgo Tarján, whose houses are in Czecho-Slovakia, whose seam of coal runs under Czecho-Slovakian soil, but the entrance of whose pit is in Hungary? They have to present a passport, properly viséd, every morning when they go to work and every evening when they return."

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the upper reaches of the rivers are under the control of the Czechs. River conservancy is neglected, so that not only Slovakia and Ruthenia, but also Hungary, which is the main drainage basin, is increasingly exposed to the danger of disastrous flooding. In Slovakia, little more than one-fourth of the sum has been spent on conservancy works that has been spent in Bohemia. Canalisation also has been neglected and the lumbering trade hit.

There is no end of the complaints which one hears in Slovakia. The State always favours Bohemia. Between 1921 and 1926, 12,342 dwellings were built at Prague alone, at a cost of 1,135,792,502 crowns, while in the whole of Slovakia during the same period only 5,342 dwellings were built, at a cost of 456,575,000 crowns, and these partly for officials and colonists.

In addition to the misfortunes enumerated, Slovakia is over-burdened with officials, and to aggravate matters, these officials are for the most part not even Slovaks, but Czechs. As early as 1922 a memorandum was drawn up by the Slovak People's Party, which described the situation in

terms which are true to-day ; there were, they said, five times as many Czech officials in Slovakia as the country needed.

The absolute separation of Transylvania from Hungary, of course, has had a disastrous effect on trade in that part of the Balkans. Here again the railway communications have been interrupted. River embankment works over the new Rumanian border, which are essential to the low-lying lands of Hungary, are neglected, and parts of the Great Plain, which forms three-fourths of present Hungary, are liable to floods.

Jugo-Slavia inherited from Hungary its richest wheat-growing lands. Production, through inferior cultivation by inexperienced farmers from the hillsides, has decreased to such an extent that export has decreased almost to vanishing point. Not only is Hungary deprived of vast national wealth, in addition to the injury done to its milling industry, but from the diminished production there must inevitably ensue an increase in the price of wheat to importing nations, including England, owing to the shortage of European crops. Czecho-Slovakia now imports a great deal of wheat, whereas formerly the territory was almost self-supporting. Hungary, in spite of its diminished territory, owing to the efficiency of its agriculture, exports more wheat than any other State in Europe.

One of the indictments formerly brought against Hungary was that owing to the misgovernment of Slovakia, starving the people politically and economically, there was a great volume of emigra-

tion. That emigration still continues in spite of post-War restrictions and the difficulties put in the way of emigration by the Czech Government. The number of emigrants per head of the population is ten times as great in Slovakia as in Bohemia. Between 1922 and 1926, 168,700 persons emigrated, and 56.7 per cent. were from Slovakia and Ruthenia, which contain less than one-fourth of the total population. In 1926 emigrants from Bohemia were 5,774, and from Slovakia, 14,380. In the first eleven months of 1927 the comparative numbers were: Bohemia 2,086, Slovakia 11,436. Under the Republic which was to bring the oppressed Slovaks comfort and prosperity, the volume of emigration has been at the rate of 160 for every 100,000 in the historic provinces, and at the rate of 1,174 per 100,000 in Slovakia.*

The Foreign Office brochure was irrefutable evidence to the Peace Conference that it should be guided by the Wilsonian axiom that economic interests were of paramount importance in fixing new frontiers, and also that a break up such as that which took place would have disastrous consequences. We read, for example:

“It is only too certain that the loss of either of these places (Pozsony and Kassa), and particularly of Pozsony, the only port on the Danube and the chief gateway to the South-West, would very seriously cripple the economic life of Slovakia.”

Both places have been lost and the economic life

* Bulletin of the National Bank of Czecho-Slovakia.

of the province "very seriously crippled" in consequence.

The Foreign Office authority also said :

"The incorporation of the Slovaks in another State would deprive Hungary of a region which is rich in timber and minerals and contains some of its best coal-mines."

Hungary is suffering from that deprivation.

Also :

"It seems equally clear that the country stands in great need of foreign capital and of a continuance of such enlightened guidance in technical and agricultural affairs as it appears to have received of late years from the Hungarian Government."

The country has lost the enlightened guidance and has not received foreign capital.

CHAPTER XIX

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

“ One of the values of local self-government lies in the habit it forms among the inhabitants of a town or district of bringing their knowledge and capacities into a common stock for the benefit of the whole community.”

LORD BRYCE in “ *Modern Democracies.*”

THE Czech-Slovak Government succeeded to an efficient system of local government in Slovakia. The system of county government was somewhat similar to that in England. At the head of the county was a Lord Lieutenant. The councils were partly elected and partly nominated. The chief officials were elected for six years. One of the first acts of the new Government was to suppress these county units, which had a historical, geographical, and economic foundation. Twenty-one large counties were created and centralism introduced. The head officials were appointed by the Government instead of being elected by the councils ; the Government nominated one-third of the members ; the President, a Government nominee, had the power to regulate discussion at the council meetings ; officials could

vote. There were two motives for these changes : the areas were gerrymandered on political and racial lines so as to bring racial minorities under 20 per cent., thus depriving them of the right to the use of their own language at meetings of local authorities, and of establishing their own quota of schools. At the same time the judicial areas were also enlarged for the same purpose.

This system was costly and inconvenient, as litigants had to travel long distances. The Hungarians were perfectly helpless, as their language was not recognised in the courts. There was no hope of the Hungarian or any other racial minority obtaining fair representation on the new county authorities. The racial minorities are divided into many parties and there was an infiltration of Czechs into the districts—officials and colonists—with the growth of Communism and the nominative element the Hungarians were side-tracked. In certain areas the Hungarians showed up in considerable strength, and in some of these the councils were suppressed and Government commissioners appointed. The Ungvár Council was suspended on several occasions ; the Léva Council was dissolved twice. Érsek jvár once. Among the other towns or communes was Beregszász. When the Government did not like the result of the elections they ordered new elections and set corrupt influences to work in order to purge the councils of oppositionists. The re-arranging of judicial areas meant that the local county and police courts were centralised. Among the towns which lost their local courts and finance offices

were Eperjes, Komárom, Ipolyság, Aranyosmarot, and Locse. The suppression of local self-government has, moreover, brought about inefficiency and has not reduced expenditure. Interest in local affairs is lessened. Many of the officials are inexperienced. Centralisation takes the life out of local self-government. The system is anti-democratic and is a return to absolutism.

That benefit is destroyed under the Czech system of usurping the powers of local democracy. In an old settled agricultural community the juggling with historic market towns and judicial centres is one of the meanest examples of Czech chicanery.

Not only does the policy of Czechisation apply to public authorities, but also to professional organisations. Most of the lawyers in Slovakia and Ruthenia were of Hungarian nationality and of Jewish religion. They were organised into various chambers for the regulation and government of their affairs. The Czech Government have united all these chambers into one in Slovakia and have changed its head-quarters. The executive committee is appointed by the Secretary of State for Justice as well as all the other officials. Only Czechs or Slovaks were nominated as members of the executive committee. This executive authority adjudicates on the admission of lawyers, and as Czech citizenship is essential for the exercise of the profession it will be seen that the Central Government has a powerful confederate in the executive of the lawyers' society in its policy of denationalisation.

The effect of the changes in civic and judicial

administrative areas offers an interesting study in political arithmetic. Before the change, for instance, the county of Rimaszombat had 39,532 inhabitants, of whom 8,213 (20.99 per cent.) were Hungarians; the revised boundaries embrace 44,984 persons, of whom 8,302 are Hungarians; the percentage it will be noted has fallen to 18.45. The choice of the particular districts transferred argues careful calculation, since a number of permutations which I selected and examined at random would nearly all have maintained the Hungarian proportion above 20 per cent., and would in some cases have brought it up nearly to 30 per cent. Exigencies of space preclude any detailed scrutiny of the transfers carried out, but a few examples are worth quoting. Place-names, of course, are formidable, but the figures are sufficiently graphic to make the position intelligible. Take five villages which have been incorporated in the county of Rimaszombat: Csehberék (Brezovo Ceske) had a total population of 1,433, of whom 1,152 were Slovaks and 44 Czechs; Sósliget (Lehota Slana) a total of 256, of whom 231 were Slovaks and 5 Czechs; Poltar a total of 1,103, of whom 854 were Slovaks; Sihla a total of 297, all Czechs; and Krokava a total of 309, of whom 297 are Czechs. These villages are therefore almost exclusively Czech, owing to the policy of penetration. The village of Magyarhegyemeg, which was detached from the county, on the other hand, is just as thoroughly Magyar, containing 276 Hungarians out of a total of 282 inhabitants. The resolute endeavour at all costs

to reduce the percentage of Hungarians is all the more patent, since economic interests in the case of some transferred districts have been immolated on the altar of Czechization. Alone the railway distances to the old and new judicial seats demonstrate this. The first three villages named, Cseh-berek, Sósliget, and Poltar, were 24, 21, and 19 km. respectively from the old county court at Losoncz ; from Rimaszombat, the seat of the new court, they are 44, 41, and 39 km. distant respectively. The market town in each case is Losoncz. Magyar-hegymeg was 20 km. by road and rail combined from Rimaszombat ; from Feled, its new county town, it is 30 km. distant. The market town is Rimaszombat. The severe handicap of litigation in a town twice as far off as the market centre will be readily understood.

In the county court jurisdiction of Eperjes, now merged in Kassa, the same thing has happened. Twenty-one almost exclusively Czech villages, with populations ranging from 119 to 84 have been transferred. Their total population was 8,752, which included 8,493 Czechs or Slovaks. The difficulty which arises here is that the old and new county towns are on different railway routes, and, with two exceptions, in which the change is justified, a much longer road journey to the respective railway station is now involved. In one case which came to my notice the journey by coach, which formerly occupied two hours, now takes three and a half. In other cases the journey is increased from two and a half to three hours, and from two to two and three-quarter

hours. For an agricultural population working in some seasons on an almost invisible margin time gain these new distances involve incalculable loss.

A similar batch of examples could be quoted from the county of Nyitra. A whole series of large and exclusively Czech villages have been brought in, and another batch of equally exclusive Hungarian villages detached ; distance increase from 10 to 26 and from 13 to 32 kilometres. In one or two cases the villages are nearer to the new court, but their market centre of course cannot be transferred so readily. Before the decree was implemented this county had a Hungarian population of 17,373, which made up 26.62 per cent. of the total ; its present Hungarian population is 13,116, or 18.69 per cent.

Many thousands of Hungarians have lost the right to use their own language.

CHAPTER XX

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Twenty years ago Dr. Seton-Watson made an indictment of Hungary under the title of "Racial Problems in Hungary." By substituting "Czecho-Slovakia" for "Hungary" in the title and "Czech" for "Magyar" in the text, the main events in the indictment stand to-day.

CONDITIONS similar to those found in Old Hungary exist in Czecho-Slovakia to-day. It is a polygot State. Six languages are represented on its paper currency—the only place where the other languages are recognised on equality with Czech. Like the Magyars, the Czechs do not concede language rights to other races unless they represent 20 per cent. of the local population, and even more than the Magyars did they endeavour to get round this minimum. Again like the Magyars, the Czechs claim that they are a majority in their country; as a fact, without the Slovaks they would be in a substantial minority. We are justified in detaching the Slovaks, who are antagonistic to the Czechs in spite of certain racial affinities, albeit worn thin by separation for a thousand years, and further

strained to breaking point by the betrayal of their interests and the neglect of their cause.

In its later years the old Hungarian monarchy set itself to Magyarise the Minority races. The Czechs are on the same tack; pursue it with more vigour, and attack it from several directions. They have learned nothing from the follies of the old world. Persecution, colonisation, victimisation, Press censorship, contempt for opposition, penalising political opponents, centralised control, peaceful penetration, terrorist dictation: the Czechs have tried them all in turn and succeeded at none. The Czechs have a weapon in their armoury which the Magyars did not possess: the Land Reform scheme, which gives almost unlimited scope for placating, as well as punishing, enemies, for tying up partisans and strengthening the control of the Central Government. The Czechs reproduce many of the abuses of the old Empire and use their fertile imaginations to invent some new instruments of moral torture with which to smite the Magyars.

In "Racial Problems in Hungary"—a work now a classic, which has had more influence in moulding British opinion on Hungary than any other book issued during the last fifty years—Dr. Seton-Watson, after his indictment of Magyar misrule, recommends the introduction of reforms to remove the grievances and injustices from which the Slovaks then suffered under the "Magyar yoke." It is interesting to compare the conditions under which the Slovaks live to-day with their condition twenty years ago, substituting

in doing so "Czech" for "Magyar" and "Czecho-Slovakia" for "Hungary." The following are Dr. Seton-Watson's recommended reforms for Slovakia compared with existing conditions :

I. "There must be a wide extension of the parliamentary franchise, including a secret ballot. Distribution of seats according to racial boundaries and on a basis of population."

The Czecho-Slovak Republic has universal suffrage and the secret ballot ; but the distribution of seats in Slovakia is not according to racial boundaries nor, strictly speaking, on a basis of population. There are anomalies. While in Prague at the general election in 1925, 19,971 votes ensured a seat for one constituency, 29,260 votes were necessary in a Hungarian centre in Slovakia.

II. "Revision and democratization of County Government on the following lines :

(a) Redistribution of the counties according to racial boundaries."

The county and judicial boundaries have been changed exactly in the opposite way—to the prejudice of the Magyars.

(b) "Wide extension of the franchise for the county assemblies, but retention of a low tax qualification."

This reform has been accomplished.

(c) "Abolition of 'virilist' votes."

The system of nomination and appointment of other official members by the Government has undermined the democratic element in local government: the reactionary system has become accentuated and stereotyped in the new provincial council for Slovakia; one-third of the members are nominated by the Central Government, which also appoints the President.

- (d) "Appointment of officials for life and revision of the form of election."

Officials are appointed for life, but in Slovakia few Slovaks are chosen, and hardly any of the former Magyars who knew the local language and had experience in administration have been retained. The great majority of the officials are Czechs from Bohemia.

- (e) "Employment of such officials only as have passed adequate tests in the various languages."

No test is required in local languages, and few officials have any knowledge of them.

A test is required in Czech from the former local officials, who are usually given three months in which to become proficient in that language and invariably fail. Thousands of minor officials and employees of the Magyar race have lost their jobs through the imposition of this test, while Czechs who are ignorant of Magyar or German fill their places.

- (f) "Right of any member of a county or

communal assembly to employ his own language during the debates."

No such rights are possessed by the Hungarian members of county or communal assemblies.

(g) "Retention of Magyar as the official languages of the minutes in all county and communal assemblies, but their publication also in any language spoken by one-third of the population in the county or commune in question."

Czech is the official language, and minutes are not published in any other language unless at least 50 per cent. of the local population claim that language as their mother tongue. Members are not allowed to speak in Magyar.

III. "The introduction of Slovak on equal terms with Magyar as the language of the courts of first instance in purely Slovak districts."

Magyar is not permitted on equal terms with Czech.

Only with difficulty can Magyars use their language in districts where they constitute 20 per cent. of the population.

IV. "Unrestricted right of assembly and association—hence the right to found leagues, societies and clubs for any purpose, whether cultural or political."

Unrestricted right of assembly and association does not exist. Meetings cannot be held without police permission, and then only in the presence

of police. They are frequently dispersed. Societies and clubs for cultural purposes have been abolished and their funds confiscated.

V. "Right of petition. The right of every citizen to present petitions and complaints to the courts in his own language."

Right of petition in the Magyar language is prohibited.

VI. "Liberty of the Press and the abandonment of political actions against the Nationalities and Socialists, save in altogether exceptional cases."

Liberty of the Press does not exist. There are more cases of censorship in Slovakia to-day than there were twenty years ago.

VII. "Education—the fulfilment of the State's pledge (1868, XLIV & XVII) to provide instruction in the mother tongue up to the point where the higher academic culture begins."

The rights of minorities in education are whittled down to a minimum and Magyar is not permitted in the higher schools, nor are there any training seminaries for teachers or for clergymen.

"The erection of at least three Slovak gymnasia and one Slovak academy of law."

The Magyars have only one gymnasium at Komárom, kept by the Benedictine Order. Instruction is given in Czech as well as in Magyar,

but no academy of law for the Minority exists, although several have been suppressed.

VIII. "Use of the non-Magyar languages in addition to Magyar on all taxation schedules, Government notices and circulars and in all railway stations and post offices."

Czech is the only language used at railway stations and post offices. When it is used on schedules, Government notices and circulars, it is relegated to microscopic letters at the bottom of the sheet.

IX. "Total abolition of the offence of *laufatio criminis*."

X. "Entire immunity of all members of Parliament for all political offences save high treason."

Members of Parliament are not immune. Their nationality is questioned and they have been frequently arrested and imprisoned for purely political offences.

XI. "Substitution of the baton for the rifle in the gendarmerie, or at least the imposition of more stringent rules against the provocative and callous behaviour of the gendarmes, which often leads to bloodshed."

The Czech police as well as the gendarmes are a formidable armed force (swords and rifles), and far more numerous and provocative than they were under the old kingdom of Hungary. Soldiers swarm in Slovakian towns and villages.

It should be pointed out that old Hungary was not under any Treaty obligations nor agreements to protect the rights of Minorities. Everyone of the inequalities, injustices and abuses from which Dr. Seton-Watson wanted the Slovaks protected were one and all specifically guarded against in the Treaty which the Czechs signed and solemnly affirmed by their Constitution to execute.

Dr. Seton-Watson indicted Hungary for inflicting injustices on subject races—the Slovaks—and thereby menacing the peace of the world. That was twenty years ago—in 1908.

Six years afterwards Armageddon overwhelmed mankind. Twenty years is a short time in the life of a people or a nation, yet the Great War was supposed to inaugurate a new era in the history of humanity which should separate us by an epoch from the world of 1908.

Twenty millions of lives—the best manhood of all nations—fell in the death struggles on land and sea, and in the air; untold treasure was wasted in the clash of nations; unfathomable tolls of human misery—starvation, disease, degeneracy—were included in the price paid by all the races battling in the stupendous world conflict, and all in the hope that humanity would shake itself free from the hatreds and fears, the cruelties and the barbarities which were stifling civilisation. Yet the dawn of the new era of peace and good will, of frontiers of friendship is not signalled in Central Europe or the Balkans.

CHAPTER XXI

CHURCHES UNDER THE MINORITY TREATIES

“ All inhabitants shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.”

Identic Article in all Minority Treaties.

“ More than the Constitution, the good and mild disposition of the Rumanian people is a guarantee for the free development of the Minorities.”

MGR. BĂLAN, *Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania.*

NO country on the Continent has shown greater tolerance for religious opinions than Hungary. While the majority of the population belong to the Roman Catholic faith, all religious communities have been treated with perfect equality ; all are recognised by the State, and receive contributions for the maintenance of churches and for the salaries of priests and ministers. Before the War primary education depended very largely upon church Confessional schools, which also, as now, received State support. Educational, cultural and training institutions attached to the denominations received every encouragement and were in no way interfered with. Hungary is the

only country on the Continent where there is a large population of Calvinists and also Unitarians. Many of the leading Hungarian statesmen, including Count Tisza, were Calvinists. The Regent and the present Prime Minister, Count Bethlen, are Calvinists; the Minister of Welfare and Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Vass, is a Roman Catholic priest, and wears his canonicals in Parliament; the Government also includes Lutherans.

Several clauses in the Minority Treaties guarantee the Hungarian and other Minorities freedom to enjoy equal civil rights irrespective of race, religion, or language. The religious rights of the Minorities were specifically protected and guaranteed; they were to enjoy the same treatment and the same guarantees as the original nationals of the new States. In practice it has been far different, and infringements of Treaty rights under this head differ in the three States.

Immediately Transylvania passed under Rumanian rule there commenced an era of oppression and terrorism which, though varying in intensity and in the multifarious forms of its manifestation, has continued unintermittently until the present day. The Hungarian churches, as the patrons of almost the entire educational system of the country, were the propagators of Hungarian national culture and sentiment, and the storm burst upon them with untempered rigour and violence. The clergy or congregations who incurred the displeasure of the new authorities were imprisoned, maltreated and flogged, often without even the

vaguest forms of legal procedure. The priests and other social leaders of the people were singled out for treatment for which inhumanity is too mild a term. They were arrested on the flimsiest of pretexts and subjected to the most violent forms of assault; in prison they were robbed of their belongings, and in most cases compelled to provide their own food while there. Long lists of names could be given. It happened to the Reverend Sándor Kiss, of Kissolymos, and to a teacher named Lajos Orbán, of Ujszékely, for no worse offence than opening a confessional school. It happened also to the Reverend Kálmán Pethö, of Nyomas, during whose imprisonment a sum of 1,600 lei was extorted from his wife, while members of his congregation were flogged and made to kneel on maize to force them to give evidence against him. At Czegez some ten persons were maltreated on various pretexts, while in other cases Hungarians were flogged for no other reason than to terrorise them as a community. Any number of instances could be quoted in which clergymen were imprisoned, sometimes for prolonged periods, and finally released without even being informed what crimes they were alleged to have committed.

Nor has there been the slightest respect for old age, for womanly fragility, or for tender years. An aged priest of sixty years, the Reverend Dénes Barnabás of Homorodkarácsonyfalva was flogged. Another venerable man, Father John Szporni, was accosted on a railway station on a bitterly cold day in February by a Rumanian lieutenant

named Bacila, who accused him of being a Bolshevik, and had him stripped on the spot and belaboured with sticks and rifle butts for some two hours. When appeal was made to higher authority the local military authorities at first denied the charge, but afterwards admitted it, stating that the venerable father had been guilty of disseminating Bolshevik propaganda; their evidence, however, they refused to furnish, on the plea that they would be revealing military secrets. At Fundul Moldovej a service that was being held by a small sect was broken up by gendarmes, who flogged the members of the congregation—men, women and children. These were afterwards sentenced to ten days' imprisonment, with the threat that the sentence for any future "offence" would be one month. Elsewhere young girls were flogged and seriously injured.

Special church services were frequently ordered at short notice by local officials, who stated that a national holiday had been proclaimed; where the priests or preachers failed to comply, they were maltreated. At Alsó Bölkény, the Reverend George Dávid was stripped and flogged for this offence, gendarmes holding their bayonets against his body while he writhed under the lashes.

At Adámos eight persons, including the preacher of the Calvinist church at Somfalas, were arrested and flogged by a gendarme sergeant named Crisan, who afterwards forced them to sign a declaration that they had suffered no outrage.

There were innumerable minor vexations.

Churches and schools were compelled to purchase Rumanian flags of prescribed dimensions and from certain shops, and to hoist them, usually on the day on which notice was given; non-compliance with these orders was followed by prosecution. The houses of the clergy and other prominent men were requisitioned. At Alsójárás the house of the local Unitarian clergyman, the Reverend I. Sándor, was requisitioned and occupied by an official during the owner's absence of a few days. When the latter demanded his furniture the new inmate violently assaulted him. In a number of places, as at Martinis, in the district of Odorheiu, local gendarmes compelled persons to work on their land without payment, even on Sundays, thus preventing them from attending divine service.

The considered policy of the Rumanian authorities has been to destroy the Minority Churches of the country. Formally, every obstruction has been thrown in the way of these Churches. In the Constitution only the two Rumanian Churches were recognized as religions; the others were described as "cults." One of the first steps of the new régime was to suspend the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical courts. Clergymen were watched, detectives attended their services, newspapers and sermons were censored. Government subsidies were reduced and paid irregularly. An order was given that churches with fewer than three hundred members should receive no support from the State. On an average, about 25 per cent. of the denominational

congregations were affected. The report issued by the Commission of British and American Churches which visited Transylvania in 1922 said: "There is no possibility whatever that the congregations can survive if the State support of the minister is withdrawn. Further, the number 300 may be changed at any time."

Active local measures of vexation are carried out wherever the occasion offers, in order to disturb the service and irritate the congregation.

With regard to the smaller sects, which are not recognized, a decree was issued by the Ministry of Culture (No. 12,794—924) that services must be reported to the civil authorities in advance for each separate occasion, with the name of the preacher. The text of sermons is demanded before sanction is given for the holding of services, which even then are often interrupted by gendarmes, who molest the congregations, confiscate prayer-books and bibles, and carry on other petty annoyances.

Every form of pressure is brought to bear on Hungarians to join the Rumanian Orthodox Church. Members of Roman Catholic congregations whose forefathers are known to have been members of the Orthodox Church are compelled to renounce the Roman Church; they are not allowed to educate their children as Roman Catholics. In places where there are large Hungarian non-Orthodox populations, e.g. Lisznyo and Marosbogát, the Hungarian children at the State schools have been forced to attend service at Orthodox churches, although there were services in progress at their own churches at the same

time. At Birkis and Radnot, Baptists were flogged and otherwise maltreated in order to compel them to accept the Orthodox faith.

These conditions have been investigated by a number of international Church commissions since the conclusion of the War. As early as 1920 an American Unitarian Committee visited 105 towns in Transylvania and issued a report in October of that year, in which they said :

“ They are regarded by the Rumanian Government as centres for national feeling. Rumanian officials have accordingly watched carefully, and borne heavily upon the Hungarian Churches and their activities. We have seen enough to convince us that they believe it necessary to weaken these institutions in order to bring about the speedy Rumanisation of the population, which appears to be their goal.”

With regard to the persecution of clergymen, the report said :

“ These by reason of their position in the community were from the first marked men, and those who were most active and efficient appeared to be the most liable to trouble. The Rumanian policy, with them as with others, has been to stifle leadership.”

Again with regard to atrocities :

“ The atrocities—it was pointed out to us by Dr. Alexander Vajda, Voevode—are to be regarded as unjustifiable acts on the part of the gendarmerie, rendered savage during the War. In the course of our journey throughout the

country we came to the conclusion, however, that the atrocities formed part of a well thought over policy, the object of which is the constant terrorisation of the Hungarian population."

During the succeeding years a number of further Church commissions and representatives of European and American Churches visited Transylvania. In 1924 the American Committee on the rights of Religious Minorities sent a Commission, which was joined by an English member. This Commission collected a great deal of evidence, and invited the Rumanian Government to answer the charges made, but came to the conclusion that the complaints were justified. The report said :

"The impression gained through contact with the Rumanian, the Magyar, and the Saxon life throughout this fertile land is that unless a solution can be found for the present problems, racial and linguistic, religious and economic, it will continue to be one of the saddest lands in Europe. . . . In conclusion, the Commission emphasizes with all possible force that while the testimony is thorough as far as it goes, and was collected with most scrupulous and painstaking care and exactitude, it is none the less neither exhaustive nor complete. Instead it is typical and symptomatic and capable of almost endless amplification."

The Report closed with the words :

"The conclusion of the Report is that the reply of the Rumanian Government is evasive and inconclusive."

CHAPTER XXII

HUNGARIAN CHURCHES PERSECUTED IN SLOVAKIA

FOR many years before the War the Hungarian Government carried out a campaign for Magyarising the churches and schools of Slovakia. The two were twin institutions. The object was not to induce the people to change their religion (an attempt to bring all religious bodies under one united Church in the nineteenth century had signally failed), but to compel them to speak, and their ministers to preach, in Magyar as well as in Slovak. History should have taught the Magyars the futility of the campaign, especially as the religious wars did not separate them from the Slovaks. As an official publication of the British Foreign Office, on Slovakia, one of the handbooks issued in connection with the Peace said :

“ The Reformation had none of the character of a national movement among the Slovaks that it had among the Czechs. In the religious wars the Slovaks even for a time supported the Magyars in their struggle against the Habsburgs and Rákóczi, the Magyar hero, recruited some of his best soldiers among the Slovaks.”

The Hungarians, instead of exploiting the historical associations, played into the hands of their enemies in the years before the war.

The Czechs adopted a different policy, having, however, the same object. The Republic as a State is not concerned with one religion. Every sect is tolerated and merits official recognition in so far as it observes orders and walks humbly before the men who sit in the seats of the mighty at Prague. Sects who try to put a liberal interpretation on the fundamental clauses of the Minority Treaty referring to the free exercise of creeds, religion, or beliefs, or to the articles guaranteeing freedom of conscience, in the Constitution—must walk warily, otherwise they find themselves entrapped.

The chief religions in Slovakia are the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Hungarian Reformed Church. The Czechs have not a great deal of sympathy with the Slovak Catholics. They have had their own quarrel with the Vatican.

There are 209,000 Presbyterians in Slovakia and only a few thousand of them are Slovaks. The country is divided into three Presbyteries, each under a bishop, who is equivalent to a moderator, appointed for life.

The Presbyterians were victims of the Czechising epidemic which spread over the country after the revolution. The autonomy of their churches is violated; a new constitution infringes on their freedom; their children are not allowed to receive religious instruction in their mother tongue, quite contrary to Treaty rights. The

clergymen must not quote the great Hungarian poet, Petofi ; otherwise they risk a criminal prosecution like what befel the Rev. Emil Kuszy, Rector of Losoncz, on 1st January 1923.

Hungarian Catholics have been greater sufferers than the Lutherans. The priests must learn Slovak—no easy task—on pain of losing their State subsidy. Schools have been separated from the churches, not as a legitimate process in national educational reform, but as part of the Czechising campaign. The Catholic Church supported by Hungarians was rich in its possessions and proud of its institutions. Religious orders have been crippled, training schools for teachers and priests, gymnasia and higher schools have been closed or Czechised ; not by direct attack ; they were undermined. The property upon which they existed was confiscated under the Land Reform scheme.

The gap in the educational system has not been filled.

The Roman Catholic priests have to be as discreet in the worship of saints as the Protestants have in the citation of poets. St. Stephen must be omitted from their calendar. Any one who shows reverence for St. Stephen, or sings the appropriate hymns on St. Stephen's Day—20th August—will be arrested. Stephen was canonised centuries ago ; he is the patron saint of Hungary. Bishops were forced to abdicate after the revolution—to make way for Slovak bishops—and a number of priests have been denationalised and expelled.

There are 210,000 members of the Hungarian Reformed or Presbyterian Church in Slovakia and Ruthenia. The district is divided into three areas or bishoprics. The bishop is equivalent to a moderator ; he is elected for life and he is also a minister of a church.

The Czech Government requested the church to remodel its constitution in harmony with the new conditions. A new Constitution was drawn up, the Church expressed its loyalty to the Republic, but the Statutes have never been sanctioned.

The State and the Presbyterians have never come together. The position from the Czech standpoint was explained to me by the late Bishop Zoch—the Lutheran dignitary and politician who had a controversy with Lord Rothermere. He said that the Reformed Church in Ruthenia received, according to the financial estimates which he consulted, 1,045,000 crowns last year, and in Slovakia, 3,004,386 crowns. The Lutheran Church received 6,130,000 crowns and also half a million for the theological college at Bratislava, which the Presbyterians share. The Reformed Church has not satisfied the Government. Some points in the Statutes are in dispute and the Government wants the Church in Slovakia to be entirely separated from their co-religionists in Hungary. The Bishop added, significantly, that the reformed ministers have gone into politics, particularly since Lord Rothermere's action.

Bishop Zoch, who was delegated by the Foreign Office to inform me on the question, said that in 1926 the Reformed Church received 2,000,000

crowns for the clergy but nothing for the churches. The clergy in small parishes received their stipends. In 1926 it was paid 500,000 crowns for the churches. It should be noted that the Government does not act on any fixed principle. Either the Reformed Church is entitled to the sum in the Budget, or to nothing. The object is "to bring pressure to bear on the ministers and to starve the churches into submission."

The Bishop of Munkács has seventy-eight churches and 65,000 people in his diocese of Ruthenia. This bishop has been the minister of his parish for over twenty-two years. He has not been paid by the State since 1919, and it now owes him about 400,000 crowns. When he appeals for his pay he is told to begin an action against the Government. Several aggrieved Hungarians have taken this tip: result, they pile up heavy expenses, may lose, or the judgment may not be executed, or the expenses will cost the plaintiff more than the compensations. The Bishop of Bratislava (Pressburg), a scholarly man, educated at Edinburgh University, has the Czech sword of Damocles hanging over him, and the third Bishop of the Rosenberg diocese is in the same unhappy situation, with an uncertain future. When one gets down to bed rock, there is really only one motive which instigates the tedious, irritating, victimising Czech ordeal. The Church is Hungarian, the bishops and clergy are Hungarian, they preach in Hungarian. The motive is: punish the Magyar at any cost. The Confessional schools have not yet been taken from the Church,

but the tendency is for the Government to interfere with them.

These Calvinists are stern people; they will take a long time to subdue. Unlike nonconformists in England, they are accustomed to look to the State for help (all Churches were supported alike by the old monarchy), and State subsidies sap their independence. There is no scope for the Covenanter spirit among the Hungarian Calvinists.

The wheels of Czech machinations grind slowly, but patient chicanery moves towards an objective. The higher schools and colleges are gradually being completely Czechised. There are no training schools for teachers or divinity schools where Magyar is taught. When the present generation of teachers has disappeared, there will be no more teachers qualified to teach in Hungarian. Graduates from foreign universities are not recognised in Czecho-Slovakia.

HUNGARIAN CHURCHES IN JUGO-SLAVIA

Hungarians in annexed Jugo-Slav territory formed part of the big non-Orthodox minority which, combined, outnumbered the adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church. The Orthodox are the favoured children of the State. At a meeting at Agram on 8th January 1928, Dr. Pavelic stated that the 5.6 million Orthodox Christians, who represent about 45 per cent. of the population, receive 52.6 per cent. of the vote for religious purposes; the 4.8 million Roman Catholics, who make up 40 per cent.,

on the other hand, receive only 28.8 per cent. The Protestants only total 216,847. As in Rumania, Church lands in Jugo-Slavia have been confiscated, in most cases without compensation—so that it is barely possible to pay even the stipends of the clergy.

CHAPTER XXIII

RACIAL MINORITIES AND EDUCATION

“ The Serb-Croat-Slovene Government will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals of other speech than that of the official language are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals through the medium of their own language.”

Article 9, Minority Treaty.

Similar provisions in all Minority Treaties.

MINORITIES are entitled at their own expense to establish schools for their own children. While the Succession States must maintain elementary schools for the Minorities, they are not obliged to provide State higher schools for the Minorities, but are obliged to grant facilities for providing such schools. Neither the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or Rumania have confirmed these rights in their Constitutions. [See de Szász's “ Minorities in Roum. Transylvania,” Chapters XIV-XVI.] The Czechs assert that “ national schools for the racial Minorities exist wherever the number of pupils makes such schools necessary,” which the Hungarians deny.

In six principal towns in Slovakia and Ruthenia—Pressburg, Kassa, Eperjes, Igló, Ungvár and

Munkács—there are, according to the Czechs, 10 Czech higher elementary schools with 78 classes for 3,600 pupils, 21 Czech elementary schools with 145 classes for 6,421 pupils, 6 Hungarian higher elementary schools with 17 classes for 714 pupils, 15 Hungarian elementary schools with 52 classes for 2,498 pupils, 1 German higher elementary school with 7 classes for 116 pupils, 12 German elementary schools with 50 classes for 2,561 pupils, 2 Ruthenian higher elementary schools with 7 classes for 218 pupils, 10 Ruthenian elementary schools with 33 classes for 1,514 pupils, and 2 Jewish elementary schools with 5 classes for 184 pupils. In the communes or municipal wards where the numbers of the children do not justify independent schools Minority classes are established at Czech schools. At Pressburg there are German classes in two Czecho-Slovak schools, one elementary and one higher elementary, and Hungarian classes in four Czech and three German elementary and higher elementary schools; at Ungvár there are Czech classes in two Ruthenian elementary schools, and Hungarian classes in one Ruthenian higher elementary and one Czecho-Slovak elementary school; at Munkács there are Hungarian classes in a Ruthenian higher elementary and a Ruthenian elementary school.

The Hungarians do not admit the accuracy of these particulars, since schools are termed Hungarian if only a few hours' instruction is given weekly in the language by Czech teachers who are more or less ignorant of Hungarian.

The Czechs say that on 1st November 1927 there

were 8 State-supported Reformed Gymnasia (Reformed Grammar Schools), which accommodated a total of 2,737 pupils and in which the language of instruction was Hungarian, and two Hungarian teachers' training schools (one male, accommodating 64, and one female, for 118 students). All teachers and professors at these schools are of Hungarian race. The Hungarians admit the existence of eight nominally Hungarian "middle" schools, but only two of these (those at Komárom and Ipolyság) are, strictly speaking, Hungarian, and even at these instruction is given partly, but not wholly, in Hungarian. The existence of the female teachers' training school is admitted; that of the male school disputed.

The Hungarians complain that they have no university, not even a university chair. They have neither a Catholic nor a Reformed Protestant theological faculty.

In the territories of Ugocsa and Máramaros, which comprise half Ruthenia, there is no single Hungarian higher elementary school; those in which instruction in Hungarian is given are parallel schools under Czech headmasters.

There are no Hungarian technical schools in Ruthenia, either for agriculture, vine culture, forestry, or industry, although the population subsists on these occupations. The commercial schools with one exception have been closed, together with the school of ceramics at Ungvár.

The Hungarians do not receive their fair share of grants for education. The percentage of the

Budget for schools of all kinds is not 10 per cent., while the Hungarian population in Slovakia, according to the disputed census of 1921, is over 21 per cent. and is actually very much more.

Teachers' training institutions are allotted in the Budget 21,293,670 crowns; Slovakia is allotted 4,381,276 crowns, of which the Hungarians get 16,090 crowns, or 0.3 per cent.; Ruthenia receives 667,590 crowns out of this grant.

Technical schools account for 100,012,733 crowns; Slovakia is allotted 7,271,488 crowns, of which the Hungarians get 963,554 crowns, or 13.2 per cent. (Hungarians make up 21 per cent. of the population.)

There is an item of 5,630,000 crowns for theatres—in 1927 the Hungarians received 50,000 crowns under this head, but there is no information to show what share they will get, if any, of the present grant.

On paper, then, there are certain assertions and certain admissions. So far as budget grants for educational purposes are concerned, Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia do not receive the share to which their numbers—over 21 per cent.—entitle them. The Hungarian youth are denied university study, so far as they are not prepared to jettison their national traditions with over a millennium of history, and they may not even enjoy university training abroad. There has been a reduction in the so-called Hungarian schools since 1924 and also in the number of school children.

Although Czecho-Slovak School Law (Statute

No. 189 of 1919) provides for the establishment of a Minority school in every parish where there are forty schoolable children of one national Minority, the Czechs disregard this provision in favour of a percentage basis.

The racial percentages were decided arbitrarily by the officials taking the census. Everything possible was done to reduce the apparent percentage of the Minorities below 20, which was the percentage allowed under the Law regulating the use of Minority languages in law courts, post offices, on the railways, and in public offices. This percentage was applied despite the provisions of the Education Law to the Minority schools. Where the Czech census showed the percentage of a Minority race to be below 20, whether the legal minimum of forty schoolable children was satisfied or not, no Minority school was allowed. In other cases the children were declared to be non-members of the Minority race. I picked out eight Hungarian communes in all of which, although the legal minimum of forty children is exceeded, repeated applications for the opening of Minority schools have been ignored.

But even judged by the criterion of a 20 per cent. racial strength and by the showing of their own garbled census returns the Czechs are found wanting. In the town of Ungvár, for instance, where the Hungarians numbered 90 per cent., the Hungarian schools have been closed.

Meanwhile Czech and Slovak schools are being infiltrated by fair means or foul. Colonies of Czechs or Slovaks are planted in the midst of

Hungarian districts; the existing schools are then closed and afterwards re-opened as Czecho-Slovak schools, to which the local non-Czecho-Slovak inhabitants are compelled to send their children. Nor is this all. Czecho-Slovak schools are opened for the children of the few resident Czech or Slovak officials.

Parents are debarred from choosing the schools to which they will send their offspring. Hungarian parents resident in villages where there is no Hungarian school, for instance, are not allowed to send their children to schools situated in other villages. In the summer of 1927 one Anton Gadácsy, of Gödényháza, was fined for sending a child to a school at Tekeháza. Fines have been inflicted where the parents had failed to send children to the prescribed Czech school, although the children had been sent to private schools. State employees are threatened with dismissal if they send their children to Minority schools.

The master of a school or the school inspector decides arbitrarily what is a child's mother tongue. On the vaguest of pretexts or on no pretext at all the Minority membership of children is repudiated. Children with non-Hungarian names are allotted compulsorily to Czecho-Slovak schools; the protests of the parents pass unheeded.

Under a decree of the Provincial Board of Education for Ruthenia, Greek Catholic and Jewish children whose language is Magyar are not allowed to attend Hungarian schools.

What applies to the elementary schools of the Minorities in Czecho-Slovakia applies also to the

places of higher education, which have either been closed or are being completely Czechised. The Hungarian "middle" schools at Nagyszöllös, Huszt and Munkács have been closed. The fate of the schools at Eperjes has been dealt with in another chapter. At Ungvár, which in 1918 had a population of 18,000 of whom 17,000 were Hungarians, there were eight "middle" schools which included a male and a female teachers' training school, and in addition one technical school. These schools the Czech Government has closed. There is now only one "middle" school with four classes, which exists only as a section of a Russian school.

At Léva, which was formerly 97 per cent. Hungarian, and had even 66 per cent. of Hungarians according to the Czech census, the higher gymnasium has been closed. A petition for the re-opening of the school was presented to President Masaryk, who in reply to the representations made, said: "If this is all true, you will certainly get your school back." Similar assurances were given by M. Habrmann, the Minister of Education, and by Dr. Dérer, the Plenipotentiary Minister for Slovakia; nevertheless, M. Stefanek, the Chairman of the Provincial Board of Education at Bratislava, informed a Hungarian deputation that it was vain to petition; Léva would never get a Hungarian gymnasium again, as the principal object of democratic sovereignty was the Slovakization of the Hungarian districts. Such a declaration might seem surprising in view of the advertised democracy of

the Czechs. The educational affairs of the Republic, however, are in the hands of a Ministry of Education and of Provincial Education Committees upon which the German and Hungarian Minorities are not represented. The Ministry has always carried on a militant policy of Czechisation, which is supplemented by the arbitrariness of local officials, who veto subsidies granted by the Ministry itself, annul municipal resolutions granting subsidies to Minority educational institutions, and refuse to allow lecturers appointed by the Ministry to work in their districts.

Minorities are not even allowed to open schools with their own funds, although this is expressly guaranteed under the Minorities Treaty and confirmed in the Czecho-Slovak Constitution. In places where application has been made sanction has been refused, Czech schools have been opened and the children compulsorily allocated to them. An application for authority to build a gymnasium at Ungvár out of private funds to replace a confiscated building was refused by the Government. A similar application in connection with a Hungarian boarding school at Beregszász was also refused. It is illuminating in this connection to note that the State established a section for Russian resident pupils at the gymnasium in the same city. A resolution by the municipal council to grant an annual subvention of 20,000 crowns for the maintenance of a Hungarian boarding school was annulled by the *zupán*, although the same official sanctioned a resolution to grant a municipal subvention of 60,000 crowns for the Jewish

Gymnasium at Munkács, and a further subvention of 40,000 crowns for the Communist Party at Munkács.

There is another constraining factor, the effect of which is to restrict the attendance at the Hungarian schools, particularly the higher elementary and "middle" schools: there is no university or academy in Czecho-Slovakia in which the lectures are given in Hungarian, so that would-be Hungarian students are compelled also to acquire their preliminary education in the Czech language. In this respect they are helpless. It is forbidden to send children abroad to be educated. Passports have been refused to pupils attending schools in Hungary. There are cases in which pensions have been withdrawn from parents who had sent their children to Hungary for their education. Moreover, diplomas or degrees taken abroad are not recognized. Graduates at foreign universities are compelled to attend lectures at a Czecho-Slovak university for three terms, and then sit anew for their Czech degrees.

This state of affairs contrasts strikingly with the position of the Slovaks in Hungary, who have free choice from a number of types of school in which Slovak is taught. The language of instruction is determined by the wishes of the population. They have equal rights with Hungarians to found schools, and they receive the same grants from the Hungarian State. There are also training colleges where teachers may be trained in the Slovak language, and a Slovak university chair.

I have dealt with the direct suppression and

conversion of schools. There is the indirect but infinitely more potent method of eliminating the source of culture—the teachers. Once the present generation of teachers is extinguished, the work of Czechisation is to all intents and purposes complete ; for adequate future supplies cannot be trained, nor are teachers allowed to enter from Hungary. There is no Hungarian university, nor teachers' training academy, nor theological faculty. The Czechs say that there are Hungarian male and female teachers' training schools at Bratislava. The Hungarians say that only the school for female teachers exists. It accommodates 118 students, and is manifestly inadequate to all the cultural needs of a Minority numbering a million.

Existing Hungarian teachers are being systematically weeded out. The *modus operandi* is to revoke their domicile and citizenship, and then discharge them without pension. In many cases they are expelled from the country. "Magyar Ujság," of 28th August, 1925, mentions six Hungarian villages in which the teachers had been discharged and the schools closed. Eight only out of fourteen teachers at the Hungarian "middle" school at Komárom are allowed to teach, the remaining six having been disqualified by the revocation of their citizenship. The process is continued. Two sisters of mercy at Léva, who were engaged in teaching, were deprived of their citizenship, although their qualification as citizens was beyond question. A prominent man of the town who saw the authorities on their behalf assured me that a high local official had

admitted their qualification to him, but had declared with cynical candour that it was not the intention and purpose of the authorities to secure the existence of teachers inspired with Hungarian sentiments when they could be replaced by Slovaks. At Munkács a Roman Catholic catechist was debarred from teaching because he had given his Hungarian pupils religious instruction in their own language.

Confessional and other schools are not allowed to appoint teachers without the sanction of the Provincial Board of Education, and this sanction in the majority of cases is withheld.

In the absence of institutions for the training of adequate supplies of new material, with many of the teachers long overdue for superannuation and others daily becoming due, and with those that still have a career before them being eliminated by various devices, the number of schools in which the Minority languages—particularly Hungarian—are taught dwindles day by day. The pseudo-Hungarian schools as they still exist are rapidly dying of inanition.

But schools enjoy no monopoly of extermination. The theatres and the theatrical and cultural societies which existed at the different towns—among many others there were two important societies at Eperjes, a dramatic and a literary society, one a hundred and the other fifty years old, and a literary society at Léva—have also received their share of the repressive solicitations of the new rulers. They were dissolved immediately after the Revolution; fresh statutes

were required by law ; these were drawn up and laid before the Ministry for Slovakia at Bratislava, but up to the present day sanction, at least in the case of the more important societies, has never been given. The theatre is looked upon as a vital instrument of public education and for the propagation of national sentiment. Subsidies, therefore, are in general granted only to Czecho-Slovak dramatic institutions, although it is true that in 1927 the Hungarians received 50,000 crowns, or 1.12 per cent. out of a total grant of 5,630,000 crowns voted for theatres in the education budget. In the granting of concessions much chicane is practised. In the two largest cities in Slovakia—Bratislava and Kassa—the Hungarian dramatic society is denied a concession to play in the winter months. Hungarian societies are not even permitted to play their season through without interruption in one place ; they have thus to bear the expense, in most cases prohibitive, of itineration. Only a minimum of foreign actors may be engaged, so that a company with, say, 60-70 artists would comprise, with the exception of five or six persons, only actors whose domicile and citizenship in Czecho-Slovakia were officially recognized.

In Rumania education was mainly in the hands of the Churches, the funds for the purpose being derived from the Church lands ;] when, therefore, these lands were confiscated under the Land Reform scheme, many of the schools were deprived of their sole means of existence and thus disappeared.

To deal with the hardier stock which defied elimination in this way, most of the devices employed by the Czechs were resorted to. Children with non-Hungarian names were compelled to attend Rumanian schools, and even where there was a Hungarian section in a State school such children were allotted to the Rumanian classes. The Rumanian Government claims that these people are Magyarised Rumanians, and states: "The Rumanian State considers that it is its right to bring back to their stock those Rumanians who have been alienated by the Hungarians." As in Czecho-Slovakia, officials are compelled under fear of dismissal and pensioners under threat of the loss of their pensions to send their children to State schools. Parents are prohibited under Ministerial Decree from sending their children to schools of other Minority denominations than that to which they themselves belong, and denominational schools are prohibited from accepting such children. Violation of this order is taken as a pretext for closing peccant schools.

This, however, is only one out of a host of sophistical excuses which have justified the wholesale closing of Confessional schools; in other cases teaching has been unsatisfactory; school equipment has been incomplete; textbooks have been used which had not been sanctioned by the Ministry; schools have not been authorised by the Government; schools were not in possession of flags; teachers have not been paid according to law—schools have been closed under this pretext

where instruction was given by the parish priest without payment. A large number of schools had been leased to the Hungarian State ; these were confiscated without formality and without compensation. Many other Confessional schools have been dissolved and the school-buildings confiscated without explanation. In the majority of cases, however, the justification has been that the accommodation was unhygienic ; in many cases where this pretext could not be advanced, particularly in the case of secondary schools, the buildings were confiscated and the schools thus compelled to move to provisional premises ; these were then declared unhygienic and the schools dissolved. In nearly all cases where Confessional elementary school buildings were seized the children were compulsorily transferred to State schools.

Many denominational secondary schools were deprived of their public status, so that matriculation examinations had to be taken in the Rumanian language before Rumanian examiners. This weapon was used with a variation against all denominational secondary schools : the examinations were carried out by a swarm of Government examiners, who swept down upon the school, whose expenses had to be borne by the denomination, who prolonged their visits deliberately in order to impose financial hardship on the denominations, many of whose members were ignorant of the Hungarian language, and who systematically passed only a negligible percentage, so that pupils were chary of attending the schools.

The Hungarian university at Kolozsvár has been nationalized and the Hungarian professors discharged; permission for the opening of a new Hungarian university to replace it has been refused. The academies of law at Nagyvárad and Máramarossziget, and the agricultural academy at Kolozsmonostor have been nationalized and the Hungarian professors superseded; the training college for secondary school teachers at Kolozsvár has been closed.

Jugo-Slavia never made any pretence to carry out the educational provisions of the Minorities Treaty which it signed. Article 16 of the Constitution states bluntly: "There is State instruction only." The Minorities are thus deprived even of the formal right to maintain schools at their own expense which the State expressly recognized to them in the Minorities Treaty.

Education here was also largely in the hands of Confessional schools; these were taken over by the State, together with the communal elementary schools, which had been maintained either by religious denominations or by voluntary contributions. Schools of both types had been in existence for centuries; instruction in them was given through the medium of the language of the local population.

Private schools, both elementary and secondary, are recognized in principle, but are subject to the provisions of a special law, and are contingent upon special sanction. Private secondary schools, however, are allowed to maintain only the four lower classes and are without legal rights. Techni-

cal schools may only be maintained by the State.

Formally, therefore, Jugo-Slavia has gone further in the repudiation of the rights of the Minorities than either Czecho-Slovakia or Rumania ; whereas the latter have speciously professed recognition of the principles guaranteed, Jugo-Slavia's defiance has been downright.

With regard to the practice of education, all that has been written about Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania applies also to Jugo-Slavia: the same casuistry has been practised and the same petty vexations resorted to ; children with non-Hungarian names are compelled under Ministerial decree to attend Serb schools ; no teachers or priests are allowed in from Hungary ; there have been the same expulsions ; even in the lower Minority parallel classes instruction in geography and history is given exclusively in Serb ; the formation of school clubs on a racial basis in secondary schools is forbidden under a Ministerial Order, so that the Minority pupils may not even maintain debating societies.

There are no Minority colleges for the training of teachers ; even the Hungarian chairs which formerly existed at the universities of Belgrade and Zagreb have been abolished. There is a Hungarian chair at the Serb State training college for teachers at Zombor, but this is confined to the teaching of the Hungarian language.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

LANGUAGE is looked upon as an important factor in the assimilation of races and the consolidation of new countries. English-speaking people in the British Empire are quite incapable of appreciating the fanatical, persecuting campaign carried on in polyglot States to compel all the inhabitants to speak the same language—and no other language—and that in States governed by a linguistic minority, as in Czecho-Slovakia. Citizens in the British Empire can speak any language they like officially and all the time. Loyalty and patriotism are affairs of the heart, not of speech. A Hungarian loyal to Czecho-Slovakia or to Rumania should be free to express his loyalty in Magyar. If his mother tongue is given an inferior status or is prohibited in the schools, in official and even social intercourse, then his traditional patriotism asserts itself and he is driven into opposition. No attempt to suppress a language has ever succeeded: it has been tried by old Russia against small nationalities, such as the Lithuanians, who were not permitted to use their mother tongue in any form; it was resorted to by Germany

against the Poles ; it was carried on by the Hungarians in attempts to Magyarise the Slovaks. Result : abject failure in every case and in all similar experiences. And yet the folly persists and does infinite mischief. The Peace Conference realised the sacred hold which mother tongues had on races handed over to aliens in speech, and imagined that adequate protection was assured to avoid bitterness from this source. Not a bit of it. The new States flout the protective clauses in the Treaties. The consequences are more obstacles to friendly intercourse between races living under one sovereignty.

As usual, we go to the Czechs for the best object lesson. They think they can compel all the Minority races to speak the Czech language to the exclusion or subordination of other languages. Czecho-Slovakia is surrounded on three sides by German-speaking people. German is the commercial language of Central Europe. It is the medium used at conferences of the Little Entente. It is the commercial language of Czecho-Slovakia. And yet the Czechs seek to suppress it. German is spoken as the mother tongue of eighty million of people in Europe ; Czech by six million people. It is equal folly to think that they can Czechise Hungarians by speech. Magyar is a very distinctive literary language, spoken by thirteen million people. And yet in communities where 80 per cent. of the inhabitants are Magyar, only Czech is used in the public offices, in the law courts, in local councils, at the railway stations and in the cinemas.

When the new States took over they began a wholesale re-naming of towns, places of interest, rivers, mountains, etc. The policy of the Czechs is best known, as European travellers and business men have closer association with their country than with the other new Succession States. The Czechs had professors of philology at work to invent new names for old cities. In Slovakia, while they recognise that other languages than Czech are necessary, they prefer that the alternative should be a language not spoken by the Minorities. At the station of Bratislava, or Pressburg, a town where a vast majority of the inhabitants are Hungarian and German, the only language is Czech. Czech, in fact, is the universal language at railway stations and post offices.

A few years ago Czecho-Slovakia established a National State Bank. It was established chiefly by funds supplied by the German citizens. It published a fortnightly bulletin in Czech, French and English, and only began issuing it in German at the beginning of 1928, although the language of the banks and of commerce in Czecho-Slovakia is German.

Some of the transformations of names are very short-sighted. Take, for instance, the historic textile town of Reichenberg, in Bohemia, near the German frontier. It was well-known for its textile trade and international fairs. It has now been made unrecognisable by the Czech name of Liberec. A still more ridiculous transformation is that of the historic town of St. Joachimsthal, celebrated as possessing the world's greatest ra-

dium mine, and four centuries ago renowned for its silver mines. At St. Joachimsthal was struck, in the year 1518, the first silver coin which was to play a great part in the history of currency. It was given the name of a Joachimsthaler, which was curtailed to thaler, and finally evolved into dollar. The Czechs have now named the place Jachymov. No philologist will be able to trace the ancestry of the word dollar to Jachymov.

In their campaign against the names of members of the Habsburg family, which had been given to towns, health resorts, hills, rivers, theatres, etc., the Czechs did not spare world-famous health resorts. Karlsbad, was translated Karlovy Vary, although the Karl from whom the town took its name was a Luxemburg king who lived in the fourteenth century.

These are a few examples of the linguistic adventures of the Czechs. Visitors to the country are inconvenienced by the fact that the officials, customs officers, police, railway servants, etc., pretend to know only Czech. A high official of the British Government at the Wilson station in Prague, on seeking information in German about trains to Berlin, could get no reply. A visitor by invitation to the President's country estate could get no reply from the guards on duty. They were prohibited from speaking German—but they were allowed to write replies in that language. Telegraph clerks and telephone operators who know only Czech are appointed in purely Magyar and German-speaking communities.

Injustice and annoyance are inflicted on Minorities by restriction in the use of their languages in the law courts. I have shown that by unfairly re-arranging judicial areas, racial Minorities are deprived of their rights. No official interpreters are provided and very few judges are acquainted with any other language than Czech. Even when in local courts Minority rights exist, litigants are unable to use their own language when the case goes to higher tribunals, where only Czech is recognised. If the letter and spirit of the Minority Treaties in the matter of languages were observed, one source of disaffection would disappear.

The Czechs make free use of the Magyar or German languages in their propagandist publications and Minority languages appear in tax demand notes. Six of the seven languages in the State are represented on the bank notes. In legal summonses and other documents Minority languages are relegated to very inconspicuous lines at the bottom of the pages.

CHAPTER XXV

ANTI-TREATY EXCESSES IN JUGO-SLAVIA

“ All-Serb-Croat Slovene ” Nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights, without distinction of race, language or religion.

Article 7 of Minority Treaty signed by Jugo-Slavia.

HUNGARY lost 5,000 square miles of territory and half a million Magyar population to the kingdom of the Serbs, Croates and Slovenes. The main block of territory is part of the great Hungarian plain ; it lies to the north of the Lower Danube and to the east of the Drave. It is an arbitrary slice through open flat land, with no topographical feature to distinguish one part of the plain from another. The line swerves now and then to include a particularly rich and well-developed morsel, separating a mansion from the property attached to it, or a village from the fields in which the villagers work. The annexed territory includes the finest wheat growing lands in old Hungary.

As usual, statistics of populations do not agree. The official Jugo-Slav census of 1921 gives 470,409 Hungarians, compared with the Hun-

garian figure of 548,000 souls in 1910. It is estimated that the number of Hungarians who left Jugo-Slavia voluntarily or were expelled since 1918 was 52,000—which puts the present minority of 523,000. The difference is accounted for by those bilingual inhabitants who for reasons of their own changed their nationality.

The attitude of Hungarians towards the Serbs contrasts with their views regarding Czechs and Rumanians. They respect the Serbs. During the World War the Serbs put up a splendid fight, they were brave soldiers: they did not desert to the enemy or run away without fighting. The Hungarians are great sportsmen, and did not begrudge the compensations to a gallant enemy. The aggrandisement of Serbia contains a smaller percentage of Minority races than the annexations to Rumania or Czecho-Slovakia.

The grievances of the Magyars in Jugo-Slavia have received less attention than the other Minority troubles, partly because the Serb State has been distracted by internal conflicts and conspiracies, and the friction between the Croats.

The Serbs are imbued with the Byzantine spirit and an Oriental disregard for treaty obligations. Far from attempting to observe minority rights, they have framed a Constitution which is incompatible with them, and even then constitutional promises are ignored or misapplied.

Article 8 of the Minority Treaty signed by Jugo-Slavia assures religious and linguistic Minorities the same treatment and rights as other

Serb-Croat-Slovene subjects—giving them the right to maintain, at their own expense, schools, religious and other institutions. Article 16 of the Jugo-Slav Constitution is in direct conflict with the Treaty, as it prescribes State instruction only in schools. A decree issued by the ministerial council in 1919 is contrary to Articles 1, 2 and 8 of the Minority Treaty, as it applies an old and reactionary Serb law to the annexed Hungarian territory of the Voivodina. Another decree of the same year by the Minister of Public Instruction caps this outrage by taking over—confiscating—all denominational schools as well as communal schools, formerly kept going by the religious denominations. This is a double infringement of the Minority Treaty, as the Jugo-Slav State was pledged to the Allies to pass no law, regulation or take official action which shall conflict or interfere with the provisions of the Treaty.

In detached Hungary there were 622 denominational, communal or private schools as compared with 262 State Schools. Hungarian was the language of instruction in 650 schools. The schools included Greek, Oriental and Jewish schools. The district was, and is, predominantly Hungarian.

The secondary, technical and commercial schools were also confiscated by the State and the training colleges were abolished. In the Belgrade and Zagrab Universities the Hungarian chairs existing in Old Serbia prior to 1914 and 1918 respectively have been abolished.

The Hungarian schools have with very few

exceptions been closed. Although according to law Hungarian schools should be permitted where a sufficient number of children present themselves for tuition, even this law has been evaded by undue pressure on the parents and an ordinance prohibiting children with a non-Hungarian name to be entered in Hungarian schools. A similar measure introduced by the Polish authorities in Upper Silesia has been declared illegal by the Swiss arbitrator, but the Hungarian Minorities have no Court of Arbitration to which they could apply in the matter.

There is not one Hungarian training school for teachers in Jugo-Slavia. So that the prospect for the future of Hungarian education in Jugo-Slavia would seem desperate, if oppression did not have the salutary effect of strengthening the love of a people to their creed and race. Another characteristic fact: Jugo-Slav citizens, even when of Hungarian race, cannot be granted passports in order to attend a Hungarian high school. Higher education for Hungarian Nationals is thereby rendered impossible.

In spite of its signature to a provision giving its subjects freedom in the exercise of religious belief and protection without distinction of race or nationality, the Serb kingdom, by ministerial order 20th February 1922, holds that parents are incompetent to decide the question of race or nationality of their offspring. The authorities determine the child's nationality and select schools where tuition only in the Serb language is imparted. Even in such Minority schools as exist

Hungarian is treated as an auxiliary—and not as an equal language.

The rights of subjects “to use any language in private or business life in the sphere of religion or any publication by means of the Press or at public meetings,” according to Article 7 of the Minority Treaty must not be restricted, and the same Article grants reasonable facilities to Hungarians and others to use their language in law courts. The Serb Constitution ignores this Treaty obligation, and the use of Minority language is prohibited before the courts and in connection with all official administrations. Attempts have been made to prevent the use of Hungarian in business—hotels, cafés, banks, etc.

Citizenship is unsettled. No law regulating the question of nationality has been passed. Every effort is made to keep Hungarians off the voting lists and to prevent them voting when their names are included. The two Hungarian members of the Skupstina had to pledge themselves to support the Government before they were elected. In proportion to their population the Hungarians should be entitled to ten members.

The absence of a nationality law has enabled the Serbs to deprive dismissed Hungarian officials of their arrears of pay and their pensions. It also affords them an excuse to expel them—all quite contrary to Treaty rights.

The Serb Constitution gets round Article 7 of the Treaty, which guarantees that “all subjects irrespective of race, language or religion, enjoy before the law equal civil and political rights,” by

omitting from Article 4 of the Constitution all references to the enjoyment of equal civil and political rights, and also deprives all naturalised Serb subjects from holding office or State employment until after ten years residence in the country. Thousands of former Hungarian officials have been dismissed on that account.

All Magyar privately supported cultural institutions are prohibited—again in defiance of the Treaty—such as literary societies, sporting clubs (unless Serbs are chosen as the chief office holders), and only amateurs are allowed to give theatrical performances in Hungarian, and then only on suffrance, while Serb Slav theatres receive a subsidy of forty-seven million dinars a year.

Internal taxation favours old Serbia at the expense of the new provinces, which contribute three-fourths of the State revenues. The Hungarians are hard hit. The Serbs have kept the former Austro-Hungarian law in being for the purposes of taxation—including special taxes of war time—while they extend new laws to the annexed territories when it suits their purpose. The officials are rigorous in levying taxes on the Minorities and lax to the extent of forgetfulness in the case of the Old Serbs. There is also a distinct favouring of the old territories in the distribution of loans granted by the National Bank.

While the sufferings and losses of Serbia during the War may justify certain preferential treatment, this preference should not be exaggerated to the detriment of the new provinces, which are presumed to be inhabited by liberated brethren.

The Hungarians lost practically all their savings invested in banks, bonds in Austro-Hungarian loans, and have seen their earning capacity greatly reduced as the new border cuts them off from their old customers ; while, on the other hand, the old provinces had by far the biggest share in reparations, like the supply of many thousands of head of cattle, the yearly supply of coal by Hungary, and the reparations in kind made by Germany, valued at several millions sterling.

CHAPTER XXVI

SLOVAKS IN HUNGARY

“Hungary will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Hungarian nationals of other than Magyar speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Hungarian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Hungarian Government from making the teaching of the Magyar language obligatory in the said schools.”

Article 59 of the Minority Treaty signed by Hungary.

“In 1924 Slovak children of school age (in Hungary) numbered 15,372, of whom not one attended a purely Slovak school, for the simple reason that no such school existed. Nor were there any mixed schools for them.”

The Treatment of Minorities in Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary.

(Issued by the Foreign Office in Prague, 1927.)

THE charge that Slovaks—stated variously to be 160,000 to 200,000—resident in Hungary are denied schools where their language is taught is reiterated again and again by Czecho-philés and Magyarphobes in all the languages of Europe. The charge is not true: mere repetition by the Czech Government and their partisans will not prove it. In a propagandist publication “*Les Minorities Ethniques en Hongrie et en Tchecoslovaque*,” distributed by the Czech

Government in 1922, it was stated that Slovaks in Hungary "had an absolute majority in ninety-nine towns and communes, or an appreciable minority" and "they have not to-day a single primary school." And Dr. Seton Watson has repeatedly made the same statement. In "The New Slovakia" (Prague 1924) he amplifies it thus:

"The Slovak minority still remaining in Hungary, which in striking contrast to the Magyar minority in Slovakia, is entirely without national rights of any kind, and notably without any schools of their own."

Both these statements are utterly wrong. There is, to be sure, a "striking contrast," but it is the other way round.

The Slovaks in Hungary in 1920 numbered 141,862, or 1.8 per cent. of the population. Of this minority 31.9 per cent. live in villages where they form less than 20 per cent. of the population; 68.1 per cent. live in 59 villages, where they are approximately 20 per cent. of the population, and only in three communities are they to be found in a majority. There are about 50,000 Slovaks who evince no desire to rejoin their kinsmen.

One begins to suspect the statement that the Slovaks are denied "national rights of any kind," and are unable to educate their children in their mother tongue by finding, when motoring about the country, villages where the people follow Slovak customs and speak the Slovak tongue. These Slovaks emigrated to Hungary in the eighteenth century, and if they are not yet Magyar-

ised in speech or assimilated, this Magyar policy of closing school doors to their language and withholding national rights of all kinds must be a dismal failure ; likewise an object lesson and a warning to other nations.

There was only one way to decide the problem : visit the Magyarised Slovaks and get evidence at first hand of the oppression which these miserable colonists endure under the " Magyar yoke."

First I went to the little town of Keszthely, in the district of Esztergom, about 50 km. from Budapest. On the way I passed three villages, inhabited partly by Germans and partly by Slovaks. The Germans are easy to distinguish, because the men wear aprons. In one village, where the Slovaks formed one half of the population, and Germans and Hungarians composed the other half, two sermons a month are preached in Slovak, one in German and the other in Hungarian.

Keszthely has a population of 2,179, of whom only about 100 are Hungarian ; the rest being Slovak, with the exception of one Jewish shopkeeper. The population has doubled by natural accretion since 1848. The village is situated in a valley under the shelter of the Pilis Mountain. There are at present 425 children attending six classes, from the age of six to twelve, in two schools. The schools are under the direction of the Catholic priest. Slovak has first place in the curriculum, but all the children are also taught Hungarian, but as the secondary language. The history and reading books, as well as the cate-

chism, which I examined, were printed in Slovak on one side of the page and Hungarian on the other. They were published in 1912. The classes are mixed.

Sermons on Sunday are preached in Slovak. A knowledge of that language is the first qualification of the local priest, a condition laid down in the Catholic handbook, which applies also to all Slovak settlements in the diocese. After the age of twelve the children attend evening classes for two years, where lessons in agriculture are generally given. Those who wish to attend a secondary school go to the town of Esztergom, and their education is assisted. All schools in Hungary receive subsidies from the State, and the majority of them are under Church management. Hungary is going through the same phase of evolution in regard to elementary schools as we experienced in England forty years ago.

The head man of the village, who accompanied me with the priest on my visit, is a Slovak. The people wore Slovak dress : Slovak is their everyday language ; there is nothing to distinguish Keszölcz from a Slovak town in Slovakia, unless it be in its exceptional prosperity and the contentment of the people.

The houses are well built, and a number of new houses are in course of erection. Land is acquired from the archbishopric of Esztergom, for the purpose of carrying out land reform in the district. Ten per cent. of the episcopal land was taken compulsorily as land tax ; one-eighth of this land was given to the villagers for houses without

payment, and 150 new houses have been built. Ninety Slovak families obtained small holdings averaging four acres. The tenants are paying rent for this land, and are given facilities for buying it with reasonable terms of credit. The majority of the young men are miners, and work in the coal pits in the neighbouring village of Dorog.

The largest Slovak community in Hungary is in the County of Békés, which has a population of 50,000. It is situated near the (new) Rumanian border—on the great Hungarian plain. The inhabitants are prosperous. The Slovaks have shed some of their customs in two hundred years, but stick to their language and enjoy national Minority rights. Békéscsaba is an up-to-date town, with wide boulevards, tramways and good shops. The Minorities are Hungarians and Jews. Many of the wealthy farmers are Slovaks who have been in possession of their property for generations. The community is more Protestant than Catholic. The schools are State and Confessional. The largest school was erected by the State. It is well constructed with large class-rooms. There was an overflow of pupils into an annex. I visited two such schools. The majority of the children were Slovak. The history books, dated 1924, were printed in Slovak and Magyar.

Having finished their elementary education up to the age of fourteen, those who enter for higher education go to the neighbouring town of Szeged or to Budapest for two years' training in agriculture and viticulture. Only few Slovak chil-

dren desire secondary education, even when facilities are offered.

The largest establishment in Békéscsaba is the Agricultural Workers' Club—a social centre. Seventy men, all Slovaks, gathered to meet me. All the speeches were in Slovak. The majority of the members of the town council were Slovak. The Protestant clergyman was a Slovak; the Catholic priest is Hungarian.

Church services and sermon are in Slovak and Hungarian alternately. The theatre is Hungarian but only touring companies come occasionally from Budapest. The Slovaks of Békés seemed to be perfectly satisfied with their lot. They would like to rejoin their kinsmen—but not under the Czechs.

There are altogether sixty-four Slovak villages in Hungary. In these villages there are 16,223 children attending fifty-one schools where tuition is given in their mother tongue. There are two training schools for Slovak teachers of both sexes. Divine service is exclusively Slovakian in one parish, alternatively Slovakian and Hungarian in seventy-two parishes, alternatively German and Slovakian in one parish, alternatively German, Slovak and Hungarian in eight parishes. One daily newspaper and one periodical are published in the Slovak language.

The rights of the Slovak Minority are safeguarded by a decree of the Government (4800/M.E. ex. 1923) and by an Act of Parliament (Article II, ex. 9124) which insures the use of the languages of the Minorities in the State services.

In order to enforce strict observance of the provisions for safeguarding the Minority rights by the authorities, the Government has created Commissions for each national Minority.

The decree of 1923 safeguards the full political and civic equality of the Minorities with regard to employment in public offices and free choice of profession.

Public announcements are published by the local authorities in the language of the Minorities. Everyone can use his own language in the village or town council. The agendas can be drawn up also in the language of the Minorities if one-fifth of all the members so desire. Local authorities can also use this language in their intercourse with the Government Departments and State Offices, replies being given in the same language. Each community is at liberty to choose its own official language. Private individuals can address any public office in their native language. They can use their language in the law courts if one-fifth of the population of the territory of that court speaks the Minority language.

Minorities enjoy freedom with regard to Church organisation and cultural activity. Parishes, congregations, corporations and private individuals are entitled to establish schools which can become recipients of state subvention.

The Government addressed in 1924 an Order to the Lords-Lieutenants of the counties, enjoining them to see that all decrees safeguarding the rights of national Minorities were strictly observed.

In Czecho-Slovakia and other Succession States

the Hungarian Minorities are prohibited from addressing official bodies or presenting petitions in their mother tongue.

Special chairs are to be created at the Universities for the language and literature of the Minorities. There is a Slovak chair at Budapest University. State servants are obliged to learn the Minority language of their place of activity under penalty of being pensioned or dismissed. Denominational schools are entirely autonomous.

The German Minority in Hungary, who have been resident in the country for over a century, maintain many of their racial characteristics, while merging more completely in the life of the country than any other race. There are several members of the present Government of German origin. In the towns and districts where the inhabitants are predominantly of the German race German culture is maintained. Many of the Germans are in districts adjoining the Austrian boundary.

CHAPTER XXVII

REFUGEES IN HUNGARY

“ If the question of the functionaries were not settled by the Treaty, the civil servants, the paid military and the re-enlisted non-commissioned officers employed in the ceded territories would lose their posts and their bread and would form a body of unemployed to whom the Hungarian State would be unable to offer any means of subsistence.”

The Hungarian Delegation to the Peace Conference.

REFUGEES hastening from land laid waste by revolution, pillage and outrages—in the hope of escaping the fate which befell their compatriots—created one of the first after-war problems which had to be tackled on humanitarian lines. Russians crowded into Constantinople and Bulgaria and had to be given “ Nansen ”* passports to enable them to move. Greeks were driven out of Asia by the onrush of the Turks, and Greece, weighed down under an unbearable load, received a loan from the League of Nations to promote land settlement for the refugees—a scheme which turned out remarkably successful. Hungary also had its problem of refugees, but received no help from the League of Nations.

* International temporary passport issued by the League of Nations.

Before the Treaty of Trianon, imposed upon Hungary, was signed, that country was overwhelmed by an army of refugees. The troops of the Allies, closing in on the steadily diminishing centre of Old Hungary, taking possession of territory long before it was assigned to the new States, drove before them many thousands of defenceless civilians. Without other authority than that of predatory expeditions, they took forcible possession of local administration, public properties and the organs of civic order, leaving behind them a state of administrative chaos and economic disorder. While Hungary was still staggering under the atrocities of the Communists and the devastating mass depredations of the Rumanians, the tightened resources of the diminished country were strained beyond capacity by appeals for help from kinsmen kicked over the new frontiers by heartless enemies. They came by the thousands from Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania. Nearly all belonged to professional and middle classes—gentry and landowners. They came without means, with no more property than that in which they stood. No lodgings could be found for them, nor a sufficiency of food. In spite of heroic sacrifices, thousands of refugees sank to the depths of misery. For lodgings many of them had only old railway carriages, and for food potatoes. Gentlefolk, brought up in an atmosphere of refinement, were reduced to grope for scraps of food in dustbins. Many of them starved or committed suicide. Pressure in a few years was relieved by the courage and superhuman

efforts of the victims themselves, the charity of their friends, and the social welfare activities of the Government.

The fate of the civil servants, civil and military pensioners was known before the Peace Treaty was signed. It was pointed out by the Hungarian delegates that Article 199, referring to this class, was utterly one-sided. Here it is :

“ The Hungarian Government shall be under no liability in respect to the civil or military pension granted to nationals of the former kingdom of Hungary who have been recognised as nationals of other States, or who have become so under the provisions of the present treaty.”

This negative provision only by implication made the Governments of the new State responsible. Unlike precedents in former peace treaties, as in the Treaty of Frankfort, of 1871, between France and Germany, it did not specifically transfer to the new sovereignty the public burdens of the annexed territories. While the peacemakers were discussing, the enemies of helpless Hungary had a free hand.

The occupying forces stopped salaries and pensions of former Hungarian nationals and deprived them of their possessions. There were no fewer than 106,000 civil functionaries employed in the occupied territories and these, with their families, numbered a quarter of a million souls. As the delegation said if

“ all these persons were to be abandoned to the direst misery and with them a preponderant

portion of the intellectual class, this would constitute an injustice violating the principles of social justice and of humanity. The Hungarian State, declining all responsibility for such an affront to civilisation, appeals to the judgment of the whole world."

The list of prospective victims included all civil servants, the paid military, re-enlisted non-commissioned officers and pensioners. At that time, early in 1920, thousands of these officials and ex-officials were being expelled from their homes, often at twenty-four hours' notice. The Hungarian delegation described the fate which befel the victims of inhuman and vindictive campaign in these words :

"Despoiled of all their property, deprived of their pensions and other allowances, innumerable families have quitted the homes they have inhabited often for several generations ; thousands and thousands of public servants, of railway employees, post office employees, and soldiers have inundated the uninvaded territory of Hungary and in vain begged for any kind of employment for shelter and bread."

Their language did not exaggerate what was happening without protest from the Supreme Council, and at a time when Hungary was fighting Bolshevism, standing between Western Europe and that scourge of civilisation. The Supreme Council remained adamant. They did not listen to the appeals of justice or humanity. They did

not believe the Hungarians. They accepted the assurances of the Czechs and Rumanians and Jugoslavs, and Article 199 remained in all its cold-blooded brutality.

Since 1919, no fewer than 700,000 refugees have been quartered on Hungary, forming an unemployed army equal to 10 per cent. of the whole population. In 1923, restrictive measures were adopted, but Hungarians cannot close the doors to men and women of their own kin and leave them to penury and death in the hands of their enemies. No assistance is given to refugees until they exhaust every possible means of obtaining work and a livelihood. There is no organised system of public assistance in Hungary as in England, nor doles for the unemployed.

The presence of starving refugees had the effect of lowering salaries and wages, and at the same time increasing the cost of living. The heaviest burden of all to fall on Hungary was in making provision for men entitled to pensions. Pensions granted to these ex-civil servants amount to nearly seventy million pengos a year. Formerly payments for pensioners amounted to 2 or 3 per cent. of the total salaries of officials. Now it amounts to 12 to 14 per cent. The existing staff are penalised by this drain on the Exchequer, as they only receive 70 per cent. of their pre-war salaries. There are 31,000 men actually at work on the State railways, but there are 42,000 railway workers drawing pensions, instead of, as in old Hungary, not more than 6,000.

To find lodging accommodation for the refugees

and relieve the congestion caused by their presence the State has built 9,500 flats and the Municipality of Budapest 4,000 flats, all on uneconomical bases.

Hungary has an over-stock of professional workers. Professional men coming from the detached territories have had to seek employment as chauffeurs, engineers, woodcutters, clerks and street cleaners. The Ministry of Social Welfare provides University students with free lunches and dinners. The same Ministry is called upon to provide for the children of refugees. There are 55,000 children in settlements throughout the country.

A sad proof of the heart-rending misery to which refugees are reduced is found in the appalling list of suicides which sully the annals of Budapest. There are more suicides in Budapest in proportion to its population than in any city in the world. In the first week of 1928 there were fifty-five cases of suicide or would-be suicide in the city. I have not chosen that week as being exceptional, but simply because I happened to be in the city at the time and obtained the return from Budapest's good Samaritan, known as "Uncle Robert," who specially concerns himself with the rescue of would-be suicides. Among the list of fifty-five were fifteen ex-officials—men driven from the detached territories of Hungary, their property having been lost and their means of livelihood gone—educated men, unable to earn a living, too sensitive and proud to live on charity. The New Year's list also included two doctors,

one lawyer, three students, five electricians, fourteen working women, seven domestic servants, and four bootmakers. Crude and cheap means were resorted to for self-destruction. In twelve cases potash was tried, and five sulphate, three vitriol, five aspirin, and seven gas, and five threw themselves into the Danube.

“Uncle Robert’s” special mission is to rehabilitate those who are rescued in time—men and women whose lives have been wrecked by moral torture and physical want. Others who seek relief in self-destruction are not in need, but are driven to suicide by mental anguish for the terrible tragedies inflicted on their country by Trianon. These victims belong chiefly to the professional, educated and cultured classes.

“Uncle Robert” is the means of inspiring the unfortunates whom he rescues in time with new hope, and starting them on new careers. He becomes a father to the orphan children left behind and is able to carry on his mission as a salvager of human wreckage by his own unaided efforts and the help of unknown friends. He has dedicated his life for the last forty years to the service of suffering humanity in a spirit of Christian altruism.

The number of would-be suicides increases every year. In 1923 the number was 1,900; in 1924, 2,100; in 1925, 2,400; in 1926, 2,800; in 1927, 2,430, compared with between 500 and 600 a year in London, which has five times the population of Budapest.

It is a black calendar in the annals of history;

yet it but reflects the immeasurable load which diminished Hungary has to bear. The burden continues. The helpless army receives more recruits who take the place of those who fall out or who become self-supporting.

The refugees now being cast out from the homes of their fathers belong mainly to civil servants and pensioners. Priests and clergymen and men who take part in public life are among the victims. As the full weight of the confiscatory land laws is felt, former owners of property, all of which was in the annexed territories, sometimes lose all their possessions and exhaust their resources in fruitless appeals, and taxes on the land, which they have lost. Some of these erstwhile landed magnates might truthfully exclaim to their persecutors and oppressors, like Bolingbroke, in "Richard II":

" You have fed upon my signatories ;
Disparked my parks, and felled my forest
woods ;
From mine own windows torn my household-
coat,
Razed out my impress ; leaving me no sign,
Save men's opinions, and my living blood,
To show the world I am a gentleman."

CHAPTER XXVIII

RECONSTRUCTION, THE SUFFRAGE, EDUCATION

MORE than slogans and moralisings, argumentative propaganda, and stirring appeals to humanity, the Hungarians rely upon themselves to rehabilitate their truncated territory and to rebuild and fructify their impoverished national assets. "By ourselves alone," was the old watchword of the Magyars, translated into Sinn Fein by the literary Gaels in the 'eighties and used to designate an Irish Party, whose excesses have discredited its origin. As soon as the prostrate people of Hungary found their feet they planned a scheme of reconstruction. They began developing their resources, making new roads, electrifying railways, building new factories, creating new industries. It was uphill work. The shortage of capital and the high rate of interest on loans were handicaps. Expansion is limited, as Hungary cannot re-plant the forests which she has lost or obtain cheap power from the rivers, now outside her present borders. She has been denuded of essential raw materials which were rich in the peripheries of Slovakia

and Ruthenia. She retains the best and the bulk of her vineyards, which by some oversight have been left, and is pushing a trade in wines which were formerly popular in foreign markets. Farming is carried on in the same scientific manner, and intensive agriculture is improved. The agrarian question is slowly tending towards a solution.

Two problems have caused anxiety to Hungarian statesmen and provoked foreign criticism: the suffrage—or rather, the system of voting—and education. It is impossible for an Englishman to accept, as reasonable, inequality in the system of voting. We can understand inequality of qualification—we have it now—and we kept up for many years a distinction between the urban and rural voters—but we cannot appreciate the reason which impels the Hungarian Government to adopt the secret ballot in the towns—representing about 30 per cent. of the voters—and retain open voting in the country. Ostensibly the reason is to restrain the peasant from exercising his freedom and independence as a citizen. It is suggested that the peasants are intimidated by the landlords, and we are reminded that the Magyars are a patrician and not a democratic people. It is only fair to look at this vexed problem from the standpoint of the Hungarian national politicians. The country is not yet safe from the sinister influences of Bolshevism; the peasant is still uneducated; secret agents of the Bolsheviks move about in rural districts, seeking to poison the minds of the ignorant. The leaders of the Soviets have not got over their chagrin at being

defeated in Hungary, where Communism hoped to win an outpost in the West. The Hungarian Constitutionalists want to minimise one risk while facing another—the growing demand for more democratic government. They are not die-hards ; they are ready to compromise ; they will gradually extend the secret ballot. A more liberal policy is promised before next general election. In a few years' time the peasants and small farmers will be actually in possession of the land which is now in process of being transferred to them. This factor and the spread of education should remove all cause of fear. Gladstone once defined Toryism as "Trust in the people qualified by fear," and Liberalism as "Trust in the people qualified by prudence." The policy of the Hungarian Nationalists comes under the definition of Toryism. Nothing would increase the sympathy of western democracies in the cause of Hungary more than an advance to a policy which came within the Gladstonian definition. And this is what is now contemplated.

At the same time it is not for Hungary's neighbours to assume a superior democratic air and to make invidious comparisons. In Serbia the ballot is not secret ; agents standing by can hear how the ballots, or rather the balls used, drop, and can put disloyalists on the Government black lists. Whole villages of Hungarians in Serbia and Rumania have been illegally disfranchised and electors held up by gendarmes on the way to the voting stations. In Czecho-Slovakia physical violence is not used to silence Minorities, but many voters

are disfranchised at the elections by the discovery at the last moment of illegal technicalities. All small-holders and colonists who have got land from the Land Office and all officials are expected, and on occasions ordered, to vote for the parties in office.

Congestion from the invasion of refugees has accentuated housing difficulties in Hungary. They are being remedied, but house building is costly, as raw materials, which formerly came from the lost provinces, have to be imported.

Hungary has been reproached in the past for failing to provide adequate provision for education.

Education will rise to its proper position in rejuvenated Hungary. The Government is now organizing a system of national education on an ambitious scale. Elementary education is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 12 years; evening continuation schools are compulsory for a specific number of hours per week from the age of 12 to 15; from 15 to 20 facilities are provided for physical exercises as part of the national system of education. Obstacles, geographical as well as financial, have hitherto checked the spread of education amongst the peasants in the Great Plain. When the Turks ravaged the country four hundred years ago they destroyed all the towns in the Great Hungarian Plain and even the villages. It has therefore been difficult to gather the children into such schools as existed. Schools, however, were very few, which may be judged from the fact that more schools in the present

small Hungary have been built during the last six years than were built in Old Hungary between 1867 and 1914. Commercial men and bankers in Budapest complained to me that the Government has been far too extravagant in school building and constructing palaces regardless of costs, as if for educating the children of the nobility. The Minister of Education, Count Kuno Klebelsberg, has other views. The peasants live in small hamlets or isolated homesteads; the difficulty of distance has been overcome; farmers are obliged to take monthly turns in conveying the children to school. There are no newspapers circulating in the rural districts, and the Government has called in the aid of radio, through which not only is news broadcast, but educational addresses given in agricultural subjects and in hygiene. There is a small library in every school. Conferences are held from time to time, and a travelling cinematograph gives illustrated lessons in geography agricultural science, and other subjects. Model farms have been established. The education given in the rural districts is that which is most suitable for a farming population.

In the secondary schools, agriculture is also the outstanding subject, but languages are not overlooked. Students are expected to acquire two or more modern languages. For the time being English obtains preference over German or French. There is a passion in Hungary just now for giving world education. The Education Department has over a hundred scholars attending European universities continuously. There are

twenty-six in Great Britain. The favourite university for the Hungarian children is Aberdeen, where education is comparatively cheap, while there is an affinity in religion, a large number of the Hungarian scholars being Presbyterians. Formerly education in Hungary was very largely controlled by the Churches of the various denominations, and the State still continues to subsidize these Church schools.

There are four universities in Hungary, which turn out 12,000 graduates every year—far too many for the professional and cultural needs of the country. A question which has caused controversy in Hungary and has formed the subject of appeals to the League of Nations was the Numerus Clausus Act passed in 1920 which limited the number of Jewish students admitted to the universities. The general reason for this measure was that the universities were turning out an overstock of graduates who could not find places in the professions, the services, or in industry. It was specifically aimed at the Jewish community; it marked a prejudice against that race. The fact that nearly all the leaders of Communism in Hungary and most of Béla Kun's ministers were Jews left bitter memories and provoked this anti-Semite legislation. To ration Jewish students, representing the more intellectual section of the population, on a percentage basis was obviously unjust, and antagonised the Jewish people, the leaders of whom number among them loyal and able supporters of Magyarism. The Hungarian Government has now amended the

Numerus Clausus Act and removed the invidious discrimination.

The scheme of higher education in Hungary embraces the fine arts, theatre, and music. There are academies of art, music, dramatic art, decorative arts. The National Theatre and National Opera House also come within the purview of the Ministry of Education. The State Opera House receives a subsidy of 800,000 pengös a year, and the Theatre receives 700,000 pengös. The public in Budapest are so devoted to music and classical plays that both institutions could exist without State support. The object of the subsidies is two-fold: to enable the Theatre and the Opera to engage the finest talent from any part of Europe, and also to maintain moderate prices. The Budapest Opera is crowded for ten months of the year—a unique record. Visitors have difficulty in obtaining seats, as they are filled by subscription.

It will be seen that Hungary is carrying out a sound progressive policy in education, and should in a few years make up for arrears and wipe out a reproach. There is competition between the villages for new schools and for facilities. The Minister of Education, Count Kuno Klebelsberg, is an enthusiast for cultural development. He had a distinguished academic career at the universities of Budapest, Berlin and the Sorbonne, Paris, and is President of the Hungarian Historical Society. His forward education policy costs a great deal of money, but as he said to me, "We have lost the integrity of our territory; we must not lose the integrity of our culture."

CHAPTER XXIX

REAWAKENED HUNGARY

“Still, Hungary’s efforts to defend her rights will not be lost. For if the Allied and Associated Powers had, in the moment of common danger, bound themselves by conventions made with our enemies, and were—perhaps contrary to their better judgment—unable to allow themselves to be convinced by our arguments, the voice of Hungary will be heard throughout the world, and the tribunal of history will do us justice. And once the justice of our cause is recognized our fate must undergo a change.”

Editor’s preface to Documents presented by the Hungarian Delegation to the Peace Conference, July 1920.

“SINCE the birth of Christ no country has been overwhelmed by such misery.” Such was the comment of the historian on Hungary after that country, holding the gate of western civilisation, was laid utterly waste by the Mongols in 1241. In a few centuries Hungary arose again to power and mediæval splendour. Again the Magyars were called upon to hold the fort as the bulwark of the West against the barbarous hordes of Sultan Suliman. They were overwhelmed at Mohács in 1526, when they met with, apparently, irretrievable disaster. The population was decimated, towns razed to the ground, treasures



POPULATION:

Hungarians	91·4 %	Roumanians	5·8 %	
Magyar	58,421	Oláh	3,604	
Hongrois		Roumains		
German	2·2 %			
Német		1,416		
Allemands				

A postcard. Nagyvárad is just within the New Rumanian frontier.

Again Hungary is laid low: encompassed by watchful, jealous, and bitter foes, with all the might of the allied nations of Europe behind them. No loophole has been left this time through which crucified Hungary can resuscitate her shattered strength and regain her lost territories. She has been imprisoned in a stockade with her arms pinioned.

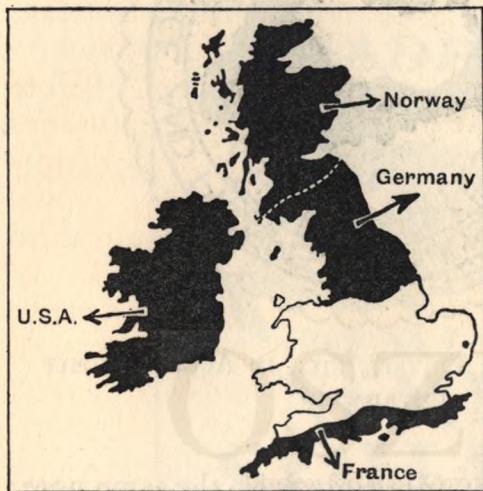
Yet the spirit of Hungary is not dead. The Magyars, a proud, high-spirited, virile race, have an unequalled capacity for recuperation. They possess an intense national consciousness. Although their country is partitioned and mutilated, their spirit is unbroken. The people are deter-

plundered, women outraged and carried off. The Turks occupied the rich plains of the Danube and the Magyars paid tribute to the Sultan. Before two other centuries had passed the pages of history could once more record the resurrection of the unconquerable Magyars and their triumph both over Turks and Germans.

mined to overcome the misery which overwhelms them.

No country gives such spirited examples of emotional patriotism. National patriotism glows with fiery zeal, expresses itself in a hundred ways.

Hungary is just now a country of patriotic slogans, represented by maps, badges, seals, stamps, post cards, envelopes, plates, metal discs, posters. They are universal, each and all bear their message. I reproduce some of these emblems of irrepressible Magyarism. The slogan "Nem! Nem! Soha!" ("No! No! Never!") appears on stationery, on



Englishmen!

Would you accept this peace?

It would be the same which was forced upon Hungary!

Circulated with English description as post-cards in envelopes, &c. Similar mutilated maps are circulated applied to France, Italy, Spain and other countries.

on cushions, on furniture, on flags, on placards, on the hoardings, usually accompanied with a map to impress the image of mutilated Hungary on the minds and hearts of the people. This same map reappears in a variety of mediums; it is exhibited on doors, windows, offices, public buildings, etc.



GUMMED SEAL FOR LETTERS, ETC., IN AUGUST WIDELY
DISTRIBUTED

Contemporary literature rings with the same note; a flood of pamphlets, pictures, flows from the press, all spreading the same gospel.

The spirit of the Magyars manifests itself in other ways. Four impressive statues have been erected in a square in Budapest to symbolize territories torn from Hungary—East, West, North and South. Monuments rise throughout the country to remind the people of the glories of the past, and the humiliation of the present. The national colours—red, white and green—are everywhere conspicuous. Dramatic art and music—songs, bands, orchestras—are other instruments in the distribution of national harmony in the apotheosis of patriotism. Old national Hungarian

plays and operas are revived and outdo in popularity more modern works.

At the same time Hungary realises that she must possess herself in patience. Like France, she must think always of her lost provinces,



AN ALUMINIUM PLATE FOR NAILING ON BOXES.

TRANSLATION (TOP OF SYMBOLIC MAP WITH CROWN OF THORNS):

“CAN IT REMAIN LIKE THIS?”

(UNDERNEATH): “NO! NO! NEVER!”

speak of them never. And she has four Alsace-Lorraines to think of and remember.

Patriotism has become a sacred rite: it is deified; pride of race exalts the people.

In the tramways, trains, schools and public institutions one sees exhibited this devotional confession—sung in churches, schools and refor-

matories and prisons—called the “ National Creed of the Magyar ” :

I believe in one God, I believe in the Unity of my Country,
I believe in one Eternal Divine Justice,
I believe in the resurrection of Hungary. Amen.

To the Magyar could aptly be applied the words of Browning :

“ One who never turned his back, but marched breast
forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed though right were worsted, wrong
would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to
wake.”



The mutilated map of Hungary and the Slogan No ! No ! Never !

CHAPTER XXX

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF TRIANON

THE closest study does not reveal any guiding principle, or even a consistent hypothesis, upon which the Treaty of Trianon was framed. More than any of the other peace treaties drawn up by the wise men of Paris, it struck a new note in international diplomacy. It was far removed from the philosophic moralities of President Wilson and was incompatible with the sententious homilies of Mr. Lloyd George. The sacred principles of self-determination were ignored: irredentism was perpetuated. Old Hungary was not carved up on any ethnological principle. As M. Millerand said, in this part of the world people were so intermingled with enclaves of the races encircled by other races that it was impossible to get the ethnographical and political frontiers to coincide. This theory does not apply to stretches of territory where in town, village and country one race predominates to the extent of 70 per cent. or more. That was the position of the Hungarians in great slices of territory cut through to make the new frontiers. The cut

might have been made still further into the remains of Old Hungary, just as it could have left more territory untouched. There was no distinction whatever on ethnological grounds.

Language, not always synonymous with ethnological divisions, was not taken into account and would not have been a safe criterion. There are many thousands of inhabitants in Hungary whose mother language is not Magyar, but who are loyal and patriotic Hungarians. National unity is compatible with diversity of language. Switzerland on a small scale and the British Empire on a large scale are practical historical examples of this principle. Europe is strewn with the failure of attempts to coerce races to speak the language of their conquerors or rulers and forget their mother tongue : yet the lesson is lost on the Succession States, which repeat the folly.

Communications played a part in re-shaping new Europe : hence conventions about waterways, railway communication, access to the sea, freedom of communication within State limits and free routes beyond its border. These things did not arise in connection with the Treaty of Trianon. Communications were cut in a way which had a paralysing effect on what was left of Hungary and was costly, inconvenient, damaging to the inhabitants of the alienated territories. The new frontier was twisted here and there so as to throw main line railways passing through solid Magyar populations into the new States.

History was a fundamental guiding principle at the Peace Conference. The service of an army of

historians was enlisted to prove historical claims to lands which had been for centuries continuously in possession of others : thus the Polish claim for the Corridor, Danzig and East Prussia, and the case of the old Duchy of Teschen. As the members of the Supreme Council were neither authorities on history nor on geography when they were faced with historical geographic evidence in support of otherwise shadowy pretensions, they succumbed to the experts. History, however, does not help us in the case of the Hungarian unsettlement. The Czechs insisted that historical considerations were paramount in fixing the frontiers of the new State in Bohemia, but on no account must be applied to Slovakia. The inconsistency was accepted. The Treaty of Trianon was not fashioned for any historical reason on any frontier. Nor could it be claimed that any part of the alienated territory was a case of "re-union."

President Wilson always held that the economic factor must not be overlooked. A new State should be assured scope for its economic life and this doctrine was applicable equally to reconstructed old States : it was forgotten in the case of Hungary. Worse, the new map was drawn in a way which not only smashed up a former economic unit, but imposed heavy handicaps on the economic existence of new Hungary.

The Hungarian delegation to Paris informed the Peace Conference that : "The boundary line runs along the line of contact between the mountain regions and the Great Plain, at the points where the centres of exchange have been estab-

lished, this line of contact being called the 'market-line.' It cuts off a number of pure Magyar towns situated in the Magyar area or on its fringe."

All the high principles laid down before the War and crystallised in President Wilson's "fourteen points" inspired democracies with one hope above all others, that self-determination by means of plebiscites would be a vital and guiding principle in the peace: people were not to be transferred from one sovereignty to another like chattels without their consent. The application of this sacred principle was most suitable in the case of Hungary: solid blocks of Hungarians inhabited territories earmarked for alienation. Nothing simpler than to take a plebiscite of the inhabitants under Allied supervision; no occasion more opportunely favourable to the claimants, as Hungary was in a state of turmoil and disintegration after the Bolshevik revolution. Yet the Allies did not want to risk a plebiscite; they preferred to forget their vital guiding principle. Hungary's request was turned down without consideration. The proportion of Germans proposed to be alienated from Germany was much less than the contemplated annexations from Hungary; yet Germany was allowed four plebiscites: Schleswig, Marienwerder, Allenstein and Upper Silesia. Hungary was denied one.

A plebiscite was refused, although asked for by Austria, in the Burgenland or West Hungary, and the territory allotted to Austria by the Treaty of Trianon on the ground that the majority of the

inhabitants, although under Hungarian rule for centuries, were German-speaking and were contiguous to a German-speaking country.

The conclusion was illogical. Unexpectedly the Supreme Council suffered a rebuff. When the Commission from the Allies arrived to hand over Burgenland to Austria, they found it in possession of Hungarian irregulars who declined to budge, and no local military force was prepared to displace them. The Supreme Council had to admit defeat. Hungary, having been denied a plebiscite, appealed for arbitration. It was granted and the arbitrators recommended a plebiscite for Sopron and the suburbs—the only town in the territory. It took place under the supervision of Allied officers on the 14th and 15th December 1919. The polling resulted in 15,334 votes in favour of Hungary and 8,227 for Austria. Practically the whole town voted for Hungary, and six of the eight outlying villages for Austria. The plebiscite was taken at a time when Hungary was suffering from local uncertainty, as it coincided with the second attempt made by the Emperor Carl to seize the throne. Here is another illustration of how possession is nine points of the law; the *faits accomplis* are convincing arguments with the League of Nations.

To all appearances no rational principle was followed in drawing the new frontiers. Lines were arbitrarily fixed, and the dictum that “no pity should be shown for Hungary” was borne in mind: a vindictive peace was embodied in the Treaty.

Yet a guiding principle was applied to the reconstruction of this part of Central Balkanised Europe, the threads of which can be traced through all the tangle and chaos which followed the Armistice. The Treaty of Trianon was begotten by militarism; every consideration was set aside for strategic and military considerations. It was the product of the war spirit. The genesis of the scheme existed before the Peace Conference met.

Czecho-Slovakia first asked for a Corridor to the sea right through Hungary, to link up with Jugoslavia. In their desire to annex Ruthenia the Czechs were not so much animated by love of that chaotic province: it formed a connecting link with Rumania. Railways, rivers, topography, the lines of the frontier were all laid down on a military map. The capital of Hungary can be shelled from the Czecho-Slovak border.

The handling of the situation during the critical times after the disintegration of Hungary began was in the hands of the French from the Convention of Belgrade, the over-running of Hungary, the mission of Colonel Vyx to Budapest.

President Masaryk, in reply to a deputation from the Hungarian University of Pressburg on 27th May 1919, said, as reported by Professor Joseph Imre: "I admit frankly that I would transfer to the new State as few Hungarians as possible. I did not find it desirable, but Marshal Foch, for strategic reasons, wanted the frontier to be established on the Danube."

The Little Entente—purely a military conven-

tion—was under way before the Treaty of Trianon was in operation.

That Treaty, while facilitating the potential military power of Hungary's enemies, left Hungary with little more than an armed police force to preserve internal peace.

Universal military service was abolished. An army numbering all told 35,000 men was prescribed, recruited by voluntary enlistment. This means relatively a very expensive army, and up to now Hungary has not enlisted its maximum: its present army consists of 24,000 men. All measures appertaining to mobilisation are forbidden. The number of gendarmes, customs officers, local and municipal police must not exceed the numbers employed in similar capacities in 1913 within the boundaries of the present Hungary. These officials, as well as railway employees, must not take any part in military exercises. Military students and officers are all limited. The manufacture of munitions is also restricted, and may only be done by the State, and must be authorised by the Commission of Control. The manufacture of sporting weapons is excluded; also the use of flame throwers, poisonous gases, etc.; the implication being that these horrible weapons of warfare would be prohibited by other countries, which is not the case.

All aircraft are prohibited; no heavy guns are allowed, and other guns are strictly limited, together with the amounts of ammunition. In other words, the army of Hungary is intended chiefly as a national gendarmerie. In addition,

Hungary had to give up a portion of its river fleet, its railways and rolling stock supply, deliver annually for five years prescribed quantities of timber and timber manufactures, iron and iron alloys, and steam coal, while it was under necessity to import these articles.

Hungary, therefore, is effectively disarmed and is the only country in Europe, with the exception of Austria, which is leading civilisation in this respect: the two countries of Western Europe, by the way, where Communism had and, in the case of Austria, still has a foothold.

Hungary is surrounded by States armed to the teeth. Compared with pre-War armies armed forces in the territories now occupied by Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia and Rumania—taking into account the stupendous death-dealing power of modern armaments—are doubled in strength. The Czecho-Slovak peace army is 150,000 men, one soldier for every 1,000 square kilometers, and one to every ten inhabitants. On a war footing the combined armies of Hungary's neighbours—Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania, total 5,050,000 men. No wonder Lord Rothermere describes these regions as "Europe's Powder Magazine."

CHAPTER XXXI

RECTIFICATION AND THE FUTURE

“Once the people have composed themselves to an acceptance of the principle of self-determination, it will be possible to re-adjust the ethnographical and minority frontiers on the basis of objective considerations, without any agitation being provoked ; and this condition will be brought about all the more rapidly if the Minorities are no longer oppressed ; the free Minorities will have an important part to play in the organisation of Europe.”

*Translated from “Das Neue Europa” by PRESIDENT MASARYK,
Prague, 1922.*

“There will never be peace in South Eastern Europe if every little state now coming into being is to have a large Magyar Irredenta within its borders. I would therefore take as a guiding principle of the peace that as far as is humanly possible the different races should be allocated to their mother-lands, and that this human criterion should have precedence over consideration of strategy or economics or communications which can usually be adjusted by other means.”

Memorandum by MR. LLOYD GEORGE, entitled “Some Considerations for the Peace Conference before they finally draft their Terms,” dated 25th March 1919.

PRESIDENT Masaryk in the citation above and in other declarations has shown his readiness to consider rectification. He implies that self-determination can be applied to dissatisfied and oppressed Minorities : on this

hypothesis it is overdue in regard to Hungarians. It was never contemplated that the Treaty of Versailles was sacrosanct: it has been modified already by the machinery created for the purpose, and M. Clemenceau informed the German delegates in his letter of 16th June 1919 that the Treaty "provides the basis upon which the people of Europe can live together in friendship and equality," and "the machinery for the peaceful readjustment of all international problems" so that the settlement can be "modified from time to time to suit new facts and new conditions as they arise."

The first man to rivet the attention of the world in a dramatic way on "new facts and new conditions" which have arisen in the territories of former Hungary—aggravating the original injustices of the Treaty of Trianon—was Lord Rothermere. The effect of his articles on "Hungary's Place in the Sun" ("Daily Mail," 21 June 1927) and "Europe's Powder Magazine" ("Daily Mail," 30th August 1927) was startling. No two newspaper articles ever had such a far-reaching influence. Statesmen in Central Europe and the Balkans became hysterically excited about the consequences which might follow. The emotions, hopes and fears of the inhabitants of Old Hungary were stirred to fever heat. The chanceries of Europe and the Foreign Offices believed that only mischief would follow: the process of transition would be interrupted: the (unstable) equilibrium would be upset. I satisfied myself that Lord Rothermere was tremendously in

earnest and welcomed his powerful advocacy in favour of the peaceful reconstruction of the most vulnerable region of post-War Europe. Every friend of peace and international understanding should be sympathetic with his motives, if not in complete harmony with his method.

Lord Rothermere fastened on the crucial issue at stake upon which the peace of the world depends. With irresistible force he reasoned that the Trianon frontiers could not stand and Europe live in peace. He wanted to see a real Locarno in Central Europe and the Balkans—a stable equilibrium established. He pleaded for a fair deal for the Magyars, but was not antagonistic to the abiding interests and welfare of the Succession States. Their statesmen were dubious of his good intentions; they hoped that after a few more years of transition Minorities would settle down to their fate as subject races and militarism would be strong enough to keep the lid on the seething pot. I have given examples of the injustices, cruelties and outrages inflicted on “subject” races—intensified since Lord Rothermere’s intervention on their behalf.

Before dealing with Lord Rothermere’s proposed rectification by pacific means—the only conceivable means which statesmen would think of applying—I will refer to the stability of the Succession States, thrown into a fever of excitement by his intervention. That stability, as he argued, depends on friendship with Hungary. “We cannot,” said Dr. Beneš, at Geneva, in 1921, “live in eternal enmity with Hungary.” His

Government is doing everything to make that calamity inevitable. But the Czechs should take warning. As Lord Rothermere wrote :

“ Czecho-Slovakia owes her independence, in fact, solely to the philanthropy of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, and if she has any perception of her own interests she will take care not to lose the goodwill of the peoples of these countries.”

The Czechs were the favoured children of the Peace Conference. They became possessed of a country richly endowed by nature : magnificently developed industrially by human enterprise ; they did not fight for that country, they fought against the Powers who gave it to them. They could not help that since they were a hostile minority in the armies of the Central Powers, but they planned not to lose—whichever one of the giant combatants won. They wanted freedom ; they were ready to fight on the side most likely to gain it for them. They could not hope in a world war to win it by themselves. The desertion of a few regiments, the murder of a few officers and the recruiting of Czechs abroad, the gathering of a force in Siberia at a later stage, who never went to the front were not in themselves great military contributions towards winning the War. Their effective political weapon was not the sword, but the pen—not a fiery arena of the battlefield, but cold columns of print.

Their first demands were modest. They envisaged little beyond a Czecho-Slovak Republic,

keeping the historic boundaries of Bohemia and thereby including over three million Germans. They enlarged their claims as the opportunity came and as the enemy weakened.

As the Austro-Hungarian Empire was smashing to atoms more completely than the Allies had dreamed of and Hungary became disintegrated, the Czechs discovered more strategic necessities for their policy of aggrandisement. On 6 December 1918 the Czechs contemplated and claimed an area of pre-War Hungary inhabited by 202,571 Magyars, or 11.2 per cent. of the whole area of Slovakia and Ruthenia. In two weeks their claim was augmented to 841,198 Magyars, followed a month later, 3rd January 1919, by a further demand for the annexation of 899,953 Magyars, while finally they were granted under the Treaty of Trianon, according to the census of that date, no fewer than 1,066,577 Hungarians, or a total of over 30.2 per cent. of the population of the Northern part of pre-War Hungary annexed to Czecho-Slovakia.

The Czechs satisfied the Peace Conference that they could realise their ambitions by their impassioned declarations for democracy, the rule of the people, and all the shibboleths that were dear to the heart of President Wilson. They played on his democratic side, sympathies, his ideals and his egotism. To M. Clemenceau they represented that a big Czech Republic would be a barrier to keep Germany in its place and to guard Western Europe from Bolshevism.

The Czechs found themselves at the head of an

amorphous State inhabited by a polyglot people. Seven races are represented in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The aim of the Czechs has been to subdue or assimilate these various racial Minorities, which, combined, place the Czechs in a minority. It is impossible for them to assimilate the forceful and solid German Minority; and equally impossible it is to annihilate or assimilate the virile, highly developed, distinctive Magyar race. Nor can they absorb the half million Russian Ruthenians. The German Czechs are in touch, over a frontier of a thousand miles, with their kindred. Magyars live in solid blocks along frontiers which separate them only artificially from their brothers: the Ruthenians shake hands with the Ukrainians on the other side of the Carpathians. The only race that the Czechs can ultimately absorb are the Slovaks who are not entitled to Minority rights and therefore are as much subject to the overlordship and suppression by the Czechs as they were by the Magyars before the War. The Slovaks can only maintain their distinctive characteristics and the supremacy of their language in their territory by enjoying full autonomous rights. If the present process continues, the next generation will not be able to speak Slovak, which will only be studied as an archaic language by philologists. There are few teachers now who know the language well. The assimilative tactics of the Czechs give preference to teachers who are experts in Czech and who look down on Slovak as an inferior dialect.

In this conglomeration one would think that in

their own interests the Czechs would observe caution. On the contrary, they impose all the oppressive measures which it is alleged the Slovaks suffered under Hungary on the Hungarians and also on the Slovaks, and add to them a thousand petty irritating pin-pricks, provocations and persecutions—as I have recorded with some detail. To quote Lord Rothermere again :

“ In domestic affairs the mixed elements of which it is compounded—Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Germans, Moravians, Poles and Ruthenes—are so antagonistic to each other that the disappearance of the State by sudden disintegration from within is always a possibility. In this way she constitutes the ‘ powder magazine of Europe.’ ”

While these internal weaknesses are potential dangers in Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania are Balkanic cockpits. Their explosive material is more volatile. They are less stable. Rumania is subject to the dangers of dynastic revolution and political unrest ; peasants are worse treated than any similar class in Europe. Bessarabia is vulnerable and would fall an easy prey to Russia should Russian development take a Chauvinist turn. Jugo-Slavia is suspected now to be piling up armaments in view of some conceivable rupture. An incident might start a conflagration. It is the interest of all these States with mixed, dissatisfied races, to promote a peaceful solution of their problems.

Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, a close observer of the

tragic events which overwhelmed Hungary, says ("The Tragedy of Central Europe"):

"So long as the Treaty of Trianon is allowed to remain in its present form there can be little hope of permanent peace in Europe—Hungary will remain the storm centre of the new Balkans."

There are irredentists and Die Hards who dream of the restoration of Old Hungary, but they belong to an insignificant minority. What is known as the "Rothermere frontiers" find most support. As Dr. Emil Nagy, an ex-Minister of Justice, says:

"Hungarians must abandon the idea of pre-War integrity and must resign themselves to the loss of territories inhabited by compact masses of alien nationalities, if, on the other hand, they get back those Hungarian and German territories which were irrationally alienated from the mother country."

(The German reference is to old German colonists long since Magyarised.)

Lord Rothermere's suggested frontiers would re-incorporate into Hungary two million out of the three and a half million Magyars transferred to new States. It is only proposed to transfer territory which is preponderantly Magyar, judged before artificial dilution by alien races—chiefly officials and colonists—took place. The new frontier would present no difficulties: it could be justified on economic as well as on racial grounds.

It is perhaps a coincidence that the rectification proposed by Lord Rothermere is almost identical with the delimitation of Hungary suggested by his brother, the late Viscount Northcliffe. As head of the Department of Enemy Propaganda, Lord Northcliffe invited the British Government, in February 1918, to declare their policy so that he and his staff could direct propaganda to that end. Lord Balfour (then Mr. Balfour), Foreign Minister, replied on the 26th February 1918, agreeing in the main with Lord Northcliffe that :

“ Propaganda which aids the struggle of the nationalities now subject either to Austrian Germans, or to Magyar Hungarians, towards freedom and self-determination must be right whether the complete break up of the Austrian Empire or its de-Germanisation under Hapsburg rule be the final goal of our efforts.”

With characteristic vision Lord Northcliffe insisted on a declaration of the Government's general peace policy. He wanted quick action and forced the pace by issuing a revised version of Wilson's Fourteen Points, following up by a speech on 4th November 1918, cabled all over the world, intended to create an atmosphere for post-War reconstruction. In this declaration he said that one of the victors' peace terms should be :

“ The assurance to all the peoples of Austria-Hungary of their place amongst the free nations of the world and of their right to enter into union with their kindred beyond the present

boundaries of Austria-Hungary. This involves the creation of independent Czecho-Slovak and Jugo-Slav States, the reduction of Hungary to the ethnographic limits of the Magyar race, and the union of all Rumanians with the present kingdom of Rumania."

The "ethnographical limits of the Magyar race" are identical with the "Rothermere frontier," except perhaps that it might be taken to include the Magyar block in Transylvania. It should be noticed that in Lord Balfour's letter and in Lord Northcliffe's statement the implication is that the peoples of old Austria-Hungary were to have the right of self-determination. They were denied that opportunity.

The crucial problem to-day is how to shift frontiers. It is easy to point out that against principles of justice and humanity millions of people were transferred from their motherland to the rule of races with whom they had been perpetually at enmity. It was never intended that the Paris Treaties should be regarded as permanent solutions. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at a meeting of the League of Nations Union in October 1927, said :

"The causes and the dangers of war are in frontier conflicts, the origin of which is in the fact that the peace treaties were made in 1919 when the Allies were filled with all the bitterness of a long war and obtained only insufficient and unpractical information as regards European conditions."

It can be argued that the Treaty of Trianon was signed by the Hungarian delegates on the assumption that rectification was provided for in M. Millerand's "letter of envoy." M. Millerand's letter stated that "an enquiry on the spot may perhaps reveal the necessity for altering certain parts of the frontier line provided for in the Treaty, but," he added, "the holding of such an enquiry at the present time would involve indefinite delay in the conclusion of peace which the whole of Europe desires." The letter also indicated that "injustices at any point which it would be to the general interest to remove" would be dealt with by a Delimitation Commission. Under these representations the Hungarians were induced to sign the Treaty of Trianon. When, however, the Delimitation Commissioners were appointed, the Conference of Ambassadors tied their hands. They were given full powers to select the section of the frontier which they were to examine but had no power to alter it "unless such alterations are of trifling importance and that the Commission is unanimous on the matter." It is not surprising, therefore, that the work of the Commissioners was little more than a formality.

President Wilson agreed with the sacrifice of one of his treasured "Fourteen Points" in the belief that the Minority Treaties were a ready and just alternative. The Minority Treaties signed by the Succession States were intended by the Big Four to safeguard racial interests and to encourage a new era of goodwill; also to em-

phasise the contrast between the reconstruction of Europe in 1919 and 1920 in Paris and the Machiavellian manipulations of the Vienna Congress in 1815.

The Minority Treaties were complementary to the Treaty of Trianon and to the other Treaties. The two documents are inseparable. They are integral parts of the same settlement—one was contingent on the other. President Wilson, it is believed, would not have signed the Peace Treaties unless the two had been accepted as parts of the same scheme, just as he looked upon the League of Nations as the logical and necessary consequence of the whole.

The only country which has observed these Minority Treaties is Hungary. Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Rumania have broken, in the most flagrant way, all the fundamental articles of the Minority Treaties which they signed. They have showed a cynical disregard for their obligations. The protective part of the dual settlement has been treated as a "scrap of paper."

On moral grounds the non-observance of these Minority obligations should abrogate the annexations. That is not possible and it would not be a solution if it were. Political morality has no bearing on political expediency and old wrongs cannot be revived to take the place of new iniquities.

Confidence in the League was another element which softened the blow aimed at Hungary and other mutilated states. The case for revision by the League of Nations is overwhelming, but has

Hungary the same confidence in the League to-day? This would depend on how an enquiry into the working of the Treaties for the last nine years is formulated and executed. Experience has shown that the bad features of the old diplomacy operate at Geneva: intrigue, bargaining, balancing of power, military considerations. An investigation into the Minority Treaties could only be impartial if carried out by representatives of neutrals in the Great War. As the original responsibility rests with the Great Powers, it should revert to them when revision is called for, and in this case include the United States, whose representatives exercised an important, and on occasions a paramount, influence in the Peace settlements.

Granted that such an inquiry is within the sphere of international policy, what next? How are the people to have a say in their own destiny? Their views can only be ascertained by plebiscites of all the residents in plebiscitary areas in 1918, to the exclusion of immigrants. Under neutral authority resort to self-determination in this way should be practical. It could be applied to the solid block of Magyar populations in areas adjacent to the present boundaries of Hungary, so as to embrace the "Rothermere frontier." The partition of Slovakia, however, would involve another injustice. The whole of the inhabitants of that province and of Ruthenia, who have failed to obtain autonomy from the Czechs, should be granted self-government to the fullest extent and should decide for themselves to which State—

Czecho-Slovakia or Hungary—they should attach themselves as federal units.

A section of the Hungarian people—the most tenacious and the most cultural—the inhabitants of Transylvania—are left out of account in these suggested re-divisions. They would remain a detached colony, oppressed by Rumania. Smaller enclaves of Hungarians in the surrounding States and of other races within the present Hungary would remain in this part of Europe under the most idealistic scheme of pacific reconstruction. The population through the centuries has become hopelessly intermingled and ethnological readjustment in respect of these isolated racial patches is out of the question. Their only safeguard lies in a strict observance of Minority rights. If the Minority Treaties had been interpreted in a liberal spirit and applied fairly and justly the lot of the expatriated would have been greatly alleviated.

One alternative to a revision of frontiers is economic union. It has been the dream of M. Beneš to create an economic customs union in the Balkans and include Austria and Hungary, and of course Czecho-Slovakia as the leader in the combination. It would be an economic entente on a large scale. From the point of view of the material welfare of all the inhabitants of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire a Danubian customs union would be a welcome development. I fear that the time is not ripe for it: because it would mean the destruction of new vested interests created in the new States; of new industries established at heavy capital outlay; the disruption

of new national organisations intended to build up more self-contained communities; also it runs counter to the nationalistic chauvinism sprung up since the war, and last, but not least, it would mean the industrial domination of Bohemia. Had Czecho-Slovakia and the other Treaty States shown during all these years a more friendly spirit towards Minority races and carried out an ameliorative policy, a gradual lowering of tariff barriers might have paved the way for a customs union: they have done everything possible to stop or retard a solution on these lines. In any case it would be no solution without disarmament. When the Little Entente begins to disarm we can then speculate about the possibilities of an economic entente in South Eastern Europe.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES: A PRESCIENT COMMENT

“Instead of a settlement with security, it is a patchwork hinting peril in every seam. These terms give no fundamental solution to any European problem. They raise more dangers than they lay. They revolve in the vicious circle of the old diplomacy. They repeat the fatal precedents which have always led back to war and made the end of one struggle the direct cause of another. In the twentieth century, with all its democratic movements and portents, despite all the lessons of Armageddon, these terms try to do what Louis the Fourteenth, Frederick, the Napoleons great and less, Bismarck, attempted. The failure of them all has been written on ruined walls in letters of fire.”

J. L. GARVIN, on the Peace Treaties, in *The Observer*,
11th May, 1919.

APPENDICES

I

SERAJEVO TO TRIANON

Chronology of events affecting Hungary from the murder of the Archduke to the signing of the Treaty of Trianon :

1914.

28th June.—Murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Serajevo. Serbian Government declare they are prepared to submit to trial any persons implicated.

1st July.—Count Tisza wrote to the King, urging that the evidence against Serbia was insufficient to warrant war.

7th July.—Council of Austro-Hungarian Ministers. Decided to send ultimatum to Serbia. Count Tisza declared that he could not consent to an attack by surprise on Serbia without preliminary diplomatic action ; the demands made on Serbia must not be impossible ; there must be no total destruction of Serbia.

8th July.—Count Tisza wrote to the King : “ After scrupulous consideration of the matter I find it impossible to undertake my share of the responsibility for the proposed military aggression against Serbia. Serbia must be given an opportunity for avoiding war at the price of a diplomatic defeat.” The note to be addressed to Serbia should be couched in strict, but not threatening, terms. Hostilities should not commence until an unsatisfactory reply had been received or an attempt made to procrastinate, and until an ultimatum had been presented and had expired.

10th July.—Tschirschky, German Ambassador at Vienna, reported to Berlin that Count Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, had complained to the Emperor Francis Joseph, at Ischl, of the attitude of Count Tisza, which made it difficult for him to take energetic measures against Serbia. Tisza had maintained that one must proceed in a "gentlemanlike" manner ("The Genesis of the War"—Lord Oxford).

11th July.—The Hungarian Chamber approved Count Tisza's declaration that "before everything else it was necessary to wait for the result of the judicial inquiry" (French Yellow Book).

14th July.—Tschirschky telegraphed to Berlin that Count Tisza had called on him, and was now convinced of the necessity of war; he thought the unconditional attitude of Germany to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was decidedly of great influence for the firm stand of the Emperor ("The Genesis of the War").

(The Kaiser's marginal note: "A man, after all!")

15th July.—The Vienna "Neue Freie Presse" reproached Count Tisza with the moderation of his second speech.

19th July.—Council of Austro-Hungarian Ministers. Count Tisza stated that he would request those present to pass a resolution unanimously that apart from adjustments of frontier justified by strategic considerations, it was not intended to annex any portion of Serbian territory.

22nd July.—The French Minister at Vienna reported that Count Tisza was stated to have intervened actively in order to exercise a moderating influence (French Yellow Book).

23rd July.—Austrian Note presented to Serbia; a reply required within 48 hours.

25th July.—Serbian reply delivered. Austrian Minister broke off diplomatic relations and left Belgrade.

26th July.—Austrian mobilisation against Serbia.

28th July.—Austria declared war against Serbia, and hostilities began.

1915.

1st January.—Count Tisza declared in a speech that the age of Centralists had gone, and that the Dual System was justified by the War.

November.—Count Tisza asked the King to conclude an honourable peace.

1916.

December.—Count Tisza announced that a peace offer had been made to the Entente Powers.

1917.

Count Tisza protested against unrestricted submarine warfare, and declared that it would bring the United States into the War against the Central Powers.

25th April.—Count Michael Károlyi founded the Democratic Club.

23rd May.—Count Tisza resigned, and shortly afterwards left for the front. Up to the time of his resignation he was an advocate of peace with honour. He had been Premier since 1913.

6th June.—Universal Suffrage League founded by the Democrats and Socialists.

1918.

24th July.—Franchise Bill passed.

17th October.—An Imperial manifesto transformed the Austrian Empire into a Federal State composed of two independent States.

Count Tisza stated in Parliament that the War was lost, and declared that henceforth Hungary's relations with Austria would be based on a personal union only.

21st October.—Bill of Personal Union drawn up.

22nd October.—Count Károlyi demanded complete independence of Austria.

23rd October.—Wekerle, the Prime Minister, resigned.

25th October.—Count Károlyi organized a National Council.

30th October—1st November.—Outbreak of the Revolution.

31st October.—Count Tisza assassinated.

Count Michael Károlyi entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet, and invested with full civil and military powers.

1st November.—New Government demanded King's abdication by telephone. Soldiers' and Workers' Councils formed.

3rd November.—Treaty of Armistice signed by the Allied Powers with Austria-Hungary at Padua, which, amongst other things, provided for the return home of all the troops on the battle fronts and in Austro-Hungarian territories.

Hungarian troops received orders from Károlyi's Minister of War to lay down their arms.

5th November—Czech troops left Prague for Hungary. Hungarian intellectuals commenced the transformation of the country into a Confederation on the Swiss model.

6th November.—Delegation headed by Károlyi went to Belgrade to meet the French General, sent by the Allies, to replace the Padua Armistice with an agreement with Hungary. The Hungarian Delegation was treated with contempt.

8th November.—The new Treaty termed a Military Convention was drawn up and presented by the Serbian General, which awarded Serbia all the Hungarian territory she asked for.

11th November.—Czech troops entered Hungary.

13th November.—Military Convention of Belgrade concluded. Serbian and Rumanian troops entered Hungary.

15th November.—King Charles renounced the direction of the Affairs of State.

The Military Convention was signed at Belgrade by the French General, the Serbian General and Mr. Linder, Károlyi's War Minister. This Convention, without the specific sanction of the Allies, superseded the Padua Treaty, transferred Hungarian territory not

only to Serbia, but also all the territory subsequently given to Rumania. French Generals at once occupied with Serbian and Rumanian troops Hungarian territory up to the lines of demarcation as defined by the Belgrade Convention.

16th November.—Republic proclaimed by Count Michael Károlyi.

19th November.—Béla Kun returned from Russia.

20th November.—The Czechs were not included in the Military Convention, but they obtained authority from Paris, and advised the Károlyi Government that Slovakia was to be annexed to Bohemia. Their troops took possession of Northern Hungary.

1st December.—Rumanians of Transylvania declared their secession from Hungary at Gyulafehérvár, the ancient capital of the Dacia Provincia of the Romans.

3rd December.—Lieut.-Col. Vyx, chief of the Allied Military Mission in Budapest, on behalf of the Supreme Council, requested the Károlyi Government to evacuate Slovakia. The evacuation was immediately carried out, and the territory was occupied by the Czechs, who took over public administration in the territories they occupied.

13th December.—Czechs gave notice to the Hungarian Government that they declined to observe the line of demarcation fixed by the Convention of Belgrade.

24th December.—Lieut.-Colonel Vyx announced new frontiers for Slovakia. Károlyi's Revolutionary Government protested that partition was not included in the Belgrade Convention.

Declaration of Autonomy for the Ruthenians in Hungary.

25th December.—Serbs occupied the peninsula formed by the rivers Drave and Mura.

27th December.—Rumania formally annexed Transylvania.

1919.

10th January.—The “Vörös Ujság” (Red News) founded.

11th January.—Count Michael Károlyi elected Provisional President of the Hungarian Republic; Berinkey Government formed.

22nd February.—Béla Kun and other Communist leaders arrested.

26th February.—Hungary's new frontiers fixed at Paris.

20th March.—Hungary's new frontiers communicated by Lieut.-Colonel Vyx.

21st March.—Hungarian Government resigned, and Count Károlyi took over power, but handed it over on the same day to a coalition of the Reds and Socialists. The Communist President was Alexander Garbai.

Béla Kun released from prison; became head of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

25th March.—Revolutionary Tribunals and Red Army created.

2nd April.—New Constitution proclaimed.

4th April.—General Smuts arrived, remaining in a special train. He received Béla Kun and other members of the Government, but after inquiring into the situation left Budapest on the following day.

20th April.—Soviet Hungary declared war on the invading armies of the Czechs, Rumanians and Serbs.

24th April.—The “Times” published the text of an Alliance between the Soviets of Hungary, the Ukraine and Russia.

May.—The Czechs began a campaign against Hungary. The Red Army took the field, and drove back the Czechs.

7th June.—The French General at Pressburg telegraphed to Paris for reinforcements.

The “Big Four” issued an Ultimatum to Béla Kun, promising provisional recognition of his Government, if he would withdraw the Red troops from Slovakia. This move was checkmated by the intrigue of the Counter-Revolutionaries.

18th June.—A second ultimatum from Paris ordered

the Red troops to stop attacking Pressburg ; otherwise French and Rumanian troops would advance on Budapest. The Hungarian loyal troops were not permitted to leave their headquarters at Szegedin.

25th June.—Declaration of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

15th July.—At Szegedin Abraham became Minister President of the Counter-Revolutionary Government in place of Károlyi.

20th July.—Offensive against Rumania.

26th July.—The Entente broke with the Government of the Soviets.

31st July.—The Rumanians marched on Budapest, which they occupied. Béla Kun and the Soviet Ministers fled. The Supreme Council made no effort to check the depredations of the Rumanian Army.

6th August.—A Government was formed by Mr. Friedrich to succeed the Soviet Government, with the Archduke Joseph as Regent.

23rd August.—Abdication of the Regent Joseph and resignation of the Friedrich Government, as the result of the hostile attitude of the Allies.

27th August.—Mr. Friedrich formed a new Cabinet.

11th October.—Rumanian troops withdrew from Hungarian territory west of the Danube.

25th October.—Sir George Clark arrived in Budapest as a delegate from the Supreme Council to form a new Government. He formed a Coalition Government, which included the Socialists.

November.—Admiral Horthy took over power.

13th November.—The Rumanian troops evacuated Budapest on the demand of the Entente. Admiral Horthy entered Budapest with Hungarian troops.

24th November.—On the resignation of Mr. Friedrich, Mr. Huszár formed a Cabinet.

2nd December.—Invitation from the Supreme Council to Hungary to send a Delegation (which left on 5th January 1920) to the Peace Conference.

1920.

25th January.—First elections for a National Assembly took place.

2nd February.—Declaration of the Entente against the return of the Hapsburgs.

16th February.—The Meeting of the National Assembly.

28th February.—Provisional Constitution accepted by the National Assembly.

1st March.—Admiral Horthy elected Regent. Resignation of Government.

15th March.—Dr. Simonyi-Semadam formed a Cabinet.

23rd March.—Admiral Horthy proclaimed the continuity of the monarchical form of government under a regency.

4th June.—Treaty of Trianon signed.

16th December.—Count Teleki formed a Cabinet.

1921.

26th March to 5th April.—First attempt by the ex-King Charles to seize the throne. His advisers said that the *fait accompli* would be recognised by France.

26th July.—Exchange of Ratifications of the Treaty of Trianon.

22nd August.—Diplomatic relations re-established with Great Britain.

29th August.—Treaty of Peace between Hungary and the U.S.A. signed (ratified by U.S.A. 18th October, by Hungary on 12th December). Ratifications exchanged 17th December.

21st October.—Second attempt by the ex-King Charles.

24th October.—Charles requested to abdicate by the Government.

29th October.—Charles declined to abdicate and

31st October.—Was handed over to the British Danube Flotilla and sent to Madeira.

4th November.—Charles deposed by Dethronement Act.

6th November.—A Bill of Dethronement of ex-King Charles passed its third reading in the Hungarian Parliament and was promulgated next day.

7th November.—The Hungarian Government, under

decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, categorically renounced the Hapsburg dynasty.

1922.

4th March.—National Assembly came to an end.

1st April.—The ex-King Charles died at Madeira.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE.

14th August 1920.—Treaty between Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia.

(20th November.—Treaty between Italy and Yugo-Slavia.)

25th April 1921.—Treaty between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania.

7th June.—Treaty between Rumania and Jugo-Slavia.

II

CENSORSHIP AND CONFISCATION OF SLOVAK AND HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS

The following list of newspapers which suffered censorship or confiscation does not pretend to be complete. Most of the examples came under the notice of the writer during his visits between October 1927 and February 1928. Several examples prior to this period are given to show that the system of censorship has been in general application and is not simply an incidental development due to Lord Rothermere's action. It has been the general practice of the Governments of Czecho-slovakia, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia since these new States, pledged to guarantee the freedom of the Press, came into being.

It is noticeable that the Czech Government has been particularly severe on the Slovak newspapers; in fact, the Slovak newspapers have suffered more from censorship under the Czechs than they ever did under the Magyars.

SLOVAK PRESS

SLOVÁK, Bratislava. (Official organ of the Slovak Catholic People's Party.)

13th December 1927.—Article by Msgr. Paul Mahacek, M.P., demanding the restitution of the sequestered property of the Catholic Church, censored by the State Attorney of Pozsony.

20th December 1927.—Article on the concordat with the Vatican censored.

1st and 8th January, 1928.—Articles censored.

9th January 1928.—Issue confiscated by the Pozsony State Attorney without enabling the paper to issue another number on that day.

10th January 1928.—Article censored.

18th January 1928.—The following passage was censored :

“ In Cleveland and Pittsburg Treaties were concluded which were accepted and signed by the two parties, including those who now refuse to acknowledge their intellectual child, and call the Treaty a scrap of paper.

“ To conclude a Treaty with a secret clause such as that which has since been disclosed . . . is characteristic of a people, but not of the Slovaks. The Slovaks did not practice duplicity ; others did. . . .”

22nd January 1928.—An article by Dr. Karol Krcméry, Vice-President of the Senate, under the title of “ Fight for the ‘ Vacuum Juris,’ ” was censored. He had written briefly that the Pan-Czechs, with the aid of Slovak mercenaries, robbed the Slovak nation of its right of self-determination, its national existence, and its daily bread.

2nd February 1928.—An article by Dr. Senicky was censored, in which he described how immediately after the overthrow in 1918 the Czechs commenced to denationalize and re-name Slovakia ; how they superseded the existing Slovak “ middle ” school

teachers by Czechs, who were mostly uneducated, and some of whom had been servants; and how they had filled Bratislava University with Czech professors, so that now in the tenth year it has only two Slovak professors.

5th February 1928.—The following passages in an article on roads were censored:

“We must know that the Czechs with their avaricious rationalistic mentality strive to exploit everything in their own interests.”

“We must remember that experience up to now has taught us that the Czechs cannot be trusted. They lack the necessary qualities.”

14th February 1928.—A passage in an article on Deputy Dérer (Social Democrat) was censored, which said:

“The twenty-three deputies and 12 senators of the Slovak People’s Party did everything in their power to ensure that the promises given by Dr. Markovic on 27th February 1920 should be kept. It will depend solely on our opponents whether this Treaty with the Czechs is carried out quietly, and without conflicts and sanguinary demonstrations.”

19th February 1928.—Part of article entitled “*Historia domu.*”

THE SLOVAK CALENDAR, the official publication of the Slovak People’s Party, was confiscated on its appearance on 1st January 1928 after it had been distributed to the booksellers. The police seized the copies and tore out an article by Father Hlinka, the leader of the party. All the copies were returned and the Calendar was not reprinted.

In an address to the Slovaks in the United States in 1926 Father Hlinka complained of the persecution of the Slovak Press, and said that “up to 1st January 1924, 26 issues of the ‘Slovák’ had been confiscated and 715 articles suppressed. More than 250,000 copies of the paper were confiscated, causing a loss

to the publishers of 200,000 crowns. Prior to 1922 censorship had been in force, and we thought that after it was abolished we should be able to move more freely, but, as we see, the exact contrary has happened. The censor deletes from our paper even articles which we reprint from the Czech papers."

Although of less recent occurrence, the following protest made by Father Hlinka in the Czech Parliament on 22nd November 1923, as recorded by the "Hradó," 27th November 1923, merits notice:

"The 'Slovák' was again confiscated last night at the order of the Attorney General. Speaking yesterday in Parliament, Father Hlinka declared—with reference to the very frequent confiscation of the 'Slovák'—that during the two weeks prior to the elections it was impossible to publish that paper, because it was financially strangled. But the Slovak nation stood up for its newspaper and collections were opened. At Brezova a poor man (named Jozef Lukács) was fined fifty crowns for daring to collect for the 'Slovák.' We may be happy if the paper is not confiscated more than four times a week. I am obliged to write my articles in Czech papers, in order to avoid the censorship. I wish the Czech public to know the position with regard to our liberty of the Press. Whatever one may say, we are not free men, but slaves."

SLOVÁK TYZDENNIK.

1st January 1928.—An article by Deputy Paul Machacek, General Secretary of the Slovak People's Party, was censored, in which he stated that the Slovak nation in the tenth year of its freedom was prostrate, and called the Czechs, who are responsible, to account.

5th February 1928.—An article by Deputy Paul Machacek, on discontent in Slovakia, was censored. This article asked whether the unemployed, those who had not received the land that had been promised them, and others, were satisfied. "Not

only these," the article said, "but everyone else agrees with Dr. Pluthar's statement in Otto's Business Encyclopædia that Slovakia is a Czech colony." (The reference reads: 'Slovakia will be our colony. It is a mistake to suppose that a colony cannot be contiguous to the mother-country; take for example Russia and Siberia.')

8th January 1928.—An article by Deputy Paul Machacek was censored, in which he wrote that the Slovak nation was on the rack, and that the Czechs had befooled them from the first by saying that they must not claim their rights, since by doing so they would injure the reputation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic in the eyes of foreign countries.

12th February 1928.—An article by Deputy Paul Machacek dealing with the concordat with the Holy See was censored, in which reference was made to the Hussite invasion by the Czechs five hundred years ago. In endeavouring to turn the Slovaks from the Church the Czechs had used fire and sword; thousands of Slovaks had been killed, but they had remained true to the Church. Now the Czechs came with new methods; they came in the guise of brothers; they were attempting to banish religion from the schools, and to mislead the Slovaks by literature and catchwords; but the Slovaks had not surrendered in the past, and would not do so in the future.

AUTONOMIA, a Slovak paper published at Bratislava.

5th February 1928.

12th February 1928

SLOVENSKÉ LUDOVÉ NOVINY, Bratislava, weekly.

28th October.—Censored on two pages.

10th February 1928.—An article by A. Mach on the national and economic needs of the Slovaks was censored, in which he says that the Slovaks are entitled to decide what is best for them and to endeavour to attain it.

SLOVENSKA PRAVDA, Kassa, weekly.

23rd October 1927.—Patchy black and white front page.

4th December 1927.—One-third first page blank.

HLAS SLOVENSKYCH-ZELEZNICAROV of Zilina, weekly, the official organ of the "Sväzu Slovenskych Zelezniciarov."

15th November 1927.

RODOBRANA, Bratislava, monthly.

23rd December 1927.

The above papers all support the Slovak People's Party.

CESKE-SLOVO.

8th December 1927.—Censored by the Prague State Attorney, for having published an article on the censorship.

RUDÉ PRÁVO (Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party organ, Prague).

30th December 1927.—Article on the agreement with the Vatican censored. Even the headline of this article was suppressed by the censorship.

3rd January, 4th January, 1928.—Leading article censored in three places, article on land reform in two places, short notices in three places.

6th January 1928.—Censored in two places.

HUNGARIAN PRESS

I have a list of confiscations of newspapers which took place in Bratislava from 7th November 1923 to the present time. Recently the "Magyar Néplap," the organ of the Hungarian Christian Socialist Party was confiscated on the following dates: 1927—3rd April, 24th April, 31st July, 7th August, 21st August, 9th October, 16th October.

"Ruszinszkói Magyar Gazda," 16th October 1927.

"Ludova Politika."

A NÉP, a Hungarian weekly, published at Kassa:

11th September 1927.—Passage deleted from an

article by Deputy Fedor (German Agrarian Party). The censored passage referred to the betrayal of Slovakian autonomy by Father Hlinka.

18th September 1927.—Portion of an article dealing with Lord Rothermere's action deleted. The trend of the censored passage was, "Present-day European conditions constitute a permanent danger to peace."

30th September 1927.—Two paragraphs deleted from an article entitled "The Teachings of the Communal Elections," which referred to the Czech influences.

15th January 1928.—Article deleted reporting the arrest by the Czecho-Slovak police of a seventeen year old student, named Zoltán Wolf, on a charge of wearing a Hungarian patriotic badge, and reproducing a telegram of protest sent by Deputy Fedor (German Agrarian Party) to the Minister of Justice.

HATARSZELI UJSÁG, Hungarian weekly, published at Ungvár :

29th January 1928.—Passage deleted from a report that services at the Greek Catholic Church at Budapest would be broadcast. The censored passage contained the words: "One can, however, imagine what gratification will also be experienced by Greek Catholics living beyond the frontiers of Trianon."

MAGYAR UJSÁG :

9th February 1928.—Passage deleted from an article dealing with the annulment of the Parliamentary mandates of Deputies Mayer and Hanreich, of the German farmers' Agrarian Party. Sub-title, "Senator Joseph Törökly, President of the Hungarian Nationalist Party, describes the decision of the Court as 'justice murdered,'" also deleted.

18th February 1928.—A Report that according to Czech Government newspapers the Hungarian Frontier Revision League, of Budapest, had issued a book in the English language, entitled, "The Position of the Minorities in Ruthenia," deleted.

In the early days of the Republic a great many Hungarian newspapers were suppressed. The following

received their death sentence : " Déli Ujság " (Ungvár) ; " Eperjesi Lapok " (Eperjes) ; " Esti Ujság " (Kassa) ; " Magyar Kalász " (Rimaszombat) ; " Rozsnyó és Vidéke " (Rozsnyó) ; " Szepesi Ertesítő " (Löcse) ; " Szepesi Lapok " (Igló) ; " Ungvári Közlöny " (Ungvár).

German Press.

Papers in the German language also take their turn in censorship. The German paper in Prague, " Bohemia," was censored on the 4th December 1927 because it reprinted an article of mine from the " Daily Mail " dealing with the censorship. Dr. Roche, a German Deputy, a few days later read the article in Parliament and newspapers reprinted it as part of his speech. " Bohemia " was again censored on the day following the publication of the article.

Czech Press.

" Robotnicki Noviny."

Even papers which usually support the Government occasionally come under the censorial scissors, when in a fit of aberration they presume to criticise the Government policy. Nearly each daily paper has had to take its turn in confiscation. The following papers, which usually support the Government, have been victimised : " A. Reggell," " Ludova Politika," " Narodni Dennik," " Robotnicki Noviny," " Slovensky Dennik," " Slovenská Politika."

As an erratic example of censorship, the parochial diary of the parish of Nécpal, in Slovakia, may be quoted. The passage deleted said that (at the end of October 1918) the incumbent, the Rev. Jur Koza Matejov, who kept the diary, called on M. Medvecký, the Secretary of the Slovak National Council, who said with regard to the Slovak terms to the Czechs : " To-day we stand together in order to secure by common effort liberty and a future. This is necessary, because we are in a period of transition. This period, however, must not last more than 5-10 years, after which we (the Slovaks), the Czechs, and the Moravians will discuss as equals the conditions on which

we will thenceforth live with them." This Medvecky had often mentioned, and the Rev. Matejov had agreed; he had asked only that religion should be shielded, which Medvecky had promised.

I have also made a collection of newspapers in the Magyar and German languages which have been censored in Rumania and Jugo-Slavia. Censorship is more erratic in these countries, and newspaper enterprise, if anything, more precarious than in Czecho-Slovakia. In the case of Rumania a large part of the country inhabited by Hungarians is still under martial law. The Jugo-Slavs have never made any particular pretence of respecting the freedom of the Press.

III

SLOVAKS AND LORD ROTHERMERE

The "Hlas Slovenskych Zelezniciarov," a Slovak paper published at Zilina, devoted the first page of its issue of 15th November 1927 to an article on "Who are the helpers of Rothermere?" but the public only saw a white space. The article was completely censored. The following are salient points from it:

"In the front rank of these helpers are the Czechs themselves. So long as Prague persists in treating us in the wicked stepmother fashion she assumes towards us, it is quite impossible for we Slovaks to enjoy our 'freedom.'"

The writer continued:

"Were it but possible for me to get there, I would walk straight up to the table of Svehla (the Prime Minister). I would strike it with my heavy Slovakian fist, and say: 'You blind and foolish people! What is it that you intend to do with Slovakia? Is our land but a Czech colony, or is it an integral part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic? Either the Czechs are

treating us according to a preconceived plan, or they are just acting from day to day as the idea occurs to them, either of which methods having but one aim—the suppression of Slovakia. It is the one or the other. Slovakia and the Slovaks are almost completely suppressed. It is quite impossible for us to continue as a nation under this appalling yoke very much longer.

“We can thank God that He has endowed our people with the virtue of very great patience, but we cannot say how much longer that gift of patience will last and then the spirit of impatience will reign in its stead. When that happens the Republic will have to face great danger.”

The writer went on to say :

“We do not want to engage in higher politics. We want only deeds. Up to now we have sought for these deeds of justice towards us in vain. What has been done to help Slovakia? Nothing. For one thing, Slovakia was to be administered solely by Slovaks. Svehla said, on the entry of the Slovak People’s Party into the Government (January 1927) that every Czech official then engaged in Slovakia who had not learnt Slovak within six months should be relieved of his post. What has happened? Nothing at all. Everything is as it was before the Slovak People’s Party entered the Government.

“Let us take the railway officials, for instance. At the present moment the entire railway staffs in Slovakia and Ruthenia are Czech. At the offices of the railway in Bratislava and in Kassa the administrative language is Czech. All the notices, etc., issued for the use of the employees and passengers are in Czech. Such few employees who are still Slovak have to struggle with Czech instructions, Czech inspectors, Czech higher officials, etc.

“When we raise our voices in complaint, our ‘Czech brothers’ immediately regard us as ‘un-

reliable'; they say that we are a 'dangerous element with regard to the safety of the Republic.'

"And then, when at long last some of our woes have reached foreign countries and a champion arises, we are forced to 'agitate' against Rothermere. Our country and our existence is not a circus.

"Our 'Czech brothers' label us as 'unreliable Magyarones,' try to place us with our backs against the wall; they alone are the cause that foreign countries are interesting themselves in us—and then they expect us to shout them down.

"This is absurd. And we will not do it."

IV

EXAMPLES OF LAND REFORM IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

In the following cases the local inhabitants, who were mainly Hungarians, received no land from the confiscated estates, which were divided between Czech and Slovak colonists:

The values and compensation amounts given apply per Joch. The compensation rates refer only to the amounts fixed; they have not yet been paid.

Estate of Countess Béla Pálffy, Tönye, county Pozsony: Population 412, of whom 410 Hungarians; 600 Jochs confiscated and given exclusively to Slovak and Czech colonists. Market value of land 6,500 crowns per Joch; compensation fixed at 600 crowns per Joch.

Estate of J. G. Pucher, Várkony, county Pozsony: Population 989, of whom 867 Hungarians; 338 Jochs confiscated and given to Czech colonists. Market value, 2,500 crowns per Joch; compensation 540 crowns.

Estate of Count Albert Apponyi, Eberhard and Fél, county Pozsony: Population 2,409, of whom 2,256 Hungarians; 4,000 Jochs confiscated and given in part

to colonists and in part to a Slovak engineer. Market value, 2,500 crowns; compensation, 540 crowns.

Estate of Count Aladár Bethlen, county Pozsony: Population 2,389, of whom 2,295 Hungarians; 2,500 Jochs confiscated and given to Czechs and Slovaks.

Estate of Baroness Géza Ferjérváry, county Komárom: Population 1,431, of whom 1,292 Hungarians; 143 Jochs confiscated and given to Slovak and Czech colonists. Market value 3,500 crowns; compensation 760 crowns.

Estate of Géza Baranyay, county Komárom: Population 986, of whom 980 Hungarians; 616 Jochs confiscated and given to Slovak colonists from America, Jugo-Slavia, and Northern Slovakia.

Estate of Baron Adolph Béla Ullmann, county Komárom: Population 880, of whom 827 Hungarians; 900 Jochs confiscated and given to Slovak colonists.

Estate of Count Alexander Kálnoky, county Komárom: Local population 1,763, of whom 1,515 Hungarians; 1,825 Jochs confiscated and given to Slovak colonists from America. Market value 4,500 crowns; compensation 884 crowns.

Estate of Prince Nicholas Pálffy, at Bény, county Komárom: Local population 1,655, of whom 1,561 Hungarians; 1,350 Jochs confiscated and given to Czech colonists.

Estate of Countess Maria Eszterházy-Cerezetto, county Nyitra: Local population 2,489, of whom 2,390 Hungarians; 1,042 Jochs confiscated and given to Czechs and Slovaks from Jugo-Slavia; two residue estates formed and given to Czechs, one of whom was a relative of Dr. Holubek, ex-Vice-President of the Land Office. Market value 9,000 crowns; compensation 3,200 crowns.

In the following cases the land was divided among the local inhabitants, who were mainly Slovaks:

Estate of Count Louis Károlyi, county Pozsony: Local population 15,633, of whom 133 Hungarians; 4,400 Jochs confiscated and given to local inhabitants.

Estate of Princess Eszterházy, county Pozsony : Local population 1,357, of whom 795 Hungarians ; 500 Jochs confiscated, and allotted. Hungarian inhabitants received nothing.

Estate of Maria Boronkay, county Hont : Local population 2,538, of whom 58 Hungarians ; 604 Jochs confiscated, and 304 Jochs given to local Slovaks ; balance not yet allotted. Market value 4,000 crowns ; compensation 520 crowns.

Estate of George, Rosa and Charlotte Kondor, county Hont : Local population 272, of whom 20 Hungarians ; 71 Jochs confiscated and allotted. Local Hungarians received nothing. Market value 8,000 crowns ; compensation 600 crowns.

Estate of Mrs. Irma Pongrácz, county Nyitra : Local population 2,737, of whom 170 Hungarians ; 62 Jochs confiscated and given to local Slovaks. Market value 9,000 crowns ; compensation 970 crowns.

Estate of Dr. George Szirányi, county Nyitra : Local population 2,737, of whom 170 Hungarians ; 81 Jochs confiscated and given to local Slovaks. Market value 9,000 crowns ; compensation 970 crowns.

Estate of Ernst Wagner, county Nyitra : Local population 1,662, of whom 145 Hungarians ; 388 Jochs confiscated and given to local Slovaks. Market value 9,000 crowns ; compensation 820 crowns.

Estate of Mrs. Eugenia Dóra, county Nyitra : Local population 2,737, of whom 170 Hungarians ; 335 Jochs confiscated and given to local Slovaks.

Estate of Maria Boronkay, county Nyitra : Local population 1,453, of whom 450 Hungarians ; 613 Jochs confiscated ; 530 Jochs given to local Slovaks ; balance not yet allotted. Market value 5,000 crowns ; compensation 960 crowns.

Estate of Sergius Dóra, county Bars : Local population 2,707, of whom 523 Hungarians ; 1750 Jochs confiscated and given to local Slovaks. Market value 14,500 crowns ; compensation 1,474 crowns.

In the following cases, where land was given to local inhabitants, none was given to Hungarians, although they were in a large majority :

Estate of Baron Ladislaus Guttmann von Gelse, county Komárom : Local population 534, of whom 457 Hungarians ; 1,834 Jochs confiscated, and 1,376 divided among local Slovaks ; Hungarian residents received nothing, although they are in a majority in this case. Market value 5,500 crowns ; land sold at 2,750 crowns ; owner offered 859 crowns compensation.

Estate of Messrs. Schnabel and Kestler, county Komárom : Local population 8,190, of whom 7,369 Hungarians ; 899 Jochs confiscated and given exclusively to Slovaks, 240 Jochs to residents, and 659 to colonists. Here also Hungarians were in a majority, but received no land. Market value 3,750 crowns ; compensation 875 crowns.

In the following cases, where Hungarians received land, the amounts allotted to them were disproportionately small :

Estate of the late Count Louis Benyovszky, county Pozsony : Local population 1,474, of whom 1,293 were Hungarians ; 1,512 Jochs confiscated ; 15 Jochs given to local inhabitants, and 1,497 to colonists, who were almost exclusively Czechs or Slovaks.

Estate of Countess Maria Eszterházy-Cerezetto, county Pozsony : Local population 3,275, of whom 3,176 Hungarians ; 577 Jochs confiscated ; 56 Jochs given to local inhabitants, and 521 Jochs to colonists, who were Czechs and Slovaks from Jugo-Slavia. Market value 11,000 crowns ; compensation 3,200 crowns. (Rate of compensation comparatively high because husband of owner is an Italian.)

Estate of Count Michael Eszterházy, county Pozsony : Local population 7,036, of whom 5,140 Hungarians ; 2,100 Jochs confiscated ; 250 Jochs given to local inhabitants, and 1,850 Jochs to Czech and Slovak

colonists, and as residue estates to Czechs and Slovaks. Market value 7,000 crowns; compensation 950 crowns.

Estate of Countess Ludmilla Zamoyska, counties of Pozsony and Nyitra: Local populations 9,277, of whom 3,161 Hungarians; 2,773 Jochs confiscated; 893 Jochs given to local inhabitants, of which Slovaks received 823 Jochs; 531 Jochs divided as residue estates between four Slovaks. Market value 9,500 crowns; compensation 800 crowns.

Estate of Gustavus Láng, county Komárom: Local population 1,078, of whom 1,029 Hungarians; only 75 Jochs have been allotted hitherto, and this land has been given to residents. Market value 3,000 crowns; compensation 600 crowns.

Estate of Stephen Kürthy, county Komárom: Local population 1,692, of whom 1,323 Hungarians; 553 Jochs confiscated; hitherto 163 Jochs have been allotted, one-tenth to Hungarians who joined the Czech Agrarian Party. Market value 4,000 crowns; compensation 470 crowns.

Estate of Stephen Jaross, county Komárom: Local population 579, of whom 266 Hungarians; 260 Jochs confiscated and given to local inhabitants, mostly to Slovaks. Market value 4,000 crowns; compensation 550 crowns.

Estate of Ladislaus Ivánka, county Hont: Local population 2,399, of whom 1,777 Hungarians; 607 Jochs confiscated; part of this was given to Slovaks as freehold property, and part leased to Hungarians. Market value 3,500 crowns; compensation 600 crowns.

Estate of the late Baron Maximilian Berg, county Hont: Local population 1,763, of whom 1,323 Hungarians; 2,334 Jochs confiscated and given to local inhabitants, both Slovak and Hungarian; the former received on an average 10-15 Jochs, the latter 1-3 Jochs. Market value 5,000 crowns; compensation 337 crowns.

Estate of Joseph Kondor, county Hont: Local population 1,154, of whom 1,082 Hungarians; 90 Jochs

confiscated and given to residents. Market value 12,000 crowns; compensation 550 crowns.

Estate of Isidor Hirschfeld, county Hont: Local population 504, of whom 503 Hungarians; 232 Jochs confiscated and given to residents. Market value 6,000 crowns; compensation 340 crowns.

The following estates were sold in their entirety at the instance of the Land Office to Czechs or Slovaks; the local population in each case was almost purely Hungarian:

Estate of Countess Adela Pálffy, county Pozsony: Local population 1,576, of whom 1,527 Hungarians; 1,700 Jochs transferred to two persons, of whom one was the Zupán of Nyitra. Market value 6,500 crowns; sale price 1,058 crowns.

Estate of Count Joseph William Pálffy-Daun, county Pozsony: Local population 1,576, of whom 1,527 Hungarians; 1,600 Jochs transferred to Joseph Bellay, Town Clerk at Pressburg, and ex-Zupán of the county of Trencsén. Market value 4,000 crowns; sale price 1,250 crowns.

V

CANCELLATION OF CITIZENSHIP AND EXPULSION

EXAMPLES

ARCHBISHOP ANTON PAPP, of the Greek Catholic Church. Resident at Ungvár from 1896, and paid taxes since 1904. His domicile was cancelled because the authorities were dissatisfied with his politics. The Hungarian authorities refused to accept him as a citizen. He was put over the frontier by force.

REV. ERNEST HELLER of Nagyszöllös, a Roman Catholic

priest, and Rev. EMERICH SIPOS of Csepe, clergyman of the Reformed Church, were charged with irredentism and expelled without hearing.

ALEXANDER PILISY of Nagyszöllös and his wife were in State service as elementary school teachers for forty years, and residents of the town since 1884, and paid taxes since 1895. They were discharged in 1920, and received no pension. An appeal to the Administrative Tribunal for recognition of their citizenship was rejected.

A precisely similar case is that of JOHN SPOLARISCH, another school teacher of the same town, where he lived for forty years and paid taxes.

JOSEPH DAVID of Munkács, born in 1848, employed in a tobacco factory. The commune of Zsofiafalva acknowledged his domicile, but the District Judge annulled the decision.

DR. KALMÁN NÁGY.—Was in charge of the hospital at Nagyszöllös, and was admitted to citizenship of the commune in 1909. His Czech citizenship was cancelled, and he was discharged from the hospital. An appeal was pending for six years.

The case of deputy Dr. ANDREW KORLÁTH of Ungvár is notorious. His citizenship is not recognized; it is stated on his passport to be "disputable." His passport is only issued for periods of three months. His family have lived in the commune of Korláthelmec since 1556, and founded and built the Reformed Church in the commune. He is a prominent member of Parliament. He has served several terms of imprisonment. On one occasion he was one of several, including a lady, who were imprisoned for singing the Hungarian National Anthem in church. He was liberated before the lady, whom he met on her release and presented with a bouquet, for which act of gallantry he was again incarcerated. Perhaps the flowers were red, white, and green.

ALEXANDER KABAI, ex-Postmaster of Tiszaujlak. Appointed an official of the Czecho-Slovak Republic on 5th June 1920. His pension was withdrawn without

formality and without hearing. His citizenship and domicile were annulled; he was deported.

MARGIT ZHORZKY, school teacher of Nagyszöllös. An application made years ago to the Ministry of the Interior is still unsettled. She receives no pension, has not left her house for years, and lives in pitiable circumstances.

SIGMUND FODOR, day worker, resided at Nagyszöllös since 1882 without interruption. As a workman he paid no taxes. His domicile and citizenship were not recognized and he was deported. No State has accepted him as a citizen.

Mrs. TELEHAZY, widow of a colonel. She receives no pension, although the commune of Nagybocksó, where her husband was born, recognized his citizenship. For eight years her case has been before the local and district authorities. She has furnished six copies of her baptismal certificate. Through the eight years of procrastination she has been compelled to sell her house at Tiszaujlak and a vineyard at Nagyszöllös in order to maintain herself, and has finally been reduced to abject poverty.

Dr. KÖRMENDY-EKES, Member of Parliament.—It was not discovered that Dr. Lajos Körmendy-Ekes, of Kassa, was not a Czecho-Slovak citizen until he had been a member of the Czecho-Slovak Parliament for three and a half years. He had lived in the territory of the Czecho-Slovak Republic since the age of nine years, had lived at Kassa continuously for twenty-six years, was a house owner, and taxpayer, and had for twenty years been a high official of the city. He was the leader of the Hungarian Party in the first Czecho-Slovak Parliament, which was elected in 1920.

When, in 1919, the Czech authorities demanded the production of domicile certificates, which under Hungary had only been required if a person wished to claim poor relief, Dr. Ekes obtained such a certificate from the city of Kassa. In 1921, a further certificate was issued,

certifying his domicile in the city from 1907, and this was confirmed in the following year.

In 1924 the Plenipotentiary Minister for Slovakia annulled these certificates, on the grounds that Dr. Ekes had been born in the territory of the present Hungary, had never been expressly admitted as a burgess of any place in Czecho-Slovakia, and was consequently a foreigner. The action of the city of Kassa in admitting a foreigner to burgess rights was *ultra vires*, and was accordingly annulled. Dr. Ekes appealed to the Supreme Administrative Tribunal, which in 1925 rejected his appeal. Meanwhile, the police had in 1924 ordered him to apply for his passport, so that he had been obliged to leave the country.

The law of 1886, regulating domicile, states that domicile in a new commune is obtained automatically after four years' residence, provided that the person has paid taxes and suffers under no legal disability. The Supreme Administrative Tribunal has interpreted this arbitrarily as implying only that the person may be admitted after four years' residence, but that an express act of admission is necessary.

Another notorious case is that of STEPHEN MERSE of Szinye, an acting Privy Councillor and superannuated County Lieutenant, who was born in 1862 of a family prominent in the affairs of the county of Sáros, where they had lived uninterruptedly for 660 years. From 1884, when he became an official of the county of Sáros, Merse resided at Eperjes, until 1922. As an official, four years' residence alone constituted domicile; in addition to this, he had been a member of the Eperjes City Council for more than twenty years, up till 1918, and had paid local taxes. Nevertheless, the Czech authorities annulled his domicile on the ground that he had never paid municipal taxes, although the same authorities had previously confirmed it on several occasions. In consequence he was compelled to emigrate. There was also a difference of pension due to him. The Finance Department fixed the amount

at 9,198 crowns, but refused to pay it, as he was not a Czech citizen. The Supreme Court upheld Merse's appeal for payment, but the money has not been paid, and Merse has been mulcted in expenses amounting to several thousand crowns.

(TRANSLATION FROM CZECH)

The City of EPERJES.

The Comitát of Sáros.
No. 5984 adm./1921.

DOMICILE CERTIFICATE

The City of Eperjes certifies that Stephen Szinyei-Merse of Eperjes, pensioned County Lieutenant, born on 9th January 1862 at Jarovnice in the Comitát of Sáros, has in accordance with decision No. 5984/1921 adm. of 29th October 1921 of the City Council possessed domicile rights in this city under Para. 10 of Statute No. XXII of 1886 since 1st January 1888, rights which he also possessed at the time he was superannuated.

This certificate is issued in connection with the sanction of an increase pension, and has validity until 31st December 1922.

EPERJES, 29th October 1921.

(Sd.) SZINYEI-MERSE ISTVAN.
L.S.

(Sd.) EMIL HREBLAY,
Burgomaster.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF EPERJES

Ref. 5984/1-1921 adm.

In re the revision of the domicile rights of Stephen Szinyei-Merse.

In accordance with decision No. 17.223/1921. adm. I, and in accordance with Decree No. 13.989/ai.1921.adm.I, issued by the Plenipotentiary Minister for the Administration of Slovakia, the City Council has recently deliberated on the domicile rights of Stephen Szinyei-Merse of Eperjes, pensioned County Lieutenant, born on 9th January 1862 at Jarovnice in the Comitát of Sáros, and has passed the following resolution :

The City Council annuls domicile certificate No. 5984/1921 issued on 29th October 1921, and rejects the application made by Stephen Szinyei-Merse under Para. 10 of Statute No. XXII of 1886 for the recognition of his domicile, for the reason that the official investigation has shown that the applicant did not contribute to the financial burdens of the Commune during the time of his residence in Eperjes.

Notification to be forwarded to :

1. Stephen Szinyei-Merse,
2. The City High Sheriff at Eperjes,
3. The Plenipotentiary Minister of the Czecho-Slovak Republic for the Administration of Slovakia at Pressburg, together with the official minute.

Given at EPERJES, this 16th December 1921, by the Municipal Council in session.

(Sd.) EMIL HREBLAY,
Burgomaster.

L.S.

General Finance Administration
for
SLOVAKIA.

Ref. 197,732/XVIII-22.

M. Stephen Szinyei-Merse,
Ex-County Lieutenant (*Pensioned C.L.*),
Budapest.

PRESSBURG,
28th December 1922.

VII. Elemér Gasse 16.III.27

In reply to your communication of 13th September 1922, we have to inform you that you have no title to the supplementary payment of 9,198 crowns, because you have not proved that you are a Czech citizen and the payment is only due to Czech citizens. The view advanced by you that you were only officially deprived of your citizenship on 10th January 1922 is incorrect, because the relevant decision applies *ex tunc*, which proves that you have never possessed citizenship in Eperjes.

(Sd.) DR. BRACHTL
President.

Note: *István* is the Hungarian form of *Stephen*.

VI

ILLEGAL TREATMENT OF HUNGARIAN CITIZENS

Cases were brought to my notice of the tyrannical and illegal conduct of the Czech Government towards Hungarians visiting Czecho-Slovakia. The following are examples of the way in which Minority rights, guaranteed by Treaty, are broken.

Mr. Fred Grueneberg, a Hungarian living in Budapest, visited on the 14th December 1927 Pozsony (Bratislava), the town of his birth, for the re-burial of his father. After the funeral he was arrested and put in prison. Next day he was charged with having committed thirty-seven political murders on Czech citizens and with espionage. He protested: he was a Hungarian citizen. His request to see the Hungarian Consul was refused. He was cross-examined for two days, then put back to prison, again cross-examined and charged with having ordered

the execution of two Czechs in 1919, and again with espionage. The names of the two executed Czechs could not be found and the one witness produced by the police had to withdraw his statements before the judge. Mr. Grueneberg, however, was kept in prison until the 29th December, when the State Attorney ordered his release. He was re-arrested and imprisoned by order of the police president, Dr. Slavicek, and against the written orders of the State Attorney, for three days without any charge having been made against him. He was released on the 1st January 1928 and deported.

Mr. Grueneberg was an officer in the Hungarian army and was stationed at Pozsony in November 1918. He took part in suppressing the Communist revolution in Budapest in 1919. The charges against him of espionage and of murdering Czech citizens were trumped up. Mr. Grueneberg will not receive any redress for the outrage committed upon him against gross infringement of Treaty rights.

All Hungarian citizens are liable to be held up by Czechs on the journey from Budapest to Vienna. Under the Treaty of Trianon the main line between Vienna and Budapest has been included in Czech territory so as to give the Czechs a firmer grip on Hungarian communications.

In November 1927 Mr. Charles Wolff, the leader of the Christian Social Party in the Hungarian Parliament, a leader of the majority in the City Council of Budapest, was refused a visa by the Czech authorities to travel to London by the Orient Express. His visit to London was in connection with a loan for the city of Budapest. He was held up for three weeks before permission was granted, and a detective was posted outside the door of his carriage while passing through Czech territory. Dr. Charles Wolff's family were resident in Slovakia for over six hundred years. He has property in that province, but has not been allowed to visit it for over five years.

Another case of penalising methods of the Czech authorities was brought to my notice. Deputy Kurtyak, a Ruthenian, and a member of the Czech Parliament, who is in sympathy with Hungary, was declined a passport to visit England. He could not attend a conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in London.

THE STUDENT AND THE CRIMINAL BADGE

Zoltán Wolf, a seventeen year old student, left Debrecen, in Hungary, on 23rd December 1927, to spend Christmas with his parents at Gelnica, in Slovakia. He was arrested at the frontier because he was wearing in his coat a student's patriotic badge, which he naturally thought was an innocent decoration. He was taken to Kassa and imprisoned. No specific charge was made against him. The youth was of German race, his mother language was German, but he was a student in Hungary. Two senators in the Prague Parliament appealed to the Minister of Justice to release young Wolf, or at any rate let him stay with his parents until his case came before the Courts. This appeal was refused. Senator Nicholas Fedor pointed out that it was not in the interest of the Czecho-Slovak Government to martyrise this young man: his arrest was illegal and his detention only caused irritation. Such action made for bitterness, and on humanitarian, as well as legal grounds, he should be set at liberty until it was proved he had committed some offence.

Wolf was condemned to ten months' imprisonment. He appealed against the sentence, but his appeal failed, and he is doing time in a Czech prison. The report of his case, which should have appeared in the Kassa "A Nép" of 15th January 1928, was deleted by the censor.

It is surmised that the frontier spies had been short of victims lately and Zoltán Wolf fell into their arms—a hostage to espionage. It was also suspected by the police that he was the son of Dr. Charles Wolff, the Hungarian political leader. He was not, he is a German.

VII

CZECHO-SLOVAK ADMINISTRATIVE
REFORM

Statute No. 125 of 14th July 1927

THE ACT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF
CENTRALIZATION

1. The preamble of the new Law says :

“Where reference is made in the Gau Law or in any other law to the Gaus, Zupans, Gau-Authorities, Gau-Councils, Gau-Committees or Gau-Senates established under the Gau Law, their places, so far as nothing is contained in this Act to the contrary, are taken by the Provinces, Provincial Presidents, Provincial Authorities, Provincial Councils, Provincial Committees, and Provincial Senates; where reference is made to special Committees (Commissions) in accordance with Para. 28 of the Gau Law, their places are taken by the Provincial Commissions. Where other laws refer to Provincial Gau Associations or their officials their places are taken by the provinces or their corresponding officials or departments.”

2. Part 2, 1, 9 (1), says : “the Gaus in Slovakia and Ruthenia are dissolved The property and funds together with claims and liabilities of the Gaus in Slovakia are transferred to the Province of Slovakia.”

Part 2, 1, 9 (3), says : “In the same way all authorities and offices whose functions are transferred to authorities

to be established under this Law (Paras. 4 and 5) are abolished. (Note: The substance of Para. 5, so far as it concerns Slovakia and Ruthenia, is given under 3 below.)

3. Part 2, 1, 5, says that the Provincial Authorities carry out the internal administration and exercise the rights hitherto appertaining, in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to . . . in Slovakia to the Gau Authorities, Zupans, Gau Councils, and Gau Committees; and in Ruthenia to the Civil Administration, the Comitatus Authorities and their Boards, together with such special functions as are assigned to Gau Authorities or Zupans.

PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

4. Part 2, iv, 1, 30 (1), says that the Provincial Councils are competent to deal with administrative and economic matters affecting the province and its inhabitants, especially (iv, 1, 30 (2)) their humanitarian, hygienic, social, economic, and cultural interests, and the maintenance of communications.

Part 2, iv, 2, 56a, says that they may issue detailed instructions for the carrying out of laws passed by the central Government, so far as the said laws give sanction hereto.

Part 2, iv, 1, 30 (2), says that the Provincial Councils may not put motions on political matters in political debates, nor pass resolutions thereon.

Part 2, iv, 2, 60 (1) invests the President of the province with a veto on any resolution passed by the Provincial Council, Committee, or Commission, which he considers contrary to law or beyond the competence of the Council or other body concerned.

Part 2, iv, 2, 57, says that measures passed by the Provincial Councils require the confirmation of the Ministry of the Interior, which, however, may be assumed if no notification to the contrary is given within three months.

DISTRICT COUNCILS

5. The District (the next territorial division superior to the commune) also elects a Council, which, however, is only competent to deal with local economic affairs, and only then so far as they do not belong to the competence of the Provincial Council. (Part 2, vi, 1, 75 (1).)

Note : When this measure was introduced the Czechs defended it by appealing to the expense of the Gau or County system. The foregoing digest is taken from the official German text.

VIII

JUGO-SLAVIA

The following table, taken from the Jugo-Slav newspaper, the "Yugo-Slavski Lloyd," shows the disparity between the land taxation scales in old Serbia and in the former Hungarian territory.

Hectares	Old tax	New tax	Increase or Decrease
3	103.18	54	—40
5	172.07	105	—72
10	344	225	—119
FORMER HUNGARIAN TERRITORY			
3	208	297	89
5	341	561	220
10	674	1320	646

IX

FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE
PEACE TREATIES AFFECTING THE
SUCCESSION STATES

The Treaties contain financial clauses affecting all the Succession States, including Hungary and Austria, which have remained almost entirely inoperative. The

representatives of "the Allied and Associated Powers" who signed declarations and agreements on the subject left a legacy full of intricacies, complications, and apparent incoherencies that no one has been able to unravel, and Conventions, Protocols and Agreements have failed to clear up and put in force.

There is the question of contribution to the cost of liberating the territories of the old monarchy, which was to be met by the issue of Liberation Bonds to the Reparation Commission, and there are—set-offs as it were—sums due for reparations for the countries whose armies fought on the side of the Allies. This may not apply to Czecho-Slovakia—although she claims reparations and also damages for the Béla Kun invasion—which is debited with £30,000,000 payable in Liberation Bonds, but has not yet issued them.

Next come payments due on reparation account for Government owned property—railways, public works, forests, etc.—which passed automatically into the possession of the New States, and also the castles, domains and property of members of the royal family. Czecho-Slovakia obtained the lion's share of these valuable assets, but has not yet issued bonds for them nor have they yet been valued. The most complicated and almost chaotic problem of all is probably the assignment and valorisation of the pre-war public debts—set out in detail in the Peace Treaties, and regulated by the Innsbruck Protocol of 1923 and the Prague Convention of 1926. In this financial tangle distinction must be made between national debts contracted before the war, internal war debts, external war debts, and post-war debts; debts payable in gold crowns and in paper crowns. Then there is the case of other than war debts—the National Debt, debts on national undertakings, such as railways, debts on public utility works belonging to companies, secured and unsecured obligations, funded and administrative debt and annuities. The uninsured gold debts are in course of settlement. Experts have

wrestled with all this intricate business, but it is a long way from settlement yet. All the Succession States are paying to the *Caisse Commune* what is due from them for former public debts. As regards reparations, Austria and Hungary are to be debited with the value of the ceded properties, whether the Succession States pay or not.

Hungary is making increased annual payments to reparation account up to ten million gold crowns until 1943, the date of expiry of the League of Nations Loan. It should not be overlooked that if a rectification of boundaries takes place the whole of this financial imbroglio must also be considered and debts readjusted.

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