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SWISS INSTITUTE.

Lecture, given by Dr. G. P. Gooch, M.A.,
on 3rd April, 1925.

(Concluded.)

Passing from Bulgaria to Roumania, I must say about Roumania to some extent what I say about Poland. I am afraid she is too large and has too many peoples inside her frontiers. In Roumania there are Hungarians, some Russians, Ruthenes, a number of Jews and many Serbs. She is too distracted by the freedom of the racial minorities, and does not seem to satisfy them. She has not learnt that difficult lesson about which I spoke, dealing with Poland, and if she is ever to become a strong, united country, the reigning majority will have to give greater thought, consideration and accommodation to the racial minorities within her frontiers.

The trouble in Roumania is the transfer of land from the great feudal proprietors, who owned almost the whole of the country down to the war, and, indeed, to the end of the war, to the peasants who live on the land and cultivate it. This transfer was done by Parliament. There are also the burdens of finance and the burden of the army. Poland kept a large army, and a large army means weak finance. It is just the same with Roumania. Roumania is not on very good terms with her neighbours, and there is mighty Russia on the north. Many people have thought that mighty Russia would reach out her arm and demand, and perhaps take, the province of Bessarabia which Roumania took from her at the end of the world war, and which, by the way, is neither Roumanian nor Russian, but is Jewish.

Now, there is another of the Balkan family, and that is Serbia, or, as we now call it, Jugo-Slavia, the kingdom of Southern Slavia. There is a struggle going on there and is going on this moment—one of the old Serbs, led by Pashitch, that Great Old Man of Serbia, now over 80, but still the ruler of the country. He is the ruler and the leader of the party of centralisation, and represents the old Serbs and the old Serbian Kingdom. Against him are the populations of the new provinces which were added to Serbia as the result of the world war. These provinces, which used to belong to Austria, are the Slovene district behind Trieste, Bosnia, Dalmatia with its wonderful harbours, Montenegro and Macedonia, the populations of which are far more Bulgarian than anything else. Jugo-Slavia is like Poland, but Serbia, in this respect, contains a number of racial groups who are not contented with the treatment received from the old Serbs who are ruled by Pashitch. Serbia is distracted by strikes, and will never be strong or happy while they suffer the old Serb majority to dominate.

The great lesson that I am preaching all through being that you have to content your racial minorities if you want strength and unity. That will never occur while Pashitch is still alive, for he is too old and independent to change a policy which is regarded by Serbia's best friends here and elsewhere as being only fairly good.

Now a word on other parts of the old Austrian Empire. The State of Austria, which means a tiny little country of six millions of people, with its capital at Vienna, is not so good to-day as a year ago. The League of Nations rescued Austria, not only from poverty, but from seeming starvation three years ago. It was a great achievement and, during the first year to eighteen months, a very successful achievement. Everything went well, better than anyone expected, but during the last year there has been a sad reaction, and now the nation has sunk back into pessimism. I have very gloomy accounts from friends, political and otherwise, in Vienna. It is just as if the sun had been shining brightly and had gone behind the clouds. The monthly report of the representative of the League of Nations, who is an official to the secretariat at Geneva, was nothing like so optimistic as it was during the first year or so of his régime. Why is it that an experiment, which began so hopefully, is so disappointing, at any rate for the time being? Now, there are two reasons: the first is, that the cost of living in Austria has now risen to the world's level.

When I was in Austria eighteen months ago, giving lectures, the cost of living was one of the main reasons why Austria was making such progress, as it was thirty per cent. or one-third below the world level. But the cost of living will rise—you cannot prevent it—and when it rises it will upset the equilibrium which we have now established. All the employees of the State, the railwaymen, the Civil Servants, and all the working classes will want higher wages, and they will upset the equilibrium on which their success has been founded. Now that has come to pass. The cost has nearly reached the world level. Everyone has claims and must have higher wages. The whole machinery has been thrown out of gear.

Now, there is a second reason: Austria, unlike Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria and Russia, cannot feed herself, in other words, she has to find her food and pay for it. How is she going to pay for it? There are only two ways: in raw materials and manufactured articles. She has no raw materials, hardly any coal, and so her position is

this: she has to buy her food and coal, to say nothing of other raw materials, by exporting the only thing she can, namely, manufactured articles. Yet she cannot even export manufactured articles except to a small extent, because the countries which surround her have been increasing their tariffs, which are very high. They have gone up since I spoke a year ago. Austria now is in a tragic position. She must have food and coal, she must still manufacture articles to obtain them. Her difficulties are increased by the tariffs placed on her, which keep her out of the markets of her neighbours. Why have these tariff walls been raised? The obvious reason is that these countries want to protect their home industries. In some cases there is another reason, which is the memory of old sores.

The last of all her troubles is that the cost of living has increased; it is nearly as high as in England, and that will give you some idea of how bad they are. Austria cannot, by her own efforts, reduce these high tariffs; they are suffocating her. Removal can only come about by the League of Nations, who can help by advising or, if necessary, compelling her neighbours to admit Austrian goods on such terms as will enable her to exchange her manufactured goods for the food and coal without which she cannot live. I am well aware that, when I say the word "compel," I am using a very big word, and you may ask how the League of Nations can compel Austria's neighbours to reduce the tariffs. The League of Nations exists, among other reasons, in order to help little States which require its aid and which no one else can help. There are various ways of compelling nations to do what they do not want to do, and one is by bringing them under the censure of the world's public opinion. These nations are constantly requiring foreign capital, and if the League of Nations should ask the two countries which have the money to lend, i.e., France and England, and they were to say that they would not lend any money unless they allowed Austria to trade with them and thereby enable her to live, I believe that would have a considerable effect.

Hungary is now going through the same stage as Austria went through two or three years ago. Her finances went from bad to worse; she had to appeal to the League of Nations, and a loan was raised, and now, a year after the raising of the loan, Hungary's position is immensely improved. She is doing exactly the same as Austria did: she is responding to the help of the League of Nations with immense success. We are all wondering whether, after this initial success in Hungary, there will also come a period of disappointment. Perhaps there may be, but I do not think the disappointment will have so great an effect, because Hungary is mainly an agricultural country which can feed itself, and Austria is mainly a manufacturing country and cannot feed itself and has to buy and to sell. Hungary's position economically is much stronger than Austria's for that reason. I do not expect she will go through such strenuous times during the next year or two as has fallen to her neighbour, Austria.

As regards Bohemia or Czecho-Slovakia, I have little to say. Nothing very important has happened during the past year. I say once more, however, that Czecho-Slovakia is the most hopeful and the most prosperous of the new States of Central Europe.

Now, one word about Italy. She is in a more critical position than when I spoke a year ago. A year ago, Mussolini was still the almost unchallenged dictator in the country. He is still the dictator of the country, but no longer unchallenged. The Socialists are against him, the three wings of the Liberal party are now all against him, the Catholic party, led by a priest named Don Sturzio, now in England, is against him, and there is an enormous change in public opinion, so great that, if you had a free election now, many people think that he would be beaten. Soon after I gave my last lecture here, came the murder of Matteotti, a Socialist member of Parliament, who had published a pamphlet setting forth some of the definite aims of the Fascists. He was seized in the streets of Rome in broad daylight, taken out of Rome and assassinated. His body was found only several months after. That came as a tremendous blow to the prestige of Mussolini, and since then other things have occurred which have further diminished the prestige of the Fascists. He felt himself, at the end of last year, the necessity of getting a renewal of the national confidence if he could, and he said, "We will have an election." There was an election last summer, but the election was a farce, because there was no freedom of the Press, and no freedom to hold public meetings. The Fascists held their meetings, but the others were not allowed to. It was an utter farce, and he naturally got an enormous majority. He has now promised an election for this year. The question is whether that election, when it comes, is going to be a free election, or a sham one like last year. If we have a free election, and Mussolini is returned to power, he will then be the legitimate ruler of Italy. If, on the other hand, he is beaten, I hope

and trust he will have sufficient patriotism to hand over, without bloodshed, his power to those who are chosen by the majority of the people. At any rate, whatever happens, Italy is now going through difficult times. Mussolini's position is very much weaker than it was. Men of note, and all the parties who started him in the first year of his rule, were grateful to him for what he did to pull the country together, to tighten the strings and to put more energy into the administration. They have now turned against him, as they feel that Italy needs and deserves a man who will give more liberty than he allows her to possess.

We have been interested in Spain recently. I have never spoken of Spain in this room. I speak of it to-night mainly owing to the appearance of the recent attack which has been led by the eminent Spanish writer, Ibanez, who wrote "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse." I expect you all know that the same writer has written a sharp attack on King Alphonso. It is called "Alphonso unmasked." It was written in Spanish, but was forbidden in that country. However, thousands of copies have been dropped by aeroplanes over Spain; many copies in French have also been smuggled into Spain. An English translation has also appeared and is to be bought in the book shops. What a very simple little book it is! It attacks not only the King, but the dictator, Riviera, who is trying to do in Spain what Mussolini is doing in Italy. Riviera, however, is more of a despot than Mussolini, and he refuses to summon Parliament, which has not met for eighteen months, and he does not show any intention of doing so. I do not say that the information in this little book is going to overthrow the monarchy, but I do say that it has weakened the foundations of the Royalists, and it will hasten the end of the dictatorship. I always feel very sorry for Spain. Her political situation is bad now, and I expect it will be bad when the dictatorship comes to an end. The Spanish are excellent people, but have never had much liberty, and, according to this little book, King Alphonso will give them as little liberty as ever he can.

Now, my time is coming to an end, but before I sit down, there will be a few words on the subject which I always end up with, and that is the relations of England, France and Germany, and the problem about which I spoke a year ago. A new era of possible rapprochement was opened up when M. Poincaré was replaced by M. Herriot, and that has been the beginning of better relations. The first result was the conference in London, at which the Dawes Report was carried and accepted freely by Germany, not forced down the throats of the German Government and people, but discussed round the table here in London, and duly ratified by the Reichstag. The Dawes Scheme is now in operation. The payment of reparations was made possible according to the schedule, by the substitution of M. Herriot for M. Poincaré, and so great has been the change that last September the Germans, for the first time, expressed their desire that they should enter the League of Nations, subject to one or two conditions, which were then discussed and are being discussed at the present moment. The change in the atmosphere between May, the date of France's agreement, and last November was extraordinary. We admitted that the worst was over, and that the two countries were at last beginning to hold out hands to one another, even if they have not grasped them. At the end of the year the sun went behind the clouds, and we have the difficult problem of the report of the Allied Military Control Commission as to the conditions of the German disarmament. We have not seen that report, but we were told that the Allied Military Control Commission reported that Germany had not carried out the obligations in reference to this armament to the full, nor anything like to the full, and that being so, we declined to evacuate the northern zone of the Rhine occupation on the date fixed for it by the Treaty: January 10th last. I suppose you all know that the Treaty of Versailles arranged that the Allies should occupy the Rhine for a minimum of 15 years, and that if Germany carried out her obligations under the Treaty, the northern zone would be evacuated in five years, the middle zone, with Coblenz as the capital, in ten years, and the southern zone, of which Mayence is the capital, at the end of fifteen years. The Germans were looking forward to the evacuation of Cologne on January 10th, but before that day came, we had the unsatisfactory report of the Military Control Commission, and we said that until Germany carried out her obligation, we would not move from the Cologne zone. Germany was despondent, and it was the more exasperating to them because the report of the Allied Control Commission was not published. They said, "We were condemned on the strength of a document which we had not even seen; it should be published, so that we could reply to it." It has not been published at this moment. The change in the political situation between last summer and the end of the year was enormous. The great majority of the German people felt once more that this recent rapprochement was nothing at all. The Allies were still their revengeful enemies, and had no intention of vacating Cologne, and had seized on the excuse

of the armament report in order to remain indefinitely on the Rhine. A great revulsion of bitter feeling passed over Germany. To the surprise of us all, Dr. Luther, the Imperial Chancellor, who is adopting a middle course, and has got into power largely by the nationalists, made what was called a great offer to recognize the final and permanent loss of Alsace-Lorraine—an extraordinary thing to do, but an offer which carries with it the security for France, security for Belgium, and security for England. The only reason that would make England inclined to take part in another war would be an unprovoked attack on either France or Belgium. Now, a German Government of the right sort is recognizing that Alsace-Lorraine is gone for ever. Now, I cannot help saying that the offer is a matter of historic significance. If it were only the undertaking of recognizing frontiers between Germany and France, it would be a good thing; that is only part of the offer. Here again I am speaking to some extent in the dark, as it has never been printed. I know people who have seen it, but it has not appeared in the Press, but we do know that it exists in reference to the free recognition of frontiers of Germany in the west; but Germany will not give the same assurances as to the problems on the Polish side. As regards her eastern frontier, the German offer appears to say two things. The first is that they solemnly undertake not to attempt to alter the Polish-German frontiers by force. The second is the desire to preserve to themselves the right of bringing these frontiers, or some of them, before the League of Nations. I daresay you all know that Article 19 of the League of Nations allows, and indeed encourages, members to bring before the League, Treaties which are obsolete or require modification. Mr. Chamberlain is anxious to accept their offer to recognize the existing frontiers of France and Belgium. The difficult point arises as to what is to happen as regards the frontiers between Germany and Poland. Some people say Poland must keep the frontiers which she has. She has the same right to them as anyone else. Other countries believe Poland would do well to try and win the friendship, or, if this be too much, to try and disarm the hostility of Germany by some territorial sacrifice. Poland is all right now, because she is supported by France, the strongest military country in Europe, but she knows very well that Great Britain refuses to guarantee her frontiers. We have refused this definitely again and again, and if Germany and Russia ever recover their strength, which they are sure to do, it may make her position very difficult and dangerous.

I leave the position of European security in the most interesting condition. I do hope when you see a German Government coming forward without pressure to recognize that Alsace-Lorraine is gone for ever, but in return to reserve for themselves the right to attempt later on, by passive means, to get some modification or ratification of their new frontiers on the east, you will treat their proposals with every consideration and sympathy.

I have given you a very long lecture, and hope I shall send you away in a mood neither unduly enthusiastic, nor unduly depressed. The worst service than anyone can render to his own country or the world is to despair, and however difficult and however dark the European situation may be, there is no need for anyone to despair. There are so many people in other countries trying to improve things and longing to live at peace with their fellow-citizens within their countries, that I think there is a reasonable chance of bringing Europe into a more passive, prosperous and contented position than that which she occupies to-day.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed by Correspondents and cannot publish anonymous articles, unless accompanied by the writer's name and address, as evidence of good faith.

To the Editor of *The Swiss Observer*.

Sir,—We have been very pleased to read that the proposed Military Tax Bill, which had been submitted by the Federal Council to the Federal Assembly over two years ago, has now been definitely abandoned.

We take this opportunity of thanking the good number of Swiss, from all parts of Switzerland, who signed the petition drawn up by Mr. O. Braga, in conjunction with us, and addressed to the National Council and the States Council. The proposed law, as far as the Swiss abroad were concerned, endeavoured to raise the provisions of the famous *ordonnance* to the status of Federal law. The fundamental principles of that measure are, however, so radically opposed to the sentiments of the Ticinesi—and, no doubt, also to those of the good old Swiss—that we felt it was essential that the proposed law should be routed.

The main points of the petition were, briefly:

(a) That the Federal Council, in drawing up the Bill, had not respected the constitutional rights of the Swiss abroad, nor the competence of the Cantons, and that the Federal Assembly was, therefore, bound to summarily reject the Bill;

(b) That the proposed law, if applied, would, in our mind, infringe rules of International Law, and the sovereign rights of foreign nations, and

could only lead to friction, with consequent loss of honour for Switzerland and the Swiss abroad;

(c) That the proposed law was in effect reducing Swiss citizenship, as far as the Swiss abroad were concerned, to the level of a club membership, with yearly subscription, and would only drive the Swiss away.

With Mr. Braga and other Ticinesi we also submitted a copy of the petition to our Cantonal Government, and asked them to submit a motion, as a Government, to the Federal Assembly, for the rejection of the Bill, independent of the action which might be taken by the members of the Ticino.

From within the ranks of the Federal Assembly we were promised substantial support when the measure came up for discussion, but early in February the Federal Council wrote to the Commission of the National Council, which had examined the Bill, that they were prepared to accept a motion for total rejection. The Last Post was thereby sounded on the proposed law.

It is true that the criticism levelled from other quarters influenced the decision, although it was mostly directed towards an amendment of the money provisions, but we are glad that we shall be safe, for some time at any rate. Yours faithfully,

W. NOTARI, S. BIANCHI.

To the Editor of *The Swiss Observer*.

Sir,—With all respect for the idealism underlying the report and the letter from "A. D." in the last issue of the *S.O.*, regarding the Concert at Caxton Hall, I feel that the writers have not done our Colony justice. In order to show my philanthropy or appreciation for the splendid work of the Swiss Benevolent Society, it is not necessary to make the pilgrimage to Caxton Hall: I need simply respond to a personal appeal, contribute my mite to one of the collections of the numerous dinners, or pay for some Concert tickets.

From the bad attendance further no deduction can reasonably be made as to a penury of understanding for good music in our Colony. The great many opportunities in London for seeking musical inspiration must not be overlooked; if Queen's Hall or Albert Hall are nearer to our homes than Caxton Hall, nobody can blame us for giving preference to the former. But need we go out at all in the evening for the enjoyment of high-class music? Can we not simply turn on the wireless or the gramophone, sit in a comfortable armchair and listen to all the best music that has ever been produced, and to all the great stars?

I am sure Mr. A. F. S. and Mr. A. D. do not expect their compatriots to attend a Swiss Concert solely in fulfilment of a patriotic duty. The whole problem should be viewed from the angle of a simple business proposition: how can the programme be made so attractive as to fill the concert hall? The first and foremost condition seems to me to be that the concert must be totally different from any other concert in London; the Swiss stamp should be written all over it. In one word, it must be Swiss—Swiss! For me—and probably for a good many of my compatriots—a pot-pourri of Swiss tunes, a few jodels and some of our homely folk-songs are worth a long string of classical items—at a Swiss Concert. Not highbrow music, but national music, that revives old memories and pictures patriotic fantasies, is what the great majority of London Swiss expect on such an occasion.

The last concert of the N.S.H. may have been Swiss from A to Z—previous concerts were far from it—but nobody except the committee knew beforehand, because no programme was printed on the invitations sent out. This, I consider, was the primary cause of the failure, because not many of us like to sacrifice a comfortable evening at home without knowing what compensation is in store for us. The organisers of the Fête Suisse make the same mistake; for the Colony at large the programme is of more importance than the names of the gentlemen constituting the committee.

Yours faithfully, F. BEYLI.

(We have an interesting letter on this topic from another correspondent, which, for lack of space, we are compelled to hold over till next week.—Ed.)

SWISS SPORTS.

The Committee of the Swiss Sports have been making full preparation for the forthcoming Swiss Sports Day on Saturday, May 23rd, at Herne Hill Athletic Grounds.

There will be all the usual races, and entry forms have to be sent without delay to Mr. C. Mayr, Swiss Bank Corporation, 99, Gresham Street, E.C.2, by the 9th May at the latest.

Given a fine day, there should be fine sport to be seen at Herne Hill.

TENNIS.

As announced in our last issue, the final of the London Parks Singles Winter Tournament will be played to-day between our compatriot, Mr. E. Flury (Highbury Fields) and Mr. Mattocks (Ashburton-Croydon). The match, which will start at 2.30 p.m., takes place on the Courts of the British Legion, 204, Upper Clapton Road, E.5, and the public is admitted free of charge.

SWISS BANK CORPORATION,

99, GRESHAM STREET, E.C.2.

and 11c, REGENT STREET, S.W. 1.

By arrangement with the Swiss Postal Authorities, TRAVELLERS' CHEQUES, which can be cashed at any Post Office in Switzerland, are obtainable at the Offices of the Bank.

The WEST END BRANCH open Savings Bank Accounts on which interest will be credited at 3½ per cent. until further notice.

CITY SWISS CLUB.

Messieurs les membres sont avisés que la prochaine

Assemblée Mensuelle

aura lieu le MARDI, 5 MAI au Restaurant GATTI, 436, Strand, W.C.2, et sera précédée d'un souper familial à 7 h. (5/6 par couvert).

Pour faciliter les arrangements, le Comité recommande aux participants de s'annoncer au plus tôt à M. P. F. Boehringer, 21, Garlick Hill, E.C. 4. (Téléphone: City 4608).

Ordre du Jour:

Procès-verbal.	Election du Comité
Admissions.	des Fêtes.
Démotions.	Divers.

The Publisher will be pleased to forward free specimen copies of "The Swiss Observer" to likely subscribers whose addresses may be supplied by readers.

Divine Services.

EGLISE SUISSE (1762), 79, Endell St., W.C.2
(Langue française.)

Dimanche, 3 Mai, 11h. et 6.30.—M. R. Hoffmann-de Visme.

Jeudi, 7 Mai.—Visite des Asiles Barnardo. Rendez-vous, Liverpool Street Station, plateforme 18. Départ 2.45. Invitation cordiale aux jeunes filles.

MARIAGE.

Joseph Anton MULLER, d'Emmensee (Lucerne) et Hedwig HAEBERLI, d'Amerswyl (St. Gall)—le 22 Avril 1925.

Pour tous renseignements concernant actes pastoraux, etc., prière de s'adresser à M. R. Hoffmann-de Visme, 102, Hornsey Lane, N.6. (Téléphone: Mountview 1798.) Heure de réception à l'Eglise: Mercredi 10.30 à 12h.

SCHWEIZERKIRCHE

(Deutschschweizerische Gemeinde)

St. Anne's Church, 9, Gresham Street, E.C.2.

Sonntag, 3. Mai, 11 Uhr vorm.—Gottesdienst.

Am Ausgang wird eine Sammlung veranstaltet werden für die Obdachlosen und Brandgeschädigten in Suis (Engadin).

6.30 nachm.—Gesangsgottesdienst in der Kirche St. Anne.

Dienstag, 5. Mai, 3 Uhr nachm.—Frauenverein im Foyer Suisse.

GETAUFT.

Norman Max Heinrich WEISS, Sohn des Max Jakob Weiss, von Aeugst a. Albis (Zürich) und der verstorbenen Elise geb. Weidmann, von Horgen.

Sprechstunden: Dienstag, 12—1 Uhr, 9, Gresham Street, E.C.2 (St. Anne's Church);

Mittwoch, 12—2 Uhr, 12, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.1.

Pfr. C. Th. Hahn.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

Friday, May 8th.—SWISS INSTITUTE: Lecture by J. T. Mustard, Esq., on "Robberies through the Ages."

Tuesday, May 12th, at 8 p.m.—DELEGATES' MEETING of the "SWISS SPORTS" at the Swiss Club, 74, Charlotte Street, W.1.

Friday, May 15th, at 8 p.m.—NOUVELLE SOCIETE HELVETIQUE: Reading and discussion of a Lecture by Monsieur Ed. Recordon on "La N.S.H. et le problème de l'éducation nationale" at 28, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Saturday, May 23rd, at 2.30 p.m.—SWISS SPORTS at Herne Hill Athletic Grounds.

Thursday, June 25th, from 6 to 10.30 p.m.—"FETE SUISSE" at Caxton Hall.