

DANUBIAN REVIEW

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A STRONG INDEPENDENT HUNGARY A PLEDGE OF PEACE

BY

Dr. ELEMÉR SZUDY

Europe is still restless and nervous. In Munich learned professors met to find means to rid mankind of a noxious, fever-pregnant abscess. And all four professors alike were inspired with the goodwill to create something permanent and beneficial; but they did not dare — or rather, they were unable — to undertake the drastic action needed to ensure Europe a complete cure and to induce the atmosphere of re-assuring conciliation required to palliate the sufferings and fulfil the expectations of the peoples concerned.

The distortions of a ruthless propaganda carried on unceasingly for more than thirty years still acted as an obstacle to historical objectivity and rendered impossible the realisation of a policy which would in reality have served to relieve the tension and remove from the world the explosive material accumulated in the souls of the peoples by the furies of hatred, war and post-war agitation and by the lust of power.

At Versailles and Trianon the treaty-makers dethroned a sublime conception — the right of self-determination of the peoples; and the professors who met in Munich had not the courage to rehabilitate that conception. What was effected in Munich was only a half-solution leading to a reaction which has thrown the whole world into a state of fever and uncertainty. Yet what the peoples of Europe desire is peace; though the peace they desire cannot be definitively and finally brought into being until the professors have penetrated to the roots of the evils and all the questions requiring settle-

ment have been solved simultaneously in accordance with the postulates of justice.

The great awakening has already led to a spirit of pacification; the truth is dawning in the West too: for otherwise what happened at Munich would have been impossible.

Both in Great Britain and in France powerful movements have been started to enforce a reparation of the fatal mistakes due to infatuation; and these movements have gripped hold of Chamberlain and Daladier too: though what has happened so far is only a modest beginning, and if there is no further development, the results hitherto obtained are liable to be jeopardised too. The whole world had expected Munich to bring about a comprehensive, universal and synthetic solution, the enforcement of the unrestricted right of self-determination of the peoples; and what resulted instead was after all merely a half-solution, — despite its having been inspired by cordial goodwill!! And the consequence? A brief, transitional relief of the tension followed by a return of the restlessness which had been there before; the European atmosphere once more charged with high frequency tension!!

As concerns Hungary in particular, it is indubitable that Hungarian public opinion noted with satisfaction that to a certain extent the country's historical claims against Czecho-Slovakia had been enforced. The fact must however be established that the award of the Vienna Court of Arbitration caused disappointment, not only because it failed to realise to the full the so-called ethnic principle, but more especially because the conception of self-determination was relegated entirely to the background. This result must be attributed ultimately to the reaction of Versailles and Trianon and only indirectly to the Munich award; for the friendly Powers which had been asked to undertake the task of arbitration found themselves faced with certain limitations. Naturally this does not mean that Hungary is likely to renounce the enforcement of the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples or to cease — provisionally — to demand that that principle should be carried into effect. For Hungary it is a matter of vital impor-

tance that this principle should be enforced freely and in an unrestricted form in the Danubian system, — not only in the North, in the case of the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, but in all other regions in which Hungary has suffered dismemberment.

It would be a great mistake to believe that there is any contradiction between the enforcement of the ethnic principle and that of the principle of self-determination, or that the realisation of either is calculated to preclude the practical application of the other. On the contrary! It is doubtful whether history can show any methods more suitable than these for the adjustment of the symbiosis of peoples and for the creation of a political situation inwardly too displaying perfect harmony. This fact is illustrated in a striking and eloquent manner by the Hungarian Kingdom of St. Stephen, which owed its structure to the symbiosis of peoples of various races and nevertheless remained united and strong through the storms of the centuries, until inner propaganda directed from without and the force of war brought it to a fall. But even in its ruins and its records it remains a wonderful sight and a magnificent example of the manner in which, by the exercise of honest goodwill, peoples of manifold tongues and races may work together for the attainment of common welfare and a common prosperity.

The right of self-determination is not a Hungarian speciality; for it was first voiced by Wilson and his collaborators with great eloquence as a paramount political principle. That what was realised in practice, however, was just the opposite, is another matter. That is how peoples were transferred without their wishes being consulted — and against their will — to the rule of foreign nations; and that is how the treaties of peace severed from the body of Hungary three and a half million Magyars, of which number two and a half millions are still suffering the bonds and shackles of foreign oppression. When Hungary demanded the enforcement of the right of self-determination of the peoples, she was thinking, not only of the Magyars living in foreign countries, but also of those peoples which had been welded into one nation by ten centuries of symbiosis and by the memories of common sufferings and common struggles, — which were also

entitled to exercise the right of deciding their destiny themselves, freely and independently. That to be effected naturally not as in 1918, but under correct conditions calculated to reassure all parties alike.

The principle of the right of self-determination has been accepted without reserve by the leaders of the axis-Powers — Signor Benito Mussolini and Herr Adolphus Hitler — too. In his great speech delivered at Triest on September 18th Signor Benito Mussolini made the following declaration: — “When the questions broached become complicated and intricate, the only simple, rational and radical solution is that which we Fascists term a “totalitarian” solution. In the question now causing unrest in Europe the only possible solution is — plebiscites. A plebiscite for each of the nationalities which have been forced to live in that State which should have been “Greater Czecho-Slovakia” and which has now shown that it is suffering from an organic defect.”

Just as clearly and unmistakably did Herr Adolphus Hitler take his stand on the principle of self-determination proclaimed by President Wilson, both in the speech delivered at Nuremberg on September 12th., 1938, and in the speech of historical import delivered by him in the Sportpalast in Berlin on September 26th. What he said in his Nuremberg speech in connection with the right of self-determination of the Germans was as follows: — “What the Germans want is the right of self-determination, not platitudes.” And in his speech in the Berlin Sportpalast on September 26th. Herr Hitler referred to what he had demanded at Nuremberg and in this connection made the following declaration: “That is the genesis of the demand voiced by me at Nuremberg. This demand was absolutely unequivocal. It was then that for the first time I stressed that now that almost twenty years had elapsed since President Wilson had made his declaration, it was time to put in practice for the benefit of these three and a half million people the principle of self-determination.” And later on in his speech he said: “I am ready — as I have been in the past — to hold a plebiscite, if necessary in the whole area of Czecho-Slovakia.” The words used by Herr Hitler are unequivocal; consequently, not only London and

Paris, but Berlin and Rome too have committed themselves to support the right of self-determination.

The pillars upon which an independent and free Hungarian State can be built up are the ethnic principle and the right of self-determination. Now, a strong and independent Hungary is in the interest, not only of the axis-Powers, but of Europe as a whole. I do not mean Central Europe strictly so called — i. e. the Danube Basin — only, but the more distant parts of Europe too, which cannot any more isolate themselves from the events occurring in the Danubian area. For twenty years we have been proclaiming this truth; unfortunately, however, we are today living in a world in which even absolute truths need to be continually re-affirmed. That is why Hungarian public opinion unanimously rejoiced and felt full satisfaction when Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Foreign Minister, declared that "the Hungarian nation, with its traditions ten centuries old, would be unworthy of its name if it were for a single moment to lose its unswerving confidence in its independence."

This is the true Hungarian political creed; we shall never deny it or renounce one jot of its essence.

The Hungarian Foreign Minister said also that the establishment of a strong Hungary was in the interest, not only of our friends, but also of those who today are far removed from us. And that is undoubtedly true: for the idea of a strong and independent Hungarian State is one that is already backed by international prestige and international public opinion, — as proved by well-known facts of international import. In the British Parliament, for instance, years ago there was formed a parliamentary group of Members friendly disposed towards Hungary which has been joined by over 200 British legislators and has at all times carefully watched the frontier re-adjustment endeavours of Hungary and unceasingly striven to awaken the conscience of the world to a realisation of the injustices inflicted upon that country. There is a group in the French Chamber too which, though small in number, possesses great authority. Members of the French Chamber too have repeatedly pointed to the folly of the dismemberment of the

Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and defended the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States against brutal oppression.

The great Western nations — or at any rate the chosen and competent representatives of those nations — realise clearly and fully that, though the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which in the Europe of pre-War times always acted as a factor of conciliation and adjustment, cannot any more be raised from its ashes, an effort should be made at least to replace it by some other factor capable of playing the same role as arbitrator in the clash of forces in the Danube basin which is often so chaotic and so uncontrolled. It is quite evident that the only country which both its historical traditions and its central geographical position qualify for this task is Hungary — and it must be a strong and independent Hungary.

This is Hungary's historical mission in the Danube Valley.

But, to enable Hungary to fulfil this mission, which is indubitably a great one and must be fulfilled with absolute unselfishness, more is needed than the unrestricted enforcement in all fields alike of the principle of self-determination; the right of self-determination of the peoples living in the Danube Basin must also be put into effect in practice. That is the best guarantee of peace and tranquillity in Europe.

THE GREATEST HISTORICAL LIE

BY

PETER MAGYAR

The prestige of Professor Nicholas Jorga, ex-Premier, which was not particularly great in any case in the eyes of the younger generation of Rumanian historians, has been sadly dimmed in the realm of international science by Alexander Domanovsky's work entitled "La méthode historique de M. Nicolas Jorga". (Budapest, 1938.) In this book Alexander Domanovsky, a professor in the Budapest University, exposes Jorga's international misrepresentations, his errors arising from national conceit and a too fertile imagination, and his systematic mala fides. Professor Jorga, who withdrew to the shelter of his library after a series of political blunders, is now trying to heal the wounds dealt to him in the field of science with new laurels won in the sphere of politics. On 1st December he delivered a great, "scientifically grounded," political speech in Nagyvárad, a Hungarian town which, with many others of a similar character, was torn from Hungary by the unjust Edicts of Trianon, and assigned to Rumania. In that speech, in order to prove Rumania's unquestionable title to these places he quoted, besides the right of conquest, the theory of continuity, which though only 200 years old, has so often been advanced by Rumanian historians and politicians. What is this theory of continuity? In the XV and XVI centuries, when the attention of the Italian humanists began to turn towards Eastern Europe, and several of them, in their search for memorials of the classics, visited Transylvania and the Balkans, the relationship between the Rumanian language and Latin was

established, and on the strength of the name "Rumun" used by the Wallachians, the legend arose that they were the descendants of the Emperor Trajan's legionaries who conquered Dacia, and had thus been the inhabitants of Transylvania before the arrival of the Hungarians. This theory, which for a long time merely flattered the national conceit of the Rumanians, was first used as a political weapon in 1791, when, on the strength of it, they asked the Transylvanian Diet of Estates to recognize their claim to the same rights as were enjoyed by the rest of the nations in Transylvania (Magyars, Szeklers and Saxons). Today, now that this theory which has nothing to justify it has been repeated so often by scientists and politicians, it has come to be accepted as a seemingly infallible dogma by the Rumanian people. But what has history to say to it? How and when did the settlement of Rumanians in Transylvania take place? Hungarian science is fortunately in the position to quote the decision pronounced in this dispute between Hungarian and Rumanian scholars by an arbitrator who, being a Czech, was certainly not biassed in favour of Hungary. Professor Karel Kadlec of the Czech University in Prague, who died a few years ago and was an eminent authority on the history of Central European and Slavonic law, made an exhaustive study of the question. The result of his work was published by the Prague Academy in 1916 in a bulky volume entitled "Valasi a valašske prevo" (Wallachians and Wallachian Law), but Jorga and the rest of the Rumanian historians refuse to take any notice of this book. In it the Czech scholar, who was thoroughly well acquainted with the Rumanian literature on the subject, after exhaustive study of all the sources of reference available, definitely rejects the theory of continuity and, accepting the findings of Hungarian historians and philologists, added to them his own data relating to the Rumanians living in the Slav countries. This book by Kadlec, which contains a comprehensive summary of the whole question, was supplemented by a work entitled "Romains, romans, roumains dans l'histoire de la Dacie Trajane" (Budapest, 1936. Etudes sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale) by Louis Tamás, in which the author refutes the philological arguments put forward of late by the Rumanians.

When the Emperor Aurelianus considered that he was no longer able to defend Dacia against the attacks of the barbarians, he ordered the evacuation of that province. The Roman legions and colonists retreated to the right bank of the Danube between 260 and 272 A. D., thereby considerably shortening the Roman front. This we learn from three chroniclers who lived shortly after. Therewith all Roman life ceased in what was later to be known as Transylvania. No topographical names of Roman origin remained, nor are any Roman remains of later date than this period known, although many dating from before the evacuation are to be found. From 260 A. D. until the XIII century, for nearly a thousand years, we have not the slightest historical evidence of Rumanians in Transylvania. Had there been any there during that period, they must have come into contact with the peoples (Goths, Gepids and Avars) who in turn conquered Dacia, and the influence of those contacts would not fail to be discoverable in the Rumanian language and Rumanian civilization. But of such we find no trace.

There is also another, negative, argument against the theory of continuity. In the Latinized Roman provinces, where Roman life continued after the collapse of the Empire, where, therefore, there was a continuity of Roman civilization, as in Gallia, Hispania and even in the Balkan peninsula, there are to be found geographical names (of mountains, rivers and districts) which can be proved to have derived from the languages of the barbarians who became Latinized during the period of the Roman conquest. Only in Dacia Trajana do we fail to discover any. The names of the greater rivers (Szamos, Maros, Temes, Körös and Olt) do not conform to the philological development of the Rumanian language.

The oldest Rumanian place-name in Hungary is to be found in a document dating from the year 1202—1203; and in the Nagyvárad Register, which contains several hundreds of names recorded in the years 1205 to 1235 of places in County Bihar and the surrounding areas (which Jorga described in his speech of 1st December as ancient Rumanian territory), there are only two which perhaps may be of Rumanian origin. Not only was one of Hungary's greatest Kings, St. Ladislas, laid to rest in Nagyvárad, but even as

late as the XV century Hungarians and Hungarians alone lived in the territories surrounding his tomb.

Whereas 78 documents referring to the Saxons in Transylvania have come down to us from the period preceding the Mongol invasion (1211), we have only 4 in which mention is made of Rumanians in Hungary and Transylvania who were people dwelling in the border-lands. To these only 5 or 6 more were added up to the end of the XIII century, while the number relating to the Saxons had grown to 300. The most interesting document is one dating from the reign of Andrew III (1293, to be precise) containing the King's plan to settle all the Rumanians in Transylvania on one single Royal estate, 36,000 acres in extent.

In the XIII and XIV centuries Rumanians began to settle in Transylvania. Numerous documents throw a light on the social and legal standing of the new colonists, which was similar to that of the rest of the settlers belonging to other nations. Their position was also completely identical with that of the Rumanian colonists we find in Poland in the XIV and XV centuries. The Rumanian settlers on the Royal estates were in many respects better off than those who found homes with private landowners or on lands belonging to the Saxon communities of Transylvania. Thus, according to Kadlec, the Rumanians of Fogaras were in a privileged position, as the name by which they went, "boyars", shows. These semi-noble Rumanians attached to the Castle of Fogaras were obliged to undertake certain military services. Under the leadership of their voivode they received land in fief from the King, who employed them for frontier defence.

The Rumanians of County Hunyad, who had been settled by the King on lands pertaining to the fortresses of Deva, Hunyad and Hátszeg in the XIV century, also enjoyed special privileges. They, like the Rumanians of County Krassó and the Banate of Seremia, were employed in the fortresses. The Kings of Hungary being desirous of extending their sovereignty over the regions of the Lower Danube, took the Rumanian shepherds from the mountains into their service and sent them against the Turks, thinking that their early training would stand them in good stead when they had to fight among the hills. In the XIV and XV centuries

the Rumanian districts began to enjoy a certain autonomy, which, however, according to Kadlec, was never able to reach a higher level of development, because constant warfare and the Turkish menace prevented consolidation. A more probable reason was that the outstanding men among the Rumanians were ennobled by the King of Hungary and, becoming absorbed in the Hungarian nobility, ceased to take an interest in a separate Rumanian autonomy. There was certainly no question of national policy behind this. The people of that age were not divided into hostile camps by national feelings, but by social conditions. The ennobled Rumanian became a Hungarian gentleman, and we have many Hungarian noble families of Rumanian origin, e. g. the Fiáths, Josikas, Macskásis, Gerlestyeis, Gámáns, Tivadars, Vajdas, Fodors, Bizereis, etc. etc.

Those mentioned above were the privileged Rumanians who were allowed to settle on the Royal estates. Most of the colonists, however, especially those settling on private land, won their new home for themselves by virtue of the "jus valachicum". This means that a group of Rumanians under the leadership of a "kenéz" or "Voivode" was allowed to settle on uninhabited land, mostly forest-land, and, as a reward for clearing and reclaiming it, were exempt from all manner of services for a certain period. The "kenéz", whose business it was to recruit colonists, usually received an estate, was invested with the authority of a judge and enjoyed indemnity from taxation. The settlers paid the King one in every fifty sheep and helped to build his fortresses, while the kenéz owed him military service. On private estates, when the term of indemnity from taxation expired, the settlers paid in services of labour, money and kind. The kenéz doing military service on a Royal estate was often made a noble in the XV century, with feudal rights over the settlers, who thus became his serfs and sank to the level of the Hungarian peasant serfs.

In consequence of this work of colonization, we find Rumanians widely spread in Hungary, from the Danube and Temes to the regions of the Maros and the Körös in Transylvania, along the Szamos, everywhere in the mountains

except in the Székler and Saxon areas, and also in Mármaros.

At the time of the Turkish conquest (XVI and XVII centuries) the Rumanians of the mountainous regions were brought down to the Great Plain and settled in villages the inhabitants of which had been exterminated either by the Turks themselves or the hordes of Tartars from the Crimea so frequently let loose on Hungary by them. It was at this time that the Rumanians, who had suffered much less at the hands of the Turks, began to descend into the southern part of County Bihar, which Professor Jorga declares to be Rumanian soil. This expansion assumed much greater proportions in the XVIII century, after the Turks had been driven out and the Hungarian population had shrunk so much that there were not enough men available to people the devastated regions. The valley of the Szamos, Maros and the three rivers Körös became Rumanian settlement areas at this time. The widespread expansion was possible only because Rumanian peasants came pouring constantly from the two principalities, Moldava and Wallachia, to escape the terrible oppression of the Phanariots and Boyars. Here, in Transylvania and Hungary, but especially in the Banate, that is to say the country lying between the Danube, Tisza and Maros, social conditions were much better than in their old home.

This was how, in consequence of the havoc wrought by the Turks in Hungary engaged in the defence of Western civilization, one part of the Hungarian racial area became the home of Rumanians.

PROFESSOR JORGA IN NAGYVÁRAD

BY

Dr. LADISLAS FRITZ

The Munich Agreement, followed by the Vienna award, which signified a denial of the *status quo* and introduced the ethnic principle as a determining factor in the reconstruction of Central Europe, gave rise to great anxiety in Rumania, where 2 million Hungarians live separated from their native country. This explains why it was considered expedient to send M. Nicholas Jorga, professor in the Bucharest University and quondam Premier, down to Nagyvárad on 1st December to attend the jubilee celebrations held to commemorate Rumania's acquisition of 102.000 square kilometres of territory from Hungary 20 years ago. M. Jorga's mission was to strengthen Rumanian national consciousness in that region.

In a speech lasting one hour and 20 minutes, which was delivered in the Nagyvárad theatre, Professor Jorga did his best to fulfil that mission. This speech was a classical illustration of the anxiety felt by the Rumanians on account of the revision movement, of their boundless prejudice against the Hungarians and of how a scientist manages to falsify facts and history. Let us examine Professor Jorga's speech as reported in detail in No. 331 of the "Universul", 4th December, 1938.

In one passage the Professor said that he had no objection to the Hungarian people, for "the Hungarians were a very worthy people, very industrious, very brave, often loyal to the State (the Rumanian State. Ed.) and content to live within the limits of their rights." After this dubious praise M. Jorga went on to pour abuse on the leaders of the Hungarian nation, whom he called "certain Budapest gentlemen who live today as their ancestors did in 1700, with the same ideas, the same feelings, the same prejudices, the same ambitions, fit for nothing but to destroy their own country as their forbears had ruined it once before, so that had the Austrians not come to drag them out of the sealed tomb into which they were cast by the Turks, Hungary would not exist today; for old Hungary was slain at the battle of Mohács, by the repre-

sentatives of the Kingdom, who failed in their duty to the nation." What a misrepresentation of historical facts! It is a misrepresentation to say that the leaders of the Hungarian nation are behind the times. In 1848 a great transformation took place in Hungary; the nation of its own accord did away with the medieval barriers that divided the nationalities into privileged and un-privileged classes, and the Parliamentary Constitution of new Hungary, which even today is the most jealously guarded treasure of the nation, was framed on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. It is a misrepresentation to allege that it was the fault of the ruling classes in Hungary that the country fell a prey to the Turks. Undoubtedly the disaster at Mohács was partly due to the disunion then prevailing, but this one battle alone was not responsible for the fate that overtook the nation. The truth is that for three centuries Hungary was left to fight unaided against greatly superior Turkish forces and was almost bled white in this heroic struggle. The vital forces of the nation were drained, but it was thanks to this gigantic effort and to these sacrifices that Western Europe was spared the horrors of a Turkish invasion and was free to develop in peace. It is also a misrepresentation to say that Hungary was delivered from the Turkish yoke by Austria. The truth is that when Hungary was almost completely exhausted by centuries of fighting and was no longer able to defend Western Europe, the latter, realizing the imminence of the danger threatening, decided to help Hungary against the Turks. This joint action then put a definitive end to Turkish expansion. Only a man wholly prejudiced against Hungary could find an excuse for abusing this country in the records of that glorious and heroic struggle. The truth was stated by the French historian Michelet, who said: "The self-sacrifice with which Hungary saved the civilization of Western Europe from the Turkish invasion is incalculable. When shall we pay our debt of gratitude to the splendid Hungarian nation, the saviours of the West?"

In another part of his speech Professor Jorga criticized "*La Hongrie et la Civilisation*", a work by George Lukács that was published in Paris, and rashly declared that Hungarian civilization was a borrowed one, a civilization adopted from foreign sources, and that it had been unable to produce anything original. It is very difficult to argue against a careless, unsubstantiated statement of this sort, but we must not omit to point out that scarcely any nation — not excepting the greatest nations of the world — has enriched civilization with more eminent intellectual leaders than Hungary. Gigantic intellects like Petőfi and Madách in poetry, Munkácsy in painting, and Bolyai, Roland Eötvös in mathematics, though typically Hungarian, shine bright among the stars of the first magnitude in the world's intellectual firmament. It cannot be denied that Hungary has borrowed from foreign civilizations, but she has also lent to them. Though always

compelled to stand sword in hand, Hungary nevertheless found time to participate in the progress of civilization. She never withdrew from the influence of Western ideas; adopting them, she enriched them with her own special values by means of a reciprocal give and take. In refutation of Professor Jorga's rash statement we might give a list of the world-famed products of Hungarian architecture, painting, sculpture, industrial art, science, literature, poetry, music and mechanical science — each a typical example of original Hungarian work. But even this would probably fail to convince the Professor, for he is so prejudiced that in his Nagyvárad speech he denied the Hungarian character of the tulip motif in the ornamentation of the Marosvásárhely concert hall, a building he himself described as beautiful, though everyone knows that the tulip is an ancient form of decoration of Turanian origin. Professor Jorga's assertion that tulips were carved on the trunks given to Saxon girls in Brassó on the occasion of their marriage, does not prove that the tulip is not a Hungarian motif, but that — as is only natural — Hungarian influences have made themselves felt among the Saxons of that region.

M. Jorga cast doubts on the Hungarian character of Nagyvárad. Speaking of the historical fact that the mortal remains of St. Ladislas, King of Hungary, rest in that town, he made the following mocking and irreverent remark: "It is not what you give to the soil in the way of rotten bones that makes it yours, but what you give to everybody of your creative energy." Well then, we also declare that Hungary's legitimate claim to Nagyvárad and Bihar County does not rest on the fact that the bones of the Hungarian Kings, St. Ladislas, Stephen II, Andrew II, Ladislas IV and Sigismund rest in Nagyvárad. Our claim is based on the historical fact that the area of Nagyvárad and Bihar County is part of the territory occupied by the ancient Hungarians and that it is closely connected, ethnographically and geographically, with the Great Plain of Hungary, from which no natural frontier divides it. It belongs to the coherent area of land on the western frontier of present-day Rumania on which over 400.000 Hungarians dwell.

In connection with the migration of the peoples, Professor Jorga said that the Hungarians arrived in Transylvania much later than the Rumanians. History, on the other hand, shows that Transylvania was occupied by the ancient Hungarians and that it was the Rumanians who filtered into the country later on, thanks to the good-will of the Hungarian landowners.

The Professor — having in mind no doubt the Phanariots of the Regat (Old Rumania) — declared that the Turkish rule of the sixteenth century was better than that of the Hungarian era. He also praised the Austrian era, admitting that it helped to promote the spread of the nationalities at the expense of the autochthonous Hungarian population and made it possible for the

Macedo-Rumanian merchants to build a beautiful church in Nagyvárad. He even asserts that it was not the Hungarians but the Macedo-Rumanian merchants who created flourishing economic conditions in Bihar County. But these merchants were men of Greek and Slav origin, and Rumanians. The idea that flourishing economic conditions were created by Macedo-Rumanian merchants is, in any case, a far-fetched hobby of Professor Jorga's. From it he builds up his theory of the development of Rumanian life in Bihar County, and he falsely states that Nagyvárad belonged to the Germans and the Serbs and that a large section of its inhabitants was composed of peasants from Rumanian villages. He represented Nagyvárad, which, as regards its historical past, had been one of Hungary's most important towns, as a little country place of no importance to Hungary, where a few useless Latin books were written. Nagyvárad, where there were sixteen Roman Catholic churches (including a beautiful cathedral), to say nothing of ancient Calvinist and Lutheran ones, where there was a series of cultural institutions, a Royal Academy of Law, a Roman Catholic seminary, ancient Hungarian denominational elementary and secondary schools, teachers' training colleges, a military academy, an orphanage, a printing-press (established in 1558), a theatre, etc. and where in 1777 Maria Theresa established a Greek Catholic Bishopric in addition to the ancient Roman Catholic one. Professor Jorga's disparagement was directed against the Hungarian era, which — he asserted — treated the allegedly Rumanian town of Nagyvárad with neglect! The truth, on the contrary, is that the town of St. Ladislas was practically the apple of Hungary's eye and that it was always, and still is, a Hungarian town. The statistics showing the nationality quotas of the population prove that the Magyars strongly predominated. In 1910 Nagyvárad had a population of 64.169 souls. Of these 58.421 were Magyars and only 3604 Rumanians. And if we examine the distribution of the population according to the number of members of the various eastern churches, we find that of the Greek Orthodox Church was 4649 and that of the Greek Catholic Church 3385. Taking all the Greek Catholics and all the adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church as Rumanians, the number of Rumanians in Nagyvárad in 1910 was scarcely more than 8000, as compared with a Magyar population of 55.000.

All Professor Jorga's efforts in Nagyvárad — that town of the Hungarian plain — will prove fruitless. The course of revision has begun and neither the Professor nor anybody else will be able to check it. Would it not be wiser to follow Czecho-Slovakia's example and voluntarily restore the areas inhabited by Hungarians?

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THE RUMANIAN "NATIONAL RENAISSANCE FRONT"

BY
ANDREW TAMÁS

The Rumanian Crown Council meeting held on 14th December, 1938, is of historical significance to the minorities in that country. The communiqué issued on the same day by the Marshal of the Royal Court briefly states that at this meeting were determined "the methods of protecting Rumanian labour." From the rest of the communiqué it may be gathered that in future only the majority will enjoy rights, while the minorities, as distinct from the Rumanian ethnic body, will be practically outlaws.

Next day, on 15th December, the King sanctioned the Edict which is intended to enforce the resolutions of the Crown Council in the sphere of politics. This Edict was promulgated in the December 16 issue, (No. 293) of the "Monitorul Oficial" (Official Gazette) sub No. 4321/1938; it introduces a one-party system in Rumania.

The Edict comprises eight articles. Article I decrees the creation of a „National Renaissance Front“ as the only political organization in Rumania.

This provision is particularly prejudicial to the interests of the Hungarian, Bulgarian, Tartar and Albanian national minorities, whose rights as collective bodies have never been recognized by the Rumanian Governments. The German minority, on the other hand, will not be greatly affected by the one-party system, for their collective rights are safeguarded by their having been allowed by Government to organize collectively on a racial basis. With the exception of

the Germans, Rumania's minorities were deprived of all Parliamentary representation by the Constitutional Law of 27th February, 1938, which dissolved their political parties and failed to establish organs that would have been entitled to represent them as collective bodies before authorities and the people of the country. This lack of the right of representation signifies that in Rumania no minority except the Germans is recognized as existing; that is to say, no provision has been made to ensure the rights of the other minorities.

The one-party system now introduced legalizes the political disabilities of the minorities enumerated above. Although their rights are guaranteed by international treaty and by the Rumanian Constitution, the new Rumanian régime, which to all intents is a dictatorship, has deprived these minorities even of the restricted political freedom of movement and of the possibilities of complaint and protest hitherto at their disposal by means of which they had been able at least to give signs of life. In consequence of the dissolution of the Hungarian Party and the measure forbidding any attempt at organization, the Hungarians of Transylvania are in danger of being completely silenced. What is now taking place in Rumania is in direct defiance of the minority treaty guaranteeing the rights and liberties of minority citizens, which treaty was the condition upon which the territorial aggrandisement of Rumania was permitted.

Article II says that "the object of this political organization is to foster national consciousness in order to make it possible to inaugurate a united Rumanian movement for the defence and development of the country and the consolidation of the State."

The "united Rumanian movement/" mentioned in Article II designated as the object of the new front is so elastic a term that it can be stretched to embrace any movement the object of which is the denationalization of the minorities. That this is likely to happen is the more probable in view of the fact that a leading rôle in the new political system has been assigned to two ex-Premiers, Tatarescu and Vajda, who are well known to have been the most implacable and malevolent enemies of the minorities.

Article III provides that permission for the National

Renaissance Front to pursue its activities is to be procured from the Minister of Justice at the request of 25 persons, of whom 20 must be men who some time or other were Ministers or State Secretaries. This means that from the outset the minorities may be considered as excluded, since the terms under which the formation of the Front is permitted are such as to make minority participation impossible. For no State functionary of high degree will ever be appointed from the ranks of the minorities.

According to Article IV, in terms of public law all persons holding the title of King's Councillor are members of the new party. This title has never yet been given to minority citizens, who cannot therefore apply for membership of the Front under this Article. The same is true of the bishops of the minority denominations, for, although several bishops of the Rumanian Church have received this title, it has never been conferred on minority bishops.

Article V says that with the exception of soldiers and judges "every Rumanian over 21 years of age" may apply for membership. In Rumania the word "Rumanian" means only persons who belong to the Rumanian ethnic body. And as the aim of the Front is to create a united Rumanian ethnic State, it is manifest that no minority citizens will be admitted to membership.

In terms of Article VI the National Renaissance Front alone will have the right to nominate and recommend candidates for Parliamentary, administrative and professional elections. The Constitution of February, 1938, stipulates that the members of the new Rumanian Parliament must be elected in January, 1939. This new Constitution introduced a corporative system into Rumanian Parliamentary life. This means that the Parliament to be elected in January next will consist of three groups representing agriculture, industry (including shopkeepers and workmen) and the professional classes. The new one-party system deprives the minorities of any possibility of representation within the framework of this corporative system, for there will be only one list of candidates containing the names of trusted adherents of the new party, and all the electors will be permitted to do is to vote "Yes" or "No".

Alone on the strength of the branches of occupation represented by the Hungarians that minority would be entitled to at least 30 seats in the new corporative Rumanian Parliament. There are about 1.200.000 Hungarian farmers (peasants), 350.000 "tradesmen" (shopkeepers and workers) and 150.000 people engaged in professional occupations, all of whom are entitled to be represented, though an attempt is now being made to deprive them of that right.

Article VII declares all political activity outside the framework of the Front to be illegal and makes any breach of this law punishable by "civil disability" for a period of from 2 to 5 years.

Article VIII provides that the executive measures shall determine the details of the organization and activity of the Front.

The Hungarian minority, and indeed the Hungarians everywhere, await with anxiety the realization in practice of the Rumanian one-party system, for everything points to its being directed chiefly against the Hungarians of Transylvania.

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EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGES OF NATIONAL MINORITIES OF YUGOSLAVIA AS REFLECTED IN STATISTICS

BY
IMRE PROKOPY

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Yugoslav State the Belgrade "Vreme" — in its December 3rd. issue — published a long article showing the state of education in Yugoslavia in 1918 and 1938 respectively. It proudly parades the fact that since 1918 the number of elementary and "city" school, teachers training college and secondary school buildings in the territory of Yugoslavia has increased from 5869 to 10,349, that of teachers (masters) from 14,333 to 40,268, and that of pupils from 722,475 to 1,641,820.

The number of children attending the 574 classes of the 420 infant schools functioning in the territory of Yugoslavia in the school-year 1938/39 is 29,360, that number including 4545 children of German, 3200 of Magyar, 294 of Rumanian, 401 of Jewish, 188 of Ruthenian, 187 of Russian, 102 of Italian, 39 of Bulgarian, 5 of Turkish and 2 of Albanian nationality. According to the statement made by M. Zivotitch, Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Ministry, the number of so-called "Magyar" infant schools functioning in Yugoslavia in 1931 was only 37; and, seeing that during subsequent years the number of such schools has owing to the lack of Magyar infant mistresses decreased, it is absolutely indubitable that the majority of the 3200 Magyar children are compelled to attend infant schools in which the language of instruction is that of the State. And this is the case — on the whole — with the children of German nationality too.

The state of things prevailing in the elementary schools is as follows: of the 1,431,523 children attending the elementary schools during the current school-year, 48,862 are of German, 42,785 of Magyar, 14,753 of Albanian, 12,056 of Czecho-Slovak, 6185 of Rumanian, 3451 of Ruthenian, 926 of Italian, 925 of Russian, 920 of Turkish, 320 of Bulgarian and 8411 of "other" nationality.

As for the numbers of Magyar and German children attending elementary schools referred to above, it must be noted in advance that these official statistical data represent the numbers of children resulting after the application of the system of "name analysis" employed when enrolling candidates for admission to the schools. If no "name analysis" were applied, and if parents were able to freely choose the schools to which they desired to send their children, the actual numbers of "minority" pupils would be far larger. In the article dealing with the official statistical data no mention whatsoever is made of the number of Magyar, German or other "minority sections" established in the State elementary schools or of the fact that in the bulk of these "minority sections" most of the subjects are taught, not in the language of the respective minority, but in the language of the State. Nor does the article refer, for instance, to the fact that only a minority of the Magyar pupils are allowed to attend the so-called "Magyar parallel sections", the majority of those pupils being forced to attend schools in which the language of instruction is that of the State. The same is true also of the pupils of German nationality, more than 20,000 of whom are likewise driven to attend public elementary schools in which the language of instruction is that of the State, — a grievance voiced at the meeting of the Finance Committee of the National Assembly held on December 20th., 1937, by M. Stephen Kraft, former Member of the Skupshtina (see "Deutches Volksblatt", January 1st., 1938.) And the official statement also passes over in silence the intolerable and illegal conditions prevailing in the territory of the former province of Croatia-Slavonia, where there is not a single "parallel section" or even class using Magyar as the language of instruction at the disposal of the 90,000 Magyars living there.

The statement published in the "Vreme" includes only 135,523 minority elementary school pupils — that being only 9.4% of the total number of children attending elementary schools. The number of persons belonging to non-Slav minorities being certainly at least roughly 2,600,000 — i. e. 17.4% of the total number of inhabitants —, the number of elementary school pupils belonging to the minorities should be 259,086 — that being 123,562 more than the number figuring in the official statistics.

The distribution of elementary school teachers by nationalities is as follows: — according to the official data published in the "Vreme" the number of teachers of "Yugoslav" (sic!!) nationality functioning in elementary schools in the current school-year is 28,747, the number of German teachers being 712, that of Magyar teachers 259 (at least 100 less than the number of such teachers actually functioning), that of Czecho-Slovak (sic!!) teachers 185, that of Russian teachers 185 (!!), that of Italian teachers 67, that of Bulgarian teachers 6, that of Rumanian teachers 13, that of teachers of Albanian nationality 103, that of Turkish teachers 69 and that of teachers of "other" nationality 105. Whereas the number of teachers belonging to the several non-Slav nationalities postulated by the respective quotas of population should be as follows: the Magyar minority (3.33% = roughly 500,000 souls) would be entitled to provide 1022 elementary school teachers and the German minority (roughly 500,000 souls) also 1022 — i. e. 763 and 310 more respectively than the number of teachers belonging to these minorities actually functioning today.

We find breaches of the principle of equality laid down in Article 4 of the Yugoslav Constitution and in Article 7 of the Minority Treaty also in the case of the courses for illiterates and of the so-called "domestic economy" schools and courses respectively. The 80 courses for illiterates referred to in the "Vreme" — courses maintained by public monies — have been arranged solely and exclusively for Serbian and other Slav illiterates; and the 130 teachers employed are all without exception of Serbian or other Slav nationality. It is only in recent years that the non-Slav minorities have "presumed" (!) here and there to arrange

courses of the kind on a modest scale maintained at their own expense. The same is true also of the 150 "domestic economy" schools and courses respectively figuring in the statement which are maintained by public monies; these are also primarily for the exclusive benefit of women and girls of Serbian or other Slav nationality as a means of advanced education — a circumstance revealed also by the provision contained in Paragraph 6 of Article 154 of the Elementary Education Act of December 5th., 1929, in terms of which "instruction in these schools and courses respectively shall be given exclusively in the language of the State." The 400 teachers employed in the "domestic economy" schools and courses too are all without exception of Serbian or other Slav nationality.

Of the 226 "city" schools only one is of a minority character — that being the German private boys' and girls' "city" school at Ujverbász licensed "by special grace" in 1931. There are however in addition — in the territories of the country inhabited by Slav nationalities — 50 private "city" schools using Serb-Croatian or Slovene as the language of instruction — a fact referred to, at the Congress held at Banja-Luka on August 21st., 1932, by Mita Georgevitch, retired director of the Ujvidék girls' "gymnasium". The numbers of "city" school pupils and teachers respectively betray the same disproportion at the cost of the non-Slav minorities as is in evidence in the case of the elementary schools. Of the roughly 2300 "city" school teachers, for instance, 86 are Germans (that corresponding roughly to the German quota of the total population), there being 40 Russians, 21 Jews and 17 "Czecho-Slovaks", but only 27 Magyars, whereas the number of Magyars postulated by the Magyar quota of the total population should be 77.

Nor are things any better in the case of the secondary schools. The number of pupils attending the 197 secondary schools in the current school-year is 119.236: of these 1969 are Jews, 1938 Germans, 1605 Russians, 1070 Magyars, 778 "Czecho-Slovaks" (!), 233 Rumanians, 72 Turks, 69 Italians, 34 Albanians, 24 Bulgarians and 208 of "other" nationality. The first thing that strikes us here as remarkable is that the number of pupils recruited from the ranks of the Jews --

69.000 in all — is 3.7 times in excess of the number warranted by their quota of the total population (0.46%), that recruited from the ranks of the Russian exiles (30.000) being actually seven times that warranted by their quota of the population (0.2%). The number of Magyar pupils, on the contrary, is 2899, and that of German pupils 2131, below that due to the respective minorities on the basis of equal treatment and warranted by their respective quotas of the population. This is to a very large extent the reason why the non-Slav students, owing to the lack of opportunities of finding employment in the public offices, are compelled to a certain extent (if only for material reasons) to refrain from attending higher education institutes. The statement does not even attempt to show the distribution by nationalities of the 4969 secondary school teachers, — evidently because the quota of minority teachers is far less favourable even than those shown above in the cases of elementary and "city" school teachers respectively.

There are 43 teachers training colleges, 6 of this number being private schools — there being 1 private school of the kind each at Zagreb, Maribor, Sarajevo, Ljubljana and Skofja-Loka and a German private teachers training college at Uj-verbász (Novi Vrbas). The other national minorities are not allowed to establish private teachers training colleges (of indeed any kind of private school whatsoever) seeing that the provisions contained in §§ 2 and 88 of the Teachers Training Colleges Act (27th. September 1929), in § 164 of the Elementary Education Act dated December 5th., 1929, in § 5 of the Secondary Education Act dated September 17th., 1929, and in § 64 of the "City" Schools Act dated December 5th., 1931 — in direct defiance of the decided stipulations contained in Article 8 of the Minority Treaty — expressly forbid the establishment of private schools. The number of students attending the 43 teachers training colleges during the current school-year is 3500 and that of the teachers employed in the same 469; the statistical statement offers no information whatsoever respecting the distribution by nationalities of either pupils or teachers. It is absolutely indubitable, however, that the respective quotas of pupils and teachers is even more unjust to the non-Slav nationalities

than it is in the case of the types of school already dealt with.

The only moment of interest to us in the part of the statement dealing with the higher education institutes — universities and colleges — is that this group includes also 15 private music and art schools with or without the status of public secondary schools — a fresh proof of the fact that in practice the prohibitory provisions of the Acts relating to the establishment of private schools is applied only as against the national minorities. In connection with the higher education institutes attention must be called further to the fact, injurious to the interests of the Magyar and German minorities, that the 9 Roman Catholic seminaries functioning in the country do not include a single Hungarian or German college, although there are almost 900.000 Roman Catholics of Magyar or German nationality, who, seeing that they represent 17.1% of the total number (5.200.000) of Roman Catholics in Yugoslavia, would be fully entitled to have at least 1 seminary each.

This is the real condition of the national minorities of Yugoslavia in respect of educational matters — as reflected by the official Yugoslav statistics!!!

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

SLOVAK TERRITORIAL DEMANDS IN MORAVIA

BY
NICHOLAS UDVARDY

In the parts remaining to Czecho-Slovakia after the dismemberment decided upon in Munich, fresh, apparently insoluble ethnic questions have arisen, which proves that the detachment of the areas inhabited by Hungarians, Sudeten Germans and Poles has not settled the population problems of that mosaic State. The Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks and Ruthenians remaining in the bosom of one State have not yet come to an agreement regarding the territorial limits of their own ethnic bodies, and now that it has come to drawing the frontiers between the three peoples, — now that after twenty years of procrastination the autonomous Slovak and Ruthenian areas are to be delimited, — it turns out that this is likely to lead to serious complications.

During the past twenty years the Slovaks and Ruthenians have been constantly quarrelling about those frontiers. The Slovaks wish to expand towards the east, the Ruthenians towards the west, each at the other's expense.

The events of the past week permit of the conclusion that, like the Slovak-Ruthenian frontier problem, the question of the frontier between the Slovaks and the Czechs will give rise to a serious conflict in the near future. The Slovaks are not contented with the territory possessed in pre-war Hungary; they also lay claim to the eastern part of Moravia. Now that they wish to delimit the frontiers of their autonomous State, they most energetically demand this area of Moravia. In connection with this question the "Slovak" of 6th November published an article by *Louis Miskovic* entitled

"Where Do Slovaks Dwell in Moravia?" Certain important passages of that article run as follows:

"During the past few months a wave of political, social and ethnic adjustment has swept over Europe and has resulted in quite large displacements in the map of that Continent.

"The process was begun by the Germans, but from the outset it was evident that they would demand not only their own rights, but also those of the rest of the nations. On the strength of these rights our Poles and Hungarians also demanded their separation from Czecho-Slovakia. And now the time has come for the Slovaks to demand their rights too.

"We have an account to settle with the Czechs, for among other things they are keeping ten towns and 239 villages in Moravia the inhabitants of which are Slovaks separated from Slovakia. (We say nothing about Valaska, which has lost its Slovak character.) If this region is not speedily regained, it will be lost to Slovakia for ever. It is a monstrous injustice that our Slovak brethren, the sons of the same Slovak nation as ourselves, should have no Slovak schools and administrative departments yet and that they are not members of the political body of the Slovak nation to which, by virtue of their ethnic origin and historical rights, they belong. For this reason our official leaders must strain every nerve to ensure that this Slovak group is attached to our country, the more so since they themselves demand it.

"What then do we want of Moravia? Nothing but what is our due from an ethnographic point of view. We demand the region inhabited by Slovaks, the frontier of which, beginning at Pozsony, follows the Danube and the Morva; then, turning to the north-west, winds up to Vychodney Marky, which now belongs to Germany, runs through Cáhnov and Valcic, from whence it deviates into South Moravia and runs across the mountains at Felsöc-Pavloskan Zdánske, Chribyn and Vizovské. In Moravia, more especially in Moravian Silesia, there are Slovaks living in the following towns besides those enumerated by Niederle: Uherské Hradíste, Uh. Brod, Uh. Ostroh, Kyjov, Hodonin, Brslav (belonging at present to Germany), Strznic, Nepajedla, Brenec and Veseli."

The full list of the places in Moravia inhabited by Slovaks is as follows. (See L. Niederle's *Moravské Slovensko*. Prague, 1918.)

County: Hostopec. District: Hostopec. Velki Pavovice, Nemcicki, Kobyly, Kakvice, Sakvice, Boretice, Urbice; *District: Klobouky.* Brumovice, Krumvir, Morkuvki.

County: Kyjovi. District: Kyjovi. Blisice, Bohuslavice, Borsov, Bezovice, Bukovány, Celoznice, Hysle, Hostejov, Jestrabice, Jezov, Leskovec, Kelcany, Korycany, Skorovice, Labut, Medlovice, Milotice, Mistrin, Morovany, Kostelec, Nicice, Osvetimany, Sardice, Skalka, Sobulky, Stavesice, Strazovice, Stupava, Svatohorice, Syrovin, Ujezdec, Vacenovice, Vlkos, Vracov, Zadovice, Zeravice. *District: Zanice.* Karlin, Neukovice, Ostrovanki, Veterov, Zeletice, Nasedlovice.

County: Hodonin. District: Hodonin. Bojanovice, Dolni, Cejkovice, Cejc, Dubnany, Horovany, Josefov, Luzice, Mikulcice, Mutenice, Potvorov Novy, Potvorov Stary, Prusansky, Ratiskovice, Terezov, Tesice, *District: Breclav Stara.* Bilovice, Hrusky, Podivin, Kostice, Lanzhot, Nova Ves, Lanstorf, Tynec, Tvrdonice, Zizkov. *District: Straznice.* Hrubá Vrbka, Mala Vrbka, Javornik, Knezdub, Kozojidky, Kuzelov, Lhota Hroznavá, Lhota Nova, Lhota Tvarozna, Líderovice, Lipov, Petrov, Radejov, Rohatec, Sudomerice, Tasov, Velka, Zeravice, Znorovy, Zvolenov.

County: Holšov. District: Vizovice. Slopé, Hor. Lhota, Dol. Lhota, Shradice, Provodov.

County: Brod. District: Bojkovice. Stary Hrozenkov, Bojkovice, Bzova, Hostetin, Kladna, Zilin, Komna, Krhov, Petruvka, Pitin, Preckovice, Roketnice, Rudimov. Rudice, Sanov, Zahorovice. *District: Uh. Brod.* Ujezd, Banov, Breova, Brezuvky, Bistice pod Lop., Casikov, Dobrkovice, Drslavice, Dubravy, Vel. Orechov, Havriceň Hradcovice, Ujezd Hrivny, Kanovice, Kelniky. Koritna, Lhota. Lopenik, Ludkovice, Luhacovice, Marsov, Nedachlevice, Nezdenice, Nivnice, Olsovec, Pasnovice, Podhradi, Polichno, Pozlovice, Praksice, Retechov-Pradlisko, Sumice, Strany, Sucha, Loza, Tesov, Veletiny, Vlcnov, Zlamanec. *District: Val. Klobouky.* Bohuslavice, Divnice, Haluzice, Hrade Krchov, Lhota Vlachova, Lipova Nemsova, Slavicin, Mladolice, Vlachovice, Vrbetice.

County: Uh. Hradiste. District: Napajedla. Halenkovice, Brezolupy, Komarov, Kosiky, Kudlovice, Sarovy, Spytinov, Svarov, Topolna, Zlutavy. *District: Uh. Hradiste.* Staré Hute, Staré Mesto, Babice, Bilovice, Borsice, Brestek, Buchlovice, Derfla, Hustenovice, Javorovec, Jalubi, Jankovice, Jarosov, Knezpol, Kostelany, Kunovice, Maratice, Mikovice, Mistrice, Nekadonice, Modra, Orehov, Podoli, Piesovice, Popovice, Salas, Stribnice, Susice, Traplice, Tucapy, Tupesy, Vazany, Vceraly, Velehrad, Věsky, Zlechov. *District: Ostroh.* Borice, Chylice, Dolnemcy,

Domanin, Blatnice Velka, Blatnicka, Hluk, Hornemci, Kovacice, Lhota Ostrozska, Louka, Milokost, Nova Ves, Pisek, Slavkov, Suchov, Temnice, Uher, Ostroh, Veselské Predmesty, Zavarice.

"We demand the attachment of these Slovak areas to Slovakia, and if our demand is not acceded to now, we shall insist on it until our efforts are crowned with success. We cannot give up our own race."

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It is an interesting fact that a few days after this article appeared — on 1st December, in the evening, to be precise — a great demonstration of the students of the Slovak Academy was held in the Pozsony Concert Hall. The slogan of the meeting was "A new and free Slovakia". The large hall was crowded to overflowing, so that many people got no farther than the staircase. When "*Hej Slovaci*" had been sung, the assembly was addressed by Editor-in-chief M. Moravcik, who vehemently attacked the Czech university professors in Slovakia. His speech was constantly interrupted by a chorus of cries of "Out with the Czechs!" Moravcik appealed to the students to make a united stand on 18th December, the day of the first Slovak Parliamentary elections. This appeal was received with a storm of assent and in chorus the audience cried: — "We want a Parliament without Czechs or Jews!" Speaking on behalf of the young generation, Dr. Kirschbaum said that they would never rest until the Slovaks separated from them were granted autonomy. The audience greeted this statement with a chorus of "We want everything back!" Several times the crowd shouted that the Czechs must give back the Slovak parts of Moravia. The youth of Slovakia — said Dr. Kirschbaum — must be on the alert and see that the development of free Slovakia should take place in a Slovak spirit. In conclusion he said that even those Czechs who were friendly would have to disappear from Slovak public life. The chief speaker of the evening was Dr. Mach, the head of the Slovak propaganda department, who in a somewhat lengthy speech declared that the Slovak nation must first grow strong and should wait until it had a weapon in its hand before taking an energetic stand. When the meeting was over the audience formed themselves into a procession and led by the Academy students

marched through the streets of the town, demonstrating in chorus against the Czechs. The mood of the Slovaks is best illustrated by the fact that this demonstration of the younger generation was transmitted by the Pozsony wireless station.

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As documentary evidence of the attitude of the Slovaks towards the question of the claims made on Moravia we publish the following letter to the editor of the "Slovák", which appeared in its November 20 issue. It was written by a Moravian of Slovak extraction.

"All who have a slight knowledge of Eastern Moravia, of the Vyskov Valley from Olmütz to Brno, see that there is great harmony between the Slovaks and the Moravians. This harmony is more than superficial, for the ties that link the two peoples to each other are strong because in character they are very similar. We are a deeply religious folk, and this divides us sharply from the Czechs. It is often said that the regions inhabited by the Slovaks and the Moravians are of a totally different character and that in consequence, the two peoples must also differ greatly. And there is some truth in this.

"But we are divided from the Czechs by fundamental characteristics, and do not want to move a finger to bridge the bottomless chasm that lies between them and us. We have no intention of reproaching the Czechs with their provocative behaviour towards us and the Slovaks or of casting in their teeth the fact that we were the Cinderellas of the Republic. We have forgotten all that. Nor do we plead with them. We do not plead because we are in a position to demand. And we demand that we should be given a chance to prove that we are capable of an independent national life. We do not want to waste our strength on party struggles. We wish to make use of it in the field of economics. Should we neglect to do this, we shall fail utterly in the sphere of foreign politics. Here everything is only partially solved. We are told that we do not want to work, but the truth is that the Czechs are not willing to make room for us near the fleshpots in the State institutions. The press owned by the Free Masons and the Jews has grown unbearably arrogant, and no one

dares to attempt to break its power. The newspapers opposed to Jewish and Free Mason interests that try to do so appear with whole pages blank. Labour camps are being established to provide the Czechs with a means of livelihood. Jewish and Social Democratic immigrants find work in them. While we are frequently obliged to work for a mere pittance, the men in the labour camps receive such good wages that they are able to buy up all chickens, ducks and geese in the neighbourhood, so that we cannot get poultry for love or money.

"Where is all this leading us? What are we waiting for? Moravians and Slovaks alike are groaning under this intolerable yoke.

"Let the slogan of independence ring out at last! Give us what is ours by right and allow us to be masters in our own country! We do not desire to sow dissension in this land, but we have had enough of humiliation and neglect. We Moravians want to live together with the Slovaks.

"It is the sixth week that *pourparlers* have been going on in Prague; but there is no trace of unity, unless there is unity in utter confusion, famine and destitution. We refuse to stand this any longer. We want to work and to build up a fairer and brighter future. This is our honest and at the same time inflexible determination. But to attain this end we must have a united programme of work and must labour for it with joint force. This is why we wish to join the Slovaks, to whom we are drawn by the ties of our glorious history, our ancient civilization, our fertile soil, our industrious and intelligent people, our beautiful national dress, our songs and our first-rate industries, coupled with a desire to live and an insatiable appetite for work.

"Only one thing more is necessary: unity must be established between the two peoples. A vital problem of this sort must not remain unsolved any longer. The last hour has struck for us to join forces with our Slovak brethren.

"And there is no power on earth that can prevent us uniting in that honest, though hard, labour with which we hope to ensure the future of our people, but especially of our children."

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We publish the above without any further comment as

proof that the Munich Agreement has not eliminated the hostility existing from the outset between the Slovaks and the Czechs. In our opinion the only way to resolve these differences would be to give the Slovaks full autonomy and let them decide their own future for themselves. In fact, when recently, led by the Slovak Minister, M. Durchansky, an enormous crowd in Pozsony feted Professor Tuka, the sorely tried leader of the Slovaks, the latter said: — "Today autonomy is not enough for the Slovak nation, for it is entitled to a sovereign, independent national existence." This statement was greeted with a storm of applause by the great crowd of people, foremost among whom was the Slovak Prime Minister, M. Tiso.

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OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

POLITICAL MOSAIC

COUNT JOHN ESTERHAZY'S STATEMENT IN RE THE PROBLEMS OF THE HUNGARIANS IN SLOVAKIA

The New Year's Day issue of the Pozsony "Uj Hírek" contains a statement made by Count John Esterházy, the leader of the United Hungarian Party of Slovakia, in which, amongst other things, he says:

"During the Czecho-Slovak era I had an opportunity to read the Autonomy Bill prepared by the Hlinka Party. That Bill definitely stated that the nationality groups in Slovakia were to enjoy full equality of rights. Today only the German national group enjoys equality, the Hungarians certainly do not. We who from the very outset struggled together with the Slovak People's Party for Slovak autonomy cannot afford to be silent now, for that would give the impression that we are satisfied with the course of events. I trust that the Slovak Government will abide by its original idea of equal rights for all and will not be diverted from that intention by those incidents which we deplore as much as the Slovaks themselves. We have had no part in them, on the contrary, we have done and shall continue to do what lies in our power to prevent such incidents and make reparation for them."

In the rest of his statement Count Esterházy proclaims the brotherhood of Hungarians and Slovaks, but lays stress on the point that the Hungarians of Slovakia cannot leave the management of their affairs in the hands of others. He therefore appeals for closer co-operation and intensified Hungarian work. In conclusion he thanks the Hungarians of Slovakia for their praiseworthy unity under the most difficult circumstances, their self-sacrificing loyalty to Christian and national ideas, and their self-discipline.

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BURNING BIDDIES: BLOODY RECORDS

A number of brutal cases recently occurring on the Hungaro-Slovak demarcation line fixed by the resolutions of the Vienna Conference show that Prague is still unable to throw off the spirit initiated by the Beneš régime. It is this same spirit that has always constituted a constant danger to the peace of Europe and is still busy creating new troubles to throw fresh obstacles in the way of a Hungaro-Slovak rapprochement.

The Czechoslovak State, which was an unnatural formation from the very moment it was created at the Trianon, has become an even more unnatural political formation in consequence of the loss of parts of its territory after the Munich Conference. This situation was clearly seen by the Slovaks and Ruthenes, who realized that a collaboration with Hungary was an essential factor of their future existence. With a view to counterbalancing this pro-Hungarian tendency the Czechs have arranged the tragic collisions which recently occurred between the Slovak population and the Hungarian gendarmerie in the villages of Nagysurány and Nagyszalánc on this side of the demarcation line, and of which the Czechs gave their Slovak and Ruthene population a grossly exaggerated and distorted description. As soon as they felt sure that these bloody incidents had at last helped to shake their Slovaks and Ruthenes somewhat in their pro-Hungarian sympathies, the Czechs ordered a coup d'état-like census on New Year's, Eve in the hope that those who had formerly sympathized with Hungary would now profess to be Czechoslovaks. This kind of procedure is characteristic of that "Benešian" spirit which will debase itself so far as to sacrifice the lives of innocent children, merely to change the results of a statistical manipulation.

Obviously enough, the Hungarians could not possibly remain silent in face of this malignant campaign against Hungary. Accordingly, the Hungarian Government proceeded to lodge several protests in Prague concerning which the following official report was published on December 31-st for the information of public opinion in Hungary:

"The Czechoslovak Press and Radio recently launched a violent campaign against the administration and government of the Hungarian State in most exceptionable and opprobrious terms.

"The Hungarian Government has repeatedly attempted to ascertain both in Prague and at Pozsony (Bratislava) as to what exactly may lie behind the lies calumniating Hungary, which — as may be seen from the Slovak and Ruthenian broadcasts of the Vienna Radio — have been disseminated even abroad. The Government has obtained several assurances, but the news-campaign has not ceased.

"The Hungarian Government has, today, again informed the Prague Government that it is not prepared to remain inactive in face of the hostile propaganda being conducted against Hungary both in Czechoslovakia and abroad. The Government does not propose to follow the same course as the organizations of the Czechoslovak news service have chosen to pursue. It considers it both below its own dignity and thoroughly impracticable to assume this unusual style of propaganda, which — it feels sure — cannot possibly serve the interests of either Hungary or Czechoslovakia. It wishes to preserve the most friendly relations with its Slovak neighbour, the primary conditions of which it has already postulated both in Hungary and abroad.

"We regret to point out, however, that a significant proportion of the Hungarian public, which has hitherto displayed a feeling of sincere friendship towards the Slovak people, is painfully surprized at this sudden attack on the part of the Slovak Press and Radio, and it begins to wonder whether this unexpected anti-Hungarian propaganda — initiated, so to say, at a word of command — does not serve the purpose of influencing the results of the census which has been ordered in Slovakia by surprize? And, indeed, it is not impossible to imagine from a human point of view that the Hungarian population of Slovakia — under the pressure of artificially increased terror — as well as the pro-Hungarian part of the Slovak population — acting under the influence of such wild rumours about Hungary — may ultimately react in a way that actually seems to justify the feeling of optimism which the political authorities of Slovakia have officially expressed in respect of the results of the census".

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WHAT HAPPENED AT MECENZÉF

As a result of the demarcation of the new frontier between Hungary and Slovakia the upper part of the valley in which Mecenzéf, a village inhabited by Germans, is situated, has been left within the territory of Czecho-Slovakia, the new frontier having been fixed at a distance of 1.5 kilometres from the village. As a consequence the situation of Mecenzéf in economic respects has become exceptionally precarious: for, while on the one hand the demarcation of the new frontier has severed its economic connections, on the other hand the persons living in the farther part of the valley have to cross a hill (Mount Stoss) to reach the nearest large township, Szomolnok. The inhabitants of Mecenzéf thus badly hit economically have appealed to various forums with the request that they should be incorporated in Hungary and sent a deputation to Chancellor Hitler, who advised the deputation

to apply to the Vienna Court of Arbitration. The appeal has everywhere fallen on deaf ears; indeed, attempts have been made to make the population of the village, by drill and the display of national flags, forget their grave material situation. It was to this end that, on Sunday, December 11th., the Carpathian German Party arranged a meeting at Alsó-mecenzéf. The meeting was attended also by Secretary of State Karmasin, at the head of 200 Members of the German Party Defence Organisation. A section of the population began to demonstrate against the Secretary of State and his suite. When they marched into the village the strangers were received with shouts of disapproval and a shower of stones. However, the German Party insisted upon holding the meeting. As a consequence, the demonstration continued, and several shots were fired. A stray bullet wounded a girl; and many people who took part in the meeting were injured by stones. The windows of Secretary of State Karmasin's car were smashed.

In a communication to the press issued by the Deutsche Nachrichtenbureau, which had been misled and cajoled by the anti-Hungarian propaganda of the Czechs, it was alleged that what happened at Mecenzéf was that Hungarian "terrorists" attacked Secretary of State Karmasin and his 200 followers. These Hungarian "terrorists" — so the said communication alleged — crossed into Slovak territory from Hungary armed with machine-guns and bombs.

In connection with this affair Count John Esterházy, Hungarian Deputy elected for Slovakia, in the December 14th. issue of the "Uj Hírek", a paper appearing in Pozsony, published a statement giving the facts, which runs as follows:

"The affair at Mecenzéf is known to me only from the report of the "Grenzbote"; so I do not intend to make any statement regarding the event itself. I must however establish the fact that the last official offer made by the Czecho-Slovak Government and by the Slovak Government respectively to Hungary prior to the finding of the Vienna Court of Arbitration included the village of Mecenzéf and its environs in the territory to be re-incorporated in Hungary. On the day when the Vienna Court took its decision... (here several lines have been cancelled by the Slovak Censor)... the sections of territory referred to above were left in Slovakia. Anyone looking at this region from a Slovak point of view must see at once that... (another line cancelled by the Censor)... are embittered in consequence. This must have been the cause of the otherwise regrettable incident, which in all probability..." (the rest of the statement cancelled by the Censor).

The Czecho-Slovak Government instituted an official inquiry into the matter of the demonstrations at Mecenzéf.

According to the official communiqué issued on December 16th. the inquiry made by the Commission of Investigation established the fact that only local inhabitants took part in the demonstrations. The shots must also undoubtedly have been fired by villagers. The inquiry showed the unfounded character of the report which alleged that the demonstrators had machine-guns, the only machine-guns being those in the possession of the authorities, while no use was made of the machine-guns, seeing that the demonstrators made no attempt to defy the authorities.

In its December 17th. issue the "Szepesi Híradó", a paper appearing at Igló, in Slovakia, published an Open Letter from the inhabitants of Mecenzéf in which the villagers frankly and unequivocally reveal the truth and describe what really happened:

"Down to 1918" — so runs the Open Letter (written in German) of the good folk of Mecenzéf — "there was no distinction whatsoever in Zipserland between Magyar and German, Slovak, Ruthenian and Pole; we were all brethren united in feeling as "Zipser" (Men of Zipserland). In 1919, however, certain people came to think they had just discovered that they were really Germans and began to cultivate the so-called pan-German orbit, — a policy of an entirely local character: we on our part were content to confine our activities to the limits prescribed by the Zipserland German Party. A few years ago, at Késmárk, there was established the Carpatho-German Party, which was however under the direction, not of a Zipserland German, but of a Czech German, who was fain to regard us Men of Zips as second-rate persons. The Secretary of this Party was M. Karmasin. Then ensued the decisive events of recent months. Fate has visited us most severely, — not from the national, perhaps, but from the economic point of view. Until 1918 all of us alike — small burghers, craftsmen and farmers — were well-to-do. We were able to sell our products in Hungary, primarily in Transylvania. The Treaty of Trianon left us at least Kassa and its environs; and, though in the past twenty years our lot has been an unspeakably hard one, we managed to live somehow. But the situation into which we have been plunged by the Vienna decision is an absolutely desperate one. We have been deprived of our last market and are cut off from all road and railway connections; we have been reduced to a state of veritable destitution. The deputations sent by us to Kassa, Prague and Berlin refrained from stressing the political side of the matter, confining themselves exclusively to the economic causes. Nevertheless we have been completely misunderstood by the Carpatho-German organisation, which has spoken of us as traitors to our people. We have always emphasised that we are just as proud of our German race as every other honest German; and in the rooms of all our people you will find portraits of Adolf Hitler, our deeply beloved

Leader. But we desire to continue to live by our German industry and work and to continue to do credit to our race. Seeing that it is impossible, owing to geographical difficulties, for us to be incorporated in Greater Germany, we have been compelled — and are justified in doing so — to try to find a solution ensuring our subsistence. We were informed that these endeavours of ours had been frustrated by M. Karmasin; it is therefore perfectly comprehensible that our hearts should have been filled with hatred of M. Karmasin. For we failed to understand why we could not be quite good Germans without choosing M. Karmasin as our leader. And why should we not be able to preserve our German self-consciousness while desiring to be incorporated in Hungary — in the strength of Nibelung loyalty? We are quite unable to believe that our deeply beloved Leader — Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany — could regard our procedure as being shameful. On the contrary, we are perfectly convinced that our honesty will be highly esteemed by every true German. Weeks ago we notified M. Karmasin that his visit to our village was anything but welcome to us. We described our desperate situation; and the reply we received was to the effect that everything necessary to our subsistence would be sent us. We declined the offer, protesting that we were not beggars soliciting alms. We were informed on reliable authority that M. Karmasin had for weeks been making preparations to "conquer" the people of Mecenzéf. We were dumfounded at his having taken no notice of our message and still insisting on paying us a visit on December 14th. And he did so. M. Karmasin came to Mecenzéf accompanied by 200 "bodyguards". The meeting that had been announced was actually held; but the only people to show any enthusiasm were the 200 "bodyguards", the rest of the audience adopting a passive attitude, though it was impossible to prevent some of those present from showing their disapproval by throwing stones. But it was not an attack made by traitors and terrorists; merely the defiant expression of the embitterment of the people: certainly not a crime. All other statements made in connection with the meeting are pure inventions. What naiveté to pretend that Hungarian soldiers intervened and to assert that tear-bombs had to be used to drive them away!! Where were the alleged machine-guns? Who saw any wounded? And where was the alleged damage done? The sole reason why these fables were invented was that those who had proposed to conquer Mecenzéf were horribly annoyed at the failure of their scheme. Attempts are always made to gloss over a defeat; otherwise the leader is dismissed. We are not "terrorists" or "Hungarian footpads": still less are we "traitors": we are merely honest, industrious German burghers desirous only to be given an opportunity to work diligently, to educate our children and to train them to be loyal to the land of their birth."

VOLOSIN SURROUNDS HIMSELF WITH FORMER COMMUNISTS

The Volosin Government, which, as is well known, owes its appointment to the confidence placed in it by Prague and not to the will of the Ruthenian people, is co-operating with men who a few months ago were the most rabid Communists and played a prominent rôle in the life of the Communist Party. Until the 24th of September these men attacked with fury the nationalist movement in their newspapers; today they would fain have the Ruthenians believe them to be the apostles of nationalism. The following are a few names of well known Communists who are now supporters of the Volosin Government:

Julius Revay is a member of the Volosin Cabinet. He was a People's Commissar in Hungary during the Communist Dictatorship of evil memory. After the collapse of the Red rule, he escaped to Ruthenia, where, first as Communist and later as a member of other parties, he wormed his way into lucrative State posts. He was elected in 1935 on the Social Democrat list, but only by means of residue votes, as the Czecho-Slovak Social Democrat Party in Ruthenia, which was Ukrainian in its sympathies, was not able to collect sufficient votes for a single mandate. This fact certainly shows how popular the Ukrainian movement is in Ruthenia. — *Fedor Fuscic*, Communist leader and Communist Party Senator, is one of the organizers and leaders of the "Szitsh" Ukrainian terrorist organization. — *Fedor Revay*, brother of the Minister of the same name, deserted the Czecho-Slovak Social Democrat Party because he did not think it sufficiently Marxist, i. e. Communist. Today he is publisher and responsible editor of the pro-Ukrainien Government's official organ. — *Victor Kurach* is a school-inspector in Huszt. During the Communist Dictatorship in Hungary he played a leading rôle in Sárospatak. — *Basil Borkanuk* is a Parliamentary representative of the Ruthenian Communist Party, who has never been able to speak of people with nationalist sympathies in his public speeches without imprecations and curses. He was one of those who were loudest in their abuse of Germany, and of the leaders of the Reich. — *Dr. Vladimir Komanisky*, *Dr. J. Ochrimovic*, *Andrew Rudy Cuperek*, *Dr. Rualovsky*, and *Dr. Dolinsky*, who today are the leaders of the Ukrainian terrorism which oppresses the unfortunate Ruthenian people, are all Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia, Bukovina and Russia, who have nothing in common with Ruthenia and its people. — *Stephen Klocurak*, head of the Press Department of the Volosin Government, was also a prominent Communist and the hero of several embezzlement scandals. — *Dimitry Nimcuk*, former Communist Leader, is known to have committed robbery and murder in 1919.

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ILLITERACY IN RUTHENIA SYSTEMATICALLY
ENCOURAGED BY CZECHS

The level of culture differs greatly in the several provinces of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. A much higher grade prevails in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia than in certain parts of Slovakia, though even in that province matters might be worse. But in Ruthenia the situation is so hopeless that one is forced to the conclusion that ignorance and illiteracy have been systematically encouraged among the Ruthenians.

At the time of the last census very few of the inhabitants of Bohemia proper over ten years of age were found unable to read and write. The average was 1.2 per cent, and even less — not even 1 per cent — among the Germans of that province. The figures were practically the same in Moravia and Silesia (1.5 per cent). There, too, the proportion of illiterates among the Germans was less than 1 per cent. The average for the Czechs in those provinces was 1.5 per cent and 2.5 per cent for the Poles.

In the province called Slovenskó (Slovakia) the state of affairs was much worse. Here the proportion was 8.2 per cent. The fewest illiterates were to be found among the Germans (4.3 per cent), then came the Magyars with 5.0 per cent. The proportion of the so-called Czecho-Slovak elements unable to read and write, though greater, did not exceed 7.8 per cent, but the Carpatho-Russians (Ruthenians) dwelling in that province were extremely backward in education, and the proportion of illiterates among them was 29.7 per cent. Slovakia with its 8.2 per cent of illiterates is on a much higher level of culture than Ruthenia. In the latter province every third person over ten years of age — 30.9 per cent — is unable to read or write. The proportion of German illiterates (4.5 per cent) is not greater here than in Slovakia, but compared with the western parts of Upper Hungary we find a deterioration among the Magyars of Ruthenia, for the proportion of illiterates among them is 8.9 per cent — a sign that the educational policy of the Czechs has done its best to neglect the Magyar minority. Most lamentable of all is the cultural level of the Ruthenians themselves, 42.4 per cent of whom can neither read nor write. Of these 34.3 per cent are men, the rest women.

Conditions in the towns restored to Hungary are satisfactory enough, certainly much more so than in the parts of Upper Hungary remaining to Czecho-Slovakia which lie outside the Hungarian cultural zone. The proportion in Upper Hungary of people over ten years of age able to read and write is 89.7 per cent, while in the towns restored it is on an average over 95 per cent, the only exceptions being Beregszász and Munkács with but slightly more than 90 per cent. The figures are: 94.5% for Kassa, 96.5% for Komárom and 97% for Léva and Ungvár, these

last two of all the towns restored having the largest proportion of inhabitants able to read and write.

In the Hungarian towns of Ruthenia the situation is only very slightly less satisfactory than in the Hungarian towns lying more to the west. In Ungvár, for instance, the census found only 3 per cent of illiterates, i. e. the same proportion as in Léva. This is another proof that even Czech oppression proved powerless to exterminate Hungarian culture. On the other hand these figures throw a glaring light on the cultural conditions prevailing in the part of Ruthenia left to Czecho-Slovakia. For if we subtract the populations of the towns restored to Hungary from the total of Ruthenia's inhabitants and then compute the proportion of Ruthenians able to read and write, we shall find it well under 50 per cent. *The majority of the inhabitants of Ruthenia are illiterates.* This is the result of twenty years of Czech cultural work in that province, of the Czech educational policy which from the very outset regarded the Ruthenians with enmity and treated them as an oppressed minority.

The following table shows the number and proportion of persons able to read and write in the towns restored to Hungary.

		Number of persons over ten years of age able to read and write	Percentage of population over ten years of age
Kassa	70.111	55.411	94.5
Komárom	21.158	17.338	96.5
Beregszász	19.007	13.569	90.0
Érsekújvár	22.457	17.387	95.6
Léva	12.576	10.019	97.0
Losonc	15.459	12.863	95.5
Munkács	29.361	18.388	90.5
Ungvár	33.133	19.801	97.0
Czecho-Slovakia			
before Nov. 2.	14,729.000	11,241.648	95.5
Slovakia	3,329.000	2,265.240	89.7
Ruthenia	725.000	248.378	48.5

Czech statistics do not mention Jolsva, Rimaszombat and Rozsnyó separately, as the number of their inhabitants is under 10.000.

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MINORITY CITIZENS MAY NOT ACQUIRE REAL ESTATE IN RUMANIA

An edict has been issued by the Rumanian Government empowering the State by virtue of its right to forestall others to buy any real estate for sale, for the purpose of insuring that it shall pass into the hands of members of the Rumanian ethnic unit. This law precludes the possibility of minority citizens

acquiring real estate in any of the towns or villages. As we know, the Agrarian Law of 1921 gave the State the prior right to purchase any land offered for sale. The new law in the first place unifies all the relevant provisions in force in the various parts of the country and then decrees that the State must exercise its right of pre-emption in all cases where the land for sale exceeds one hectare in extent. This right may also be enforced if the real estate in question lies within the interior confines of a municipality. The "Universul" of 21st December points out that this law is intended to ensure that only Rumanians may purchase real estate. To further this end the State will create a separate fund within the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture and will authorize the Minister of Agriculture to negotiate extraordinary loans if necessary. At the same time the Casa Rurala, an agrarian institution, has been authorized by the Ministry of Finance to raise its capital funds to 100 million lei in order to facilitate the nationalization of real estate. Half of that capital is to be subscribed by the State. The task of the Casa Rurala will be to purchase all the real estate which, in spite of its right to forestall, the State is not able to take over. A further task will be to buy the lots which under the provisions of the Land Reform became the property of peasant farmers, who now, for some reason or other, are compelled to sell them.

A measure particularly prejudicial to the interests of the minorities is that which entrusts the Casa Rurala with the task of establishing settlements in "certain districts", for this means that the land sold by minority citizens in minority districts will pass into the hands of Rumanians settled there by the *Casa Rurala*.

Much anxiety has been caused in minority circles by the fact that the *Casa Rurala* has been authorized to pay for the real estate purchased with "Municipal vouchers" (*Bonuri Rurale*). In terms of this measure the *Casa Rurala* will take possession of the land or houses to be sold by minority citizens without actually paying an equivalent for them. This will create a situation similar to that which arose at the time of the Land Reform, when, as is well known, the owners of the expropriated estates were paid with worthless long-term bonds.

It is interesting to note that under § 148 of the Agrarian Act of 17th July, 1921, the Casa Rurala may acquire possession of real estate either by agreement with its owner or by forcible expropriation. In future, therefore, the expropriation of any minority estate may be declared necessary in the interests of the State, and in terms of the above-mentioned paragraph the property will pass into the hands of the Casa Rurala. A separate provision stipulates that real estate purchased by the Casa Rurala and sold by that institution to citizens of Rumanian ethnic origin may never again pass into

the possession of non-Rumanians. This, in effect, means that in future minority citizens will not be able to buy houses or land in Rumania.

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THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA

The general elections held on December 11, 1938, resulted — as seemed doubtless from the outset — in a victory of the Government. The voters had a choice of three general lists, namely: first, the general Government Party list, headed by the Premier, M. Stojadinovitch; secondly, the general opposition list headed by M. Maček, representing the temporary union of not less than 11 different opposition parties; and, thirdly, the general list of the so-called "Zbor" Party, headed by M. Lyotić.

The results in the various Banates were as follows (the figures in brackets show the results of the elections of 1935, held by the Yevtitch Government):

	M. Stoyadinovitch's list	M. Macek's list	M. Lyotic's list
Drave Banate	170.252 (125.105)	45.123 (21.226)	1.132
Save "	111.483 (171.504)	529.812 (440.393)	2.137
Danube "	372.085 (348.179)	129.269 (132.019)	17.291
Mour "	248.733 (255.071)	77.818 (54.652)	802
Drina "	189.291 (115.186)	136.297 (106.557)	3.806
Vrbas "	107.421 (119.409)	101.873 (97.563)	1.071
Coast "	42.781 (68.380)	159.428 (136.307)	2.387
Vardar "	227.716 (255.528)	74.977 (44.092)	133
Zeta "	128.174 (154.701)	70.765 (34.847)	1.041
Belgrade City	39.683 (31.957)	11.561 (9.933)	510
Total:	1636.519 (1748.024)	1336.823 (1075.389)	30.310 (25.705)

The above results show that M. Stoyadinovitch's list canvassed 115,505 votes less than M. Yevtitch's list in 1935, and that while the majority of M. Yevtitch's over M. Maček's list amounted to 672,635, M. Stojadinovitch secured only 299,696 votes more than M. Maček's list, which canvassed 261,434 more votes this time than in 1935. The total number of electors in 1935 was 3,914,945, of whom 2,881,915 (73.61%) actually voted, while this time the number of electors amounted to 4,100,000, of whom 3,003,652 (73.26%) actually exercised their right of suffrage; that is to say, 121,737 more electors actually took part in the voting this time than in 1935, but this increase of the number of voters resulted in a shifting of the situation in favour of the united opposition list, and not in favour of the Government.

Let us now consider how many ways and means the Stoyadinovitch Cabinet had at its disposal to influence the course of the elections, such as: the extraordinary successes of the Govern-

ment both at home and abroad since 1935, the application of the entire machinery of official administration and the system of censorship, the careful preparation of the elections, the numerous and sometimes very significant facilities given to certain sections of society, especially to associations and communities, and — last but not least — the enormous advantages for the Government induced by the provisions of the Franchise Act. If we consider this advantageous situation of the Government, we cannot help thinking that M. Stoyadinovitch's Cabinet has won a victory of very doubtful value, as it has only secured 54.7% of the votes, as against 44.3% of the votes secured by M. Maček's general opposition list.

As regards the minorities — who represent about 17.4% of the total population (numbering more than 2,600,000) — they will be represented by only 3 members, which means in reality the total exclusion of the minorities from parliamentary representation. Of the minority representatives one is a Hungarian, one is a German, and one an Albanian, while the Macedo-Bulgarian minority (c. 800,000) and the Rumanian minority (c. 134,000) will not be represented at all in the Skupshtina. This is what the practical realization of political equality in Yugoslavia looks like!

As to the distribution of seats in view of the present results, it should be noted that — according to the system of premiums which is secured in the Franchise Act — the Government Party will receive first of all three-fifths of the total number of seats; in addition to this, it will partake in the distribution of the remaining two-fifths in all constituencies where its list has secured the majority of votes. According to preliminary calculations, then, the Government Party will hold 303 seats in the Skupshtina, while the Opposition will receive only 68 seats.

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NEW FOREIGN MINISTER IN HUNGARY

On 28th November the Regent, Admiral Horthy, addressed a cordial letter to M. de Kánya, accepting his resignation, which with reference to his advanced age and the state of his health, the latter had tendered, and on 10th December appointed Count Stephen Csáky Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, to the vacant office. M. de Kánya received his training in diplomacy in the foreign service of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and he worked there, as permanent deputy of the successive Foreign Ministers and with the rank of ambassador. After the War, as Foreign Minister of Hungary, he took part in shaping the new policy dictated by the difficult and dangerous situation of the dismembered, independent country. The leading principle of this policy was that the future interests and the rights of an ambitious and self-conscious Hun-

garian nation must be preserved amidst the arbitrarily imposed conditions. This foreign policy required incessant work in the interest of peaceful revision, which was bound to come sooner or later. M. de Kánya was a "real" politician and his greatest success was achieved when after the assassination of King Alexander a conflict arose between Yugoslavia and Hungary and he, together with Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, League of Nations delegate, effectively co-operated in the maintenance of peace without sacrificing Hungary's self-esteem, despite the fact that "Europe brushed war with its elbow". He has now retired from office at the age of seventy, when this nation has reached the first milestone on the path of revision.

The new Foreign Minister, Count Csáky, is 44 years of age. His appointment signifies the advent of a new personality in the world of Hungarian diplomacy. The beginnings of his career coincide with those of an independent Hungarian foreign policy. His first official mission was a mournful one. He took part in the work of the Hungarian delegation to the Peace Conference, and thus was an eye-witness of the manner in which historical, ethnographical and geographical rights were trampled under foot and of what the loudly proclaimed right of self-determination in reality meant. This must surely have left an indelible impression on his soul. With these reminiscences he set out on what was to prove a diplomatic career of exceptional ability, vigour and success. He served his country abroad and also in the most important departments of the Foreign Ministry, from the Press Department to the office of Private Secretary. The Ministers under whom he worked entrusted him with the most important negotiations abroad, which gave him an opportunity of making many friends in foreign countries. His journeys to Rome and Warsaw at the time of the Czecho-Slovak crisis were of great service. The foreign Press commented on his appointment with unusual sympathy. It is of more than symbolic significance that as M. de Kánya's career closed with the restoration of Upper Hungary, Count Csáky's real career begins with the inauguration of a new era in foreign politics, the first stage of which was that important event.

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REFORMS INTRODUCED BY HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IN 1938.

Although the Hungarian Government and legislature were kept unusually busy by the international tension necessitating mobilization, the Munich Agreement and the restoration, in terms of the Vienna arbitral award, of Upper Hungary and its organic amalgamation with the Hungarian State, the Hungarian Parliament was particularly active in the sphere of social reforms

during the past year. The reforms introduced in 1938 are as follows:

Secret Ballot. Hitherto the votes at Parliamentary elections were cast by secret ballot in certain places only, but in the majority of the constituencies voting was open. Universal secret ballot has now been introduced. In the provincial constituencies the old system of individual candidature remains, but parallel with this the municipalities will elect their representatives by lists. Honest elections are guaranteed by severe sanctions. It should be noted that parish and town council elections have always been secret.

Practical science in secondary education. Alongside of the old humanist schools the organization of others of a practical nature has been decided.

Distillery and Vineyard Act. The industrial manufacture of spirits has been made a State monopoly, a measure which will help to improve the prospects of agricultural distilleries and thus provide better chances of employment for large sections of the agrarian population. The Vineyard Act will encourage the production of Hungarian fine wines, do away with vineyards in areas unsuitable for vine-growing, and ensure a uniform method of fighting the diseases of vines and other fruit-trees.

National Bank Reform. The National Bank Reform provides for the re-discounting of small short term loans to farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen.

One billion pengő for investments. Parliament has voted the sum of one billion pengő for investments. This sum is to be employed to develop the National Defence Army, build roads and bridges and improve social and public health institutions, and will also be appropriated to enable small farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen to thrive. Of this 1000 millions, 600 will be raised by a capital levy, the rest will take the form of a 400 million debenture loan.

Wage minimum, working-hours maximum and paid holidays. The wage minimum and working-hours maximum in the various branches of industry have been fixed, and private enterprise has been required to give its employees annual paid holidays.

Family protection. Public employees, who have hitherto received a family grant for every child, will now get more, and this system has now been introduced in the case of private employees too. Public servants who have held their posts for a considerable period will receive an extra allowance. A central fund has been established for the benefit of workmen, out of which they will receive family grants. Fathers of large families will pay less in taxes and receive other privileges: they must get the first chance of employment and if several of their sons have served their military years, the others will be exempt from military service.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA AND THEIR MORAL

The elections in Slovakia on December 18, 1938, resulted in a victory of the Government Party. It is worth while to stop for a moment and see what lessons the results of these elections may teach us. The first of these lessons is that through these elections the Slovak people has passed judgement on the absolutistic government of Prague in the last twenty years and has expressed its warm sympathy for the idea of self-government. In a word, Prague has been utterly disavowed by this manifestation of the people's will through the general elections. The second lesson is that the Czecho-Slovak Government, having deprived the Slovak people of the possibility of exercising its right of self-determination, has substituted for this very essential political right the rather doubtful privilege of general elections.

And, finally, there is also a third lesson to be learnt from these elections, which is all the more important as it bears on the minority problem. Namely, the Tiso Cabinet placed only one list before the electors, on which list the candidates of the minorities occupied those places which the Government was willing to assign to them of its own accord; thus, Count Esterházy, the candidate of the Hungarian Party, occupied the seventeenth place on the list. By this method the entire Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, (i. e. about 150.000 people) will be represented by one single member in the Parliament of Slovakia. Even in the past the Hungarian minority has often complained that, while 17.000 — 20.000 votes were enough for the election of a Czech or Slovak member, a Hungarian candidate had to secure at least 32.000 votes for a seat in Parliament. The policy of the Tiso Cabinet is, therefore, not only a flagrant violation of international obligations, but also a gross insult to the Hungarian minority, whose situation in the new State is now even more hopeless than it was in the old

Czechoslovak Republic. Apparently the leaders of the new Czecho-Slovak-Ruthenian Republic have not learnt anything from the tragedy of the Czechoslovak State.

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SLOVAK CENSUS: ILLEGAL METHODS EMPLOYED

On 31st December the Slovak Government ordered a census. This sudden decision was of the nature of a putsch, and the methods employed were detrimental to the interests of the minorities, for the inhabitants were not allowed to fill up the papers themselves. This work was done by the census agents. The census was taken so suddenly that very many people knew nothing about it, and either their names were omitted or in their absence the agents wrote what they liked in their papers. It even happened that the census officers simply filled up the papers with data taken from the registers kept by the doorkeepers of apartment houses, without seeing the tenants themselves. In other places the names were taken from the list of electors and only such data added as suited the agents' purpose. The census officers were always accompanied on their rounds by Hlinka Guards, who took care that no data of which they did not approve were allowed to appear in the census papers.

In these circumstances it is no wonder that the taking of the census was conducted amidst a storm of protests on the part of the German and Hungarian inhabitants. The United Hungarian Party has made representations to the authorities concerned in order to safeguard the rights of the Hungarians of Slovakia in connection with the census.

M. Karmasin, M. P., Secretary of State for German minority affairs in the Slovak Cabinet, telegraphed his protest to Premier Tiso. He also set forth in writing the attitude of the German minority, according to which the figures of the census must be considered invalid because of the illegal methods employed. M. Karmasin insisted that the rights of the minorities could not be curtailed on the strength of an illegally conducted census and that the Slovak Government had no right to issue any decrees dealing with the minority situation.

In his telegram to Premier Tiso, M. Karmasin stressed the point that the circumstances accompanying the census might easily be responsible for a breach in the good understanding existing between the German racial group and the Slovak Government. M. Karmasin also expressed his dissatisfaction with the circumstance that no notice of the intended census was given to the German State Secretary's Department, which created the impression that the Slovak Government was mistrustful of that Department. Furthermore he disapproved of the fact that only Czecho-Slovak agents had been employed.

Practically the entire text of newspaper articles criticizing the defective methods of the census was deleted by the Slovak censor.

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BRUTALITY OF UKRANIAN TERRORISTS

The Ruthenian population in December lived in constant fear of the Ukranian terrorists, who, though in the minority, exercise the executive power and in December too continued to suppress all movements of a Ruthenian character. In public places the people are not allowed to speak anything but Ukranian. The decision of the Ruthenians to have their children taught in Ruthenian has been simply ignored, and Ukranian has been arbitrarily introduced in the Ruthenian schools. The Government offices have been unable to work, because Ukranian has been introduced in the administration — formerly conducted in Czech — though the population does not understand it. The language problem is one of the most difficult problems in Ruthenia, because all the Ukranian exiles from Poland, Rumania and the Western States have settled in Ruthenia and want to force their own language on the Ruthenian population. The population of the large and small towns has at once become abnormally large. Thus, for instance the population of the village of Szolyva has increased from 7000 to 21.000. Instead of disarming the soldiers, new recruits have been called to the colours. Food problems are becoming more and more serious now in the winter season. The roads are so bad in some places that communication has become almost impossible.

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MAIZE — AS A MEANS OF PROPAGANDA IN EVENT OF PLEBISCITE

Instead of distributing among the population the maize consignments imported into Ruthenia, the Volosin Cabinet has ordered that the maize should be stored. The Government thinks that a plebiscite will in the near future be held in Ruthenia, and it intends to employ these consignments of maize as a means of propaganda in the event of a plebiscite. The population already calls the "Vlasta" cigarettes plebiscite cigarettes because the price has been reduced from 4 hellers to 1 heller. By this and similar tricks the Volosin Cabinet is trying to popularise Ukrainism.

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HUNGARIAN SCHOOL OF TÉCSŐ — CLOSED

It is reported from Técső (December 16.) that the Ukranian authorities of the village have ordered the closing of the local Hungarian senior school and have dismissed the staff of Hungarian teachers. The closing down of the Hungarian school was immediately followed by the opening of a Ukranian school to serve the purpose of the speedy Ukranization of the Hungarian population. All employees not in the service of the State are compelled to send their children to classes in Ukranian. Vehement protests have been lodged by the Hungarian population against this violent attack on the cultural rights of the minorities.

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RUMANIA

TWENTY THOUSAND PEOPLE OMITTED FROM LIST OF RUMANIAN CITIZENS IN NAGYVÁRAD

In comparison with other towns the number of people omitted from the list of Rumanian citizens in Nagyvárad is very large. The consequences to these people, especially to those on the pension list, are extremely disagreeable. The latter have been told to send in their applications for pensions, which must be endorsed by the Mayor of the town, to the pension department. It has been established that about twenty thousand people — or nearly a quarter of the inhabitants of the town — have been omitted from the list of Rumanian citizens.

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THE MAROSVASARHELY "CATHERINE BETHLEN" SOCIETY, A CALVINIST CHARITY ORGANIZATION, SUPPRESSED

On instructions received from the Ministry of Justice the Marosvásárhely Court has decreed to cancel the rights as fictitious person of the "Catherine Bethlen" Society in that town. An ordinance issued by the Minister of Justice licenced the activity of the society and established its position as a fictitious person in 1927.

An appeal against the sentence of the Court has been filed. The aims of the society are noble ones: the welfare and education of women. The object is to implant religious feelings and educate the girls living in the institute belonging to the society, most of whom are the daughters of Reformed Church pastors and teachers, in a real Calvinist spirit. At present there are 60 girls living as boarders in the institute. Their parents are scarcely able to pay the compulsory monthly fees. The rest is paid by the denomination.

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MINORITY PHYSICIANS WHO HAVE BEEN IN PRACTICE 15—20 YEARS COMPELLED TO RETIRE

The committee appointed to re-consider diplomas acquired abroad and "naturalized" in Rumania, has suspended the right of many physicians to practise in that country. Some of these doctors are Rumanians, but the majority are minority citizens. So far most of the diplomas examined have been acquired at Italian universities, and a large number of the 380 doctors holding such have been deprived of the right to practise. The reason given is that these doctors neglected to pass the State examination at the appointed time. Among them is a doctor of Arad who took his degree at Budapest university in 1919. Many of them are physicians who have been practising for 15 — 20 years and who during that time have not only made a name for themselves as medical men, but have also produced valuable scientific work. They have now applied to the higher tribunals for redress and are resolved to address a petition to the King. — y —

Dr. FRANCIS SCHEFFLER, CANON OF NAGYVÁRAD, SENTENCED TO TWO YEARS' IMPRISONMENT BY KOLOZSVAR MILITARY TRIBUNAL

Dr. Francis Scheffler, Canon of Nagyvárad and manager of the publishing offices of the "Magyar Lapok" and the "Néplap", two dailies appearing in that town, was charged with having banned political pamphlets in his attaché case when he left for Hungary on 6th December.

At the trial the accused stated that, although innocent, he had been arraigned before the Military Court before. He pleaded "Not Guilty" to the present charge. His only fault — he said — was that he had neglected to be sufficiently careful and had not read the pamphlets, which arrived by post, but had just thrust them into his attaché case. He was not the editor of the "Magyar Lapok" and the "Néplap", merely the manager of the publishing office and owner of the printing office. He had no intention of committing an illegal act in retaining possession of the banned pamphlets.

The Military Court pronounced him guilty of an offence against the security of the State and sentenced him to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 10.000 lei, and also suspended his political rights for a term of six years. Dr. Scheffler has appealed.

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NO DECISION YET IN RE STATE SUBSIDY TO MINORITY SCHOOLS IN RUMANIA

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Béla Varga, Bishop of the Unitarian Church, has made a statement to the representatives of the

Press in connection with the question of a State subsidy to the minority schools. He said that so far no answer had been made to the memorandum on the subject submitted in August, and that therefore it was quite uncertain whether the Rumanian Government would come to the aid of the almost destitute minority schools. At present the State gave grants to clergymen but none to schools ("Brassói Lapok" Dec. 27.) — y —

CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN TRANSYLVANIA SENT TO GAOL BECAUSE OF HUNGARIAN "CREDO" AND A PICTURE

Dr. Joseph Vajda, parish priest of Tulka, a village in County Bihar, has been sentenced by the Kolozsvár Military Court to one year's imprisonment, a fine of 3000 lei and the loss of his civil rights for a term of 5 years. Years ago Dr. Vajda had brought some school-books home with him from Hungary and those he had recently presented to the denominational school in the village. One of these books contained the Hungarian "Credo" (a patriotic poem. Ed.), and he was forthwith arraigned before the Military Court on the charge of sedition. Dr. Vajda's defence was that he had not read the books and was ignorant of their contents; and this plea was supported by the fact that the books were uncut.

The Rev. Gáspár Lokodi, parish priest of Túr, has been sentenced to 7 months' imprisonment, a fine of 4000 lei and the loss of his civil rights for a term of 3 years because a picture was found in his parish church portraying St. Stephen in the act of offering the crown of Hungary to the Virgin Mary ("Magyar Lapok", Dec. 16 and "Magyar Újság", Dec. 11). — y —

YUGOSLAVIA

A FRESH GLORIFICATION OF SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION

At Sarajevo in 1934 a society was founded with the title "Karjisnik" for the purpose of erecting a memorial home to the memory of, and under the name of, Gavrilo Princip, the Serajevo murderer, at Bosanski Grahovo, the poorest village in Bosnia and the birthplace of Princip. The society has already collected a fund of 400.000 dinars, and it intends to raise a further 600.000 dinars by public subscription to procure the total amount needed for the erection of the Princip memorial home. In consequence of this action the Hungarian population in some cities may also be compelled to contribute towards the memorial home of the criminal responsible for the double murder of Sarajevo. ("Reggeli Újság", December 6, 1938.) — y —

CROATS REFUSE TO CELEBRATE DECEMBER 1st, THE DAY COMMEMORATING YUGOSLAV UNITY

In its issue of December 3rd, 1938, the "Vreme", a Belgrade daily, reproduces — as reported from Zagreb — the text of a pamphlet published by the local organization of the Croatian Peasant Party at Zagreb: "Croats of Zagreb! In obedience to the dictator's orders — satirically termed "law" — every citizen has hitherto been compelled to hoist the Yugoslav flag on December 1-st, the anniversary of the unification of Yugoslavia. So far, we regret to say, there have always been a few house owners in Zagreb who have obeyed these orders. But this must stop now; first, because we Croats have but little reason to rejoice on December 1-st; secondly, because we have only one weapon to use against the dictators's "must": "never!". We call upon all house owners not to put out the flags on December 1-st, unless they want to incur the displeasure of the entire Croatian people... We know that this time too, as on previous occasions, the police will employ force; but if the poorer citizens of the suburbs have been strong enough to resist this force, the owners of big houses must also be able to do so. Anyone who is not with us is against us. You may choose between the sentence of the police magistrates — provided there is time enough left for such a sentence — and the contempt of the nation. The local organization of the Croatian Peasant Party, Zagreb. — Signed and approved by Dr. Vlatko Maček."

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EXPLOSION OF INFERNAL MACHINE AT ZAGREB

An infernal machine exploded at 8 a. m. on December 15, 1938, in the home of M. Hugo Verk, a solicitor in Zagreb, who is the correspondent of the "Samouprava", the official organ of the Yugoslav Government. A letter containing the following message was found in a passage after the explosion: "Here is some new material for your next article in the "Samouprava"; it may also serve to stimulate you to invent further stories about a unified Yugoslavia. Long live Dr. Macek!" The explosion was apparently the work of the solicitor's political opponemts.

SUPPRESSION OF Dr. MACEK'S PARTY ORGAN

Following the parliamentary elections — held on December 11, 1938. — the Government has ordered the suppression of the "Jadranski Dnevnik", one of M. Maček's party organs appearing at Split (Spalato).

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B O O K S

“La regione autonoma della Rutenia dopo il trattato di San Germano“. By Dott. Antonio Scrimali. Libreria Pampalone, Palermo, 1938. pp. 121

The great importance of the Ruthenian question is shown by nothing better than by the keen interest in it displayed in the international press and scientific literature. The above book was written by an Italian university professor's assistant, who has for years been making a study of the problem. His work has been published just at a time when the eyes of the whole world are fixed on the eastern part of the Carpathians where half a million people, the Ruthenians, are engaged in a life and death struggle for their existence.

The book deals first with the history of the Ruthenian problem, giving full details of the activities of the different national councils during the War and at the time of the Peace Conference. Clear and accurate data reveal the falsehoods and forgeries which alone were responsible for the fact that this people was torn away from Hungary without its wishes being consulted and attached to a new State unable to provide it with a livelihood.

It is well known that the Treaty of Saint Germain guaranteed the Ruthenian people an extensive autonomy. For twenty years Prague consistently refused to fulfil this treaty obligation. Dr. Scrimali devotes particular attention to this question and shows a thorough knowledge of every aspect of Ruthenian autonomy.

Of special interest is the part describing the heroic struggle of the Ruthenian people against the efforts to denationalize it. Prague tried, with fire and sword, to exterminate the Ruthenian language and force Ukrainian, a language quite different from their own, upon the people. To further this end Ukrainian immigrants and agents from various countries — in particular from Soviet Russia — were encouraged to settle in Ruthenia, and entrusted with the work of winning over the Ruthenian natives. Prague was anxious to root out ancient traditions and deprive the Ruthenians of their mother-tongue, hoping that thus it would be

possible to divert the sympathies of the Ruthenian people from Hungary and break the attachment to that country which they had never ceased to feel under Czech rule. In this Prague was mistaken, for the two nations' need of one other and the links of a thousand years of peaceful and fraternal symbiosis have proved stronger than all Prague's propaganda: for twenty years the Ruthenians clung fast to their language and traditions, remained loyal to their friendship with Hungary and energetically rejected the Ukrainian culture and ideas so alien to them. A splendid proof of this was given last year when — in spite of all the pressure brought to bear on the people by the Czech authorities — the plebiscite on the question of the language of instruction to be used in the schools was overwhelmingly in favour of Ruthenian.

All these questions are dealt with exhaustively in Dr. Scrimali's book. We recommend it warmly to all who desire to acquire a knowledge of the Ruthenian problem, which at present plays so important a rôle in European politics.

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The History of Csik, Gyergyó and Kászón (County Csik) and their People to 1918. By Nicholas E n d e s. pp. 683. Budapest, 1938.

From ancient times the Székler people have lived at the foot of the South-Eastern Carpathians, between Beszterce and Brassó. In language and customs they are Magyars; their method of organization was identical with that of the Magyars, and they were able to preserve intact this ancient military organization, which was based on a tribal system, to the end of the sixteenth century, whereas it was greatly modified among the Magyars from the reign of St. Stephen on, chiefly in consequence of the influence of ideas imported from Western Europe. Their tenacious adherence to this system of organization resulted in the land of the Széklers, though forming until quite recently an integral part of Hungary, always occupying a distinct position therein and, like a closed area, living its own peculiar historical life under quite special conditions. The advantage of this was that within their own exclusive tribal and military system the Széklers were better able to withstand the attacks of enemies from within and from without, and have also been better able to preserve their racial traits and Magyar character than the rest of the Magyars in Transylvania. The Széklers have remained the largest and most coherent body of Magyars in that country, by virtue of their very adherence to racial traditions; and it is this circumstance that makes them today the strongest bulwark of Hungarianism in Transylvania.

We are therefore fully entitled to say that a separate history

of the Székler people is warranted and necessary; but so far no scientific work dealing with the subject has been published. It is consequently a matter of peculiar satisfaction to find that the lengthy volume written by Nicholas Endes, which gives us the history of one-fourth of the Széklers, the inhabitants of County Csik, is a great step towards the desired end. Endes, the scion of an old family that has played an important role in the history of the Székler people, was engaged in the study of family records when he was seized with a desire to undertake this formidable task. His researches in public archives and his study of all the published matter dealing with the subject have produced a bulky volume containing the history of the Széklers of County Csik from the oldest historical times to 1918. His work, besides being a record of their political history, embraces that of every branch of their culture, of religion, education, government, administration, political economy and the arts.

After obtaining an insight into the moving forces behind the history of the Széklers, how ridiculous appear the endeavours of certain Rumanian authors (e. g. Opreanu) to prove the Rumanian origin of that people! The Turkish tribal system, based on the closest ties of blood and serving military ends, is as far removed from the „kenéz” system of Slav origin, based on a community of labour and merely serving economic aims, which was adopted by the Rumanians, as heaven is from earth, and in corresponding measure the differences, not only of temperament, but also of character, dividing the two races are a wide chasm which the notorious system of name and ethnic analysis will never be able to bridge over.

Eugene Darkó.

M. J. Dálnoki: „Pristottu Unkari“ (Mutilated Hungary), Helsingissä, Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, pp. 242.

The feeling of brotherly love and the interest which the Finnish people has always displayed towards its brother nation, the Hungarians, has now manifested itself in a magnificent form in a book which quite recently appeared in the Finnish book-market under the above title. The author of the book gives detailed information on the problem of Hungary and all other questions connected with it.

The book begins with a historical retrospect, paying special attention to the nationality question in Hungary. On the basis of Serbian and Rumanian sources the author shows that the seeds of the culture of both these nations were sown in Hungarian soil at

a time when the inhabitants of both Rumania and Serbia were leading the life of Turkish slaves. This fact alone would be enough to refute the accusation that Hungary oppressed her non-Magyar nationalities. Then the author describes the peace negotiations at which the representatives of the Succession States employed the most fantastic lies and inventions to mislead the representatives of the Great Powers. As a result of these machinations Central Europe, in particular the Danube Valley, became a hotbed of unrest and discontent. The Treaty of Trianon, therefore, apart from plunging the nations concerned into a state of political and financial misery, dragged the whole of Europe to the brink of a constant danger of war.

The author pays particular attention to the life of those Hungarians who were subjected by force to the rule of other peoples. The picture which he shows his Finnish readers is both impartial and quite frank. He gives detailed information concerning the religious, cultural, political, economic and other grievances of the Hungarian minorities. In order to show the difference between the situation before and after the war the author compares the minority policy of the Succession States after the war with that of pre-war Hungary. This comparison at once shows Hungary's superiority in this respect.

The book also contains a very careful and detailed description of the problem of the Danube Valley in all its aspects. It arrives at the conclusion that the only way to solve the problem is an absolute territorial revision, which is the only means of creating a situation calculated to secure a permanent peace in Europe.

The entire Finnish press has given a very hearty reception to M. Dálnoki's book and has discussed it in detail. Thus Prof. J. G. Granö quotes numerous passages from the book in the newspaper "Uusi Aura" (December 4, 1938) and, commenting upon it in the most cordial manner, calls the attention of his readers to the highly important and interesting character of the book. Another leading Finnish paper, the "Lakeus" (December 18, 1938), writes as follows: "M. Dálnoki's book gives a thorough and elucidating explanation and description of the consequences of the Treaty of Trianon. Its tenor is impartial, we may almost say sublimely peaceful. Nor does he need pathos, for the numerous statistics, diagrams and photographs carry much more convincing force than the text itself. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the statistical data contained in his book, as they are identical with those published in our own pre-War reference-books."

We may also add that the book is decorated and made still more interesting by the numerous illustrations contained in it, namely: 142 maps, diagrams and photographs.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

ECONOMIC RE-CONSTRUCTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Before the Czech Economic Society Dr. Francis Hodác gave an interesting address on the economic situation of the new State, of its commercial policy and of the probable consequences of that policy. He established the fact that the area of agricultural territory lost is quite in proportion to the number of inhabitants transferred. The only significant loss incurred is in respect of maize and flax. The situation in the field of industry — Dr. Hodác said — was more unfavourable. So far the deficit shown by the balance of payments had been counterbalanced by the excess of exports shown by the trade balance. According to the data furnished by the Statistical Bureau, the Czecho-Slovakia of reduced area of today has retained 25% of the glass industry, 33% of the musical instrument industry, 40% of the textile industry, 48% of the paper industry and 60% of the chemical industry. Dr. Hodác estimated the shortage in black coal to be made up by imports at 1.5 million tons a year, that in brown coal at 6.5 million tons. According to Dr. Hodác Czecho-Slovakia is endeavouring to establish an economic co-operation with the German Empire and is anxious to strengthen its connections with the Danubian States; but in order to achieve that purpose — he added — it would have to build motor-roads connecting the several provinces and a network of new canals. These schemes could not however be realised — he said — without effective support from abroad in the shape of large credits. It was extremely doubtful whether there was any prospect of obtaining that assistance at the present moment.

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PRAGUE GOVERNMENT UNOBTAININGLY BOYCOTTS SLOVAKIA

Under the pressure of circumstances the Czech Government willy-nilly accepted and approved and got the legislature to pass the Act dealing with the autonomy of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia. However, the moment the Slovak Government carried out measures to realise the scheme and began to dismiss the Czech officials, Prague resorted to retaliatory measures. A beginning was made with the dismissal of the Slovaks employed by private enterprise too; and the tourist traffic which had previously brought so many Czechs to Slovakia practically came to an end. The Slovak Government is quite unable to cover the expenditure out of the sums paid in within the territory of the province. The amount required annually is 2500 million Czech crowns; whereas in Government circles the probable revenue is estimated at only about 500 millions. Another cause of great anxiety to the Tiso Government is the flight of Czech and Jewish capital from Slovakia; the Slovak Government is therefore thinking seriously of restricting transfers within the frontiers of the State.

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CONDITIONS GOVERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Numerous undertakings which had plants in the territories that have been severed from Czecho-Slovakia have applied to the Czecho-Slovak Ministry of Commerce for permission to establish new industrial plants. The Ministry insists that no undertaking with a share capital exceeding 1,000,000 crowns may be established except in the form of a joint-stock company, permission being granted only against positive proof that 51% of the share capital is in Czech hands. We see, therefore, that the German and Hungarian minorities remaining in the Republic are still to be deprived of their right to carry on economic activity on terms of equality with Czech nationals of other race.

CZECHOSLOVAK TIMBER TRADE SYNDICATE DECIDES THAT 70% OF ITS EXPENSES SHALL BE BORNE BY THE SLOVAKS, WHILE THE SAME SLOVAKS RECEIVE ONLY 1.25% OF THE PROFITS

The "Slovak", the mouthpiece of the Slovak Party, comments with great indignation (November 6th) on this insolent Czech manoeuvre which, it says, is all the more unjust as it came at a time when the activity of the forest industry had to be reduced by 10—30%, and in some regions by as much as 40%.

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HUNGARY

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF HUNGARY SHOWS
IMPROVEMENT DESPITE RECENT INTERNATIONAL
CRISIS

The reports published by the Hungarian Economic Research Institute on December 20th already deals with those circumstances and events which had an influence on the development of trade and prices to the end of November. As the result of these investigations the report concludes that the situation shows a marked improvement despite the international crisis in political life. Its criticism of the various branches of production and economic life runs as follows: The situation of agriculture showed an improvement in the first few months of the fiscal year. Its purchasing power increased by 21% between July and September, and it was 33% higher than in the previous year. The improvement in the situation of agriculture in 1938—39 may be estimated to average 10—15%.

Our exports trade showed a continuous decrease in the first half of the year 1938; in the months July — October, however, our imports showed a marked decrease, while our exports increased slightly. As regards our imports, raw materials and half-finished goods played the leading role in their decrease by 22%. The increase of our exports was due to the fact that a rise in the exports of wheat (36 millions) counterpoised the decrease of exports of a number of industrial and agricultural products. Our trade balance for the period July—October, 1938, showed an excess of exports of 54 million pengő, and displayed a vigorous power of resistance to the extraordinary political events in September. There was a temporary rise in the note circulation. The withdrawals of deposits decreased remarkably by the end of November, and the deposits withdrawn in September gradually found their way back to the banks.

Industrial production, after showing a declining tendency for about a year previously, has again displayed a rising tendency; the relevant index-number was 13% higher in the third quarter of 1938, but it was still 3% lower than in the previous year. Employment was more lively both in the capital goods and in the consumption goods industries. The increase of the former amounted to 12%, which was still 1% lower than in the previous year. The latter shows an increase of 16%, but this was partly (5—6%) due to seasonal conditions. The production of the consumption goods industries was 4% less than a year before. The increase of industrial production in 1938 by 13% is by no means a sign that we have already reached the low point of the crisis and that we are now looking forward to a period of improvement. If the index number is considered apart from the influence of seasonal conditions, the volume of production was only slightly

larger in the third quarter of 1938 than in the previous month. But if we take into account all the phenomena that have brought about this improvement, we must come to the conclusion that the improvement in the third quarter was not merely a temporary one caused by a sudden fall in production during the second quarter, but that it is actually the commencement of a process of steady general improvement.

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HUNGARY'S EXPORT TRADE BALANCE: 104.5 MILLION EXCESS OF EXPORTS BETWEEN JANUARY AND NOVEMBER 1938.

According to the reports of the Hungarian Statistical Bureau, the value of Hungary's imports between January and November 1938, amounted to 373.4 million pengő, while that of her exports during the same period amounted to 487 millions. As against an excess of exports of 99.6 millions between January and November 1937, Hungary's export trade balance for 1938 shows an excess of exports amounting to 104.5 million pengő between January and November 1938.

Compared with the same period of 1937, there was a significant decrease in the first eleven months of 1938 in the quantities of timber, sawn wood, raw hides, cotton, cellulose and raw materials imported, while the imports of firewood, machinery and various kinds of appliances increased. On the export side there was a certain decrease in cattle exports — owing to a decline in our exports to Italy — and in rye, flour and feather exports due to the decline in our exports to Germany. On the other hand, the increase of our exports to Italy resulted in a slight increase in our exports of pigs (148.928), as well as an advance in our exports of wheat to Italy and Germany (1,428.062 q., and 1,362.483 q. respectively). There was also a remarkable increase in our exports of railway cars.

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RUMANIA

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN RUMANIA IN 1938.

The December 31st., 1938, issue of the "Excelsior", an economic and financial weekly, publishes a report on economic conditions in Rumania in the year 1938. It points out that the economic life of Rumania in 1938 was affected by two international factors, — 1. the recession towards a fresh crisis of international economic life, which was in evidence more particularly in certain countries and in certain economic fields; and 2. the war economic conjuncture which, while maintaining industrial activity, at the

same time is injurious to the interests of large masses of consumers.

The article further stresses the fact that on the other hand the development of economic activity in Rumania was affected also by two inner circumstances. The first of these circumstances was referred to by the Minister of Finance, M. Cancicov, in one of his speeches, in which he made the following statement: — "Between the end of December, 1937, and February 10th., 1938, a state of unrest (anxiety) was provoked in the fields of national economy and finances." (N. B. The Government in power in Rumania between December 28th., 1937, and February 10th., 1938, was that of Goga and Cuza, during the forty days' rule of which unrest, chaos and economic uncertainty ensued in Rumania). The other inner circumstance was the potential danger of a new World War in evidence in the months of September and October, 1938. And the article finally points out that the carrying into effect of the "Anschluss" by the occupation of Austria and the subjection of Czecho-Slovakia to the political and economic control of Germany, combined with the simultaneous advance of the German efforts to secure economic expansion in South-Eastern Europe, naturally affected the international trade of Rumania.

In connection with Rumania's foreign trade the article establishes the fact that in 1938 — as compared with the previous year — there was a significant set-back. Applying the provisional data available to the first eleven months of the year, we get the following results (in millions of lei):

	Value Imports	Exports	Excess of Exports (+) or Imports (—)
First 11 months of 1938	16.7	19.0	+ 2.9
First 11 months of 1937	17.6	29.1	+11.5

According to the "Excelsior" the considerable fall in the prices of prime necessities in the international market, combined with the decline in the prices of petroleum and lumbering products, were the moments primarily affecting Rumanian export trade. But that trade was affected also by the circumstance that in those States to which Rumania exported restrictions were placed on dealings in foreign currencies. The article refers in particular to Germany, to which country roughly 36.4% of Rumania's total exports were consigned, that country in its turn supplying 27% of Rumania's imports.

Speaking of Rumania's agriculture, the "Excelsior" establishes the fact that, although the 1938 harvest was an abundant one, the marketing of the products was rendered difficult by the circumstance that there was a fall of prices in the international market.

The article publishes a comparative table of the prices of industrial and agrarian products respectively: the figures of that

table show the following changes as compared with the conditions in force in 1929: —

	Industrial Index	Agrarian Index
January	90.0	68.2
February	90.1	67.6
March	90.0	68.6
April	89.9	68.4
May	89.0	72.3
June	89.1	72.5
July	88.6	63.9
August	89.9	64.0
September	96.8	64.0
October	90.7	63.4

We see — so runs the article of the "Excelsior" — that in the second half of the year the situation deteriorated month by month, reaching its peak point in October.

YUGOSLAVIA'S CLEARING BALANCE

According to the latest Yugoslav statistics, Hungary's clearing claims on that country are on the decline. On 31st October, 1938, Yugoslavia's clearing debts to Hungary amounted to 36.4 million dinars; on November 15 the sum was 34.8 millions; on November 22, 32.9 millions and 27.5 millions on November 30.

Yugoslavia's clearing debts to Czecho-Slovakia amounted at the end of October to 164.3 million dinars. By the end of November that sum had sunk to 149.5 millions. On the credit side of the balance sheet a certain fluctuation had been observable in respect of Germany's debts to Yugoslavia. At the end of October Germany owed Yugoslavia 20.4 million marks. This sum rose temporarily to 23.9 millions and then sank again to 21.9 millions. By the end of November it had again risen to 23.7 million marks. Italy's clearing debt continues to show a sinking tendency, for by the end of November Italy's debt of 75 million dinars by the end of October had sunk to 59.4 millions. — y —

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