

# DANUBIAN REVIEW

## (DANUBIAN NEWS)

A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE  
DANUBIAN BASIN

Editorial Board:

ELEMÉR SZUDY  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Dr. ANDREW FALL  
MANAGING EDITOR

Vol. VII. No. 1.

JUNE, 1939.

The Progress of Hungarian Justice  
By NICOLAS UDVARDY

Slovakia's Position in International Politics  
By ANDREW FALL

The New Rumanian Suffrage Act and the Minorities  
By Dr. LADISLAS FRITZ

The Magyars in Rumania Suffer Grievous Wrongs  
By ANDREW DEESI

Rumanian Statistics Are Unreliable  
By Dr. ALEXANDER BAUMGARTNER

The Serbo-Croat Agreement: Difficulties and Delay  
By EMIL PROKOPY

Statements Made by Hungarian Premier

Foreign Minister Count Csáky's Great Speech in Sopron

Political Mosaic

How Minorities Live

Books

Political Economy

BUDAPEST  
V. ZRINYI-U. 1. III.

LONDON S. W. 7  
29 ONSLOW GARDENS

# THE PROGRESS OF HUNGARIAN JUSTICE

BY

NICOLAS UDVARDY



A year ago M. *Majsky*, Russian Ambassador in London, said to a reporter:  
"This is war already; the only difference is that the triggers are not being pulled yet."

These words of M. *Majsky* are very apt, but nevertheless they sound more like sensation-mongering journalism than like a serious statement of facts worthy of a diplomat. This is not war, and there is no reason why it should degenerate into a war. The truth is rather that the world is full of gunpowder barrels, and the slightest carelessness — a thrown-away cigarette end — might cause an explosion the results of which are unpredictable. Tension is strained almost to breaking-point, and the consequences are observable both in the field of diplomacy and international intercourse and in the disturbances that threaten to paralyse the whole system of international economy.

Diplomats are journeying to and fro, busily negotiating, concluding and preparing alliances, and in consequence two major conflicting spheres of interest are in process of formation, are, in fact, on the point of becoming petrified in Europe, as they were in the years preceding the last Great War. The international situation is dangerously like the state of affairs that prevailed in the spring of 1914. It does not, however, follow that the August of 1914 must repeat itself. If we examine the diplomatic explanations of the recent historical events the following picture will unfold itself.

In his speech of 15th May at Turin Signor *Mussolini* made the following statement:

"There are no questions in Europe at present that by reason of their importance and acuteness would justify a war which by the logical evolution of events would develop from a European into a world conflict. There are knots in

European politics, but perhaps it will not be necessary to cut them with the sword. Nevertheless these knots must be unravelled some time."

Speaking in the Chamber in 11th May, *M. Daladier* — it is true that it was said to justify some of his other postulates, but still "*verba manent*" — asked the following question: —

"Does peace consist of certain nations being sentenced to misery? . . . France is of the opinion that every nation should be able to find the conditions necessary to its happiness, liberty and prosperity in a world the natural resources of which have been increased tenfold by the discoveries of science . . . The one aim of our policy is to unite peoples and nations for the defence of peace."

On 19th May *Mr. Chamberlain*, addressing the House of Commons, said: —

" . . . This does not mean that we are not willing to discuss methods by means of which the rational ambitions of other nations might be satisfied, even if it means a certain modification of the present status quo."

On 22nd May, when the historical Italo-German treaty of friendship and alliance was signed in Berlin, *Count Ciano*, in a statement to the Press, emphasized the point that. —

"there are no questions in Europe that cannot be settled with goodwill and justice, nor any reasons that would justify a war which of necessity would develop from a European into a world war."

On the same day *Herr von Ribbentrop* made a statement to the same effect. He said: —

"It is the firm conviction of both Governments that there is not one single political question in Europe that might not be settled in a peaceful way with reciprocal goodwill."

If we compare these statements, we are forced to ask in surprise: where are the differences then? All these statements are similar in content. Why must conflicting alliances be concluded and an appalling state of tension created, like the tension in the spring of 1914? It is because these statements are merely — statements! Active international politics makes no attempt to do away with the organic causes of

the disease, and yet, if the treatment is confined to curing the symptoms, the trouble will grow dangerously worse, and there will be no return to that atmosphere of mutual trust which alone is conducive to the conclusion of lasting agreements.

We have no intention of entering into a discussion of the major international problems. We shall confine ourselves to the Hungarian question; but that question is one of the most important reasons why the present world crisis has become so acute, and until it is settled there can be no relaxation of the tension, particularly since Hungary, situated as she is in the gate between Eastern and Central Europe, is one of the most dangerous storm centres in the conflict between the two great spheres of interest in Europe.

One of Hungary's greatest statesmen, Francis Deák, who was known as "the wise man of Hungary" once said:

"If your waistcoat is badly buttoned, you mustn't cut the buttons off with your sword. You must unbutton it and then button it properly."

On 25th May *M. Radot Valery*, a well-known French author, delivered a lecture on Hungary in the Goujon hall in Paris in which, amongst other things, he said:

"The fate of Europe depends on Hungary. It is impossible that France should not understand the real significance of Hungary's historical mission. Very few Frenchmen know what actually took place at the Peace Conference. In Trianon a deadly sin was committed by Europe against Hungary, and for twenty years that sin weighed on the international conscience. But — to France's credit be it said — at the time when the Treaty of Trianon was being ratified, energetic protests against these crying injustices were raised in the French Parliament. *Danielou, De Monzie* and others raised their voices against the arbitrary delimitation of Hungary's frontiers. Briand, on the other hand, who was called to account in the Senate, replied to the questions put to him with the pitiful excuse that he, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had simply been confronted with a fait accompli . . .

*M. Radot Valery* then went on to say that the Peace

Treaties had caused a horrible mutilation of Hungary's living body. The Hungarians had suffered proudly and manfully. They had not yielded to despair, their self-control was admirable, and their feelings of bitterness had never driven them to reckless or violent action. Every Frenchman must take off his hat to the manly self-control exhibited by Hungary.

All that the French author said is perfectly true. The Hungarian problem is a menace to the peace of Europe, a seat of trouble in the international system, because in a critical area the Peace Treaties created conditions that are a hotbed of hatred between nation and nation, race and race, and that make the economic prosperity of the peoples an impossibility. Despite historical rights the traditions of a thousand years of symbiosis were nullified, cultural cohesion was broken up, a living organism that had been evolved in a thousand years was destroyed by the disruption of a geographical unit created by natural frontiers, and the welfare of the States that had wrested territory from Hungary was made impossible. This was one reason why the unnatural creation known as the Czecho-Slovak Republic fell to pieces, — one of the sources of international trouble today, — and because the liquidation of that State was not effected uniformly, Slovakia is bankrupt financially and economically, as we have reported in another article. Every nation needs a certain field of activity (*Lebensraum*) and Hungary's was determined by the dictates of geography within the thousand-year-old frontiers, inside of which present-day dismembered Hungary and the parts wrested from her were able to prosper and develop.

For those lopped-off parts pre-war Hungary was the same natural *Lebensraum* as it was for Dismembered Hungary. The dismemberment was carried out contrary to the principle of self-determination and without allowing the inhabitants of the detached areas to have a voice in the matter. If, therefore, it is desirable to heal the sores of this storm centre that menaces the peace of the whole of Europe, wrongs must be righted. It is time to unbutton the waistcoat and re-button it. It is time to revise the Treaty of Trianon.

# SLOVAKIA'S POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

BY

DR. ANDREW FALL

**T**wenty years ago the peace edict of Trianon tore *Slovakia* away from the thousand-year-old *Hungarian State* and attached it to Bohemia. This was how, in the poisoned post-war atmosphere of the Peace Conference, the Great Powers were bamboozled into creating the most artificial State in the world, *Czecho-Slovakia*, which for twenty years was a festering sore on the body of *Europe* that made appeasement among the various States an impossibility. The liquidation of this artificially botched up State was set in motion at the Munich Conference in September 1ast. First of all the Sudeten German areas, then the Polish and Hungarian territories were lopped off, and afterwards, in the March of this year, what remained of *Czecho-Slovakia* fell to pieces: Bohemia came under the sovereignty of the German Reich, Ruthenia was restored to Hungary, and Slovakia became an independent State under the protection of Germany. The fate of the other parts of the *Czecho-Slovak Republic* has been definitely settled, but Slovakia's position is still quite uncertain. At a meeting of the House of *Commons* on 15th May (*in answer to a question put by Mr. Pander*) the *Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Butler*, said that in order to facilitate the administration of ordinary affairs the *British Consul* at Pozsony had asked the Slovak Government to recognize him as Britain's Consul to Slovakia and that this request had been granted. The Slovak Government had been informed that the British Government considered this step a *de facto* recognition. On 26th May, in answer to a question put by Mr. Sandys, Mr. Butler stated that so far as Lord Halifax was aware the French Government had not yet recognized the Slovak Government. This in effect means that France has not recognized the present Slovak Government either *de facto* or *de jure*, and in consequence

she does not recognize Slovakia's international legal status. Slovakia's position therefore is as follows: she is dependent on Germany, *Great Britain* has *de facto* recognized the present *Slovak Government*, but France utterly refuses to recognize her present status as a state. The only Government that recognizes Slovakia as an independent State at present is the *Hungarian Government*. It is natural that Hungary should do so, for the two nations lived in symbiosis for many centuries; they fought together and co-operated with complete harmony in the sphere of economy. It is therefore no wonder that now they are seeking to establish close co-operation again. That this is the case is proved by a statement made to the Slovak Press by Dr. *John Spisiák*, *Slovak Minister in Budapest*. In that statement Dr. Spisiák said:

"It was with keen interest I read the Premier, Count Paul Teleki's Szeged speech and I was very pleased to establish the fact that the Premier spoke with much common sense about Slovakia. Neither have M. Francis Herczeg's articles escaped my attention, in which with calm objectiveness he deals with the fate of this racial group which once belonged to Hungary. It is my firm conviction that if the Hungarian journalists would examine the Slovak question with the same detachment, neighbourly relations might soon be established."

*Dr. Spisiák* presented his Letters of Credence to the Regent on 24th May whereupon Admiral Horthy addressed the following words to the *Slovak Minister*:

"I am very pleased to receive your Letters of Credence wherewith the head of the Slovak State appoints you Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to represent that State in Budapest as its first Minister to Hungary. I recognize the significance of this step, which is calculated to foster friendly relations between the two States, which friendly relations must find expression in co-operation between the two nations in the territories where Providence has placed them. Your speech fills me with pleasure and satisfaction. I am sure that the goodwill manifest on both sides will make it possible for the two nations to settle the difficult problems dividing them. Be assured that you will have my

support in the execution of your mission and that the Hungarian Government will gladly co-operate with you."

From these speeches, or statements, respectively, it may be gathered that there is a sincere desire for reciprocal understanding. The Hungarian nation had always entertained feelings of brotherly love for the Slovak people, and even twenty years of intrigues were not able to root those feelings out of its heart. It is possible that some of the Slovaks were misled by Benes's politics, but from the outset the majority of them felt they had been cheated. For this reason they rallied round Father Hlinka, who fought tooth and nail for the self-government and independence of the Slovak people. Those twenty years of struggle are proof that the Slovaks refuse to surrender their independence, and for twenty years the Hungarian nation has watched their struggles with the greatest sympathy.

Despite the fact that on paper Slovakia has achieved independence, her legal status in international law is far from assured. This uncertainty finds its explanation in her geographical situation. Namely, just as Hungary's *Lebensraum* extends over the whole Basin of the Carpathians, so is Slovakia's bound up with that Basin, and therefore the two mingle and intertwine. In another article in this issue we have shown that Slovakia, as she stands today, is on the brink of economic ruin. Nothing but close contact with Hungary will save that country economically. In Ruthenia the Hungarian Government immediately overcame the economic difficulties, and the development of that province will be assured by means of an extensive autonomy. Slovakia will immediately be set on her feet again as soon as co-operation is established between the two nations. Slovakia's return to, that is to say close co-operation with, Hungary will create a new state of affairs in the Danube Valley and will signify a complete liquidation of the Czecho-Slovak ideology which for twenty years kept that region in a state of unrest and uncertainty. Co-operation between the Hungarian and Slovak nations, the re-establishment of friendly relations, will serve the interests not only of those two peoples, but also of the whole of Europe.

# THE NEW RUMANIAN SUFFRAGE ACT AND THE MINORITIES

BY

DR. LADISLAS FRITZ

I. Until 1926, there was no uniform election law in force throughout the entire area of Rumania as enlarged by the Peace Treaties. The regulations applying to suffrage and the methods of election in the different parts of the country (the Regate, Transylvania, Bukovina etc.) were laid down in various edicts. Those in force in Transylvania were No. 3621 of 21st August 1919 and No. 1539 of 8th April 1920. Under these edicts three Parliamentary elections were held, all of which were characterized by a degree of illegality and arbitrariness unparalleled in the history of parliamentary life. It was therefore not to be wondered at, that at the general elections in 1922 the Hungarian minority, numbering close on two million souls, won only 3 seats in Parliament and 3 in the Senate, whereas on the basis of the numerical strength of the *Hungarians in Transylvania* they would have been entitled to 37 mandates in Parliament and 16 seats in the Senate. But the names of a great number of the Hungarian electors were omitted from the lists, 34 of the 38 Hungarian candidates were rejected by the authorities and numerous Hungarian votes were spirited away.

II. The *Suffrage Act* of 27th March 1926 introduced the system of proportional representation. But the principle of proportional representation was rendered ineffective by a system of premiums. The Act prescribed that one half of the 387 mandates, 193, were to be given to the political Party that won 40% of the total number of votes cast in the country. This Party — declared to be the majority — was also entitled to a share of the remaining 194 mandates, of which it received the same percentage as the percentage of votes it won at the elections.

Even with honest elections this system would have

deprived the minorities — above all the two million Hungarians — of half the measure of self-defence afforded by Parliamentary representation. As it was they have never been able to secure anything like the number of seats in either House of Parliament to which on a proportional basis they would have been entitled.

Besides this system, the Rumanian Suffrage Act of 1926 contained another unheard-of measure: official *senatorship*. This institution made it possible for members of the Parliament or the Senate who had been elected for at least 10 national assemblies to gain a senatorship for life. By virtue of this measure the Rumanian Senate had innumerable official members. And just because of this, the Party in office resorted to every form of abuse in order to secure all the seats in the Senate to be filled by election for itself. The system of proportional representation was never applied to the senatorial elections.

Instead of the 37 seats in the Parliament and the 16 in the Senate to which the Hungarians of Transylvania would be entitled by virtue of the fact that they form 30.2% of the total population, the share they received at the various elections, thanks to the brutality, violence and illegal acts of the Rumanians, was as follows:

Year	Seats in Parliament	Seats in Senate
1926	14	12
1927	9	1
1928	16	6
1931	10	2
1932	14	3
1933	9	3
1937	19	3

III. The Parliament elected in 1937 lasted till 18th January, 1938, when it was dissolved. On 27th February 1938, the new dictatorial Constitution was promulgated, and on 31st March of that year a Royal Decree dissolved all the political parties, amongst others the General Hungarian Party of Rumania, and thus *the Hungarian minority was left without any political representation*. Instead of the old system, the new Rumanian Constitution introduced one of corporative

representation, with two Houses of Parliament as before. The elected members of the legislative bodies fall into three categories 1. peasants and manual labourers, 2. tradesmen and merchants, 3. the professional classes (§§ 61 and 63). The Senate has, besides these three classes, appointed members and members by vested right (§ 63). But the new Constitution maintains a provision that is a violation of the principle of equal rights, for the head of no minority denomination numbering fewer than 200.000 adherents has the right as such to be a member of the Senate.

In this way the minority electors in Rumania are classified according to their occupations.

The *Suffrage Act* of 9th May 1939 contains important measures applying to the members of Parliament (which is to consist of the representatives of the different branches of occupation) and their election.

The 258 (formerly 387) members of the Chamber of Deputies and 88 members of the Senate are to be elected. The election of the deputies is to take place in 11 constituencies corresponding with the different provinces, and voting will be secret, compulsory and by name. Besides these 11, Bucharest will be a separate constituency. No one who cannot read and write, who does not belong to one of the three branches of occupation (agriculture, industry and commerce, and professional occupations) or who has not completed his 30th year is to have suffrage rights. Formerly the age required was 21.

The Senate (which hitherto had 245 members, besides appointed members and members by vested right) is to consist of 88 members appointed by the King, those who are members by vested right, and 88 elected members. From a minority point of view the important part of the Act is the measure which regulates the question of the senators who are senators by vested right (§ 3). Among those this paragraph enumerates the Patriarch, the Metropolitan and all the bishops of the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches, but the senatorship of the bishops of the other denominations recognized by the State is conditional upon the bishop in question having at least 200.000 adherents.

The new Suffrage Act thus maintains the old inequality

against which the minorities have always so strongly protested. They had all the more right to do so in view of the fact that in historical Hungary all the bishops and archbishops of the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches were members of the Upper House. In paragraph 64 of the Constitution of 27th February 1936 we find a further curtailment of the rights of the minority churches, inasmuch as only one bishop of every denomination recognized by the State may be a senator by virtue of his office. This in effect means that the Hungarian Roman Catholics of Transylvania — about 750.000 souls — will not have a representative of their own in the Senate, since Cardinal Cisar of Bucharest, whose nationality and sympathies are not Hungarian, is the senator *ex officio* of the Roman Catholic Church. Only one of the two bishops of the Transylvanian Reformed Church, numbering about 700.000 members, can be senator by right. The Hungarian Unitarians, some 70.000, and the Hungarian Lutherans, about 30.000, will have no official representation in the Senate.

It is very improbable that any of the 88 elected senators will be a minority citizen, that is to say a Hungarian, seeing that all the electors of Transylvania belong to one constituency.

The situation as regards the election of the members of the Lower House is scarcely better. Their election under the new Act will take place on a provincial basis, each province forming one single constituency. The 12th constituency is Bucharest. We must not lose sight of the fact that the Land of the Szeklers, the part of the country most compactly inhabited by Hungarians, has been dismembered by the arrangement of the provinces. The Administration Act of 14th August 1938, destroying the historical unity of Transylvania, cut up the Land of the Szeklers, that strongest Hungarian area, and attached the counties of Háromszék and Brassó to the new province of Buceg, which was formed of territory belonging solely to the Regate.

It is to be hoped that the new elections, the results of which will be known shortly, will differ considerably from those that preceded them, the very memory of which is pain-

ful to the Hungarian minority, recalling, as it does, the acts of brutality, violence and illegality which accompanied them in which the bayonets of the gendarmes played a significant rôle. Hitherto the elections were nothing but conjuring tricks devised to disguise the dictatorship of the Government in office. The new Suffrage Act has too greatly restricted the use of electioneering propaganda in decreeing that all candidates may do is to have their photographs with an accompanying text not exceeding 100 words in length placarded at the parish hall and the voting premises (§ 32).

It is to be understood that the Hungarian national minority is not too optimistic about the forthcoming Parliamentary elections, for the new Act has not, as we see from the foregoing, done much to better conditions. The two million Hungarians, who in their sore plight were constrained with the rest of the minorities to join the only political party permitted by the Government, the *National Renascent Front*, were allowed to nominate 16 candidates for Parliament and 5 for the Senate. At the same time the 545,000 Germans in Rumania were allowed to nominate 11 candidates for Parliament and 5 senators. The mere fact that the number of candidates allowed the Hungarian minority falls so far short of what they would be entitled to, shows that there is no chance of their being properly represented, and is a warning not to over-estimate the significance of the results of the elections. Neither must we forget that the Hungarian minority is hardly represented at all on the boards and guilds of the branches of occupation recognized by the new Act whose heads alone have the right to elect senators. We must refrain from being too optimistic\* about the approaching Rumanian elections.

\* How justified our pessimistic words were is shown by the fact that only 9 Hungarians received mandates at the elections.

# DESPITE CALINESCU'S STATEMENT THE MAGYARS IN RUMANIA SUFFER GRIEVOUS WRONGS

BY

ANDREW DEESI

**O**n 31st March, 1938, a Royal Decree dissolved all the political parties in Rumania and created one single party, the "National Renaissance Front". In their sore plight the national minorities were forced to join that party, since political passivity would have endangered their vital interests.

To the Supreme Committee of this political party Premier Calinescu recently — on May 9th — made an important statement, in which, among other things, he treated of the situation of the minorities in Rumania. The Premier declared that last summer, before the question had been broached anywhere else, the Rumanian Government had striven to formulate regulations which "would have ensured the interests of the minorities and their development in the most liberal spirit, provided, naturally, that they were compatible with the existence of the Rumanian State." M. Calinescu emphasized the point that no other State had regulated the minority questions so perfectly and with such liberality as had Rumania. He pointed out that the Government had created the conditions essential to a normal symbiosis, and it was only a question of the several members of the various minorities availing themselves of the opportunities offered by the regime and of their avoiding the danger of being isolated by disloyalty to the State.

Mention has been made more than once in the columns of this paper of the fact that, under pressure of the general

political situation in Europe, certain regulations for the national minorities were established in Rumania by the Royal Dictatorship last August, under the title of a Minority Statute. The significance of the Statute must not, however, be over-rated, for its provisions, of which only one or two have been put into execution, were but a sop to Cerberus. The new regulations — which M. Calinescu lauds as perfect and liberal — have effected no essential change for the better in the life of the minorities, and the Rumanian Government still continues to pursue its old anti-minority policy. The so-called Minority Statute, comprising the Royal Decree issued on 4th August, 1938, and the minutes of the Cabinet Council (*jurnal al consiliului de ministri*) promulgated simultaneously, was merely a re-dishing up and repetition in a slipshod style of the minority treaty of 9th December, 1919, the minority provisions of the Rumanian Constitution and other laws, with certain restrictions in some places. Its legal significance is therefore small, and very questionable in particular is the value of the innovations, some of which are actually contrary to the laws of the land, introduced in the spheres of education, religion and language by the Minutes of the Cabinet Council, which as an instrument of public law is of less importance than a law or a decree.

The Magyar minority in Rumania has still every reason to complain of grievous wrongs. Wrongs that are a menace to its very existence. Of these it will suffice here to mention but one: the way the so-called National Labour Protection Act is being enforced. In spite of every official statement to the contrary, the members of the Magyar national minority are being deprived of the means of earning a living, for after being almost entirely excluded from posts in public offices, they are now not allowed to be employed even in private enterprise. Another similarly bitter grievance is the refusal to recognize the Rumanian citizenship of people who

were born in the area of present-day Rumania, have lived there all their lives, and have never been outside the frontier of the country.

The following are some of the most urgent problems the solution of which is demanded in the memorandum recently submitted to the Rumanian Government:

The question of citizenship, the problem of the public servants who have failed to pass the language tests, the legal status of the trade associations, the new telegraph rates according to which more is charged for telegrams in Magyar, the regulation that citizens of Magyar ethnic origin must surrender their guns, and the putting into execution of the Administration Act and paragraph 17 of the Minutes of the Cabinet Council of 4th August, 1938. (This paragraph, namely, provides that Magyar village magistrates shall be appointed in purely Magyar villages and in the mixed ethnic areas.)

We quote these demands merely to prove how little M. Calinescu's statement about the perfect and liberal treatment of the minority question corresponds with the actual state of affairs.

# RUMANIAN STATISTICS ARE UNRELIABLE

BY

Dr. ALEXANDER BAUMGARTNER

**A**lready at the time of the Paris Peace Conference, Rumania employed false statistics in order to deceive the Great Powers engaged in the reconstruction of Europe.

The figures of the post-War Rumanian Censuses were also deliberately falsified, and the official statistical data relating to Transylvania have not been made public yet. All we have to go by are private statistics, which, however, are actually much less reliable than the official figures and show considerable divergences. The organ of the anti-revisionist Front, the "Universul" for instance, on 24th December, 1937, admitted that the Rumanian statistics were false, and in support of this statement quoted Dr. I. Theodorescu, former director of the Rumanian Statistical Office. For in the January—February 1937, issue of the "Analele economice si statistice" Dr. Theodorescu wrote that the figures of the 1930 Census could not be accepted as accurate. That Census shows 722,000 Jews, although twenty years before there were 844,000 in the present area of Rumania. Owing to natural increase and the great influx of Jews the number, as compared with twenty years previously, ought to have been considerably larger, instead of decreasing by over 100,000. In his work "Contributini la Studiul Evreilor" Dr. Eugene Tatomir says: "It cannot be doubted that serious errors were made when the Census figures of the Jews were registered."

The admission that the Rumanian statistical data were false was made in connection with the fact that in 1937, at the time of the Goga Government, the Jews submitted a petition to the League of Nations complaining of Rumanian

persecution. The Rumanian Government justified its anti-Jewish measures with the statement that after the War a large number of Jews had overrun Rumania, where they were an alien element, and that Rumania could extend hospitality to them only so long as it did not interfere with her own interests. In reply the Jews pointed to the Rumanian official statistics as proof that in 1930 there were 100.000 fewer Jews in Rumania than twenty years before. In a word, as soon as the Rumanian official statistics ran counter to Rumanian interests, the most competent factors were ready to admit that they were false.

The object of this deliberate falsification is even more obvious when it is made by the first official representative of the country. M. Calinescu, Rumanian Prime Minister, made the following statement to the correspondent of the "Intransigent": "We cannot consider the slightest territorial concession. There is, in fact no fundamental cause in the name of which such a demand could be addressed to us. According to the nationality principle, the balance in minority matters is in our favour. There are far more Rumanians outside our frontiers than Magyars, Bulgarians and Germans within them."

Now let us see how far this statement is true. (In the following tables we have followed the principle of accepting the official statistics of the country in question. The Rumanian data have been taken from "La Transylvanie Roumaine et ses Minorités Ethniques", a book written by M. Silviu Dragomir, Minority Minister.)

*Rumanians living Outside the Frontiers of Rumania:*

Hungary (including the Rumanians of Subcarpathia)	29.888
Yugoslavia	229.398
Bulgaria	69.080
Russia	249.711

---

Total 578.007

According to M. Dragomir's work the number of minority citizens living in the areas wrested from Hungary is:

Magyars	1.353.675
Germans	543.627
Bulgarians	11.383
<hr/>	
Total	1.908.680

According to these figures the number of Rumanians living outside Rumania's frontier is only one-fourth of the number of Magyars, Germans and Bulgarians in the areas wrested from Hungary. Besides these, there are at least 150.000 Magyars, 300.000 Bulgarians and 250.000 Germans living in Old Rumania. If we include them too, it will be seen that the number of Rumanians living outside Rumania's frontiers is no more than one-fifth of the number of Magyars, Bulgarians and Germans in Rumania. And if we consider that there are almost two million Magyars in Rumania as against 29.888 Rumanians in Hungary, we shall see that there are seventy times as many Magyars in Rumania as Rumanians in Hungary.

In his statement to the correspondent of the "Intransigent" the Premier was discreetly silent about the 1.032.138 Ruthenians, 65.994 Serbs, 722.000 Jews, 34.000 Poles, 44.000 Slovaks, 106.000 Gypsies, 287.000 Turks and 50.000 other nationals living in Rumania. As we know that Rumania's minorities number five million souls, it is obvious that the Rumanians living outside that country do not amount to more than one-tenth of the number of minority citizens in Rumania. If we consider this, the Rumanian Premier's assertion that "the balance in minority matters is in our favour" is incomprehensible. Those responsible for the compiling of Rumanian statistics must not be surprised if after this no one will believe in their accuracy. If they want to thoroughly discredit themselves, let them continue to make statements similar to that made by M. Calinescu.

# THE SERBO-CROAT AGREEMENT: DIFFICULTIES AND DELAY

BY

EMIL PROKOPY

The *Tsvetkovitch* Government, which was formed after the unexpected fall of the *Stoyadinovitch* Cabinet, took office, as is well known, with the express purpose of solving at long last the Croat problem, which has existed for twenty years and has been growing steadily more acute.

After the formation of the new Government, the Croat question was naturally much discussed both in the *Skupsh-tina* and during the debate on the Budget in the Senate. Its speedy solution was considered an imperative necessity by all the Parliamentary Parties without exception, and the basis of the agreement was to have been an acknowledgement of the historical past of the Croats and recognition of their separate national individuality, principles hitherto considered inadmissible by the Yugoslav Parliament.

This very important change of front was undoubtedly due to *certain events in international politics*. This is strikingly evident from the fact that the War Budget was approved without debate in the *Skupshtina*, and from the attitude of the Senate, which on 23rd March, after a debate lasting barely two whole days, approved the 1939/1940 Budget with all the supplementary Government Bills, and did so, according to the preamble to a motion submitted by the Government Party, on the one hand because of the dangerous state of international affairs, and, on the other, to hasten a reasonable solution of Yugoslavia's grave domestic problems.

The extreme gravity of the international situation exerted a decisive influence also on the negotiations that took place between Premier *Tsvetkovitch* and M. *Maček* between April 2 and 27, when the former visited Zagreb no

fewer than four times. According to a curtly worded communiqué issued on 27th April, an agreement "to be made public within the shortest time possible" had been arrived at. The *pourparlers* had been conducted in a spirit of reciprocal understanding and amenableness, which on M. Maček's part was particularly surprising, for hitherto he had always declared that federation and the solution of the Croat question in terms of the agreement concluded with the Serb Opposition were the minimum demands of the Croat folk. That Maček made great and important concessions during these conversations and that the willingness to do so had matured in him long before it came to the point of negotiations, may be established from articles in the Croat Press supporting him. The "Obzor" of 25th February, for instance, wrote: — "Although Maček has not rejected the methods of procedure stipulated in the agreement concluded between the Democratic Farmers Coalition and the United Serb Opposition on 8th October 1937, he has come to understand that the solution of the Croat problem might be achieved by other ways and means. The new relations between the Croats and the Serbs and Slovenes would have to be arranged with due respect for the individuality of the three nations and on the basis of a proportionate share for each of them in the central administration of the State." Here there is no word of the realization at any price of the political and constitutional demands of the Croats which had praisably been the pivotal question; it is in fact an open admission of readiness to make new, less hard terms. Writing of the upshot of the negotiations, Maček's newspaper, the "Hrvatski Dnevnik" of 28th April gives the following evasive explanation: — "It is certain that the agreement now concluded applies only to the methods of solving the Croat question. It is true that Maček resolutely stood up for the interests of the Croat people, but as the rights of the Croats do not preclude the rights of the Serbs, all who really desire an agreement must recognize the rights of both. Today the international situation is such as to make it imperative that

further shilly-shallying over the Croat question shall cease."

All kinds of rumours concerning the agreement were spread in the international Press. All, however, that could definitely be established from reports appearing in the "Hrvatski Dnevnik" of Zagreb and the "Vreme" of Belgrade between 16th and 19th April was that Tsvetkovitch's and Maček's conversations and their proposals were all *in conformity with the present Constitution*, that is to say with the dictatorship forced on the country on 3rd September 1931. This then means that Maček no longer insists on one of the cardinal points of his programme as the basis of a Serbo-Croat agreement, on his chief demand: the immediate repeal of the present Constitution, the promulgation of a temporary fundamental law and its enforcement by decree, and the convocation in terms thereof of a national assembly to draft a new Constitution. Maček's failure to insist on this means an open breach with the United Opposition and a denial of his agreement with them. It also means the renunciation, for the present at least, of the greater part of the Croat constitutional demands.

It cannot be questioned that it was with no light heart, but only *in view of the international situation and especially under the influence of the events in Albania in April last* that Maček decided to take this step, the consequences of which cannot be predicted yet. How this step is regarded, — not by the Serb Parties, which one and all are surely congratulating themselves on the cheap bargain they made in the political market, — but by certain Croat circles, may be gathered from a few quotation from the April 29th issue of the "Nezavisna Hrvatski Drzava" (The Independent Croat State), the newspaper of the one million Croats in America. "It would seem that Maček has given in to his rotten environment and is ready to betray the Croat people... He (Maček) has broken his promise and betrayed the Croats. The Croats are firmly united and knowing the Serbs, do not believe that an agreement will be concluded... The report of Maček's disgraceful capitulation has given rise to a ter-

rible reaction all over Croatia..." It is quite certain that these passionate outbursts mirror the opinions and sentiments, not only of the Croats in America, but also of a large majority of those at home.

Something, however, went wrong with the agreement concluded at the price of surrendered principles, for the Council of Regency — because, it is said, of the objections and the strong opposition of the General Staff and the leaders of the Orthodox Greek Church — refused to approve and ratify it, whereupon Maček sent a member of his Party, Dr. Subasić, to Belgrade to clear up the situation and remove the obstacles. When Dr. Subasić failed in this mission, Maček, on 8th May, called a meeting of the Croat "Representative Body" consisting of the 47 members of Parliament and a few senators elected on his general list at the Parliamentary elections on 11th December, and a resolution was passed stating that they were fully satisfied with their president, Maček's work and methods, and empowering him to act on their behalf as he judged best in view of the attitude displayed by the Serbs and the general European situation and to take such steps in the fields of internal and foreign politics as were necessary in the present situation. They assured M. Maček that the "Representative Body" and the whole Croat nation — true to their principles — would be ready to follow him.

The "Hrvatski Dnevnik" of 11th May, writing of this resolution, says: — Maček never yet received from his fellow members of Parliament such extensive powers as these. He may well be said to have been given a free hand with everything left to his discretion... It has been established that the whole Croat nation desires to come to terms with the Serbs... The resolution of the Croat Representative Body thus does not exclude the possibility of an agreement, but *the initial steps must be taken by the Serbs and their representatives*... We have done everything possible and cannot do more... After all we are not demanding anything new, nor fighting for any concessions, only for our rights..."

The resolution itself and the comments on it in Maček's newspaper are proof that — as was stated by the Speaker of the Senate, M. Koroshetz, in his speech at Ljubljana on 7th May — negotiations have not yet been completely broken off and an agreement is still possible. Since, however, the Croat Representative Body has expressly stated that the initiative, on ratter the opening of new negotiations, must come from the Serb Government, with this they lay the full responsibility of failure to reach an agreement on Belgrade. From this point of view the pessimistic opinion voiced in the "Obzor" of 21st May is particularly characteristic. The circumstance — says the "Obzor" — that Maček has gone to Rogashka Slatina for a three weeks' cure means that the political situation has reached a deadlock.

Very interesting is the sentence in the resolution which speaks of *steps in foreign politics*. This in all probability is a disguised threat to Belgrade and an unmistakable allusion to the radical changes lately effected in the relation between Bohemia and Slovakia. But even should the agreement be concluded in spite of all obstacles, it will merely be of a temporary nature, for sincerity, the only thing that would make it permanent and stable, is lacking.

## STATEMENTS MADE BY HUNGARIAN PREMIER DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGN

**A**t *Komárom*, on 13th May, *Count Teleki* said:

“Ten years ago I knew that the injustice done to us could not last for ever. I also knew that the will to live of the nation would bring about the desired result. I always declared that we must have faith, for to have faith is much better than to yield to despair. During the past twenty years many people yielded to despair. I never did so. When the peace treaty was set before us, and we submitted our answer — first only in generalities and later, after studying it, in a wealth of detail that took two motor-cars to carry — I knew that we had laid the foundations on which fifteen or twenty years later the building of justice would be erected. All we had to do was to have faith.

“Besides faith another factor that gave us strength, that won the respect of the world, was our straightforward speech and our honesty. During my journeys to foreign countries I saw the respect in which we were held. We are not under an obligation to anyone, we are free, and when we offer the hand of friendship, it is done in all sincerity. Faith and honesty: these are the mainsprings of our life, and if we remain true to them, we shall advance much farther in the twenty years to come than we did in the past two decades, of which the first five or six years were like the life of cave-dwellers.”

When the elections were over, Count Teleki wrote an article entitled “*The Hungarian Path*”. In the opening passages the Premier declared that in good fortune and hard times he had always believed in the force and future of the nation.

"That belief" — continued the Premier — "was not the logic of a private life, not confidence in individual programmes, but faith in the nation, in the forces latent in our soil and our people, faith in the common sense of our people and in their abilities. A belief, therefore, that, without any programme or instructions, our people, of their own strength and spiritual depths, would always find the way to ensure their own and their country's continued existence and development; and these spiritual depths are what may be termed an inherited psychological and natural sense of balance; politically and socially speaking, they are what we know as the Hungarian Constitution and the Hungarian form of life as we live it."

"The Hungarian people" — says Count Teleki in another part of his article — "realized that economic reforms can never be separated from social ones and that the better standard of life, above all the Hungarian life desired by all — our prosperity, our strength, and the preservation of our ancient liberty — depended less on laws and statutes than on brotherly love. The nation also realized that reforms had to be well considered. Surely this is why they voted so loyally for the Party to which I belong and for myself, who in all my speeches have always witnessed to my adherence to Hungarian legal continuity and our ancient Constitution. This loyalty imposes serious obligations on my Parliamentary Party."

## FOREIGN MINISTER, COUNT CSAKY'S SPEECH IN SOPRON

On 31st May, with impressive ceremony, Count *Csáky*, Foreign Minister, was handed his writ won on the list of the town and county of Sopron. Amidst thunders of applause the Foreign Minister rose to his feet and delivered the following address:

"I wish to express my sincere and cordial thanks to every inhabitant of Sopron for the honour of your confidence in me, for your belief that I shall lead the people of Sopron with faith and unfaltering resolution along the difficult path that we Hungarians have to tread. I am grateful for something else as well. For the self-confidence inspired by the thousands of votes that makes me feel I shall be able to perform the great work before me. What is the work required of us Hungarians? We must re-build our house so that everyone shall find his week-day and, if possible, his holiday niche in it. Our work is cut out for us. Behind the Government there is a mighty Party; the political means have been placed in our hands by the Hungarian nation. The economic means we shall endeavour to secure. I recognize one principle only: every inhabitant of Hungary, without respect of religion or nationality, must be given the same chance of prosperity. This is the only way in which we can be strong in our own country. Our strength depends on two fundamental factors: a love, permeating all individual life, of this thousand-year-old Hungarian soil and the feeling of solidarity with all who live on it."

"Love of this country and a feeling of solidarity — continued Count *Csáky* — create the Hungarian atmosphere, that impalpable nourishing power, that *je ne sais quoi*, without which, as foreigners see and those who have broken away from us feel, it is more difficult for the people who were born in this land to breathe, that is to say, live. We, on the other hand, who are at home feel that for us it is easier to work here, even if technical or material conditions are more favourable elsewhere. This Hungarian atmosphere has a natural frontier, a natural area of expansion or — shall we say — a certain elasticity

which allows of its contracting now and then, but thanks to this same elasticity it is always capable of expanding again, until it reaches the natural frontier set for it by the creative energy of our soil and our people.

"We are fully aware that the Hungarian nation today is fighting its own spiritual battles with itself, and we are also sure that it will win — is sure to win — if it fights with the same sangfroid and resolution with which it fights its physical battles. Were this not so, we should not have a thousand years' history to boast of. Nations with a glorious past may suffer spiritual and material trials, may be shaken, but they will survive all.

"Since the adoption of Christianity many alien spiritual and physical productive forces have taken root and flourished in the Hungarian soil. They adapted themselves, that is to say, to the Hungarian atmosphere, and their subsequent growth was Hungarian in character. Only what is out of place among us perishes, and that always perishes.

"The Hungarian people instinctively feels which alien seed is likely to produce good fruit in Hungarian soil if the plants are well tended.

"It also realizes that to tend them will be profitable. The Hungarian atmosphere would never have spread as far as it has, were our people not possessed of that healthy natural instinct and mental elasticity which has enable it to adopt every sound and profitable idea without relinquishing its own individuality. The nations of the world are astonished that the terrible tides of destruction that for a thousand years swept over us who live here at the cross-roads of the nations were powerless to annihilate us. They are astonished because they cannot know that the Hungarian realm is everlasting because its image is enshrined from the day of their birth in all those who live on Hungarian soil, from whence no physical power can ever obliterate it. This image, filled with the Hungarian atmosphere, has been our protection for a thousand years, and it is also our strong bulwark today, a bulwark more impregnable than the perfect lines of defence protecting the frontiers of other countries of which so much is heard now-a-days."

*Irresponsible Elements Tactlessly Interfere with our Private Affairs.*

"Not long ago I gave an exposé of our position in international politics. I have nothing to add to that now. Here, close to the frontier of the German Reich, I wish, however, to speak of that country to which we are linked by the ties of a warm friendship. I am fully aware that irresponsible elements, people who think to acquire merit in the eyes of high German circles by making difficulties for us, sometimes tactlessly interfere with our private affairs. In future such persons will find themselves at issue with the might of the Hungarian State, and they will also receive their punishment from the German Reich, for whenever we have had any genuine reason to complain of German citizens tactlessly trying to bring undue pressure to bear upon us, Germany has made amends and visited her displeasure on the delinquents. The leaders of the German Reich well know that the sincere friendship of many million Hungarians is a political and economic asset, and they do not wish to sacrifice it to the more or less incomprehensible aims of a few propagandists led astray by their own inflamed imaginations.

"Here I must point out that the more sympathy with and respect for our German-speaking compatriots we show, the smaller will be the area of friction between us and Germany. Religious or national intolerance is not a Hungarian trait; it was not by Hungarians that it was inculcated in the masses on those occasions in our history when it raised its head. We will not allow strangers to fix a gap between the nationalities living on Hungarian soil and ourselves. Of late, since times have grown so stormy in Central Europe, very strong efforts to do this are manifest.

"The pressure weighing on the Rome-Berlin axis is increasing. The only result thereof so far has been to stiffen its power of resistance. It is nevertheless probable that this irrational pressure will continue to grow stronger. In times like these we must give special proof that it is possible to build on Hungary's friendship. I do not believe that the great nations, no matter to which group they belong, are not aware that our national honour makes it imperative for us to be true to ourselves, to our mission in the Basin of the Carpathians, and loyal to our

friends; for only thus shall we prove worthy of the confidence placed in us by the whole of unprejudiced Europe. Reliability and good repute are at least as great an asset to nations as to banks and economic undertakings. I am profoundly reassured to see that our people are recognized as courageous and resolute, not only in a physical sense, but also in a moral one. That is why others, too, believe in Hungary's future.

"I promise — said Count Csáky in conclusion — not to spare myself where the welfare of the people is concerned, nor will I spare others. By this I mean that I shall expect one and all to work shoulder to shoulder, with might and main, for the Hungarian nation. For this work, of which I shall try to provide an ample amount, due countervalue will be paid.

"I promise peace and quiet so far as it depends on ourselves, for without peace and quiet no work or production is conceivable.

"By peace, however, I do not mean compromise and surrender.

"To everyone we shall render what is due, but we shall also demand our own rights from everybody. I promise vigilance and the protection of individuals and of the nation as a whole. And lastly, I promise a Hungarian future in a Hungarian atmosphere in which all and sundry, fathers and sons, those who are near and those who are far, will find the means of satisfying their growing needs."

# POLITICAL MOSAIC

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN HUNGARY: GREAT GOVERNMENT VICTORY

An added significance was given to the general elections held on 28th and 29th May by the fact that they were followed with keen interest by foreign countries. Furthermore this was the first time the new law was enforced which introduced voting by lists in a great part of the constituencies, and secret balloting in all.

The *Teleki* Government won an overwhelming victory at the elections, which were conducted with the greatest fairness, securing 70 per cent of the seats. Of the 260 members of the new Parliament 182 are Government Party. The largest Party of the Opposition (50 seats) consists of an alliance of 5 or 6 minor factions of the extreme Right, the National Socialists, who had only four seats in the former Parliament. Then follows the Independent Smallholders Party under the leadership of Dr. Tibor Eckhardt with 14 seats. This Party, which had 28 seats at the beginning of the last cycle and had shrunk to 22 members before the elections owing to the desertion of some, has now lost much ground. The rest of the Opposition Parties with their small number of seats scarcely count. The Liberals have five seats and the Social Democrats (the Party representing the industrial labouring class) have lost nine of their former seats, which leaves them only five.

The outstanding feature of the election results is that the majority of the new members of the Government Party itself (which owing to the defection of a considerable number of its adherents during the era of the Imrédy Government numbered only 118) are men of the Right Wing, and thus the whole Party is more pronouncedly of the extreme Right than it was. More than half of the Opposition belong to the extreme Right, so that the new Parliament as a whole has shifted considerably towards the Right.

Another characteristic is that the constitution of the Parliament is much more democratic, for the number of its members representing the minor branches of occupation has increased. This in itself and the programme speeches in particular show that the new Parliament will meet in a spirit of social reforms, the chief of which will be the Land Reform Bill.

The *Teleki* Government, whose Foreign Minister, Count Csáky, took an extremely active part in the election campaign,

owes perhaps the splendid manifestation of the confidence placed in it by the majority of the nation to four factors. The first of these is that in the weeks before the elections both the Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in all their important speeches emphasized primarily their adherence to the Parliamentary system, their unswerving loyalty to the ancient Hungarian Constitution and their firm determination to defend the absolute independence and liberty of the country.

The second factor was that the Government itself promised to introduce major social reforms, amongst others the rational breaking up of the large landed estates in order to provide as many families as possible with land of their own.

The third was that the Government, strongly nationalist in its policy, had already passed laws and issued ordinances in keeping with the nationalist principles permeating the majority of the nation.

And, last but not least, the chief reason why the Teleky Government won such an overwhelming victory was that it was under this Government that Hungary within the past year regained possession of part of the territories wrested from it on the north with one million Magyars and Ruthenia with its mixed population of Magyars and Ruthenians. The Hungarian nation, which for twenty years has never ceased to demand the revision of the Trianon Treaty, hopes that, progressing along the same lines, the Teleki Government will achieve further results by peaceful methods.

## OPENING OF POLISH INSTITUTE IN BUDAPEST

On May 24th the Polish Institute was opened with impressive ceremony in Budapest, as a pendant to the Hungarian Institute opened in Warsaw on 4th November 1935. The object of these institutions is to promote the scientific study of the cultural life of both countries. Contacts between Poland and Hungary have always been lively, and with the establishment of these two institutes it will be possible to examine the historical background of these extremely friendly connections, and the two nations will have an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of one another's history and art, of one another's culture.

The opening speech was delivered in Polish by Count Leo *Orlowski*, the Polish Minister in Budapest. Count *Orlowski* pointed out that the contacts between the two friendly nations must be based on realities, one factor of which will be the newly established Polish Institute. The Polish Ministry of Education was represented by M. Oscar Halecki, Professor of Warsaw University and a historian of note. In his speech he mentioned that cultural intercourse between the two countries had always

been lively, especially in the Middle Ages, when a large number of Hungarian youths attended the Polish universities. Two rulers of Poland of Hungarian extraction, *Queen Hedwig* and *Báthory*, had done much to further cultural development in Poland. *Hedwig*, daughter of *Louis the Great* of Hungary, founded the Cracow university and *Bathory* the university at Vilno, thus establishing an outpost of culture in the most eastern part of Europe.

*Valentine Hóman*, Hungarian Minister of Education, expressed his pleasure at having the honour to represent the Hungarian Government. His pleasure was all the greater in view of the fact that it had fallen to him, as Minister of Education, to open the Hungarian Institute in Warsaw. Nobody who had been to Poland could ever forget the impression made by the cultural institutions and works of art created by Poland's great men. He hoped that the Polish Institute would exercise a stimulating influence on Hungarian research work.

*Alexander Eckhardt*, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Budapest University of Sciences, briefly outlined the significance of the Institute to the world of science. Then *Zdzislaw Jachimek*, a professor of Cracow University, gave an address on the Polish musical genius, *Chopin*. He quoted evidence to prove that *Chopin* was a Pole, sketched his musical career and characterized his works. The assembly hall of the Budapest University was packed with a distinguished audience, who greeted the various speakers with loud applause.

## COUNT JOHN ESTERHAZY SPEAKS OF COMPLAINTS OF MAGYARS IN SLOVAKIA AND THEIR REDRESS

On 12th May, the Committee of the United Hungarian Party held a session. On this occasion Count John Esterházy submitted a lengthy report:

"Since our last meeting in January" — he said — "barely four months have elapsed, and in that short time the map of Europe has again undergone a change. The Danube Valley problems that affect us most closely begin to assume a new shape.

"In the month of March Hungary regained possession of Ruthenia, and an old wish, the establishment of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier, was fulfilled. From an economic point of view Ruthenia's restoration to Hungary is a great godsend, the fruits of which our brethren across the frontier are already beginning to enjoy.

"The groups of Powers in formation for a long time back are striving to knit their political and military ties closer than ever. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the situation in

Europe today is dangerously like the state of affairs in the months immediately preceding the great war; on the other hand, it is reassuring to know that all those who, today, decide the fate of the nations think with horror of another world war, which would mean the destruction of our culture and civilization.

"On the surface, we Magyars of Slovakia are of little account in the great game being played by the European Powers, but the fact that our future is organically bound up with that of a Hungary grown greater in territory and importance, has not lessened our significance — though appearances sometimes seem to deny this; on the contrary our significance is steadily on the increase.

"Amidst revolutionary phenomena of an extremely lively nature Slovakia became an independent State. On behalf of the Magyar minority I immediately — frankly and sincerely — offered to join in the work of construction. Unfortunately, it would seem that certain factors misunderstood our good intentions, for otherwise I can find no explanation of the circumstance that our situation has grown considerably worse in every respect since the month of March. It is enough to point out that since Slovakia became independent our official organ, the "Uj Hírek", has been suppressed, the activity of the Hungarian Cultural Society has been stopped, and no meetings are permitted even yet. In addition to this, important memorandums dealing solely with social and cultural matters have not been answered, though submitted months ago. Recently the stoppage of their pensions was a great blow to thousands of Magyar families, whose sole means of support were the small sums thus received. Added to all this, there is the regrettable circumstance that the members of the Hlinka Guard, acting in very many cases entirely on their own initiative, and without any legal warrant, arrested our people and cast them into prison or maltreated them. The systematic persecution of the Hungarian minority culminated in the events that took place in Pozsony at the end of April.

"In his recent speech delivered in Nyitra Premier Tiso dealt with the situation of the nationalities. He said: "We Slovaks desire to live in peace and therefore will live in peace with our subjects of other nationalities, and will treat them with the greatest goodwill so long as they prove loyal to the Slovak State." The Magyars of Slovakia, one and all, have always been loyal to the Slovak State, and yet a deaf ear is turned to our complaints. During the revolutionary days in March the calm and peaceful attitude displayed by the Magyars witnessed to the fact that we were pleased to see Slovakia an independent State and that within its borders we hoped at last to be recognized as citizens with full rights, and not to be treated as we were during the Czech era.

"If here, in Slovakia, any ultra-chauvinist Slovak should think he was serving the interests of an independent Slovakia

best by tearing his Party badge off the coat of a Magyar of Nyitra, Pozsony, Eperjes or Besztercebánya, or by insulting his national feelings, that ultra-chauvinist Slovak is doing as great harm to his country as an ultra-chauvinist Magyar in Hungary who by word or deed tried to prevent or hinder the national development of the Slovaks in Hungary.

"Having had conversations with the most competent Government circles in Hungary, I can confidently assert that the Hungarian Government, for their part, are willing to do everything in their power to restore friendly relations between Slovakia and Hungary as soon as they see a similar willingness on the part of the Slovaks. Not only the Hungarian Government, but also Hungarian public opinion, is fully aware that the two countries should be able to live side by side in complete political and economic harmony and peace, and that this would prove of the greatest benefit to both countries. On Thursday I was approached by the most competent Slovak factors, who officially stated that what had happened should be regarded as past, that we should drop recriminations and turn our attention towards a fairer future, the foundations of which they, for their part, were ready to guarantee.

"Patience, confidence, discipline and incessant work! They are what in our present circumstances must be the substance of our life. But if we do not receive our rights within the shortest time, we shall fight for them in other ways until they are ours. We cannot allow anything to make us abandon our present attitude, which is based on Christian ideology and Christian charity. If we cannot obtain redress for any of our wrongs, we shall find ways and means of submitting our case to the international tribunals."

## HLINKA GUARD ATROCITIES

In previous issues of this paper mention has been made more than once of the Hlinka Guards. This formation was originally created at the time of the dissolution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic for the purpose of maintaining order. In a short time, however, the Hlinka Guards became terror troops. The central Government not being able to provide for them, they were compelled to supply their own needs. As we have already stated, they did so chiefly by blackmailing well-to-do minority citizens. They went so far in their campaign of blackmail and terror that in several places the population rose up against them. Finally the Slovak Government was forced to order them to hand in their weapons; but, especially in Eastern Slovakia, this order was not obeyed, and we continue to receive

reports of a number of brutal attacks and acts of terror. The following are a few examples. —

1. A report from *Érsekújvár* states that on 5th May Louis Kovács, a farmer with land on both sides of the frontier, crossed the Slovak frontier at Dunasápa to work on his farm on the Slovak side. He had a properly made out official permit to cross the frontier. Kovács went to the village of *Cseklész*, where his wife owns a house in which they had lived until the new frontier allotted the village to Slovakia. While he was in the house, the head of the Hlinka Guard appeared accompanied by two gendarmes and ordered him to go with them to the police station. There they first told him that his permit to cross the frontier was not in order, and then began to beat him. They dragged him down to the cellar and tortured him for a long time, cursing the Hungarians all the while. The Guard were assisted in this cruel work by six Slovak gendarmes. Finally Kovács was put over the frontier. He was so badly hurt that he fainted several times from pain and loss of blood while he was being examined by a doctor.

2. It is reported from *Kassa* that on 10th May three young men of *Mecenzét*, Michael *Gajdon*, John *Hofcsik* and Joseph *Tischler*, were arrested by Hlinka Guards and carried from the local gaol to the prison in *Illava*. The reason why they were taken to *Illava* was that they were not willing to declare that a man called *Kaspar* had been shot on Slovak territory by the Hungarian frontier guards. This John *Kaspar*, a member of a local formation co-operating with the Hlinka Guards, had been shot by Hungarian frontier guards on Hungarian territory when he refused to halt at their order. *Kaspar* died of his wounds. The Slovaks employed the most cruel methods of cross-examination to force a confession from the three young men, but nothing would induce them to alter the statements in which they said that John *Kaspar* had at the beginning of April announced his intention to cross the Hungarian frontier and bring Hungarian frontier guards back with him as prisoners.

3. Two *Mecenzét* women went to the gendarmes for permits to cross the frontier in order to visit their husbands on the other side. The two women were badly beaten by the Hlinka Guardists. ("*Felvidéki Magyar Hírlap*," May 11.).

4. Eperjes, May 9. On 8th May at *Szucsány*, County *Turóc*, Hlinka Guards assaulted the Lutheran clergyman and the village teacher, who were taking a walk, and threw them half-dead into a brook. When they regained consciousness the clergyman manag-

ed to creep home and is now lying at death's door. Rosenberg, a lawyer from Eperjes, who was arrested some time ago, was transferred to the prison in Illava on 9th May. The 70 leading Magyars of Eperjes who, as we stated in our last issue, were arrested by the Hlinka Guards, are languishing in Illava and nothing is being done about their case.

5. A report from *Kassa* dated 4th May states that on May 2nd a Hlinka Guard named Francis *Schwartz* was on a propaganda tour in *Alsómecenzéf*. He went to *Grundi Street*, called *Horthy Miklós Street* by the Magyars of the village, and knocking at every door promised 500 crowns to every Magyar who deserted the United Hungarian Party and joined the Hlinka Guard. The people of the village, however, soon drove Schwarz out of the place. Later on about 150 Germans with Hungarian sympathies met and marched through the village loudly demonstrating against the terror of the Hlinka Guards. When the propaganda chief, *M. Hrobok*, heard of this he called the members of the Hlinka Guard to arms. These Guards set upon the pro-Hungarian Germans with fixed bayonets, wounding several of them severely and beating them with the butt-ends of their rifles.

6. On 2nd May *Julia* and *Anna Pöhm* and *Ellen Gedeon*, who had been dismissed from their jobs at the municipal office because of their Hungarian sympathies, and a young university student named *Eugene Schmiedl*, met a band of Hlinka Guards who told them to go home at once. *Schmiedl* protested against this order, whereupon the Guards knocked him down, robbed him of his possessions and half-strangled him. This instance of robbery and assault awoke a storm of indignation in *Alsómecenzéf*. A crowd of about six hundred people gathered and demonstrated against the Slovak acts of violence. Shortly after 130 Hlinka Guards arrived in the village from the environs and attacked the crowd with the butts of their rifles and rubber truncheons. Two women and one child were severely hurt.

Armed Hlinka Guards marched through *Mecenzéf* with machine-guns, yelling and firing and driving the population, who are mostly German-speaking people, before them. When they were crossing the bridge at *Alsómecenzéf* they met an old woman of seventy. The Guards threw her into the stream, from whence she was later rescued with broken limbs by the people of the village.

7. A report from *Kassa* dated 16th May says that on the 15th the Slovak gendarmes arrested *Andrew Harcsanik*, an

employee of the Hungarian State Railways, who was at Nagyszalánc on a visit to his parents. He was in possession of a permit to cross the frontier. In spite of this he was beaten by the gendarmes and Hlinka Guards and carried off to *Eperjes*.

### THE DOBRUDJA MASSACRE

In terms of § 46 of the agreement concluded at the Berlin Congress in 1878, Northern Dobrudja was attached to Rumania as counter-value for Bessarabia, which was allotted to Russia. At the time the entire Rumanian Press and Parliament protested against the annexation by Rumania of that territory. On 25th June, 1878, the following resolution was passed by the Rumanian Parliament: "In view of the fact that it would not serve Rumania's interests to obtain possession of the territory south of the Danube and that the slightest international dispute would later undoubtedly lead to complications and trouble, Parliament cannot agree to the annexation of the Dobrudja by Rumania in any form or for any reason." (Basile Cogalniceanu: Dobrudja 1879—1909.)

In spite of this resolution Rumania occupied Northern Dobrudja after the proclamation of a Royal Manifesto at Braila on 14th November, 1878. At that time the Bulgarian population numbered 140.000 souls, and to dissipate the anxiety expressed by Parliament and in the Rumanian Press the Government settled 150.000 Rumanians in that area between 1878 and 1908. In 1913, after the Balkan War, Southern Dobrudja, with a Bulgarian population of 136.439 and only 6359 Rumanians, was wrested from Bulgaria by Rumania. In 1930 the total number of Bulgarians in the two Dobrudjas was 362.000. In order to paralyse the efforts of the Bulgarian population to join their old mother-country, the Rumanians were forced to maintain a rule of terror. The more self-reliant Bulgarian elements, about 40.000 souls, emigrated from the Dobrudja to Bulgaria. Persecution was not confined to economic and cultural matters, and even today the population lives in terror of the brutality of the gendarmes and of the administrative authorities.

In connection with the latest massacre the Bulgarian Telegraphic Bureau on 15th May issued the following report: "In the village of Belitza in Rumanian Dobrudja 22 Bulgarian

inhabitants have been slaughtered. Various press agencies in Bucharest are attempting to create the impression that the massacre was the work of Komitachis from Bulgaria. But the truth is as follows. At the time of the last Rumanian mobilization against Bulgaria about 60 Bulgarian men belonging to the village of Belitza in the Tutrakan district fled across the frontier to Bulgaria. Their womenfolk were dragged away by the gendarmes and badly maltreated at the police station. On 15th April, 100 soldiers from the Tutrakan garrison went to Belitza, where they abused their authority, robbing and plundering the population. On 7th May, a Bulgarian named Nicholas Cholakov was killed in the Indzsekőj forest by Rumanian gendarmes, who put nine bullets into him. On 9th May, at 3 p. m., 25 Bulgarian inhabitants of Belitza, a list of whose names had been prepared, were arrested and forced to sign a statement the text of which they were not permitted to read. They were then imprisoned in a cellar which had previously been filled with water knee deep. There they spent the night. At 3 o'clock in the morning they were fettered and driven in the direction of Silistra by a detachment of gendarmes armed with two light machine-guns. When they reached the Indzsekőj forest, about a mile from the village, one of the gendarmes left the others and disappeared into the wood. Shortly after a gunshot was heard. This was the prearranged signal for the massacre to begin. The machine-guns were set in action, and 12 of the 25 prisoners fell dead immediately. Those who were merely wounded were despatched by the gendarmes with their bayonets. Only three men managed to make their escape. They hid in the wood, and, sorely wounded though they were, succeeded in reaching Bulgarian territory."

When the news of this terrible massacre spread in Bulgaria the indignation of the population knew no bounds, and demonstrations took place everywhere in the country. The Serb "Politika" of 17th May contains the following report from its correspondent in Sofia: "The Bulgarian Government was powerless to prevent anti-Rumanian demonstrations in connection with the massacre of the Bulgarians. In Roustchouk a mourning committee was formed, which broke open the gates of the cathedral and tolled the bells, so that in a short time a crowd of many thousands gathered round the church. Black

flags were hoisted on the houses. Clashes occurred between the police and the citizens and several people suffered slight wounds. It was not till noon that order was restored. In Varna, too, there were violent anti-Rumanian demonstrations."

## TWO MEN PROMINENT IN RUMANIAN PUBLIC LIFE ARRAIGNED ON CRIMINAL CHARGES

*M. Xen*, *ex-Minister of Justice*, who was a member of several Cabinets, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the court of first instance for gold-smuggling. A man, that is to say, who not long ago was head of the criminal jurisdiction and chief guardian of the law, has now been arraigned himself on a criminal charge. — On the charge of manslaughter criminal proceedings have been instituted against *M. Alexander Licu*, Chief President of the Bucharest Supreme Court. — These two cases throw a lamentably characteristic light on public life in Rumania.

OSZK  
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

## RUMANIA

### CONFISCATION OF WIRELESS SETS AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE ON RUMANIAN FRONTIERS

According to the report of visitors who arrive in the village of Nagybockső, anti-Magyar acts of violence are the order of the day in Rumanian territory just over the frontier. A Magyar who had been beaten so badly that he was bleeding from many wounds fled to Hungarian territory and told the people there that in his native town, Máramarossziget, the Magyar and Ruthenian inhabitants were just coming out from the Sunday service when a number of gendarmes attacked them without provocation. The Magyar and Ruthenian inhabitants were beaten with the butts of rifles, and many of them were seriously injured.

The wireless sets in the possession of the Magyar inhabitants of the counties of Arad and Szatmár were sealed by the police last April. A few days ago the Rumanian authorities confiscated the wireless sets of all Magyars in the frontier districts, after which all wireless sets were broken to pieces. ("Felvidéki Magyar Hirlap", May 20th).

### EXTRA TAX ON BOOK-KEEPING IN A MINORITY LANGUAGE

The provision of the direct taxation law of 1935 which imposes a pretty heavy sur-tax on enterprizes and institutions that do not keep their books in the official language of the State, has been fought before a court of law by the Lutheran parish of Nagyszeben. The contention of the Lutheran Church was that this provision is an infraction of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, ignoring as it does the equality of all Rumanian citizens in the eyes of the law.

The case has been tried by the supreme Court of Appeal and the Lutheran Church has been non-suited on the ground that *the official language of the country was the language of the majority nation and that the sur-tax was imposed on those who could afford the luxury of doing their book-keeping in an alien tongue.* The relevant provision of the taxation law was pronounced constitutional by the Court of Appeal.

We ask our readers to compare this pronouncement of the Rumanian Supreme Court with the provisions of two of the

Articles of the treaty concluded in Paris on 9th December 1919 between Rumania and the Allied and Associated Powers. In Article I of that treaty Rumania undertook to recognize as a fundamental law the provisions contained in paragraphs 2—8 of the said Article and guaranteed that no law, ordinance or official measure should run counter to or contravene those provisions, and that no law, ordinance or official measure should prevail against them. The first paragraph of Article VIII stipulates that no Rumanian citizen shall be restricted in the free use of any language in private or business life, in religious life, in the Press or any other means of publication, or at public meetings. Here we must note that in pre-Trianon Hungary all institutions and undertakings were free to keep their books in any language they chose without having to pay a special tax. The use of a minority language was never pronounced a luxury by the Hungarian courts of law.

MONUMENT OF TWO HEROES OF HUNGARIAN WAR  
OF INDEPENDENCE IN SZAMOSFALVA  
(NEAR KOLOZSVAR)

One night recently a monument erected during the Hungarian era to the memory of two heroes of the Hungarian War of Independence who were executed by the enemy, was pulled down by unknown persons. In connection with this matter M. Joseph *Sándor*, ex-senator and present Vice-President of the Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania, went to M. Coriolan Tataru, Governor of the province of Szamos, and informed him of what had taken place. M. *Sándor* begged the Governor, in the interests of internal peace, to take steps to prevent similar outrages on Hungarian memorials in the future. M. *Sándor* also told the Governor that the Hungarian Cultural Society would re-erect the monument.

THEATRICAL GRIEVANCES IN TRANSYLVANIA

The Committee of the *Magyar Volksbund* in Transylvania has submitted a long memorandum to the Minister of Education demanding a redress of the grievances of the Hungarian theatres in that province. In terms of the new measures introduced by the Minister of Education, the committee superintending theatrical affairs in the Banate and Transylvania has no power except to recommend the licensing of certain plays; the licences themselves must be issued by the Ministry of Education. This means a great loss of time and results in the theatres and amateur theatrical societies being obliged to perform old plays. The memorandum, which sets forth all the grievances of the Hun-

garian theatre in Transylvania, demands a return to former conditions. This memorandum was signed by Count Nicholas Bánffy.

## CINEMAS IN TRANSYLVANIA RUINED BY HIGH TAXATION

In defiance of the principle of equal rights, the Rumanian Government has imposed a much higher tax on the cinemas in Transylvania than on those in Old Rumania, so that the owners are unable to run their cinemas. The proprietors protest against the new system of taxation, because most cinemas in Transylvania are classed as first-class cinemas and have to pay a tax of 2400 lei a day, irrespective of the amount of their takings. The second-class cinemas have to pay 1600 lei a day, third-class ones 800 lei, and fourth-class cinemas 200—300 lei a day. In all the large towns of Transylvania, e. g. in Kolozsvár, Temesvár, Arad, Nagyvárad, Brassó and Nagyszeben, all the cinemas have been ranked as first-class cinemas. On the other hand, the cinemas in Old Rumania always used to pay higher taxes previously — when the taxes amounted to 20% of the total receipts — which shows that they were always more prosperous. Nevertheless, there is not one first-class cinema now in Old Rumania except in Bucharest, while in Transylvania all the cinemas in the large towns are now ranked as first-class cinemas.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

## MAGYAR EMPLOYEES OF TOBACCO FACTORY AT SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY TO UNDERGO LANGUAGE TEST

In the course of the last twenty years the Magyar employees living in Rumania have had to undergo repeated language tests, and the dismissal of Magyars under the pretext of unsuccessful tests has been a frequent occurrence, thousands of Magyar families being thereby reduced to poverty. It is now reported that the Rumanian Government is preparing to take similar steps against the inhabitants of a purely Magyar county, the County of Háromszék.

The director of the tobacco factory at Sepsiszentgyörgy has been instructed to order all those of his employess who have not a sufficient command of Rumanian to undergo a language test on July 15th. The director, accordingly, has compiled a list of those employees to whom this regulation applies and has told them that the factory will arrange a course in Rumania for them. Some of these employees are heads of families over 50 years of age who cannot possibly acquire a sufficient knowledge of the language in two months, however ambitiously they may try to learn it. Those on the list include

also charwomen and servants of the factory.

### MINORITY SCHOOLS IN SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY RECEIVE NO GRANTS

The budget of the town of *Sepsiszentgyörgy* (6.500.000 lei) has now been endorsed by the Provincial Governor of *Bucsecs*. This budget was a great disappointment to the Magyar minority, for in it no provision had been made by the Municipal Corporation for grants to the local Roman Catholic and Calvinist minority elementary schools. These schools are the only schools in the town for Magyar children. The budget is another flagrant instance of how the Government neglects to fulfil the obligations undertaken in the minority treaty of 9th December, 1919. For in Article 10 thereof the Rumanian Government undertook to guarantee the minorities a proportionate share of all the sums accruing from the public revenue that are devoted to education, religion and charity in the State, municipal and other budgets in all towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of the population are Rumanian citizens belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities.

### AGREEMENT WITH HUNGARIAN MINORITY — IGNORED AT SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY

When the present leaders of the Hungarian minority consented to join the Rumanian National Renaissance Front the Government made a solemn promise to subsidise the schools of the Hungarian minority. This agreement, however, is not being observed everywhere. — The town of *Sepsiszentgyörgy*, for example, has not provided in its new budget for the subsidising of the Hungarian schools. The leaders of the minority churches appeared before M. Cretiu, the burgomaster, and asked him to let the two minority elementary schools have their due share, according to the quota of the Hungarian population, of the subsidies given to schools. Although they based their claim on the provisions of the above agreement, the burgomaster refused to grant their request, whereupon the churches lodged a protest against the budget of the city.

### WORK OF MAGYAR CHORAL SOCIETIES IMPEDED

Every year the General Hungarian Choral Society arranges a series of competitions in the various districts. This year

difficulties have been raised by the Rumanian authorities. In the county of *Nagyküküllő*, for instance, the gendarmes would not allow choir practice except between the hours of 5 and 7 p. m., when the members of the choral society were busy with their work in the fields. Having no opportunity of practising, this choir was not able to take part in the competition. We understand that the General Hungarian Choral Society intends to intervene and lay these grievances before the Government.

### MINORITY CLERGYMEN MOLESTED AND PERSECUTED

Because of an old hymn-book and a *Turul* (legendary Hungarian bird) the Calvinist clergyman and precentor of the town of Zilah have been arrested: Dr. Michael *Mezey*, Calvinist clergyman of the town, was ordered by two officials of the *Zilah* Public Security Office to open the door of the church, as they wished to examine the interior. The two officials went straight up to the gallery, and, opening the music-case beside the organ, took out the book of hymns used by the precentor, M. Géza *Aracsi*. They expressed their displeasure with the fact that the Hungarian National Anthem had not been removed from the hymn-book. Then they went to the church treasury and demanded an explanation of a stone *Turul* (eagle) which they found there. This *Turul* is an object of historical and artistic value, for it is the work of John Fadrusz, a famous Hungarian sculptor. Some years ago it was handed over to the parish office for preservation by the Government authorities. The upshot of the matter was that both Dr. Michael *Mezey* and M. Géza *Aracsi* were arrested and taken to the gaol of the military court in Kolozsvár.

### CALVINIST CLERGYMAN OF COUNTY MAROS ARRAIGNED BEFORE MILITARY COURT

The case of M. John *Nagy*, Calvinist clergyman of Bede (County Maros), has been tried before the military court in Kolozsvár. He was arraigned before the court on information received from M. Constantin Manea, a State teacher, who accused him of persuading several members of his congregation not to send their children to the State school and of having conducted a conversation of a political nature contrary to law.

The accused stated that he considered the charge an act of revenge, for even after he had lodged his information, Manea had declared that he was willing to come to terms if he was paid for it. First he demanded 1500 and then 2000 lei. The chief

witness for the prosecution was a Greek Catholic priest, who however stated that he was present at the alleged conversation and that Mr. Nagy had not said anything illegal. Mr. Nagy was acquitted.

### WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE PUPILS OF THE DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL OF NYOMÁT

After the denominational school of Nyomát was closed down by the authorities, the Inspector of Education of Marosvásárhely ordered the pupils of the school to be taken to the State school. Until the Hungarian section of the State school is completed, the Hungarian language will be taught as a regular subject in eight hours a week, that being four hours for each of the two teachers.

### RUMANIANS AGAIN SEIZE BY FORCE PASTURE LAND OF SZEKELY VILLAGE

The Székely people have again been outraged by another act of violence, — the seizure of a common pasture ground. The Rumanian inhabitants of the village of Gyergyóbékás have by force occupied the common pasture ground (600 yokes) belonging to the inhabitants of the village of Gyergyótekerőpatak, on the pretext that the possession of this pasture ground is of vital importance to the Rumanian village. The inhabitants of the same Rumanian village had already (last year) seized — also by force — 440 yokes of land from the inhabitants of the village of Gyergyószentmiklós and another 409 yokes from the village of Tekerőpatak. In other words, they have seized 2000 yokes in all by sheer force.

The seizure of the pasture ground in Tekerőpatak was a heavy blow to the inhabitants, because the herd was left without any pasture ground and was in danger of extinction. The representatives of the community of proprietors appeared before Col. Drimba, Prefect of the County, asking him to have the pasture ground evacuated. The Colonel gave orders accordingly to the gendarmes of Csíkszereda and told the inhabitants of Tekerőpatak to remain on the pasture ground until the people from Békás had departed. But after the departure of the gendarmes the people of Békás displayed such a hostile attitude that the representatives of the other village were obliged to flee. — The Rumanians of Békás drove their animals back to the former pasture ground immediately after the gendarmes had left. Thereupon another delegation appeared before the Prefect with the same request as before. The Prefect

instructed them to gather their cattle and send them to the pasture ground, which would be evacuated by the time they got there. The cattle arrived at the pasture ground, but were not allowed to graze there, as the Rumanians were guarding the property they had unlawfully acquired armed with hatchets and guns. As things at present stand, the Székelys of Tekerőpatak are not able to use their own pasture ground in spite of the express orders of the authorities.

## SLOVAKIA

### SPEAKING HUNGARIAN A CAPITAL OFFENCE

On 25th March, John *Dula*, a native of Garbócbogdán employed as a clerk in a court of law, crossed over to Slovak territory to visit his relations at Magyarizsép. Although he could speak Slovak and had been warned that it was not advisable to speak Hungarian in Slovakia, he did so. This was reported to the Hlinka Guards, who arrested him. He was sent to a concentration camp about seven kilometres east of *Varanno*, where fifty men were detained. These poor prisoners were lying on the bare ground with only a thin layer of straw under them. For ten days they had no blankets, and were ill in consequence. They were kept crowded within doors and were only allowed to take the air for ten minutes every day. Their food was the poorest imaginable. They got just enough to keep them from dying of starvation. Andrew *Barna*, a lawyer of Hommona aged 52, was also punished for speaking Hungarian. *Barna*, who does not speak Slovak well, was heard to say that he preferred to speak Hungarian. When this was reported to the Hlinka Guards, they immediately arrested him and beat him sorely.

### PRO-HUNGARIAN SYMPATHIES PUNISHED

At the time of the last Hungarian advance, *Gustave Svéd*, a butcher's assistant in *Kemence*, was heard to say that if the Hungarians continued to advance so rapidly they would reach that village in three days. For this he was arrested, tortured and beaten, and on 3rd May was sent to the concentration camp at *Távorna*, where he was again maltreated. Then he was locked up in the "dark cell." This, one of the favourite means of torture employed by the Hlinka Guards, is a little cell full of dirty water and filth. — When the Hungarian troops were taking up their position along the temporary frontier, *Julius Lingsch*, an innkeeper of Homonna, met an old friend among the Hungarian soldiers, and smilingly shook hands with him. The Hlinka Guards,

who were watching the scene from a distance of about 150 metres, took this to mean that Lingsch was pleased to see the Hungarian troops. He was sent to a concentration camp.

### GRIEVANCES OF HUNGARIAN PENSIONERS IN SLOVAKIA

A report published in the Hungarian daily "Uj Hirek" (Pozsony-Bratislava, April 5th) says that pensioners will not receive their pensions unless they can prove that they were born and have been domiciled within the territory of the present Slovak State. This arrangement runs counter to the provisions of the recent agreement between Hungary and Slovakia. This agreement provides that everyone's nationality (citizenship) shall depend on his present place of residence. If, therefore, someone was residing within the territory of the present State of Slovakia at the date indicated in the agreement, he must be considered as a Slovak citizen, irrespectively of his domicile. The above edict ignores this provision of the agreement and determines everyone's right to his pension according to his domicile.

### MAGYAR WORKERS DISMISSED FROM EMPLOYMENT IN SLOVAKIA

It is reported from Kassa (April 6th) that an ever-increasing number of Magyar workers is being dismissed from the various factories and other establishments in Slovakia. The workers thus dismissed are, of course, unable to find new jobs and are, therefore, deprived of the possibility of earning their daily bread. A striking example of their fate is the case of a worker from the village of Aranyida, János Vozár, who has just returned from Slovakia. Vozár had been employed in the building operations of a tunnel on the railway line near Stubnyafürdő. On March 29th the Slovak authorities ordered the Magyars to be picked out from the 10.000 workers employed there; these workers were then dismissed without any explanation. Vozár and the other Magyar workers who are domiciled in the recently re-incorporated areas of Hungary at least received their hard-earned wages, thanks to the intervention of the Hlinka Guard. On his way towards Lovinabánya, however, he was held up by members of the same Hlinka Guard, who robbed him of all his earnings, 500 Czech crowns. The poor man would have been compelled to walk home, to the distant village of Aranyida, if the Hungarian gendarmes had not lent him 13 pengő.

## NUMBER OF MAGYAR SOLICITORS IN SLOVAKIA TO BE LIMITED

According to a report published in the "Slovák" (on April 16. 1939), the Slovak Ministry of Justice has ordered the conscription of all practising solicitors of Magyar race in Slovakia. As a result of this conscription it was found that altogether 67 Magyar solicitors were actually practising in the country. It is now rumoured that the Ministry of Justice will issue an edict declaring that the percentage of Magyar solicitors must not be higher than the general percentage of Magyars in Slovakia.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### STRANGE CROAT COMPLAINT

The May 12 issue of M. Maček's paper, the „Hrvatski Dnevnik“, complains of the distribution according to religion of the municipal officials in the town of *Szabadka* (*Subotica*). According to that newspaper, there is only one Roman Catholic judge among the 15 functioning in the local courts of justice, and that one is not a Croat. Only one of the 7 judges at the district courts is a Roman Catholic, and the other is a Bunyevatz, 14 of the 39 officials employed at the municipal revenue office are Roman Catholics, but only 4 are Croats. In the suburban inland revenue office 3 of the 25 officials are Roman Catholics, and only 6 of the 32 customs officials are Roman Catholics and Croats.

This remarkable complaint will be intelligible only if we consider the fact that of Szabadka's 105.000 inhabitants only about 7000 are Orthodox Serbs, while 51.000 are Roman Catholics of Bunyevatz race and another 43.000 are Magyar Roman Catholics. The number of Bunyevatz persons in Szabadka who openly profess Croat sympathies and who style themselves Croats is growing steadily. Expression was given to these racial and political sympathies in the month of April, when, led by the Bishop's surrogate, M. Rayitch *Blashko*, a large Bunyevatz delegation from Szabadka visited M. Maček and laid the complaints and demands of the Croat Bunyevatz and Shokatz peoples before him. In his reply M. Maček declared that in the present difficult times he had the affairs of Szabadka particularly at heart, and would do all he could for his *Bunyevatz* and *Shokatz* brethren of the Voivodina. („*Obzor*“, April 27.)

## ANOTHER WAY OF LOOKING AT IT

On May 1st M *Yuritch*, Chairman of the Municipal Council of *Szabadka (Subotica)* and member of the National Legislative Assembly, appointed a Magyar doctor to the vacant post of District Medical Officer in the city. M. *Yuritch* has also made it possible for 20 Magyar applicants to find employment in the municipal administration. This generous gesture — unprecedented in the history of the city since it has been under Yugoslav rule — was a token of gratitude to the Magyar inhabitants of the city, the majority of whom had supported M. *Yuritch* at the time of the last parliamentary elections. We regret to say, however, that no other town in Yugoslavia has so far felt the necessity of following this generous example, still less the Yugoslav State. If we examine the list of all the functionaries employed by the State, the Banates and the several local governments — about 250.000 altogether — we find that there are only a *few hundred* Magyars among them, in spite of the fact that, by virtue of its percentage, the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia ought to hold at least 9.000 public posts.

ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION OF "EQUAL RIGHTS"  
IN YUGOSLAVIA

Though the law concerning the local government of towns was passed five years ago, it has not yet been enforced. The result is that 74 towns in the country are still governed by municipal councils appointed by the Government; these bodies are absolutely at the mercy of the Government and may be dismissed whenever the Government pleases. The Government recently (May 4th) dissolved the municipal council of the town of *Ujvidék (Novisad)*, the seat of the Danube Banate. With due regard to the principle of "equal rights", the Government has allowed six Magyars to sit on the council, in spite of the fact that the Magyars represent one-third of the inhabitants, so that — in fact — they would be entitled to hold 18 seats out of the 54 (the German minority, whose percentage is much lower, is represented by 7 members!).

## BOOKS

### *The Regent of Hungary.*

After the world war, the issue of which was so unfortunate for her, Hungary retained her old monarchic form of State. When, however, the last King, Charles IV. fled to a foreign country on 13th November 1919 and ceased to exercise his royal rights, the nation on 5th March 1920 elected a Regent as temporary head of the State. Twice the crowned King attempted to regain the throne. Although even the peace edict of Trianon, unexampled in its severity, contained no restricting provision concerning the form of State in Hungary, so that in this respect the liberty of the nation was in no way curtailed, yet the Little Entente, influenced by Benes, declared the restoration of King Charles a *casus belli*, and disarmed Hungary was powerless to assist Charles in his attempt to recover the throne, was, in fact, forced by the demands of the Great Powers to dethrone the Hapsburg House. But the Act of Dethronement (No. 47 of 1921.) at the same time maintained unchanged the country's ancient form of a monarchy, relegating the question of filling the throne to a later date. Shortly after his deposition King Charles died. Since then two decades have elapsed, and the nation has grown to love its "temporary" ruler so dearly, is so satisfied with his rule, that it has not been considered necessary to fill the vacant throne hitherto, so that, almost imperceptibly, the office of Regent has become a permanency, and every Hungarian hopes that Providence will bless Admiral Horthy with length of days. For two decades Hungary has thus been a kingdom without a king. What shape future events may take is in the lap of the gods; one thing, however, is certain: Benes's intrigues which prevented the return of Charles were in the long run a blessing to the nation, for during the long and wise rule of the Regent, who had a historical mission to fulfil, the nation has found a firm foundation on which to build, and has been able to emerge from the chaos into which it was thrust by a lost war and the inhuman dictates of the Trianon Peace Treaty. Admiral Horthy's special position, and the sympathy which surrounds his winning personality and endows it in the eyes of the public with wellnigh legendary interest, are attracting the attention of foreign publi-

cists more and more, and have inspired them to perpetuate in literature the history of his eventful and edifying life. One of the most recent works is Owen Rutter's "Regent of Hungary", an excellent volume in which the author tells the life-story of Admiral Horthy based on the most authentic data, not as an isolated subject but woven into the fabric of the international events that have run their course during the lifetime of that historical figure. The value of the book is enhanced by the fact that it was written, not by a Hungarian, but by a wholly unbiased foreigner, a writer belonging to that great nation whose view of the world is the most universal and which therefore is best able to judge the influence exerted on the evolution of international events by the great historical figures of the several nations.

With fascinating skill this eminent English publicist has made the whole course of Admiral Horthy's life unroll itself before his readers. He transports us to the old family manor at Kenderes, introduces us to the Hungarian landed gentry and makes us acquainted with the ideology of that historical, staple element of the State, with its rich emotional life, ardent patriotism, enthusiasm for public affairs, the feeling bordering on passion that links it to the Hungarian soil and the patriarchal affection it displays towards the people of that soil, the peasantry. It was in these surroundings with their wealth of tradition that Admiral Horthy spent his childhood; it was from them he imbibed those major virtues to which as ruler he has adhered and which have endeared him to his subjects. His school years were spent in the famous Calvinist College at Debrecen, which recently celebrated its fourth centenary. An irresistible longing for the sea led him to become a pupil of the Naval Academy at Fiume, and at the conclusion of his studies there he joined the Austro-Hungarian Navy. As naval officer he wandered over all the seas, and acquired a wide knowledge of the world and men. His rare knowledge of languages and excellent military attributes secured repeated advancement for him and finally the distinguished honour of being the Emperor-King Francis Joseph's adjutant for three years, in which office he was in daily contact with that great monarch, whom he idolized and strove to emulate. In the immediate entourage of that "born" ruler Admiral Horthy's unswerving sense of duty grew firmer still. This characteristic is a fundamental trait in him and — like Francis Joseph — he sets an example in this respect to his subjects. In his spare time he is fond of painting, and when he was the Emperor's adjutant he

made an excellent portrait of His Majesty which Francis Joseph was pleased to accept. The Emperor kept this portrait till the day of his death, after which it reverted to Admiral Horthy and now hangs on one of the walls of the old manor at Kenderes.

When the world war broke out Admiral Horthy was desirous to return to active service in the Navy, and this wish was granted by the King. Rising from one important command to another, by the end of the war Admiral, Horthy reached the peak of his naval career as the first in command of the whole Austro-Hungarian Fleet. Well he deserved the title of the Hero of Otranto. With undaunted energy he quelled the threatening mutiny, but this dauntless energy went hand in hand with a fatherly solicitude for his men, and he was beloved by officers and men alike. The lamentable collapse of the Monarchy took place, and it was the bitterest moment of Admiral Horthy's life when he was forced by the dictates of the victorious Powers to hand over the proud Austro-Hungarian Fleet to the State of the Southern Slavs then in process of creation. After this sad event Admiral Horthy retired to his manor at Kenderes. There he found healing for his heart's wounds in the lap of nature and gladly took up again the traditional life of a member of the Hungarian landed gentry.

But the terrible tragedy that had overtaken Hungary, the bitter days of hostile occupation and the Communist reign of terror, did not permit of his living in quiet long. His ardent love of his country and the persuasions of his friends drew him to Szeged, where, to restore order in the disintegrated country, Count Julius Károlyi had formed a Government in which Admiral Horthy accepted the office of War Minister. Then — as if inspired by a lofty mission — amidst a thousand dangers he set to work to reorganize the utterly disorganized Hungarian army. The glorious result of his superhuman efforts was that on 16th November 1919 he was able to ride into Budapest on his, now traditional, white stallion at the head of a reorganized army, as Commander-in-Chief of which he established order throughout the length and breadth of the dismembered country. The nation in gratitude elected him Regent of the country and for twenty years he has filled this post gloriously. During his rule the Hungarian nation which was on the brink of the grave has awakened to new life. The Regent well deserves the title of "Aggrandiser of the Country". One of the happiest days of the Regent's life was when on 11th November 1938 he entered Kassa, the capital town of the restored part of Upper Hungary.

With the following words Owen Rutter ends his book,

which is so interesting that it is impossible to put it down until one has read it through:

"Horthy's career has been an extraordinary one, just as his position today is without parallel in any country in the world. For over thirty years, and until he was fifty, he was a naval officer. He emerged from retirement to become the Commander-in-Chief of an army which did not yet exist. Having found it and disciplined it into a body of troops which restored order to Hungary, he became Regent of a State which, today, has no legal King.

Withal he remains a naval officer, he never appears in public but in the Admiral's uniform of a navy which has ceased, has never lost his love of the sea, his delight in ships, his liking for fellow-seamen. He has all the attributes of a sailor, but he speaks many languages, he cares for painting and music, he loves horses and country life. Everyone who has ever shaken him by the hand knows him to be a good host, as the ruler of a proud nation he has won the respect of Europe. Well might he say, like Othello: — "I have done the State some service, and they know't."

George Lukács.

### Gino Cucchetti on the Slovak Problem.

A book on the Slovak problem by Gino Cucchetti, a well-known Italian publicist who has written several excellent works in favour of Hungarian revision, was published in Italy recently. In the historical part of this book, the title of which is "*L'Ungheria di fronte al problema slovacco*", the author sets forth at some length that the region known as Slovakia belonged for a thousand years to Hungary as a mountainous region that not only adjoined but also complemented the Great Hungarian Plain, and that it is an integral part of the Carpathian Basin, which was described by *Reclus* as a typically perfect geographical and economic unit. As S. Cucchetti says: — "All Slovakia's mountain ranges and valleys run in a southerly direction; all her highways follow the same course, and for a thousand years were the channels of intercourse and of a flourishing trade that meant prosperity for Magyars and Slovaks alike. The same is true of Slovakia's river-system: all her streams are tributaries of the Danube and the Tisza." Farther on the author states that "*for a thousand years the territories wrested from Hungary lived in*

*peaceful harmony with that country, which always respected their moral, economic and political rights."*

In another place S. Cucchetti says that the Slovaks never dreamt of separating from Hungary, and it was only owing to the guile of Beneš and Masaryk that the Peace Conference was misled by the fiction of Czecho-Slovak racial unity into attaching Slovakia to an entirely separate geo-political unit, Bohemia.

"The Czech Maffia", — says the author — "led by Masaryk, Beneš and their henchmen, worked with might and main in London and Paris to elaborate an ethnographic and racial theory that would ensure Slovakia's attachment to Bohemia. The false thesis that Czechs and Slovaks were one people — Czecho-Slovaks — was propounded." In repudiation of this false theory the author states that Magyars and Slovaks were linked together by a thousand years of common history. "*For a thousand years Magyars and Slovaks had the same rulers, the same governments, the same laws, the same history, and shared in the same joys and sorrows. On the other hand, the mentality, civilization, views and religion of the Czechs were entirely different from the mentality, civilization, views and religion of the Slovaks.*"

Czech rule proved a curse to the Slovaks, for by ruining their industries that were so flourishing during the Hungarian era and preventing the people from seeking harvesting work on the Hungarian Plain, it artificially deprived Slovakia of every possibility of existence. It practically came to be a proverbial saying in Europe that Czecho-Slovakia was a big cow that fed on Slovakia but was milked in Bohemia. And, although they had promised to do so, the Czechs would not hear of granting autonomy to the Slovaks.

This was realized — though too late — by Father Hlinka, the misled leader of the Slovak folk, who, shortly before his death, bitterly told the Prague Parliament in the March of 1938 that the Czechs had cheated the Slovaks: — "*We were stupid*", — he said; — "*we have been cheated. Without being aware of it, we helped the Czechs to mislead Europe.*" S. Cucchetti quotes another of Hlinka's characteristic sayings: — "Our old Hungarian fatherland treated us better than this hateful Czecho-Slovak Republic. For a thousand years we lived together with the Magyars, and during that long period we suffered less than

in the few years under Czech rule. The Czechs say that they liberated us, but that liberty is a thousand times worse than our previous situation."

At long last Slovakia, which had been exploited like a colony, achieved her independence, but her politicians did not follow the advice given them by Hlinka on his deathbed. "*We must go where the Magyars of Slovakia go — to Hungary.*" It was a fatal mistake of the Slovak politicians not to make a bid for Slovakia's return to Hungary, which would have been perfectly willing to give the Slovaks self-government. Instead they chose a pseudo-independence, which has already brought the little country to the brink of financial ruin. In Slovakia's present situation there can be no question of consolidation. Consolidation will not be possible until the country returns to the natural and economic unit within the framework of which the Slovaks lived happily and prosperously till they were torn away from it by the unjust dictates of the Trianon Peace Treaty.

S. Cucchetti supports his arguments with such a wealth of data that the reader is not only enthralled, but also thoroughly convinced of the truth of his theses. The book, which ranks among the foremost works in Italian political literature, was published in Palermo.

*George Lukács.*

# POLITICAL ECONOMY

## HUNGARY

### THIRTY MILLIONS ADVANCE IN EXPORT TRADE OF FIRST FOUR MONTHS

According to the latest report published by the Hungarian Statistical Bureau, the value of imports in the month of April amounted to 39.1 million pengő (35.6 millions in April 1938), while that of exports amounted to 49 millions (41.6 millions in 1938) the balance of foreign trade in April showing an excess of exports of 9.9 million pengő. In the first four months of the year the value of imports amounted to 161.1 million pengő (131.4) and that of exports to 191.5 millions. That is, the trade balance for the first four months of the year shows an excess of exports of 30.4 million pengő. Compared with the records of the same period last year, there was a considerable increase in the imports of copper, pig-iron and scrap-iron, coke, sawn wood and dressed furs; on the other hand the imports of raw tobacco and timber decreased. As regards exports, there was a notable increase in the exports of wheat to Italy (1.548.930 quintals) and Germany (570.849 quintals), in exports of pigs to Germany (129.134), and in the quantities of clover and lucerne seeds exported to Germany (27.424 quintals). There was, however, a decrease in the exports of maize, rye, cattle, butter and railway carriages.

### REMARKABLE INCREASE IN HUNGARY'S COAL OUTPUT

On May 6th the Hungarian Ministry of Commerce published its report on Hungary's coal production in March, together with the records concerning the production and sale in the first quarter of the year. The total production of Hungarian collieries in March amounted to 8.991.784 metric quintals 1,758.554 quintals (i. e. 24%), more than in March, 1938. The total number of colliers employed was 38.521, 8000 more than in March 1935 and 3300 more than in March 1938. Almost all branches of consumption have increased their consumption of coal this year, the increase being most remarkable in the case of the State Railways, iron industry, food industry, textile industry, agriculture, electric works, gas works and private households. There was a remarkable increase also in our coal exports: in March Hungary exported 291.950 quintals of coal, mostly to Germany, Yugoslavia and the former Czech terri-

tories. At the same time 336.086 quintals of coal and 518.570 quintals of coke were imported, mainly from Germany, Poland and the former Czech territories. There was a slight decrease in the imports of both the latter articles.

In the first quarter of this year, the total coal output of Hungary amounted to 27.829.118 quintals, while the quantity marketed was 26.087.217 quintals. The increase as against 1936 amounted to 8.2 million quintals (41.8%), and as against 1938 to 3,575.747 quintals. (14.7%).

## RUMANIA

### ANGLO-RUMANIAN ECONOMIC AGREEMENT

Ever since the autumn of last year it had been rumoured in both British and Rumanian economic quarters that the two countries were preparing the conclusion of a new trade agreement. The German-Rumanian trade agreement was a great surprise to Britain and seemed to offer Germany an unrivalled position in Rumania's economic life. This agreement was, therefore, largely responsible for accelerating the Anglo-Rumanian negotiations conducted on the British side by Sir Frederick Leith-Ross. The recently concluded Anglo-Rumanian trade agreement has also, of course, a political background.

The Rumanian trade delegation, it is said, insisted throughout the negotiations on a considerable British loan to Rumania and threatened to break off the negotiations if Britain offered only the comparatively small loan of 5 million pounds sterling. Nevertheless, the British delegation was not prepared to yield, so that the Rumanians had to accept the above offer. In this connection the Rumanian press noted bitterly that Turkey had succeeded in obtaining a loan of 16 million pounds sterling, Rumania's only consolation in this respect being that this small loan — which has been given as a security against British exports to Rumania — would, according to the British delegation, be raised to a higher sum in the near future. No doubt, the British lack of confidence in Rumania is largely due to the unsettled political situation prevailing in that country. The major part of the loan is to be spent on Rumania's rearmament, while a considerably smaller portion is to be invested in Rumania. The loan was given at an interest of 5% and will expire after twenty years. In order to facilitate the re-payment of this loan, Britain has offered possibilities for the exportation of Rumania's oil, wood and corn. For next year, for instance, Britain has ordered 200.000 tons of Rumanian wheat, provided that its price will then be on the level of world parity. In addition to this, Britain has promised to help Rumania in placing her wheat in

the markets of other countries too. In this way Britain is also taking part, as it were, in the consolidation of Rumania's export trade.

Another feature of the agreement is that it endeavours to secure the same extraordinary advantages as those included in the German-Rumanian agreement. Thus, Rumania has guaranteed Britain the use of her free ports; moreover, it has been decided to set up in both countries special economic organizations partly for the purpose of directing the development of Anglo-Rumanian trade relations and partly to ensure Rumania's paying facilities. The offering of such securities on the part of Great Britain is particularly easy to understand when we remember that Britain took a very small part in Rumanias' export trade in April 1939. While the value of Germany's exports to Rumania amounted to 638 millions and that of her imports from what country to 755 millions, and while the value of Italy's exports to Rumania amounted to 158 millions and that of her imports from that country to 344 millions, Britain exported to Rumania goods of the value of only 121 millions, the value of goods imported from Rumania to Britain not exceeding 125 millions.

§. 3. of the agreement provides for the improvement of Rumania's ability to pay. Rumania is not able to finance the expenses of imports from Britain, not so much on account of her lack of foreign exchanges as of the different standards of valuation of the lei in both countries. Negotiations are to be carried on in London in the near future with a view to reducing these difficulties. There is an allusion in the agreement to the fact that Rumania will successively return to the free currency system, i. e. the gradual abolition of currency restrictions. An indication of this fact is, among other things, that Britain is only prepared to buy the 200.000 tons of Roumanian wheat at world market prices.

The agreement also contains an important promise on Rumania's part to alter her present oil exploitation regulations in a way enabling those British companies which are now responsible for almost 50% of Rumania's oil production to extend their field of activity. The regulations of oil production in recent years presented a great obstacle to the activity of the British companies concerned.

The principles laid down in the agreement are extremely significant in theory, but their practical value depends on the method of their realization. The British delegation displayed the utmost caution throughout the negotiations, which was no doubt due to the unsettled conditions and unreliability of Rumania. Thereupon the Havas Agency published a report concerning the visits to Bucharest of 6 committees of German experts, i. e. one forestry committee, one of German bankers, one from the manufacturing industry and various other

branches of industry, a committee from the late Czech Industrial Bank, one from the shipping companies, from the I. G. Farbenindustrie and the Aluminium Trust. In addition to these official groups, a number of German engineers are also said to be in Bucharest.

## DISPOSSESSION OF MINORITIES OBJECT OF RUMANIAN BILL RESTRICTING CONVEYANCE OF AGRICULTURAL PROPERTY

At the constituent meeting of the permanent Agricultural Council attached to the Ministry of Agriculture M. Cornateanu, Minister of Agriculture, announced that it was the intention of the Government to regulate by law the conveyance of agricultural real estate, in order, on the one hand, to prevent the land from being cut up into too small holdings and, on the other, *to ensure that the land for sale should pass into the possession of the Rumanian peasantry.* The Minister said that in collaboration with the Minister of Finance he had elaborated a *plan that would enable the State to avail itself of the funds of the Bank of Issue for the purpose of forestalling on the land for sale.* Besides this, adequate funds for the same purpose would be placed at the disposal of the agricultural credit banks. From the statistics taken in the district of Cadrilater — said the Minister — it was evident that *the minority population had secured possession of large tracts of land from the Bulgarians of the district because the State had not been in a position to avail itself of the right to forestall.* ("Keleti Ujság", May 13.)

## SLOVAKIA

### SLOVAK ECONOMIC CRISIS

The disordered state of the country's finances presents a difficulty that may well lead to a catastrophe in the near future. According to the "Sunday Times" of 3rd May, only one-fifth of the Government loan has been subscribed, although the time limit was twice prolonged ("Felvidéki Magyar Hírlap", May 4.). And the Slovak Government is in sore need of that loan, for the most necessary investments are to be paid out of it. Therefore M. Pruzsinsky, Minister of Finance, has again issued an appeal to the whole country, and public officials are practically compelled to subscribe. The new time limit has been fixed for 30th June.

The Slovak National Bank has been established and a Slovak currency introduced. 833 million Czech crowns have been exchanged for Slovak crowns, but the stamped Slovak bank-

notes are not accepted in the Czech Protectorate. The reason is that there is no gold cover for the Slovak paper money, nor any foreign exchanges in the Slovak National Bank, and that, according to the Slovak Minister of Finance, there is a budgetary deficit of 10 million Slovak crowns every month. According to Dr. Emericus Karvas, Director of the Slovak National Bank, the Bank began to function without possessing any foreign exchanges. For the foreign exchanges belonging to the Czecho-Slovak Republic were in Prague, and the Czechs refuse to hand over to Slovakia her share, because, they say, Slovakia did not contribute towards the establishment of a foreign exchange reserve fund. They declare that they were losers every year because of Slovakia. The standpoint of the Czech National Bank is that if Slovakia is given a certain percentage of the Bank's foreign exchanges, Slovakia must undertake her share of the Czecho-Slovak Republic's national debt. On this basis no agreement has been arrived at. Under pressure from Berlin Prague has been compelled to hand over a certain amount of foreign exchanges for Slovakia's immediate needs, but refuses to undertake any obligations for the future.

The Government has issued a succession of ordinances with a view to setting economy on its feet again, but these measures are rather a desperate catching at straws. One of them is the plan to acquire a gold cover by public contribution. In terms of Ordinance No. 102 of 17th May 1939, articles of gold, half-manufactured gold and all precious stones must be handed in. All foreign exchanges, foreign currencies, and foreign credits must be made over to the National Bank; and the same Ordinance revokes a former regulation which allowed everybody to have foreign currency to the value of 1000 Slovak crowns in his possession. The salaries of public officials have been cut, extras have ceased, no reimbursement of removal expenses will be paid in case of transfer to another post, and the tax on the income of public officials has been raised as from 1st January. Chiefly because of the lack of foreign exchanges, trade with the Czech Protectorate makes no progress, despite the fact that customs duties have been suspended. ("Slovak", May 26.). Seeing this, Slovakia turned her attention to Germany, to an economic agreement with the Reich, and to German tourist traffic. According to the "Berliner B. Z." a delegation of six left for Slovakia on 23rd May to discuss economic questions. So far no agreement has been arrived at. All that has taken place is that committees have been formed in Pozsony for the purpose of studying the question of how to develop trade between the two countries and of submitting recommendations. The head of the Slovak delegation, Dr. Zatykó, enumerated the reasons why Slovak tradesmen were unwilling to import articles from Germany. They were: 1. lack of reciprocal trade connections;

2. the misgivings of the Slovak tradesmen that the German factories would not be able to supply the kind of goods required; 3. their anxiety that they would not be able to sell German goods in Slovakia because of their high prices; 4. certain German customs duties that were very unfavourable to Slovakia. ("Slovak", May 26.). An agreement was concluded as regards German visitors to the Slovak watering-places. For instead of the usual 15.000 visitors, this year only about 500 are to be expected; and hitherto the takings of these watering-places and summer resorts formed one of the biggest items of the country's revenue. In terms of this agreement, Germans wishing to visit these spas and summer resorts will be allowed 300 marks per head per month, or 400 in case of illness. The German marks accruing from the sojourn of Germans in Slovak watering-places, will be available in turn for Slovaks who wish to visit German spas and summer resorts. The reason why this measure was necessary is that Slovakia has an over-abundance of German marks as it is, and would not be able to make use of a further influx. The Slovaks gave expression to their misgivings that people would not be very willing to avail themselves of the German marks, which are quoted at a rate greatly in excess of their real value — 11.26 Slovak crowns = 1 mark — for the purpose of holiday-making, particularly since the Slovaks have plenty of summer resorts of their own at home. To meet this difficulty it was agreed that these tourist marks could be deposited in certain Slovak banks, which would try to negotiate them on a compensation basis. "Should this not succeed, then the agreement is of no real value", says the "Slovak" in its 17th May issue.

Great difficulties are noticeable all over the country as regards the supply of foodstuffs. The shopkeepers try to hide away large or small quantities for worse days to come. This if discovered is punished severely by the authorities. A shopkeeper named Blazék, for instance, who, to discourage people from buying coffee, that he should not have to part with his reserve stores, was selling it at 60 Slovak crowns a kilogramme, was sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment and had to pay a fine of 50.000 Slovak crowns. ("Slovak", May 23.). Victor Kralik was sent to gaol for 30 days, was fined 3000 crowns and lost his licence for refusing to sell goods. In terms of a Government Ordinance, no more than one week's supply of food may be purchased in advance. For lack of foreign exchanges the factories cannot procure raw materials, nor are they easily able to market their products abroad, and are therefore obliged to stop work and close down, as has happened at Töketerebes and Nagyszlabos, mention of which cases will be found in another column of this issue. To overcome these difficulties Slovakia has been forced to resort to trade by barter with the Czech Protectorate.

In a word, economic life and the State finances have to

struggle with difficulties which of her own resources Slovakia is powerless to combat. Two courses remain: either, surrendering all her political independence, to become an economic dependency of another country, or she must return, within the framework of an extensive autonomy, to the country from which she was separated 20 years ago against the will of the people and with which for centuries she formed an economic unit.

### STAGNATION IN VILLAGES SEPARATED FROM THEIR MARKETS

The economic situation of Slovakia is growing more and more critical, especially in those villages which have no railway connections. Some of them are as far as 30—35 kilometres from the nearest small town where they could buy their most necessary supplies. In consequence of the unfortunate geographical situation (i. e. since the demarcation of the new frontiers) these villages and valleys have been excluded from the process of production, partly because they are unable to get raw materials to secure the continuation of their productive activity, and partly because it is so difficult to convey their wares to market. In these places there is a complete stagnation: industrial activity has stopped, the people have no work and, therefore, no bread. They are desperate and dependant and only hope to be saved from this dreadful situation by some miracle. Yet the possibility of relief lies near: Hungary, which is so near to them, and which means not only relief but market, employment and bread. All these villages are longing for a reunion with Hungary. The people of these villages, Slovaks as well as Magyars, openly declare that no one has a right to condemn them to sheer starvation. For their present situation is bound to lead sooner or later to starvation. Towards the North, the mountains shut them off from the outside world, while in the South, i. e. on the new frontiers, the bayonets of the Hlinka Guards form a barrier. They feel like living in a prison, and they would like to break through the walls of their prison. Among those that are in the most desperate situation are the people living in the villages situated in the valleys of the Vepor Mountains and the Gümör-Szepes Ore Mountains. These villagers have to walk hundreds of miles, by untrodden paths, if they want to get to the nearest town in their own country. In winter the roads are impassable. The villages in North-Gümör, from Murány to Dobsina and Mecenzéf, have no railway communication; at least all the railway lines lead to Hungary. The junction of the railway lines running through the valleys of Murány, Dobsina and Csetnek is not in Slovakia but in Hungary, at Pelsőc. The village of Murány is

only 22—25 kilometres from the nearest town in Slovakia by air, by rail it is as much as 70 kilometres, and even half of that line runs through Hungarian territory. The distance between Nagyszlabos and Dobsina is 12 kilometres by air, but by rail it is nearly 60 kilometres. Thus the railway centre of the Upper Gömör area of Slovakia is the village of Pelsőc in Hungary. The Hungarian authorities have permitted the Slovak trains to run through this station. But Pelsőc is also the place where all the desperate people from the other side of the borders come to complain against the prison created by the new frontiers. To complete this dismal picture we may add that the largest factory of this valley district was closed down on May 2nd.

### THE ITALO-ALBANIAN UNION AND YUGOSLAVIA

One of the natural consequences of the Italo-Albanian customs union is that Yugoslavia does not export any more industrial articles to Albania. Strictly speaking, the Italo-Albanian customs union is only the consummation of a process which has been steadily going on in recent years as a result of Italy's growing economic expansion in Albania. The union now means the complete exclusion of any possibility of competition. Yugoslav exporters realized this fact some years ago, and it was no doubt due to this fact that the Albanian branch of the *Yugoslav Export Bank* („*Izvozna Banka*“) in Tirana was closed down last year. Nevertheless, economic circles in Yugoslavia still watch the economic development of Albania with keen interest, because they hope that the intended completion of Albania's road system will offer Yugoslavia a good opportunity to export cement to *Albania*, as the two existing cement works in that country are not likely to be able to cope with the growing demand that must result. The following figures serve to illustrate the development of Yugoslavia's exports to Albania in the last five years:

1938	1937	1936	1935	1934
	(figures in millions of dinars)			
31.7	32.3	21.3	9.8	9.3

The total value of goods imported from Albania was practically stable: it was never more or less than 3—3.5 million dinars.

### YUGOSLAVIA

#### REVISION OF STAFFS OF BUSINESS FIRMS: A FATAL BLOW TO THE MAGYARS OF THE BANATE

The revision of the staffs of business firms has now begun in the Banate too, by order of the Ministry of National

Economy. The firms in question have been informed accordingly in a circular issued by M. Liviu Faur, District Inspector of Industry. They are advised to undertake this revision with the utmost severity and correctness. The contents of the circular have caused great anxiety among the leaders of the Magyar Community in the Banate. It is a well known fact that thousands of minor employees in the counties of Temes and Torontál, as well as in the town of Temesvár, have been unable for various reasons to secure their certificates of citizenship. Some of these people have what is called a temporary residence permit and hope to become full-fledged citizens in the course of the revision of citizenship. The Committee, however, insist on the presentation of this document in the course of staff revision, so that the firms, too, are obliged to require it from their employees, for, if they omit to do so, they have to pay very heavy fines. The employees, to whom this step is veritably a fatal blow, have already lodged their complaints with the Temesvár branch of the Magyar Community, wherein they inform their representatives that the firms are not prepared to keep those employees whose citizenship is still unsettled. The leaders of the Community have applied to the Inspectorate at Kolozsvár and to the Government. Among the employees threatened by the revision are many hundreds of Magyar clerks and workmen.

#### YUGOSLAVIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN FIRST QUARTER OF CURRENT YEAR

In the first quarter of the current year Yugoslavia's exports to countries in which there are no foreign exchange restrictions represented a value of 431.300.000 dinars, as compared with 451.500.000 during the same period last year. Owing to a stricter control of imports the value of Yugoslavia's imports dropped from 432.900.000 to 398.300.000 dinars. In consequence the excess of exports, which in 1938 was 18.600.000 dinars, rose to 33.000.000. The value of her exports to countries with which she has made clearing arrangements fell from 722.300.000 to 650.400.000 dinars, and that of her imports from 878.600.000 to 858.300.000. In other words, compared with last year, when the balance was adverse to the tune of 156.300.000 dinars, the excess of imports shown is now 208.000.000.

---

The Danubian Review is published monthly. — Editorial Offices and Management: Zrinyi-utca 1, Budapest V. — Responsible for the publication: **Dr. ANDREW FALL.** — Editor for Economics: **NICHOLAS UDVARDY.** — Issued and printed by Sárkány Ltd. — Responsible for the printing: **Dr. A. and J. Wessely.**

14655

Price Six pence. — Subscription for one year 5 /