

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

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THE REGENT OF HUNGARY TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ELECTION

On 1st March 1920 Admiral Horthy, commander-in-chief of the reorganized Hungarian army, was unanimously elected Regent by the Hungarian Parliament. The twentieth anniversary of that great day, which ushered in a new epoch in the history of the country, was celebrated with an enthusiasm eloquent of the unexampled popularity of the Regent and the deep gratitude with which the whole nation regards him. There were no official celebrations throughout the country, because in a letter to the Premier the Regent asked the authorities, corporations and associations to waive all ceremonies in view of the present difficult times. This, however, was powerless to prevent feelings of reverential homage and deep affection flaming up in the hearts of all Hungarians from castle to cottage on this memorable day. These feelings were for the man who had been instrumental in restoring the peace of mind of a nation that had seen its country despoiled, trampled under foot, dismembered, and reduced to a state of utter collapse. It was Admiral Horthy who shepherded the nation, led astray by the will-o-the-wisp of revolution, back to the fold of constitutional life and legal order, who created such exemplary conditions and such a degree of national unity that the whole world wondered. It is to Regent Horthy we owe the recovery of our economic and financial life; it was thanks to him that this country, cut off from its vital economic arteries, was able to rise to its feet again and produce results that have filled international economic experts with admiration. It was due to Admiral Horthy that the Hungarian nation never deviated from the path of peaceful revision, and that, without ever losing sight of this ultimate aim, it became one of the most important factors in European balance and European peace. In this peaceful way Hungary reaped the firstfruits of success, the restoration of Subcarpathia and part of Upper Hungary, and now progresses towards its ultimate goal — the assertion by

absolutely peaceful means of the rights of the Hungarian nation. Amiral Horthy it was who introduced democratic, social and popular elements into Hungarian national politics, and who created the new national army with its splendid morale.

It is therefore understandable that since decades there has not been so joyful a jubilee as the one in which now the whole nation participated. Bells were rung in all the churches, and throughout the whole country enthusiasm knew no bounds. Monarchs, rulers and governments sent their congratulations to the Head of the Hungarian State, whom M. de Monzie, a French Senator, called "the great honest man of Europe". The international Press was also loud in its appreciation of Regent Horthy. It is characteristic of the Regent's goodness of heart that on the occasion of his jubilee he granted an amnesty to a large number of persons — chiefly to such as had been sentenced for political crimes. Several big economic institutions created large foundations in memory of the occasion. The following sentences from the speech of the Hungarian Premier, Count Paul Teleki delivered at the only celebration permitted, express the feelings of the whole country:

"All of us, — this country's every son and daughter — whether our mother-tongue is Hungarian or not, who believed in him and swore to follow him 20 years ago, looking back now with happy and grateful hearts on these years of his reign, renew our oath of allegiance. And the young Hungarians who have grown up during those 20 years, as well as the inhabitants of the restored areas, join us in that oath. With us it is no longer a question of faith, but of certainty. Certainty rooted in the eminent personality of our Regent, the loving father of his people, who has become an outstanding figure in present-day Europe, and in the stability of his rule, which has weathered and will weather times of storm and stress.

"Abroad he is known as the bravest of rulers, a providential blessing, not only to his own country, but also to Europe, and the most chivalrous of men. What he is to us I need not say; everyone knows it in the depth of his heart. This night every Hungarian may lie down to rest secure in the knowledge that his fatherly care is watching over us, and we

will do so with the prayer on our lips: God bless and save our Regent."

The services rendered to the country by the Regent are incorporated in an Act of Parliament. The Member who spoke on this occasion said:

"His puritan character has forbidden him to allow the nation in these critical times to celebrate this anniversary with the pomp and ceremony we should have liked to display. Pomp and ceremony have been dispensed with, but to present and future generations this Act will speak more eloquently and in a more lasting manner of his greatness and the nation's gratitude."

In the Upper House, M. Francis Herczeg, President of the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League and the greatest of our contemporary writers, expressed the sentiments of the nation in the following words:

"When twenty years ago the Hungarian Parliament elected *vitész Nicholas Horthy* de Nagybánya Regent of Hungary, the tragic question sprang up in the souls of many honest but fainthearted Hungarians: *in the present circumstances and with the means at our disposal will it be possible to maintain the independence of the Hungarian State?* For the victorious Powers had systematically destroyed every pillar upon which the edifice of the Hungarian State had rested from time immemorial. Everything that was Magyar lay in ruins, and the vanquished, humiliated, despoiled nation, tainted with the corruption of revolution, was wasting its remaining strength in bitter party strife. Hungary was like a planet that some cosmic catastrophe had swept out of its orbit and was wandering in space, purposeless and directionless. The victors had driven the king away from the oldest throne in Europe.

"The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy behind whose much-reviled bastions the nations for centuries had been able to live in security, had collapsed. The old economic unit of the Monarchy, which had stood the test for so long, was cut up into little customs areas at bitter conflict with one another. The Carpathians, once the ramparts of Europe, were patrolled by aliens *and from being a defence had become a menace to the peace of Europe.*"

What had become of vanquished Hungary? A kingdom without a king, a disarmed country with defenceless frontiers, an industrial and commercial unit without raw materials, money or credit. The once stately ancient mansion of the nation was in ruins. The question was: *would it be possible to build a new, smaller, more modest dwellnig from the pitiful débris of the old?* Fate put the question: the people of St. Stephen gave the answer — *not in words, but in deeds.* They showed that it was possible to begin a new life as a State, the Hungarian nation with its surprising powers of regeneration was capable of great things *if led by a wise and strong hand.*

We have all witnessed *how a desolate field of ruins became a European State again.* By degrees the poison left in the atmosphere by the revolution cleared away. In a purer atmosphere the political adventurers and knights of fortune thrown up to the surface of the seething cauldron of revolution disappeared. The financial equilibrium of the country was restored, and legislature turned its attention to problems of a general nature that had been neglected in the old pre-war days.

A land reform was effected, the Upper House reorganized, the Government presented the nation with a whole series of cultural institutions and measures to promote public welfare. *The Hungarian nation began to be respected and find friends among the Great Powers.* At a great sacrifice Hungary created an efficient army, and when Czecho-Slovakia collapsed, *the new national defence forces were able to march into Upper Hungary and take possession again of Subcarpathia,* thanks to Italy's and Germany's friendship. The work done in the past twenty years, the self-sacrificing spirit, self-discipline and moral force displayed by the Hungarian nation, do indeed deserve to be placed on record as one of the most brilliant pages in the history of civilization.

When on this solemn occasion we look back on the past with all its labours, sufferings, struggles and successes, *we feel impelled to bow in homage before the guiding hand that directed the nation along its arduous and glorious path. The*

genius of this resuscitated, revitalized, rejuvenated nation is best personified in Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya.

In him we see united dignity and labour, courage and a love of peace, liberty and self-discipline, and those are the qualities that have won for him something so rare in this world: *the unanimous homage and gratitude of a whole nation.* As they struggled upwards from the darkness towards the light of day, the Regent and his people were drawn ever closer to each other. The people realize that in their leader's heart and mind live Hungarian faith, a Hungarian will to live and hope in a fairer future. They know that so long as Regent Horthy stands at the head of the State the life of the nation will always be such as befits a noble, virile and ancient race. The Regent, on the other hand, knows that everyone in this country who has the interests of the Hungarian nation at heart is on his side. Admiral Horthy is so truly Hungarian that who does homage to him does homage to the finest characteristics of the nation as well.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

PROBLEMS OF DANUBIAN UNION

BY

SIR CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON, BART

The New Commonwealth Institute set up a Committee on Central European Questions and issued a Questionnaire with a view to rallying general interest in this very important problem and in the hope of creating a starting-point for further studies.

We reproduce here the valuable observations of Sir Christopher Robinson on the idea of Danubian Federation.

The *New Commonwealth Institute's* initiative is of the greatest interest. The problems of *Central Europe* or as we use to say of *South Eastern Europe* are momentous factors of peace and war. We are at war for these very problems. And yet they are very superficially known in *Western Europe*. The immense complexity of the problem may excuse our ignorance.

The Questionnaire is divided in two parts. The first deals with historical conditions and the second with the idea of a Danubian Union. In my opinion there is an aspect of the problem that is overlooked in the Questionnaire: and that is its geographical importance. Now whatever political scheme may be devised for European blocs, for *Buffer states* or other defensive coalitions against aggression, it is obvious that the most important factor is the geographical one.

We know for example that the *Rhine* properly fortified is an impregnable barrier against an attacking army; we have had an example of the efficacy of the opening of the Dutch floodgates in the Low Countries and we are now witnessing the gallant Finns utilising their lakes, mountains and marshes to hold up the vast Bolshevik hordes.

But of all such natural defences, none are more formidable than the *Carpathian Mountains*, that giant

elliptical basin which in the hands of the *Hungarians* has for centuries been the mightiest stronghold of *Europe*. This factor, if neglected, may mislead the statesmen in their judgement and in their conclusion, while, well utilised, may help to rebuild what had been a cornerstone of European politics in the past, a solid block capable of stopping the advance of aggressive forces towards the *East* or the *West*.

The *Carpathian Basin* is not only a marvellous creation of nature, but its position is unique at the gates of the Balkans and on the central course of the Danube between the Russian steppes and the *German-inhabited Central Europe*.

Without the *Carpathian* power, there can be no stability in Central Europe. With the destruction of Hungary, the work of the peace treaties can be considered only as a means to facilitate the tendencies of expansion from West towards East or from East towards *West*, which are diametrically opposed to the centuries-old policy of the Western Powers. The Treaty between the Allies and Germany concluded in 1919 may be considered good or bad, but it is beyond comprehension why the dispositions of Versailles are maintained in the Carpathian basin which time has proved to have been of the utmost calamity to civilized Europe. The dismemberment of *Hungary* is a glaring example of diplomatic or political short-sightedness. Here was a nation of culture and good order which never attempted to dominate its neighbours, which did its utmost to avoid war in 1914 and which only reluctantly permitted itself to be dragged under the deadly threat of the *Russian* advance. Having come in, Hungary fought cleanly and her treatment of enemy aliens and prisoners of war during the 1914—1918 period is one of the bright spots in that murderous struggle. And yet she was singled out for treatment at the end of the war, which was not only a savage and purposeless injustice but which has also broken down the last barrier between the Western democracies and the totalitarian States.

Post-war experience amply proved that, without Hungary and without the defensive strength of the Carpathians, there is no stability and peace. What had been good for ten centuries must be rebuilt again.

The peoples around the Hungarians who live the central part of the *Carpathian* basin happen to be small nationalities, *Slovaks, Ruthenes, Valachs, Skoccats, Subians*, all of whom in favour of democracy and peaceable in intention. It is obvious that the restoration of the geographical strength of the Carpathians, manned by these peoples under the inspiration of the Hungarians, historical holders of that great natural fortress, would form a barrier to aggression which would successfully defy all onslaughts on it.

Not only would the reconstruction of the Danube Basin on these lines form such an obstacle, but it would constitute a tremendous moral force in that part of the Continent which would permit the rebuilding of Poland, stabilise and pacify *Central Europe*, and form a sentinel over the *Balkan States* and a buttress for their security.

A Carpathian Federation, somewhat on the American model of ten million nationalities with the largest possible independence led by another eleven million Hungarians, combined with the perfect economic entity of the Carpathian Basin, would form a block before which any aggressor would quail, chiefly when a reconstituted Poland would again understand the great moral and strategic force of such a neighbourhood. Why Western European statesman cannot perceive that — if indeed they cannot — passes all comprehension.

But to continue the present situation of a dismembered Hungary and a group of small States hopelessly divided among themselves, while powerful neighbours are getting bolder and bolder every day in their expansionist schemes, is a very dangerous policy. It is much to be hoped that the future resettlement of Europe will be based upon realities and geographical factors rather than on the wishful thinking and ineffectual visions of 1919, which have nothing more to commend them than the disenchantment of the past two decades and the utter failure of disarmament, minority protection and treaty revision. The years of unfulfilled promises must be followed by positive achievements.

HISTORIAN OR POLITICIAN?

BY

GYULA KORNIS, Phil. D.

Professor of Philosophy in the University of Budapest, formerly Speaker of the Lower House of the Hungarian Parliament

Rumania is awakening to a consciousness of the dangers threatening her international position; but without restricting her political aspirations to the domain of realities, as she should after recovering from the intoxication of the power afforded her by the fortunate conjuncture of two decades ago. One symptom of the dramatic heat of the times, an instinctive sense of danger, is the article by Nicholas Jorga, professor and politician, entitled "*What Can Italy Say to Us?*" What we find in this article is no longer the former triumphant optimistic vigour, but rather a voice lamenting over a „*desperate, floundering world*". In the eyes of this world the State and the nation "no longer represent organic development and legal life supported by agreement... but form a shapeless conglomerate with which, just as at the time of the Vienna Award, everything may be done. It may be cut away and linked up, torn off and stuck on, without thought or feeling." "Now, perhaps, they would mutilate Rumania for the benefit of Hungary, in the same Viennese fashion. The object of the meeting between *Ciano and Csáky*" — says Jorga — "seems to have been to pave the way for Italian mediation between the Rumanian people and the Budapest land-owners."

We are bewildered! Dr. Jorga accuses the Vienna Award of soulless "tearing off" and "sticking on" and at the same time very accurately characterizes the *Edict of Trianon* by the compelling force of which a State which formed a well-nigh perfect geographical unit, whose people had been united, not for twenty years, but had been held together by the historical ties of a thousand years, was cut to pieces, truly without thought or feeling, leaving behind a rump

representing no more than one-third of its original area. Jorga jeers at the Vienna Award, which, at least, followed a fundamental principle, — the ethnical boundary —, to which it strictly adhered. The Paris Peace Conference was convened on the basis of the Wilsonian principle that: "peoples and provinces may not be pushed from one sovereignty to another like pawns in a game of chess." And what was the outcome of this Conference? Extensive areas which since time immemorial had been inhabited exclusively by Magyars were ceded to Czechia and Rumania. Professor Jorga has surely read the notes entitled "*My Diary*" of Hunter Miller, the American jurist present at the Conference, the book "*Peacemaking*" by the British diplomat Harold Nicolson, or the papers on the Paris conference written by State Secretary M. Lansing, published two years later. From their observations we may see in all its darkness the technique of this filching of Hungary's territory, of which territory an area of 103.000 sq. kilometres was ceded to Rumania alone, leaving merely 93.000 sq. kilometres to Hungary. *The Supreme Council itself thought this Rumanian greed excessive.* In his diary for 24th January, 1919, Nicolson wrote as follows: "*The Supreme Council solemnly reprimanded the small States for their greed. Their delegates were enjoined to break with their wily custom of arbitrarily occupying the areas they claimed.*" Nothing deterred them from submitting a multitude of false data. Bratianu threw dust in the eyes of the Council by stating that as against the two and a half million Rumanians only one million Magyars lived within the territory in question, and that those were "chiefly officials and soldiers." Lloyd George made a slight protest. As he said, *Rumania was demanding more now than she would have gained through the secret agreement of 1916, if she had not broken it.* Under § 5 of the secret agreement, Rumania pledged herself not to make a separate peace. The members of the Rumanian delegation, however, declared that the signing of the Bucharest peace was not sincere and that they had no intention of adhering to it.

Who were the experts that advised these Hungarian areas to be "cut off" and ceded to other States?

These experts were men most of whom had previously not even heard of these areas, and who had no idea of the history, geography or ethnography of the people living there. *When the experts presented the new frontier line of Hungary and Rumania, Lansing was surprised at their not following the ethnographical frontier. Tardieu admitted that 600.000 Magyars were to be ceded to Rumania, while merely 25.000 Rumanians would remain in Hungary. Upon this Lansing indignantly observed: "This frontier demarcation does not seem at all just. It seems that everywhere you have decided against the Hungarians".* It is characteristic that according to the first map drafted by the experts, *Nagykároly, Nagyvárad and Arad were left in Hungary as purely Hungarian towns. But later on, Rumanian cunning and greed devoured these towns also. "The dreadful decisions" — wrote Nicolson — "were entered in the minute book as if nothing but the results of races were being written down... These frontiers were drawn by a sense of hatred, fear and revenge."* In vain did Apponyi demand a plebiscite; *in vain did he beg the Council not to treat the Magyars like a flock of sheep while quoting the sacred principles of right and liberty;* the war-time psychosis ignored his appeal and the defence drafted by the Hungarian delegation was not even vouchsafed a hearing. The territory was simply "torn off and stuck on", as Dr. Jorga would say. *To-day the coarse, external, mechanical and false character of this ruthless procedure, its being based on misleading data, as well as its injustice, is clearly seen by Britain, America, France and Italy. It will be sufficient for me to refer to the Memoirs of Lloyd George, in which that statesmen openly admits that the Czechs and Rumanians, with their false data, completely misled the "Big Four".* On the Rumanian side, the disagreeable force of this fact is already poignantly felt by *Mr. Jorga, who would therefore refer the sinful methods of the Trianon injustice back to the Vienna Award. It sounds as if he were offended with us for Trianon.*

What is the object of this "Italian mediation?"

Mr. Jorga "knows" what Csáky is thinking of. He is thinking of taking legal proceedings for the restoration of Transylvania. "For this minister," — he says — "as well as his chief (*Paul Teleki*), are both of Transylvania and entertain lasting memories of the past." Should a historian be allowed to reproach Hungarian statesmen for adhering to the past of their nation, for trying to see with the eyes of their ancestors, and for not forgetting the members so violently cut off from the *corpus mysticum* of their nation? A nation becomes a nation chiefly through its consciousness of a common historical past. "*Count Csáky is especially aware*" — continues the Rumanian historico-politician — "*that it was one of his ancestors who put down Michael the Brave with the aid of the Austrians; such a piece of good luck, however, never occurs twice in the same family.*" If Mr. Jorga should desire to hold up Voivode Michael as the first Rumanian uniting factor of present day Great Rumania, he would be far from the truth. Voivode Michael was not heated by any Rumanian national aspirations; he was merely fishing in the troubled waters of Transylvania. He simply made use of the bitterness of the oppressed Szeklers: the best part of his army, the cavalry, was Szekler, his best commanders were Magyars. He wished to gain the throne of Transylvania, to exploit the Hungarian struggle against oppressing masters. He had no idea of "liberating" his Rumanian brethren. He shared the government with the Hungarian lords who joined him. He did not give the Transylvanian Rumanians the liberty he accorded to the Szeklers who supported him. In his rule there was no sign of a minority movement. He made his propositions to Parliament, and drafted his decrees, in Hungarian. He also negotiated and corresponded in the same language. His political power was based upon the Szeklers, and when the latter, joining Stephen Csáky, deserted him, his power evaporated. According to Jorga, Stephen Csáky overthrew Michael with the aid of "Austrians". But it was Voivode Michael himself that had taken an oath of allegiance to the Emperor Rudolf, and it was in his (the Emperor's) name that he dashed into

Transylvania with the immigrant Szeklers who had fled before the Báthory's. It was Voivode Michael himself that was always making agreements with Basta. How can the historian reproach Stephen Csáky with being the ally of Austria, seeing that in 1600, when obliged to flee from Transylvania, it was Michael that paid his respects to the Emperor Rudolf and entreated his aid?

History as a science must instinctively possess a coefficient of national valuation; the historian, as a son of his nation, however objective he would wish to become by penetrating the souls of other nations, must naturally see the facts of the past in a more or less different colour and would reconstruct them with his own particular spiritual attitude. It often happens that facts speak to us in the same language as that in which we address them. But this elasticity has a certain limit: we cannot deny the stars in the sky, even if they are Hungarian stars.

The idea that the "Budapest landowners" are urging Italian mediation in their own interest, is also incorrect. *Mr. Jorga* has no idea of the fact that the sentiment of Revision in Hungary is not the particular interest of a feudal social stratum (which does not exist), but is the eternal, universal demand arising from a historical community of one thousand years, the spontaneous demand of great and small, of peasant and landowner, of worker and intellectual, of the entire nation. The Parliament of Hungary recently discussed the new radical land reform bill, the third since the great national catastrophe. This bill endeavours gradually to level the striking divergences in landownership. Is this the government which *Mr. Jorga* calls "a company of Budapest landowners?"

Not only has he no clear knowledge of the Hungarian past; he has not even a clear or exact knowledge of the present. He knows nothing of the social, economic and historical forces which on the basis of the past swell the soul of the Hungarian nation, and which uniformly and generally inspire the Magyars to every sacrifice.

He who knows of the twenty years of suffering borne by the Magyars of Transylvania, of their being deprived of natural human rights, of their deliberate impoverishment,

must really believe Jorga to be cynical when he asks: "*Shall we grant concessions to the Magyar minority? They have their own schools, they have their daily papers, they have all sorts of independent organizations, there is not one Magyar who is imprisoned for being a Hungarian.*" *If the Hungarian minority lives in such idyllic circumstances, why was the minority agreement not incorporated as a fundamental law in the Rumanian Constitution, in pursuance of the pledge given by the Vajda Government on 9th December, 1919, in Paris? The agreement was signed on that date because Wilson declared that the vast areas would only be ceded to them in exchange for the Minority Agreement. If Rumania does not observe this minority agreement, her right to this territory is rendered questionable. As for Rumania, she has always stressed with grave solemnity the sanctity of the peace treaties when it was to her advantage to do so. But she has ignored them whenever they saddled her with obligations concerning the rights of the Hungarians. She has made a multitude of laws which are an absolute defiance of the minority rights established in the Paris treaties, and has done so on the principle that the law of the State takes precedence of international agreements. One of these measures was the law regulating Rumanian citizenship passed in 1924; another is that dealing with public administration passed in 1929, which judged the minority denominations from a quite different standpoint from that employed in regard to the state religion. Equally notorious are the agrarian law, and the elementary education law passed in 1924 in the time of Tatarescu which established the culture zones. Perhaps the Magyar minority ought to be happy because the Rumanian State confiscated the National Theatre at Kolozsvár, the entire property of the Teachers' home, the estates of the Roman Catholic Church of an aggregate area of 23.000 cadastral yokes and the landed property belonging to the Protestant Church totalling over 24.000 cadastral yokes, from which these Churches had maintained their schools, and laid hands on the school buildings of the Piarists, Minorites and Premonstratensians? In Szekler-land, where the quota of the Magyar inhabitants amounts to 90—95%, the Rumanian State has set up Rumanian schools,*

although there are old minority denominational schools there. *In the purely Magyar villages, under the cultural zone law, the Magyar children are being instructed by entirely foreign teachers from the Regat, who do not speak a word of Hungarian, and who receive from the State supplements representing 50% of their salaries and 10 hectares of land per head for their pains. In the 49 towns of Transylvania, chiefly inhabited by Magyars, there were 68.000 Magyar children of schooling age in the year 1932—1933. Of these the Rumanian State allowed no more than 24% (i. e. 16.000), to attend the denominational schools, while for the remaining 52.000, only 11 Magyar schools remained. This means that 50.000 children were obliged to attend Rumanian schools or stay at home.* Rumanian infant schools have been thrust upon the purely Magyar Szekler towns. In Csik county, which is 90% Magyar, 63 State infant schools have been set up in which the infants are tormented by Rumanian teachers who cannot speak a word of Hungarian. *The language of the apprentice schools is Rumanian only, though of the apprentices 40% are Magyar.* According to Professor Jorga the Magyar Minority has "all sorts of independent organizations". Nevertheless, *the 1928 religion law placed the minority churches under police control and supervision* and established in advance the questions they might discuss at their meetings and subjected to State sanction the purely internal affairs of the minority Churches, while the Rumanian Greek Catholic and Greek Oriental religions were not made subject to this restriction.

The Rumanian politician will not hear of territorial concessions, because, according to Jorga: "our people are in the majority along the frontiers. In the interior the Szeklers alone form a compact block, but this part cannot be territorially separated and does not adjoin Hungary". Are there no Magyars living in a great connected block just across the Hungaro-Rumanian frontier? The demarcation of a frontier line so wantonly unjust from an ethnographical standpoint made a stir even at the peace conference. The ignorance of this excellent Rumanian savant with regard to the past

of the great Hungarian towns which fell into Rumania's lap, is astounding: "The towns" — he says — "are not Hungarian national creations. Nagyvárad developed out of a Habsburg town, so did Temesvár, while Arad grew out of a Rumanian and a Serb village." The eyes of the historian are dimmed by the spectacles of the politician. Nagyvárad and Temesvár developed out of Habsburg towns? The former, *the proud city of St. László (Ladislás), a town established and converted into an episcopal see in the eleventh century by this great Hungarian King* because the roads to the plains met there! The Árpáds (not the Habsburgs) built a fortress there; the church of the Blessed Virgin holds the remains of four Hungarian kings. From the end of the fourteenth century St László's equestrian statue, the splendid work of the Kolozsváry brothers, stood there, besides several other royal statues, all of which were taken to Constantinople by the Turks. *Under the Princes of Transylvania it was a purely Magyar city whose school produced Peter Pázmány.* Is Arad not a Hungarian national creation, but a development from a Rumano-Serb village? *Arad is an ancient Hungarian settlement and received its name from Orod, one of St. Stephen's warriors. Béla the Blind held his Parliament there.* It was destroyed by the Turk, and not until the end of the seventeenth century did General Mercy cause Serbs to settle there, making the town one of the centres of the frontier marches. Neither did Temesvár develop out of a "Habsburg fortress", for under the House of Árpád it was the seat of a castellan and it also played a great role under the Anjous and the Hunyadis.

A bizarre mixture of historian and politician emerges from the pathos with which Mr. Jorga declares his passionate attachment to the Italian people in connection with the meeting at Venice. He praises Mussolini as a cautious statesman who gives full consideration to the sentiments of his people: "He will not send Italian aeroplanes to the Carpathians to destroy a Latin people that have remained in the East as Rome's outpost." These words echo the great Rumanian historical fiction, — *the theory of Daco-Roman continuity, — which traces the present political relations and aspirations of the Rumanians back to ancient times and*

the Middle Ages, though archaeology, history and philology have long ago dispelled the dream based on this imaginary theory.

The Rumanians in Dacia-Transylvania are neither ethnically nor territorially the depositaries of Roman continuity.

The ancient home of the Rumanian herdsman is the Balkan peninsula, and his language and racial connection with the Arumans, Maglenites and Istro-Wallachs still living there is demonstrable. As herdsmen the Rumanians were not bound to one place, but wandered about in nomadic groups. The Romans withdrew their legions from Dacia, leaving no descendants behind. In these legions only the officers were chiefly from Italy, the rank and file being recruited "*ex tota urbe Romana.*" *The Rumanian herdsmen did not begin to filter into Transylvania until after the twelfth century.* Does the Latinity of the Balkan herdsman turn the Rumanian now into the "outpost" of Rome? *Their idea of Roman origin is not a Rumanian popular tradition, but the creation of their humanists and of the patriotic imagination of Greek-Catholic Rumanian priests studying in Rome and dreaming at the foot of Trajan's column, — a fiction now hardened into a national dogma.*

Could anything be more flattering to a people — especially today — than to be related to the great triumphant Italian people, to be the "eastern outpost" of Rome?

As a politician, in the difficult position of his nation, Mr. Jorga superciliously tries to play off this historical fiction against the Hungarians. "Italy" — he says — "has only one role to play, and that is to bring to reality those who have lost their sense of reality, to reprimand, with Roman wisdom, those who never had anything to do with Italy or with our Holy Rome." Hungary has never had any connection with Italy? In what part of the Balkan mountains were the Rumanian herdsmen wandering with their herds *at the beginning of the eleventh century, when St. Gellert and the other Italian priests were spreading with definite success Roman Christian culture among the Magyars, and St. Stephen requested a crown, not from the Emperor of*

*Byzantium, but from the Pope of Rome? Is Pannonhalma not a symbol of the spiritual connection between Italian and Hungarian? The successor of the first Hungarian King was Peter, who had been brought up in Venice. Were not Charles Robert and Louis the Great, those powerful champions of Hungarian culture and policy, Italian Angevins? And is not the renaissance culture of Matthias Hunyadi most closely bound to Italy? What concrete historical connection ever bound the Wallachs to Italy? What turned the *Urbs mundi* into the Holy Rome of the Eastern Orthodox Rumanians?*

And why must this Rome reprimand the Hungarian Foreign Minister in Venice, and train him to a sense of reality? Mr. Jorga always perverts historical reality to suit present-day Rumanian political pretensions; and he also surveys the reality of the present, not through a straight mirror, but through a distorting one whose angle of flexure is for him once again decided by a one-sided policy to the disadvantage of the Hungarians.

Mr. Jorga may rest assured that we do not need to be taught his sense of reality. We ruin no nations; we never interfere with the justice of others, we simply demand what is ours. But there is one more question: Who will protect the Western civilization of Transylvania, if it is subjected to a *new barbarous attack from the East? It is not a mere chance that Voivode Michael's attribute, the Rumanian "viteasul", is the Hungarian word "vitéz" (brave), for the Rumanians had no original word to express that quality. They were obliged to borrow one from the Hungarians. Nevertheless it is just this word that most deservingly unites history and politics.*

LOT OF MAGYARS IN TRANSYLVANIA

BY

BÉLA KENEZ

University Professor, formerly Minister for Commerce

It is impossible to read without indignation the assertion published in the Bucharest "Universul" that the Rumanians were persecuted and oppressed in pre-War Hungary. It would be an easy task to refute this unfounded accusation by the aid of a legion of statistics. For the sake of brevity, however, we shall confine ourselves to the evidence of a witness whom not even the "Universul" can accuse of being biased in Hungary's favour. Vazul Goldis, a post-War Rumanian minister, who in pre-War days, as Ladislav Goldis, was a member of the Hungarian Parliament, wrote as follows in a book published two years before the war of 1914:

"The Churches of the non-Magyar nationalities have established schools in almost every village. Today, the Rumanians have 7 bishoprics, 2 of which are archbishoprics, about 3000 priests, 5 theological seminaries, 6 teachers' training colleges, 1 four-class and 4 eight-class secondary schools (gymnasia), 1 four-class *real* school, 1 commercial academy, 9 boarding-schools for boys, 6 academies for girls, 3000 elementary schools with at least as many teachers, a number of literary and cultural associations, societies for the establishment of theatres with funds amounting to about one million crowns, 146 choral and musical societies and reading clubs, chairs of Rumanian philology and literature in the Budapest and Kolozsvár universities, 25 women's societies, 47 newspapers, more than 200 banks with an aggregate capital of over 20 millions and at least 700 employees, 17 commercial and industrial unions, 27 burial societies, and at least one million yokes (570.000 hectares) of land. The rest of the nationalities show the same degree of development."

These figures speak for themselves. We have not much

to add to this statement, which was certainly not written by an author with pro-Magyar sympathies. It should, however, be noted that the amount paid out annually by the Hungarian State to the Rumanian Churches in grants to teachers and priests fell little short of 8 million gold-crowns. The 8 Greek Catholic and 10 Greek Oriental Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops, were all members of the Hungarian Upper House, so that *in point of fact the Rumanians and Serbs were better represented there than the Magyar Calvinists.* Today there are 1.300.000 Roman Catholics in Rumania, at least 800.000 of whom are Magyars; but they have only one representative in the Bucharest Senate. Needless to say, that one representative is not the Bishop of the ancient see of Transylvania to whose jurisdiction by far the greatest number of the Catholics belong. No, he is the Archbishop of Czech origin who rules over the few thousand Catholics belonging to the Archbishopric hastily created at Bucharest.

In pre-War Hungary the way to the highest positions and dignities was open to all, irrespective of nationality. Many a German, Croat, Rumanian, Serb and Ruthenian rose to be a bishop or a judge. Thousands of civil servants declared themselves to be Slovaks and Rumanians. Among the employees at the State Mint, for instance, there were five times as many Germans and Slovaks as Magyars, and 30.000 non-Magyars were employed in the different State undertakings.

It is also very easy to refute the accusation of *cultural oppression*. In Greater Hungary 70% of the Rumanian-speaking soldiers could read and write, whereas in pre-War Rumania, where there was no Magyar "terror" to prevent cultural progress, this was true of only 59% of the soldiers. The Rumanians in Hungary were not restricted in their efforts to achieve material prosperity either. Almost one half of the Magyar peasants were landless, but only a third of the Slovaks and Rumanians. Generally speaking, every sixth Rumanian and every seventh Slovak, but only every eighth Magyar, possessed land. The ample earnings accruing from the real estate in the hands of the minorities explain the anomalous phenomenon that numerous Rumanian and

Serb villages were not obliged to impose surtaxes on their inhabitants, while the neighbouring Magyar communities were forced to lay a surtax of 40 or 50 per cent on theirs. And lastly, we would stress the point that were there even the slightest ground for the reports of Magyar "terror" blazoned abroad, not one of the descendants of the Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Rumanians and Serbs who settled here 5, 6, 7 or 8 centuries ago would have survived to tell the tale.

Compared with the Hungarian tyranny in the past — boasts the "Universul" — the Magyars in Rumania enjoy a privileged position. Our reply is that the complaints proving how the human, civil and political rights of the Magyars in Transylvania are being trampled under foot would, if collected, fill libraries. And if the "Universul" would have people believe that the new Constitution so proudly promulgated on 20th February, 1938, has done away with the grievances of the minorities, *we are prepared to give chapter and verse for the numerous provisions of that Constitution which will prove to European public opinion that it violates the rights of equality of the minorities as guaranteed in the Paris Peace Treaties.* That, however, would be a lengthy task, and here we must be content to illustrate the position of the Magyars in Rumania by referring to the order issued after the promulgation of the new Constitution by Christea Vasilescu, commander-in-chief of the army corps stationed at Kolozsvár. (Transylvania is in a permanent state of siege, and in consequence the administration is in the hands of the military authorities.) This order forbids the employees of the municipal tramways, etc. to call out the names of the stations in Hungarian, the market-people to offer their wares in that language, and merchants to use Hungarian shopsigns. Let us remember that this is taking place in a town where even according to official statistics 39.000 of the 100.000 inhabitants are Magyar, while an absolute majority of the population speak Hungarian.

So much for the privileged position of the Magyar minority in Rumania!

SUFFERINGS OF MAGYARS IN RUMANIAN FRONTIER ZONE

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

In the Rumanian frontier zone, the area, that is to say, detached from the ethnic unit of the Great Plain of Hungary by the new boundary demarcated in the Peace Edict of Trianon, over *half a million Magyars live in what is practically a solid block*. Of a population of 508,563 souls living in an area of 5230 square kilometres in the *Szatmár-Bihar-Csanád-Arad* frontier-zone alone, 413.104 (81%) are Magyars. These Magyars are being subjected daily to the greatest repression and oppression by the Rumanian military and civil authorities. As is well known, the so-called „*King Carol II*” line of defence was established there. The Rumanians have concentrated a considerable part of their forces in that region, and the soldiers are ruthlessly requisitioning their last loaves of bread from the Magyar inhabitants, for the military command does not make provision for the commissariat of this mobilized army. Besides this, the unfortunate Magyars are obliged to hand over their houses to the soldiers and take refuge themselves in stables and barns. Illegal treatment of this sort is common enough, but only in enemy territory in war-time; we have never yet heard of a country's own army behaving like this to its own citizens in its own territories in times of peace. Moreover, the population is seriously menaced by legal measures jeopardising their most vital interests. A law issued in December, 1938, declares that all persons whose homes are in the military areas, or who possess real estate there, must apply to the competent departments of the Ministries of National Defence and Air Defence *for permission to reside in those districts*. An Ordinance of 3rd August 1939

established a permanent special commission at whose discretion anyone living in the military zone may be required to leave it. Real estate in the military areas may not be sold or leased without permission from the Ministry of National Defence. Every person over 15 years of age living there must, in terms of this Ordinance, possess a certificate of identity with a photograph attached. In practice this means that only people who have been resident in those areas for 20 years and whose names appear in the list of Rumanian citizens receive certificates of identity from the police authorities. Another grievous measure is that the Magyars of the frontier zone are prevented from crossing over to cultivate their farms.

Over and above all this the Rumanian daily newspapers are constantly inciting their readers to hostility against the Magyar inhabitants of the frontier zone. The "ring-leader" is the "Universul" of Bucharest. This daily is not ashamed to call the very numerous autochthonous Magyar population "a foreign element that has filtered in", demanding their immediate transfer to other districts and the expropriation — be it land or buildings — of their property. In one of the rabid articles appearing from day to day in the "Universul" we read that the public-houses owned by Magyars in the frontier zone are the channels through which rumours spread. The Magyar innkeepers tell their customers what the newspapers in Hungary say and what the Hungarian wireless broadcasts. The "Universul" insists that their licences should immediately be taken from them and given to Rumanians. A Cabinet Council meeting held recently at Kolozsvár discussed the Government's intention to settle shopkeepers and tradesmen from the Regat (Old Rumania) in the frontier zone, in order to Rumanianize commerce and industry there. The Rumanian Press informs us that the work of compulsory settlement has already begun, and gives an account of what took place in Óvár, a village in County Szatmár near the Hungarian frontier, as an example of what is being done. A Rumanian newspaper reports, namely, that the Rumanian

authorities ordered a Hungarian farmer of Övár (Oar), Stephen n. Szabó, whose ancestors had lived in the district for centuries, to sell his little farm and house on the frontier to the Rumanian State, that is to say, to a Rumanian peasant from Galat, who actually put in an appearance shortly afterwards, and on the strength of an official document insisted on the Magyar farmer handing over his property.

It would appear that, thanks to the energetic attitude displayed by the Rumanian Press, the authorities have begun in their own peculiar way to "solve" the so-called ethnographic problem in the frontier regions. In addition to this, Rumania's lack of any desire for peace with Hungary has been demonstrated by the inscription visible from a great distance painted on the walls of the newly erected "King Carol II line" facing Hungary which says: — "Not a furrow!" (*Nici o Brazda!*)!

OSZK

Nemzeti Széchényi Könyvtár

THE MAGYARS OF YUGOSLAVIA AND NEW INTERNAL SITUATION

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

In our February issue we reported that after the meeting of the Supreme Committee of the Government Party held on 30th January Premier Tsvetkovitch saw five members of the Committee of the former Hungarian Party. He gave them a definite promise that the wishes of the Magyar minority as defined by that delegation would be fulfilled and some of their more serious grievances redressed. In the course of this conversation the representatives of the Magyars told the Premier that they would inform the Magyar electors of the agreement arrived at in principle. They would do so either at mass meetings or at local gatherings, and the electors would then decide the political attitude to be adopted by the Magyar national minority and determine whether they wished to co-operate with the Government Party.

The first of these meetings took place at Nagybecskerek (Veliki-Bečkerek). A second and larger meeting was held on 11th February at Zenta, where Dr. Leo *Deák*, former member of the Provincial Diet, expounded the fundamental principles of the policy to be adopted by the Magyar minority. Other well-attended meetings were held in various villages of the Banate, amongst others at Ada on 18th February. Everywhere unanimous votes of confidence in the Party Committee were passed and its procedure approved. Speaking of these conversations or rather meetings and discussions, Dr. Imre Várady, former Senator, said: — "As soon as the last of these meetings has been held and our preparations completed, the leaders of the Magyar minority propose holding a mass assembly at Ujvidék (Novisad) or Zenta, and if that meeting adopts the Committee's plan of co-operation with the Government Party, negotiations between that Party and the leaders of the Magyar minority will be

resumed with a view to clearing the situation and establishing the terms of the agreement. I need not say that *before the representatives of the Magyars join the Government Party our legitimate demands must be satisfied.*"

How desirable the Government Party considers the collaboration of, and co-operation with, the national minorities, especially in view of the Parliamentary elections which will have to be held sooner or later, is proved by a resolution taken at a meeting of the Danube Banate Supreme Committee of the Government Party held on 10th February. Without waiting to learn the ultimate attitude of the Magyars and other national minorities, this meeting elected Dr. Imre Várady as Vice-President of the Supreme Committee and Francis Keczeli-Mészáros (Banate Councillor) as Secretary to represent the Magyar minority; Dr. Louis Keks being elected Vice-President and Dr. William Scholtz Secretary to represent the Germans, and M. Nicholas Meda, a banker of Alibunár, Secretary to represent the Rumanians. In connection with this resolution Dr. Imre Várady declared that *although the Magyars belonging to the former Hungarian Party were convinced of the necessity of co-operating with the Government Party, this did not mean that they had definitively decided to join it.* In point of fact, even if the general meeting of the Magyar minority to be convened subsequently decided to accept the Nagybecskerek resolution, all it meant was that *the Magyars had entrusted their leaders to carry on negotiations for the purpose of establishing the terms on which they were willing to enter into closer co-operation with the Government.* The most important *sine qua non* of co-operation was *absolute fulfilment of their minimum demands and redress of their long-standing grievances.*

The Magyars of Yugoslavia are now keenly interested in the upshot of the promised negotiations, which, it is to be hoped, will result in an amelioration of their hard lot.

THE QUESTION OF CITIZENSHIP IN SLOVAKIA

BY
SLOVACUS

By virtue of its internal and external sovereignty, every State in theory decides, independently and in a sovereign manner, which of the persons living within its territory it chooses to recognize as citizens and which not.

Normally the problem is regulated by domestic legal measures, and it is only in more complicated and exceptional cases that certain States have resort to the stipulations of international treaties to decide the question of citizenship.

In Slovakia this question is regulated by two legal instruments:

a) the Citizenship Law of 25th September 1939 (Slovak Act of Parliament No. 57 ex 1939.) and

b) the *German-Slovak Citizenship Agreement* of 27th December, 1939.

In terms of the Slovak Citizenship Law, only those of Slovakia's inhabitants have become *ex lege* automatically Slovak citizens, as from 14th March 1939 (the date on which the independent Slovak State was created), who

1. either themselves, or through their husbands or ancestors, or by virtue of a valid decision of the administrative authorities, possessed rights of domicile in the area of the present *Slovak State* on 30th October, 1918, and who did not forfeit those rights before the date on which the present Law came into force, viz. 17th October, 1939;

2. have been definitively appointed as civil servants of the Slovak State or are the appointed officials of any public institution, State undertaking or foundation, and have taken the official oath.

Besides these all persons who acquired rights of

domicile in any parish situated within the territory of the present Slovak State after 30th October, 1918, may apply for recognition of their Slovak citizenship as from 14th March 1939. Such persons will become Slovak citizens, provided they submit an application for Slovak citizenship to the competent authorities within six months of the date on which the *Citizenship Law* came into force, that is to say, before 16th April, 1940, and provided their Slovak citizenship is recognized by the Ministry of the Interior. In the meantime, until their applications have been dealt with, such persons are to be regarded as citizens of the Slovak State.

The rest of Slovakia's inhabitants (those, namely, who did not possess the right of domicile in some place situated within the area of present-day Slovakia in the period following 20th October, 1918, and who have not acquired such right in the meantime) are not to be considered Slovak citizens, no matter how long they have resided in present-day Slovakia. To become citizens of Slovakia these persons must be naturalized.

This is the gist of the law, which, in principle, applies to every inhabitant of Slovakia, irrespective of nationality, race or religion.

The only exceptions are the inhabitants of German nationality (race), whose citizenship is regulated by the German-Slovak Agreement of 27th December, 1939. This international treaty, which, by the way, will come into force only after the duly ratified instruments have been exchanged, completely ignores the entire tenor and fundamental provisions (right of domicile, 30th October, 1918, as a time limit, etc.) of the above-described Citizenship Law, and makes the Slovak citizenship of persons of German nationality living in the territory of the Slovak State subject to entirely different and much simpler conditions, giving them, so to say, a privileged position.

In terms of this Agreement the criteria by which the citizenship of persons of German nationality (*deutsche Volkzugehörigkeit*) is to be judged are as follows:

a) the possession of right of domicile in some town or village situated within the area of the present Slovak State, but on 10th October, 1938, not 30th October, 1918; or

b) residence in Slovakia on 14th March, 1939.

In other words, any person of German nationality who acquired the right of domicile before 10th October, 1938, in any town or village of the present Slovak State, or — much more simply — who can prove that he was resident in present-day Slovakia on 14th March, 1939, must in terms of the Agreement, be considered a citizen of the Slovak State, irrespective of when and from whence he came to Slovakia.

It is not so easy, on the other hand, even for the Slovaks themselves, and still less so for the minorities (Magyars, Ruthenians and Poles) to become citizens of the Slovak State. In fact, as we see from what has been said above, in some cases they cannot become Slovak citizens at all, even though they (or their parents) have lived in Slovakia for decades and may consequently be regarded as autochthonous inhabitants, unless they are able to comply with the rather strict conditions stipulated in the Slovak Citizenship Law.

It is true that to a certain extent the German-Slovak Citizenship Agreement is based on the principle of reciprocity; for Germany, too, recognizes the German citizenship of all persons of Slovak nationality (*slowakische Volkszugehörigkeit*) who on 10th October, 1938, possessed rights of domicile in the areas attached in 1938 to the *German Reich* — and only there — or who were resident in those areas on 14th March, 1939. This provision, however, obviously applies only to a very small number of Slovak nationals (in fact to the inhabitants of two villages, Dévény and Ligetfalu, which were attached to Germany), while, on the other hand, it is a well-known fact that a large number of German nationals settled in Slovakia in the period immediately preceding 14th March 1939.

Another provision of the Agreement ostensibly based on the principle of reciprocity is that in Slovakia the

Minister of the Interior (in conjunction, naturally, with the German State Secretary, who represents the interests of the German ethnic group), is to determine to what racial category the German nationals belong, while in Germany the question of the racial category of the Slovak nationals will be decided simply by the German authorities.

What is objectionable in these arrangements is not so much that the Slovak rights of citizenship are too liberally granted to the German nationals; it is rather that the similar rights of the inhabitants of other nationality — in particular of the Slovaks themselves — are too greatly restricted, and that too many difficulties are placed in the way of their acquiring Slovak citizenship.

The present *Magyar-Slovak* negotiations will be calculated to do away, at least in part, with these constitutional anomalies in the arrangements dealing with Slovak citizenship and to redress the relevant grievances of the Slovak, Ruthenian and Magyar inhabitants of Slovakia.

Georgios Széchenyi Könyvtár

REX MATTHIAS

BY

KASSAI ENDRE

With deep reverence the *Hungarian* nation celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of King Matthias's birth. At a banquet of the Members of the *Corvin Order* of Merit — a distinction conferred on men eminent in the worlds of letters, art and science and so called because Matthias's family was known by the name of Corvin — the signal merits of the great *Hungarian King* were expatiated upon by the Hungarian Premier, *Count Paul Teleki*, who is a direct descendant of that King's tutor and most intimate adviser.

It was — the *Premier* said — a source of profound satisfaction to the nation that of all our kings, most of them of foreign extraction, it was two Magyar monarchs, St. Stephen and Matthias, who had proved the greatest rulers. When after a succession of Teutonic and Slav kings the Hungarians elected the son of their greatest hero, *John Hunyadi*, to rule over them, they did so, not only to guard against the danger of foreign interference, but also to throw their national aspirations into relief and to enhance the prestige of the Magyar race.

It was greatly to *King Matthias's* credit that he was the first, not only *in Hungary*, but also in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, to organize a regular army. With it he ensured the country's independence by defeating first the armies of the German and Bohemian monarchs and then the rebel Prince of Moldavia (*present-day Rumania*). But he never allowed himself to be carried away into adventurous undertakings by a lust for conquest; on the contrary he pacified his conquered foes so successfully that he was elected *King of Bohemia* and thought of uniting his old enemies in a league with the help of which he hoped to be

able to check the waves of Ottoman imperialism threatening to overwhelm Western Christendom, and to force the Turks to retreat. When Matthias, after establishing peace with his neighbours, embarked on a victorious campaign against the Turks, he therewith became the champion of European and Western ideas. It was for enlightenment, Christianity and the freedom of the nations that *Matthias* undertook this mission and inaugurated a struggle against the *Turks* which succeeding generations were to continue, saving Europe from the destruction attending the advance of an *anti-Christian Asiatic Power*.

Matthias had little sympathy with the privileged Estates; his chief concern being to improve the lot of the common people. To do so he lightened the burdens weighing on the serfs, codified the laws dealing with the administration of justice, rid the national bureaucracy of many abuses, instituted a system of public trial on fixed days, and framed centralistic laws for the guidance of the lower-grade authorities and courts.

Matthias was one of the greatest kings of the Renaissance. He raised Hungary to such a high level of culture that this country became a veritable centre of Renaissance science and art. The university and large library in Buda were among the best in Europe. To his court he brought Attavante degli Attavanti, Boccaccio Vecchio, Francesco d'Antonio del Cerico and the del Fora brothers, in order that the presence there of the greatest masters of the age should act as a stimulus to the development of Hungarian art. *Hungarian* science and literature made such strides that all Europe was impressed. Nevertheless, at Matthias's court the international values of the humanistic trend of the Renaissance became transformed, imbued with a national character, the vehicles of expression of the creative and formative genius of the *Magyars*.

No Hungarian king had ever been adored by the common people as Matthias was. Today the wail of the

people when they heard of his death is still a household word in Hungary:

"King Matthias is dead; justice is dead!"

In all the thousand years of Hungary's history the imagination of the people never wove so many legends, stories and anecdotes around the figure of anyone else. And the imagination of the people was never at fault. A man whose name was always on the lips of the people because they had taken him to their hearts, was greater, better, more of a man than those of whom books enough to fill a library had been written or whose statues had been sculptured by the score. For science might be mistaken, artists might work to order, but the imagination of the people, their adoration as expressed in anecdotes, tales, ballads and proverbs, was never wrong: it was the revelation of what the heart felt and the mind knew.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

POLITICAL MOSAIC

THE RUMANIAN MINORITY IN HUNGARY

M. Romulus Rossu — who, by the way, is one of Rumania's most eminent journalists — visited Hungary not long ago, and on his return home wrote a series of articles on his experiences here in a Government paper, the "Dacia" of Temesvár. In one of these articles he gives an account of the Rumanian minority in Hungary. This account bristles with far-fetched data and errors. At the very outset he arrives at false conclusions concerning the size of the Rumanian minority in this country, for he asserts that there are over 100.000 Rumanians in Hungary. In general he classes Greek Catholics and Greek Orientals as Rumanians, and when the figure thus obtained proves to be only 51.000, he nonchalantly adds that besides these there are about 25.000 Rumanians living scattered about in numerous towns and villages, 3000 in Budapest alone, and in conclusion boldly announces that "with the occupation of Ruthenia another 30.000 Rumanians have come under Hungarian rule."

In the first place we would remind our readers that *the nationality statistics of restored, not "occupied", Subcarpathia have not yet been fully established*. We can, however, arrive at accurate conclusions from the following exact figures: *in 1910 the number of Rumanians in Subcarpathia was 11.387*. And that the Hungarian census cannot be accused of having falsified the statistics — a favourite Rumanian accusation — is proved beyond doubt by the circumstance that Rumania's friends and allies, the Czechs, did not think it worth while to register the Rumanians of that part separately at all in 1930, but simply lumped them together with gipsies, etc. under one common heading "Others", giving the sum total of that column as 13.336 souls. If from this number we subtract the 3652 "others" figuring in the above-mentioned Hungarian census, barely *one-third of the 30.000 claimed by M. Rossu will remain*.

If only the author of the articles in the "Dacia" had at least been consistent in his statements! For later on, he puts forward the charge that *there are only 22 Rumanian denominational schools in Hungary, 19 of which have Magyar and only 3 Rumanian teachers*. Now if he classes all the Greek Catholics and Greek Orientals in Hungary as Rumanians, their schools must also be considered Rumanian; and in that case — as authentic statistics prove — exactly 23 Greek Oriental and 131 Greek Catholic elementary denominational schools refute his accusation. But to avoid presenting matters in a false light — as M. Rossu does — we would emphasize that those schools are

not all Rumanian, for part of Hungary's Greek Oriental population and the great majority of the Greek Catholics do not speak any language but Hungarian. On the other hand, authentic and accurate statistics show that there were 10 Rumanian elementary schools with 18 teachers and 999 pupils open in Hungary during the last school-year.

WORSE CONDITIONS INDUCE RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT TO CREATE A MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE

The Rumanian Government has decided to create a Ministry of Foreign Trade. The official explanation states that this is necessary, not only because Rumania's foreign trade connections have greatly increased and the intricate problems arising necessitate uniform measures, but also because a satisfactory solution of economic questions requires strenuous efforts that cannot be made successfully unless directed by a central office. But the "Universul" of 18th February, writing of the urgent necessity of organizing this Ministry, admits that there are other reasons that make its establishment imperative, viz. the growing complications in foreign trade, its increasing intricacy, the shortage of the more important industrial raw materials, and the difficulties and risks of transport by water. Besides this, naturally other objects are to increase foreign trade to the utmost limits possible, acquire new export markets and restrict the exportation to certain countries of various raw materials, chiefly those that are indispensable to the war industries.

TEN NEW MAGYAR READING CLUBS IN BANATE OF CROATIA

Not so very long ago it was almost impossible to found a new Magyar social or cultural society in that part of Yugoslavia which is now called the Banate of Croatia; there are, however, certain signs and events that seem to indicate that the present Croatian régime is displaying great understanding for the cultural efforts of the Magyar minority, and that the authorities are prepared to help M. Maček, the Deputy Premier, to fulfil his promise that all minorites living in the Banate of Croatia shall enjoy a complete equality of rights within the limits prescribed by the Constitution and the laws of the country. A further step towards the fulfilment of this pledge is the foundation of ten new Magyar reading clubs in the Banate; the Statutes of four of these clubs have already been approved by the authorities, and the other six are also hoping for the same favourable settlement in the near future. It is reported that several Magyar villages in the counties of Slatina and Nashitz have also decided to form such clubs. It is, obviously, with great eagerness that further news of this newly-inaugurated "policy of fulfilment" are being awaited in Hungary.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

RUMANIA

MORE MILITARY SENTENCEES

The military court at *Nagyszeben* (Sibiu) sentenced a Magyar girl, *Erzsébet Balogh*, of *Déva*, to one year's imprisonment for using in a letter certain expressions which were found offensive to the Rumanian nation. The sentence was quashed by the Supreme Military Court. As a result of the re-trial of the case, the military court at *Brassó* (Brasov) has now sentenced the girl to three months' imprisonment. — The military court at *Kolozsvár* (Cluj) has sentenced another Magyar girl, *Rózsa Hadnagy*, of *Torda*, to four months' imprisonment, *Sándor Vencel*, of the County of *Bihar*, to three months', *István Kovács* and *István Tóth*, of the County of *Szatmár*, to 6 months' imprisonment each. — The military court at *Kolozsvár* (Cluj) has tried *Countess Mária Bethlen* for alleged anti-State activity. The Countess is a well known supporter of Hungarian peasant art and has done signal service by arranging exhibitions in foreign capitals. She was acquitted. (*Brassói Lapok*, January 19). — The military court at *Kolozsvár* (Cluj) sentenced *Zoltán Leitner*, a journalist, to the payment of a fine of 2000 lei and 5000 lei costs. The prosecution was due to an article written by the journalist in 1933, under the title: "Won't you Come To Us, M. Madgearu?" (then a Cabinet Minister). In this article he invited the then Minister of Finance to come to Transylvania and see with his own eyes what was happening there in the way of tax paying. The sentence was passed after several adjournments. (*Szabadság*, January 31).

YOUNG MAGYARS MALTREATED IN PRISON

The police of *Temesvár* (Timisoar) arrested 35—40 young Magyars, mainly apprentices, on the charge of holding secret meetings without official permission. The unfortunate boys are being subjected to the most brutal treatment, as the police is endeavouring to extort from them a confession to the effect that they were responsible for the posting about a year ago in the suburbs of the city the red-white-green placards which demanded the evacuation of *Temesvár* by the Rumanians. Day after day the neighbourhood of the police headquarters is filled with the cries of pain of these poor boys suffering this inhuman treatment.

PROSECUTION OF SEVERAL YOUNG MAGYARS IN SZATMÁR

The special police for the security of the State prosecuted 11 young Magyars of Szatmár (Satu-Mare) who met at a friend's house for an occasional drink and talk. As the town is now under military law, not more than five persons are allowed to meet in any place without the permission of the authorities. The young men have been released. (*Népújság*, February 3.).

FAMILY GATHERINGS — BY PERMISSION OF THE POLICE

According to a recent order issued by the prefect of police of the town of Nagyvárad (Oradea) all family gatherings, including weddings and betrothal ceremonies, have to be reported to the police. Even a peaceful family gathering, for the sake of amusement, has to be reported. Persons infringing the order will be prosecuted by the military court. (*Magyar Lapok*, January 23).

RE-TRIAL OF A MINORITY CLERGYMAN'S CASE

Rev. László Csongvay, Unitarian clergyman of the village of Nyárádszentlászló, was sentenced two years ago to six months' imprisonment and the payment of 4.000 lei for a sermon by which — it was alleged — he had offended the Rumanian nation. The court of second instance reduced his sentence to three months' imprisonment and the payment of 1.000 lei, while the Court of Appeal has now ordered a re-trial of the case. (*Ellenzék*, February 13, 1940).

REDUCTION OF MAGYARS' PENSIONS

M. István Soós, one of the political representatives of the Magyar minority in Rumania, has submitted a memorandum to M. Silviu Dragomir, Minister of Minority Affairs, pointing out that the pensions of many minority pensioners have been reduced with the explanation that their pensions had been paid on the basis of a wrong scale. The memorandum also points out that 99% of the pensioners affected are Magyars (*Brassói Lapok*, January 22).

SOMETHING WRONG WITH THE MINORITY STATE GRANTS

Following the orders of the Ministry, the town of *Kolozsvár* (*Cluj*) has abolished the grants hitherto given to various minority cultural institutions. — In the same way, the town of Seps-

szentgyörgy (Sft. Gheorghe) has again omitted from its budget the customary grants given to the local minority schools. (Esti Lap, February 4; Brassói Lapok, February 17).

ONLY OFFICIAL NEWS MAY BE PUBLISHED

The military court at Kolozsvár (Cluj) has informed the editors of the local Hungarian newspapers that the only political news they will henceforward be allowed to publish are those issued by the official Rumanian news agency. No items of news, excepting only social news, may be taken from foreign sources. The editors have decided to appeal against these unjust orders

INDUSTRIAL INSTRUCTION COURSES ONLY IN RUMANIAN

The Chamber of Labour in *Kolozsvár (Cluj)* recently decided to open industrial instruction courses. As the courses are held only in Rumanian, many Magyar workers and craftsmen will be excluded.

PRINCIPLE OF "RUMANIAN ORIGIN" IN SPORTS

It has been decided that only players of Rumanian birth will from now on be allowed to play in the national matches. In the case of international matches, at least 75% of the teams must be Rumanians, otherwise the matches will have to be cancelled. (*Népujság*, January 30).

NATIONALITY OF MINORITY CITIZENS STILL UNSETTLED IN RUMANIA

For twenty long years the majority of the Magyar inhabitants of the formerly Hungarian provinces of Rumania lived in utter uncertainty. It must be remembered that Rumania had about 400.000 inhabitants whose citizenship was always "uncertain"; 90 per cent. of these were Magyars. The Law promulgated in December 1939 was a marked improvement in this direction, as it exempted the citizens concerned from the troublesome task of producing certificates of domicile; it was sufficient, as provided by the new law, if the applicant could prove permanent residence on December 1st, 1918 or July 26, 1921 (i e. on the date of the ratification of the Treaty of Trianon). However, the date fixed for the filing of new applications was too short for those Magyars who, for various reasons, had been left out of the citizenship register. The term expired on January 31st last. It is obvious, therefore, that this was by no means a satisfactory solution of the problem, for the majority of the applicants were actually hindered from taking advantage of this privilege, as it

either cost them a great deal of time and trouble, or else it was quite impossible to obtain the documents required. The result is that there are still numerous private persons as well as heads of families who remain excluded from the citizenship register. (*Hírlap*, February, 1940).

SLOVAKIA

MAGYAR REPORTERS INTERNED

So far Professor *Tuka* has not been successful in reconciling the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Slovaks. The number of people detained in concentration camps has largely increased. Several journalists are in prison at Illava, amongst others Dr. Alex. Floch, responsible editor of the "Uj Hírek"; Alex. Kelem-béri, formerly a collaborator of the "Prágai Magyar Hírlap"; Stephen Tóth-Nagy, Joseph Kalász, and a few others who have played a prominent role as leaders of the Magyar minority.

REORGANIZATION OF REFORMED CHURCH PARISHES: MAGYARS OVERLOOKED

The Slovak Government has appointed a committee of six to prepare a scheme for the reorganization of all the Reformed Church parishes in Slovakia. The Magyars are uneasy, and not without reason, for *the Magyar parishes have no representative on that committee.* Even the largest Reformed Church congregation, the Calvinist parish of Pozsony, is not represented. Negotiations have been set on foot with a view to effecting an agreement, but they have not led to any result. Of late the anxiety felt by the Magyar Calvinists in Slovakia has increased, for because of the failure of the negotiations Dr. Francis Xavier, the lay president of the Pozsony congregation, has announced his intention of resigning the office of superintendent. After his resignation a meeting of the Pozsony Magyar congregation will be convened. Besides the reelection of the parish officers, the chief matter to be discussed will be a motion to oppose the injurious Government measure.

MANY MAGYARS DEPRIVED OF PENSIONS IN SLOVAKIA

Much indignation was aroused among the Magyars of Slovakia by a measure of the authorities depriving a large number of disabled Magyar soldiers and people entitled to old age pensions of their dues. The matter has been taken up by the Committee and other competent departments of the United Hungarian Party with a view to obtaining redress and inducing the authorities to rescind this injurious measure. ("Uj Hírek", Februar 2.).

DESTITUTION AMONG MAGYAR WORKERS IN POZSONY

During the Czecho-Slovak era crowds of Magyar agricultural labourers moved to Pozsony. The confiscated estates had been given by the Czechs to Slav settlers, and the agricultural labourers lost their jobs in consequence and were forced to migrate to the towns. In this way numerous entirely new suburbs sprang up around Pozsony. Now the Magyar newspapers in Slovakia write that the misery and destitution of the Magyar labouring-classes in these new settlements surpass anything hitherto experienced. The social work department of the United Hungarian Party has addressed the following appeal to the well-to-do Magyars of Pozsony: — "*In the poverty-stricken settlements on the outskirts of our town Magyars with large families are living in the greatest want. These families, living in wooden huts, have no furniture or stoves, and suffer terribly from the bitter winter cold. We therefore urgently appeal to the charity of our kind-hearted fellow-citizens and entreat them to send us anything they can spare in the way of furniture — iron stoves or kitchen-ranges, beds and bedding, — but especially warm blankets.*" (Uj Hírek, Feb. 14.)

YUGOSLAVIA

MAGYAR VILLAGES IN "BACSKA" DISTRICT
FRESH INSTANCES OF HARSH TREATMENT

The purely Magyar village of Temerin has been obliged hitherto to spend almost 3.000.000 dinars on building roads, schools and churches and on other investments and services for the two large *dobrovoljac* (war volunteer) settlements created in the neighbourhood — also because the settlers obstinately refuse to pay their share of the parish surtaxes. Now this Magyar village has been dealt a fresh blow. The head of the district Inland Revenue Office at Ujvidék (Novisad) has namely issued an order that Temerin must send its register of government taxes to Ujvidék by a certain date, which means that the people of that village will have to pay their government taxes in Ujvidék instead of at Temerin. *This measure imposes a new burden of at least half a million dinars on the inhabitants, for they must pay their railway fares to Ujvidék and back and also lose a few days' work and earnings.* (Uj Hírek, February 9.)

Adorján (Nadrljan) is a group of farms inhabited mainly by Magyars near the town of Magyarakanizsa (Pavlograd). For years there has been no Magyar teacher in the elementary school there, although the farmers have repeatedly asked for one and the authorities have more than once promised to grant their request. Not long ago a big delegation went to the Ministry of Education to urge a redress of this old grievance. All they recei-

ved for their trouble was a promise that the matter would be attended to. (*"Reggeli Ujság"*, February 16.)

Magyarkanizsa (Pavlograd), a purely Magyar frontier town, has been so badly hit financially by the new methods of administration that it owes a debt of over 8.000.000 dinars. This grave financial situation induced the Municipal Corporation at the beginning of last year to lodge a petition asking that the status of the town should be lowered to that of a village. — Now, owing to the mismanagement of the last Corporation and the one before it, the town has had a fresh and heavy burden laid upon it. For the sums that should have been paid into the Banate Office in lieu of the town's contribution to public works were not paid for years and now the Office has ordered these arrears — about 2.000.000 dinars — to be paid without delay. The ratepayers, who have recently had to pay a surtax of 85%, are now afraid that this new burden will result in the utter financial ruin of the town. How greatly this once flourishing Magyar town has deteriorated financially may be gathered also from the fact that at present over 4000 of its inhabitants are without employment or means of subsistence.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

BOOKS

„*La Roumanie nos alliés*“

Professor Thomas's book about Rumania.

A French university professor, M. P. É. Thomas, has written a candid book about Rumania entitled “*La Roumanie nos alliés?*”. Fifteen years of uninterrupted sojourn in that country has enabled the author to base his work on events of which at the time of their occurrence he himself made precise and unprejudiced jottings to avoid errors and the danger of the real facts being distorted later by a lapse of memory or subsequent explanations. The authenticity of his data is proved by his frequent quotations of the Rumanians' own opinions of themselves, as when, for instance, he cites a characteristic saying of distinguished Rumanians: — “It is very convenient that in Rumania everything can be bought for money.”

The book is ruthless in its pitiless statement of facts. For its outspokenness it has been bitterly criticized more than once by the “*Universul*”. Recently — on 18th February — a sharp attack was launched against the author in that newspaper by M. *Seisanu*. In his article *Seisanu* levels the accusation that it was unprincipled of Professor Thomas, who for fifteen years had occupied a chair at the Kolozsvár Rumanian university, to write a book after his departure in which he declares that neither Rumania's historical past nor her lower standard of culture entitled her to take possession of Transylvania, and that the Great Powers had been misled by Rumania into committing a great injustice against Hungary when they assigned Transylvania to Rumania. *Seisanu* is coarsely personal in his criticism, but makes no attempt to refute Professor Thomas's statements with objective arguments. This, by the way, is not surprising, for on his own admission he has not read the book. It certainly seems rather rash to criticize a book one has not read.

What *Seisanu* says about Professor Thomas's lengthy stay in Rumania vouches for the reliability of the latter's data. Who is better able to write about a country than a man who, having spent 15 years there, has had opportunities of seeing all its institutions, meeting all its prominent people and of speaking with men of all classes and conditions? That a scholar who knows the country as thoroughly as does Professor Thomas should write so scathing a criticism of it is all the more distressing for the Rumanians.

The aim of the Professor's book is to give his French readers a frank account of what he saw in Rumania, to show them the

truth about that country and dispel the false impressions forced on them by Rumanian propaganda. French public opinion will understand this aim and have reason to be grateful for the Professor's unbiassed and enlightening information. With shrewd and cunning propaganda the Rumanians abused the confidence of the French and exploited their economic resources without giving any countervalue for them. Everybody knows about the oppression under which the Magyar, German, Bulgarian, Russian and other national minorities live in "Great Rumania", about the exploitation, cruelties and innumerable tortures to which these minorities have been subjected during the past twenty years, and which have caused their national, racial and religious feelings to rebel. Now that liberty and justice are in the air, the Rumanians are restless. They have not, it is true, learned any lessons from the fate that overtook Czecho-Slovakia, — which though no whit more artificial a creation than their own country, collapsed because of the way it treated its minorities, — but nevertheless they are anxious for the future. In their anxiety they again turn to France and expect that country to save them from the catastrophe threatening. The propaganda that proved so effective in the past is now being made use of again. With a blare of all its trumpets they endeavour to make France believe in their braggart promises of Rumanian military assistance, Rumanian oil and a Rumanian alliance. It is to counteract this that M. Thomas wrote his book. He could not bear to see French public opinion being led by the nose again by Rumanian propaganda. He could not allow the French to cherish illusions concerning the value of an alliance with Rumania, which is nil; the Rumanian army, which is badly commanded and poorly equipped; the Rumanian oil wells, which are soon to run dry, and Rumania's economic strength, which is absolutely unstable. The moral of Professor Thomas's book is that France must not lean on a bruised reed. The author finds that favouring the Rumanians is leading to the Balkanization of France itself; he therefore protests against the French inhaling any more of the poison breathed out by Rumanian propaganda. In the preface he says he knows how bitterly the Rumanians will attack him because of his book, but adds that this will not alter the facts as set forth truthfully and honestly by him. At the most it will merely serve to show that the author had put his finger on the core of their troubles.

George Lukács

formerly Minister of Education.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

THE NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY'S REPORT ON THE NOTES IN CIRCULATION

According to a report issued on 7th February by the National Bank of Hungary, the value of the banknotes in circulation was 25.400.000 pengő less than on 31st January. *Bills falling due exceeded the bills presented by 15.800.000 pengő.* Gold stocks had increased by 100.000 pengő. Small money had decreased by 600.000. The amortization paid on the national debt was 300.000 pengő. Clearing claims had increased by 2.500.000 pengő. In accordance with the statutes of the Bank, 256.000 pengő of the profits established by the general meeting had been added to the reserve fund.

CONSIDERABLE TRAFFIC INCREASE ON HUNGARIAN STATE RAILWAYS

The Management of the Hungarian State Railways has just issued its traffic and financial report for the budgetary year 1938—1939. Considerable changes in the network of railways have been made since the restoration of part of Upper Hungary and Ruthenia. The total length of the permanent way in the previous year was 7822 kilometres. After the restoration of part of Upper Hungary and Ruthenia that length increased to 9349 kilometres on 30th June 1939. The increase was therefore 1502 kilometres. (19%)

In the business year 1938—1939 passenger and goods traffic increased considerably, the former by 19.21%, the latter by 15.5%. The total weight of the goods transported was 2.137.419 tons, — 7.85% more than in the previous year.

Passenger traffic showed the following figures: the number of passengers taking tickets was 90.100.715 — 17% more than the year before. The number of cheap express excursion trains was 38 from Budapest to country stations, 42 from the latter to Budapest, there having been also 31 cross-country cheap express excursion trains.

The balance-sheet shows the following figures: passenger traffic, 88.762.524; luggage, 1.229.536; goods traffic 181.371.547; other receipts 21.975.444 — in all 293.339.051 — pengő. The aggregate receipts were 13.26% more than in the previous year. The expenditure totalled 319.188.490 pengő.

HUNGARIAN ALUMINIUM MANUFACTURE: GREAT PROSPECTS

Practically without exception all the reports submitted to the Ministry for Industry give a *favourable account of the state of Hungary's industries*. The various industrial undertakings are working at full capacity, a process interrupted sporadically by a shortage of raw materials and fuel. But in this respect, too, a certain improvement is noticeable.

A great advance has been made as regards the supply of raw materials for our industries. This is due to the establishment of new factories, above all of the Felsőgalla aluminium factory, which began work in January. *Our foreign trade negotiations have ensured our being able to import a sufficient quantity of raw aluminium*, so that for this year Hungarian economic life will very probably be fully supplied with that commodity.

In many respects the production of aluminium is of *great importance*. An adequate supply of this light metal will make it possible to use it for the manufacture of many articles that hitherto Hungarian industry has been obliged to make of other metals. *In the near future a change in this direction will begin to take place*. The experiments conducted with a view to using aluminium on an extensive scale have been successful.

RUMANIA

INCREASE OF RUMANIAN EXPORTS TO GERMANY DECLINE OF EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HUNGARY

The last report issued by the Rumanian Board of Foreign Trade gives the figures of Rumania's foreign trade from 1st to 17th February inclusive. According to these figures during that period Rumania exported goods to the value of 1258 million lei, while her exports in the first fortnight of January totalled 1474 millions. *Since last year exports have increased considerably. In 1939 the value of Rumania's exports was 875 and 1260 million lei in January and February respectively.*

The first country on Rumania's export list is Germany. That State bought goods to the value of 356 million lei in the first fortnight of February, as against 239 million in the same period last year. Great Britain follows with 250 millions, a decrease as compared with the same period last year, when Rumania exported to Great Britain goods of the value of 299 million lei. *Exports to Italy have increased considerably.* They totalled 150 million lei in those seventeen days as compared with 77 million last year. Exports to Hungary have fallen. Last year's 47 million lei has shrunk to 14 millions this year.

SLOVAKIA

FINANCIAL TROUBLES IN SLOVAKIA

According to the statistics issued by the National Bank of Slovakia — as reported in the "Slovak" — Germany and the Czecho-Moravian Protectorate owe large sums in lieu of clearing debts to Slovakia. An article on the subject by Dr. Kreicsovcics was published in the "Politika" towards the end of January. The writer established the fact that *Slovakia's clearing claims against the Czecho-Moravian Protectorate and Germany amounted to 508.985.000 and 254.576.000 Slovak crowns respectively.* This meant that Slovakia was unable to obtain the equivalent for her exports to the Protectorate and Germany, which represent 38.4% of her total exports. The Protectorate already owed Slovakia twice as much as Germany did, For the present — said Dr. Kreicsovcics — there seemed to be no way of liquidating these clearing debts. The equilibrium of Slovakia's balance of payments depended on the solution of this problem. The difficulties were enhanced by the circumstance that *from an economic point of view neither Germany nor the Czecho-Moravian Protectorate was a country complementing Slovakia.* What Slovakia required was also needed by the other two countries, so that a liquidation of those clearing debts was practically impossible.

CUTS IN POZSONY'S SOCIAL WORK BUDGET

Public opinion in Pozsony has learned with anxiety that the sums appropriated in the municipal budget for social work have been greatly reduced. The estimates for this year's budget total 7.949.100 Slovak crowns, — 1.397.000 less than last year and 1.546.394 less than in 1938. The fact is commented on in "Hírek" as follows: — *"However necessary the items may be, that does not alter the circumstance that the taxpaying capacity of the ratepayers has diminished to a greater extent than the reductions in the budget."*

SHORTAGE OF RICE IN SLOVAKIA NO PROVISION MADE FOR FURTHER SUPPLIES

On August 18, 1939, "Slovak", the Government's official organ, said that the existing supply of rice was enough to provide the whole market; this had been facilitated, in the first place, by the *Italo-Slovak* trade agreement. At the same time, the *Germano-Slovak* clearing agreement also secured the importation of a certain quantity of rice from Germany into Slovakia. However, the situation has changed remarkably since last autumn. On February 21st, 1940, the "Slovak" published an article under the heading "Do We Need Rice?" in which the public was called

upon to be most economical in the consumption of rice, as this would mean a considerable financial saving to the country. The consumption of rice is to be replaced by that of barley-rice, where by it is hoped that the Slovak State will be able to save 23 million crowns of expenditure.

YUGOSLAVIA

PLACE OF CROATIAN BANATE IN ECONOMIC LIFE OF YUGOSLAVIA

"The economic basis of the Croat problem", a book which was recently published, has now appeared in its revised edition. The work is based on the principles of M. Maček, leader of the Croat people, and its statistical data are intended to illustrate the fact that the Banate of Croatia is the most valuable part of Yugoslavia from an economic point of view. This statement is borne out by the following figures

	Slovenia	Croatia	Other Provinces
<i>Area</i>	7%	23%	70%
<i>Population</i>	8%	27%	65%
<i>Agriculture (Proper)</i>	8%	28%	64%
<i>Cattle-breeding</i>	9%	30%	61%
<i>Industry</i>	14%	27%	59%
<i>Banking (credit)</i>	8%	47%	45%

Naturally, these data refer to the newly established Banate of Croatia, which includes also Dalmatia and several districts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cattle-breeding of the Banate is highly developed, and the Croatian cattle are of the highest quality. In pig-breeding Croatia follows immediately after the Voivodina. In the field of agriculture proper, Croatia specialises mainly in cereals and potatoes, but it also possesses considerable mountainous and wooded areas.

The provinces Lica and Dalmatia (in the Banate of Croatia) are mostly passive. The hilly region of "Zagorye" — the "Semmering of Croatia" — between Zagreb and Varajdin is a fertile and densely populated area, but also rather passive on the whole. In banking (credit) the Banate of Croatia, indeed, plays a leading part. It will suffice to note, for instance, that 40% of the private banks of Yugoslavia are to be found in Zagreb.

Croatia is also first in respect of railway traffic.

	Goods Traffic	Passenger Traffic
<i>Zagreb</i>	31%	24%
<i>Lably</i>	22%	22%
<i>Szabadka (Subotica)</i>	16%	17%
<i>Beograd</i>	16%	22%
<i>Sarajevo</i>	15%	16%

The reason why the Banate of Croatia plays a leading part in respect of railway traffic is that Italy and Germany have for many years been Yugoslavia's best customers, so that most of the goods pass through Croatia and Slovenia. The high percentage of Croatia's passenger traffic is due to the large number of tourists visiting the country, especially those on their way to the Adriatic watering places, seventy-five percent of whom pass through Zagreb and travel on Croatian railway lines. Apart from this, maritime commerce and the importation and exportation of goods by sea also swell the figures of Croatian traffic. Yugoslavia's most important ports and leading shipping companies are in the Croatian Banate. The Yugoslav merchant fleet, which in 1921, did not total more than 125.000 tons, today aggregates more than 600.000 tons. The Yugoslav shipping company possesses 169 steamers.)

The industry of the Banate of Croatia is developing continually; at present there are 900 industrial establishments in the Banate, and the number of workers employed is more than 120.000. It is not very probable that we may expect a further increase of industrial activity in the present condition, as the Croatian industrial establishments — like all the others in the country — are faced with the problem of shortage in raw materials. An improvement in the present situation — as we may read in this book — will result in the springing up of new industries and the increase of export activity in Croatia.

YUGOSLAVIA'S LIVE STOCK EXPORTS LAST YEAR — 800.000 ANIMALS

According to a report published in the Belgrade daily "Vreme", Yugoslavia's exports of live stock and meat last year showed a marked increase as compared with the records for the previous year. The record for the year are as follows: horned cattle, 35.253, calves 9.670, pigs 298.439, sheep and goats 360.212, fresh meat 20.050 tons, meat goods 3.438 tons, pork fat 8.259 tons.

The paper also quotes some remarkable statistical data concerning the number of domestic animals. Thus at the end of the year 1938 the country had 17.2 head of cattle, 17.9 pigs, 41 sheep and 7.6 goats per square kilometre. In relation to the population the figures are as follows: 281 cattle, 22 pigs, 654 sheep and 132 goats per 1000 inhabitants. The figures for the year 1939 have not been published yet.

The paper also reports that, in order to encourage the exploitation of export facilities, the cattle-breeders demand the reduction of home consumption and the prohibition of the slaughter of young animals, such as calves, sucking pigs and lambs.

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