

DANUBIAN REVIEW

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HUNGARY AGAIN STANDS SENTINEL ON THE CARPATHIANS

BY
STEPHEN VARY

On 1st December 1921, in his first speech in Parliament, Signor *Mussolini* cried out: — "*Either a revision of the Peace Treaties or another war!*", and the "Daily Mail" of 1st January 1931 established the fact that "*We cannot speak of European reconstruction until the Treaty of Trianon has been revised.*"

When still simply a Member of the House of Commons *Mr. Winston Churchill* declared that *those who did not want to redress the wrongs were preparing another European war. Mr. Llewellyn Jones* said *there would be no peace in Eastern Europe until a rational Hungarian revision had taken place.* At a meeting of the Christian World Alliance held in Budapest *Mr. McKellen* exclaimed: — "*Christ was not present when the Treaty of Trianon was concluded and now Europe threatens to become a Hell.*" *Lord Lothian* declared that another war was imminent if the revision of Trianon was not accomplished in time. In one of his books *M. Georges Roux* wrote as follows: — "*Postponement of Hungarian revision bears in its womb the embryo of another world war.*" According to *M. Xavier Vallat*, "*If Hungary's wrongs are not redressed, chaos will become worse in Eastern Europe, and God alone knows what form the explosion will take.*" This conviction was voiced also by *M. Ernest Pezet* as follows: — "*Without Hungarian revision there is no possibility of European peace.*" These few quotations chosen at random may be concluded with the warning uttered by *Mr. Theodore Roosevelt* on the occasion of his visit to Budapest. He said: — "*Hungary for a thousand years fulfilled magnificently and at the cost of many sacrifices the historical mission of defending Western civilization on the ridges of the Carpathians. By doing so she put the Christian world under an obligation*

"at a time when presentday America slept in the womb of Europe."

And, indeed, Hungary during a thousand years of glorious, self-sacrificing and bloody struggles fulfilled a splendid historical mission. She defended the West against the East, curbing the wild forces threatening Western, Christian civilization, and her heroism, self-sacrifice and perseverance paid for the honour of this historical rôle a price in destruction, blood and suffering for which unbiassed history all the world over has shown due appreciation.

But it was only thanks to a certain circumstance that the Hungarian nation was able to perform this feat, namely, to the fact that it had settled within the only God-given, natural frontier, besides the Pyrenees, in Europe, and stood firm on the ridges of the Carpathians, a line of defence far stronger than any ever built by human skill. The Paris Peace Treaties, however, drove Hungary out of these natural and impregnable bastions and dismembered the country, leaving only a mutilated trunk incapable of vigorous life. Hungary was ruined and Europe left without a guard on her eastern borders. Chaos was complete. Every country began to struggle against its neighbours. Insecurity, disquiet and ruin gave rise to a storm of dissatisfaction pregnant with the germs of another world cataclysm.

All profoundly thinking people knew well that there would be no peace or security in Eastern Europe until Hungary again stood sentinel on the ridges of the Carpathians, until this well-tried advanced outpost of Europe was able to plant her feet firmly again on those natural defences where for a thousand years she had checked the advance of dangers threatening the West. There was never any doubt that no order, stability or peace was possible in this storm-centre until Hungary could again play the role of a lightning-conductor on the Carpathians, where for a thousand years with self-sacrificing heroism and a keen sense of her historical vocation she was able to prevent the thunderbolts of this storm-zone setting fire to the inflammable Balkans and blowing up the "gunpowder barrel of Eastern Europe."

This historical rôle and European mission of the Hungarian nation was ignored by the Principal Powers when

they framed the peace edict of Trianon, and, dismembering Hungary, created the mock-States of *Czecho-Slovakia* and *Rumania*. Naturally those artificial creations could not exist for long. It was a serious mistake on the part of the Western Powers to support those artificial States at Hungary's expense. By doing so they disturbed the natural political and economic system of Central Europe, the fruit of centuries of evolution, set the nations living there against one another, turned this area into a hotbed of trouble and created a series of danger-zones. It should not be forgotten that the present war started on its path of destruction from this area.

Flashes of lightning began to play around the gunpowder barrel of Eastern Europe when "the forest of Birnam started to move", when the present world war broke out. After Hungary had regained possession of a strip of former Upper *Hungary*, and Subcarpathia had rejoined the mother-country of its own free will when *Czecho-Slovakia* collapsed, the earth began to tremble in Rumania. The first tectonic shock was given by Russia when she occupied Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. No power could henceforth avert the earthquake. *Bulgaria* has regained possession of *Southern Dobrudja* up to the frontier of 1912, and Hungary obtained part of Transylvania with the frontier zone wrested from her by Trianon.

Thanks to the *Vienna Award*, Hungary again stands among the mountain ranges of the Carpathians. This is the triumph of historical, racial, geo-political and economic justice. It is also of incalculable value for the peace, order and consolidation of Europe. It will now be easier for Hungary to once more, as of old, fulfil her historical mission of defending the security and interests of Europe in the East. *Hungarian revision has entered into its third stage. Hungary, it is true, does not yet stand on the ridges of the Carpathians, but she is in the line of those mountains. It cannot be denied that these results were made possible by the dynamic politics of the Axis Powers, who have made good what the Western Powers neglected to perform.*

THE HUNGARO-RUMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS

The rapid restoration of Bessarabia to Russia — regarded by everybody as a natural consequence of the fact that the great victories won by Germany and Italy have completely and definitively annihilated the Peace Treaties concluded twenty years ago in Paris — made it a logical conclusion that *the Dobrudja, which was wrested from Bulgaria, and the ancient Magyar areas together with Transylvania, which were torn away from Hungary, must also be restored to their mother-countries.*

On 10th July, in response to Herr Hitler's invitation, the Hungarian Premier, Count Teleki, and his Foreign Minister, Count Csáky, went to Germany. Later on they were followed by Bulgarian statesmen. After these visits, it was reported in the international Press that the above-mentioned questions were the subject of the conversations, and when shortly afterwards Rumanian statesmen visited Salzburg, where they saw Herr von Ribbentrop, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, it became generally known that the Axis Powers considered it extremely urgent that Rumania should satisfy Hungary's and Bulgaria's legitimate demands.

THE TURNU-SEVERIN NEGOTIATIONS.

In the early days of August M. Cadere, Rumanian Minister, entered into preliminary conversations in Sofia, and M. Bossy, Rumania's Minister in Rome, was recalled to Bucharest to make preparations for negotiations with Hungary. On 7th August he arrived in Budapest for a brief *pour-parler*, following which the Hungarian Minister in Bucharest, M. Bárdossy, presented to the Rumanian Government the Hungarian Government's suggestions re the methods of negotiation to be adopted. The Rumanians replied in a memorandum, an answer to which was immediately sent to Bucharest by aeroplane on 13th August. In that answer the Hungarian Government suggested that direct negotiations

should be opened with all despatch. For this purpose a Hungarian delegation headed by M. Andrew Hóry, Hungarian Minister Plenipotentiary, set out on 14th August for Turnu-Severin, where on 16th August the Hungarian proposals were handed to a Rumanian delegation, which immediately carried them to Bucharest. That same day (Aug. 16) negotiations between Bulgaria and Rumania were opened in Craiova. On 19th August, in the forenoon, M. Valerian Pop, Rumanian Minister Plenipotentiary, laid the Rumanian proposals before the Hungarian delegation, and when the latter had made its observations on them, both delegations returned to their respective capitals to report to their Governments.

At that time the neutral European Press expressed its anxiety that "*because of Rumania's stubborn attitude there is little prospect of agreement between Hungary and Rumania*". It also wrote that the Bulgarians wished to march into Southern Dobrudja immediately after an agreement had been concluded, but that Rumania was anxious to obtain a considerable postponement of the actual cession of the areas in question. According to certain neutral reports, Rumania at that time toyed with the idea of taking military action in defence of Transylvania, or at least hoped to be able to postpone a settlement of the question for a long time. Meanwhile the Hungarian and Rumanian delegations returned to Turnu-Severin and met for a *pourparler* in the forenoon of 24th August. This *pourparler* was, however, broken off in the afternoon, and the Hungarian delegation left for Budapest after the following joint statement had been issued:

"The Chief Delegates having personally submitted a report on the progress of the negotiations to their respective Governments, the Hungarian and Rumanian Delegations met for the third time at 10.30 a. m. on 24th August. By common consent it was agreed that the negotiations should be conducted in German, with the stipulation that the minutes of the meeting should be kept in German and French, the German text to be considered authentic.

"The Hungarian Government's memorandum was read by M. Andrew Hóry, Privy Councillor, and after it had been studied, the meeting was adjourned. When the meeting re-

opened *M. Valerian Pop* read the Rumanian reply to the memorandum. It proving impossible to find a mutual basis of negotiation, by request of the Hungarian chief delegate the conversations were declared closed. Nevertheless, there is a prospect of their being re-opened within the shortest possible time."

THE VIENNA FINDING.

"The Axis Powers" — stated a report issued on 28th August by the *Hungarian Telegraphic Bureau* — "have with the greatest goodwill brought all their benevolent and friendly influence to bear on the Parties concerned, in order to bring about an agreement. Italy and Germany, having been forced by the mistakes of the Democracies to resort to arms in order to obtain a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, sincerely desire that revision, without which no creative peace is conceivable, should be carried out in the Danube regions also. While direct negotiations were in progress, no pressure was brought to bear on the Parties concerned by Italy or Germany, either by their Governments or in the Press, but they definitely expressed their natural desire that an agreement should be concluded." A report received that same day from Berlin by the *Hungarian Telegraphic Bureau* also stated that "The Bulgaro-Rumanian negotiations are progressing favourably, but no agreement has been arrived at between Hungary and Rumania. This has made it imperative for the Foreign Ministers of Italy and Germany to meet, in order to pave the way for a solution of the questions pending between Hungary and Rumania."

To further a peaceful agreement, the Italian Foreign Minister, Count *Ciano*, and his suite left Rome for Obersalzberg by plane on 28th August. In Obersalzberg Count *Ciano* had a conversation with Herr Hitler at which the German Foreign Minister, Herr von *Ribbentrop* was present. From thence the two Foreign Ministers flew to Vienna, where on 29th August the vitally important discussions began. That same day, the Hungarian Foreign Minister arrived in Vienna accompanied by the Hungarian Premier, who, as an observer, was present at the *pourparlers*. The Hungarian statesmen were warmly welcomed in Vienna, both officially and by the

inhabitants of the town, which was gay with flags for the occasion. Before the official *pourparler* the Hungarian Premier and his Foreign Minister had a two hours' conversation with Herr von Ribbentrop and Count Ciano.

Following the Hungarian Delegation the Rumanian delegates, headed by M. Manoilescu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Vienna the same day. They also had a preliminary conversation with the Italian and German Foreign Ministers. On 30th August further conversations took place in the Belvedere Palace between the Foreign Ministers of the Axis Powers and the Hungarian statesmen and between the former and the Rumanian delegates. The Hungarian and the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs signed an agreement in terms of which they undertook to accept the decision of the Axis Powers.

At 2.40 p. m. Herr Dornberg, German Ambassador and Master of Ceremonies, appeared to fetch the Hungarian Premier and Foreign Minister, who were conducted to the Golden Hall of the Palace, where they were followed by the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the centre of the hall stood a table at which Herr von Ribbentrop and Count Ciano were seated; to the left of Herr von Ribbentrop sat Herr *Schmidt*, German Minister Plenipotentiary, to the right of Count *Ciano*, Count *Vittetti*. Behind this round table stood 15 German and Italian functionaries of high rank, amongst others Herr von Erdmannsdorf, German Minister in Budapest, Marchese Talamo, Italian Minister in Budapest, Herr von Mackensen, German Minister in Rome, Herr Clodius and the German and Italian Ministers in Bucharest. Opposite the Foreign Ministers of the Axis Powers sat the Hungarian and Rumanian Foreign Ministers. Next to Count Vittetti sat Count Teleki and M. Valerian Pop. The Hungarian and Rumanian Foreign Ministers signed the Award of this Court of Arbitration, which ran as follows:

"1. The final frontier between Rumania and Hungary shall be the frontier delimited in the map annexed. The exact frontier will be demarcated on the spot by a mixed Rumanian and Hungarian commission.

"2. The hitherto Rumanian areas thus awarded to Hungary must be evacuated by the Rumanian troops within

14 days' time and handed over to Hungary in good condition. The stages of evacuation and occupation, as well as the methods thereof, shall be determined immediately by the mixed Rumanian and Hungarian Commission. The Rumanian and Hungarian Governments must make provision that the evacuation and occupation take place in complete peace and order.

"3. Every Rumanian subject today domiciled in the areas to be ceded by Rumania becomes automatically a Hungarian subject. Such citizens are entitled to opt in favour of Rumanian citizenship within a period of six months. Those who avail themselves of this right must leave the territory of the Hungarian State within a year after the expiration of the six months' period and will be taken over by Rumania. They may take their movables with them. Furthermore they may realize their real estate before their emigration and may take its countervalue with them. Should they not be able to realize it, Hungary must indemnify them. Hungary will deal with all matters pertaining to the removal of the optants with generosity and consideration.

"4. Rumanian subjects of Hungarian birth residing in areas ceded by Hungary to Rumania in 1919 who now live in areas remaining within Rumania are entitled to opt in favour of Hungarian citizenship within a period of six months' time. The principles laid down in paragraph 3 apply also to those who avail themselves of this right.

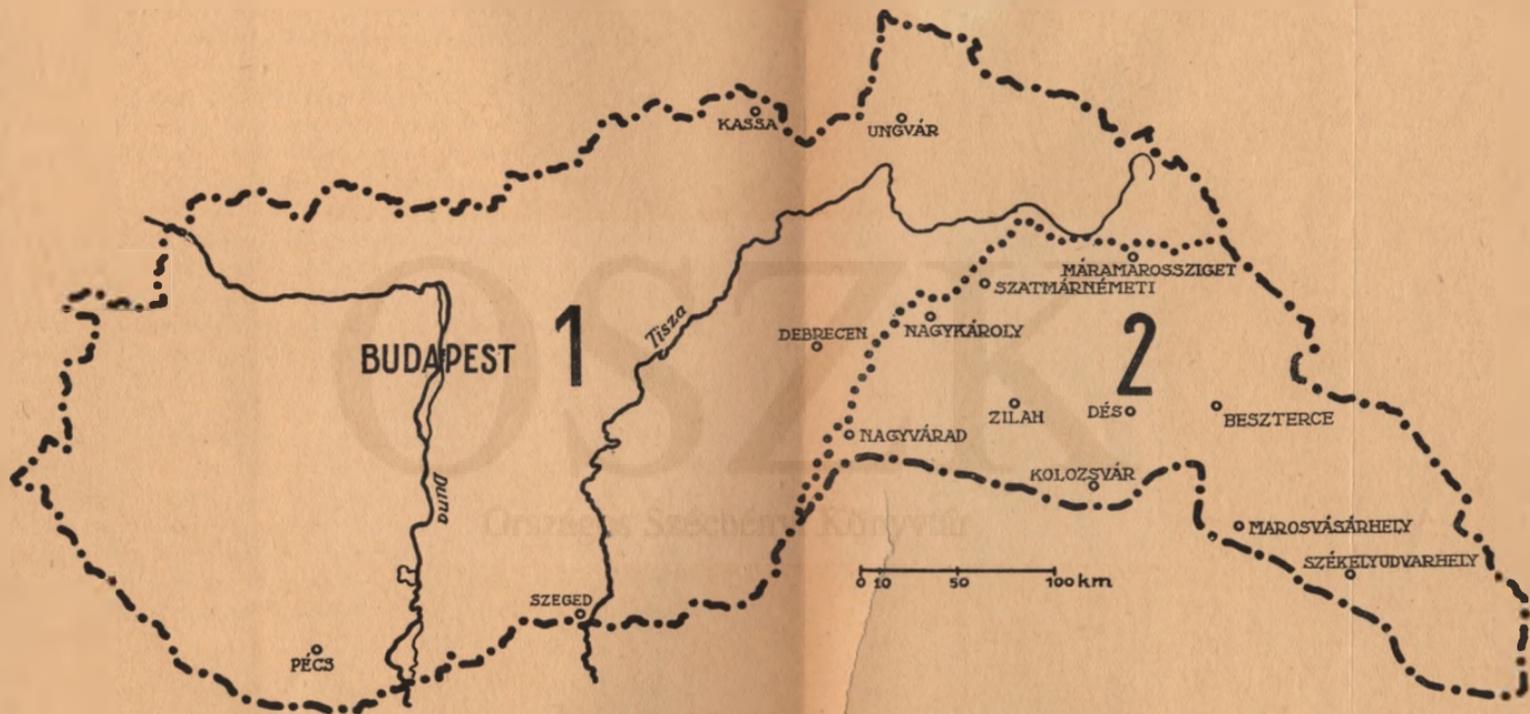
"5. The Hungarian Government solemnly undertakes to treat in every respect as citizens with the same rights as the rest of Hungary's subjects all such persons as in terms of this present Award become Hungarian citizens but are Rumanian by birth. Vice versa, the Rumanian Government gives the same solemn undertaking respecting the Rumanian citizens of Hungarian birth who remain in Rumanian territories.

"6. All other questions arising from the change of rule shall be settled by direct negotiation between the Rumanian and Hungarian Governments.

"7. Should difficulties or doubts arise respecting the execution of this arbitration award, the Rumanian and Hungarian Governments shall reciprocally notify one another thereof. Should they fail to come to an agreement, they shall

HUNGARY ON 30th AUGUST 1940.

Area: 160.757 square kilometers. Population: 13,500,000



1. Hungary before the Vienna Award of 30th August 1940.

2. The areas restored to Hungary by the Vienna Award of 30th August 1940: 43.691 square kilometres; population 2,393.657.

—— The frontier before the Award of 30th August 1940.

lay the question before the Governments of the German Reich and Italy for arbitration."

According to a report issued by the Hungarian Telegraphic Bureau, the frontier as established by the Vienna Award is as follows:

The frontier starts at Kőtegyán, runs south of Nagyszalonta in a north-easterly direction south of Hájó slightly to the east of Váradles, then south of Mezötelegd, when it curves slightly in a south-easterly direction below Remetelőrév, then runs in an easterly direction between Zentelke and Nagykalota. From there it runs in an easterly direction south of Gyalu, Kolozsvár and Kolozs, then turns towards the north-east and again towards the east south of Vasszentgotthárd. Passing directly south of *Mezőkecsed* it turns straight towards the south above *Mezőköbölkút*, encircling *Mezőbánd*, which returns to Hungary. From thence it again turns in a south-easterly direction below *Maroskeresztur* and *Nyárádtő*, between *Balavásár* and *Egrestő*, towards *Nagykend*. South of *Nagykend* it runs straight north below *Székelykeresztur* and passing immediately below *Kányád*, *Székelydálya*, *Homoróddaróc*, *Székelyzsombor* and *Felsőrákos*, it reaches the river Olt. Following this river in a southerly direction it turns to the south-east again below *Bölon*. Running straight east below *Előpatak*, *Uzon*, *Nagypatak* and *Zágon*, it reaches the old historical frontier, where it turns to the north. From there to the angle of the present Hungarian-Russian frontier it follows the old historical Hungarian frontier.

STATEMENTS OF THE GERMAN AND ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS.

The solemn ceremony closed with the reading of statements made by the German and Italian Foreign Ministers. That made by Herr von Ribbentrop ran as follows:

"By the judgement just pronounced an important and difficult question of European politics has been definitely settled. Speaking on behalf of the Government of the German Reich, I wish to express my great pleasure and satisfaction. The Hungarian and Rumanian Governments appealed

to both of the Axis Powers, thereby signifying a desire to settle in a peaceful manner the questions at dispute between them for such a long time. This also showed that they were aware of their own interests and of their responsibility for the maintenance of peace in South Eastern Europe. *The Führer and the Duce did not refuse to listen to their appeal.* Germany and Italy, who maintain friendly relations with Rumania and Hungary alike, were not immediately concerned in the unsettled questions between the two countries. For this reason they could undertake the role they were requested to play with complete impartiality, and were able to find an equitable solution, safeguarding the interests of both Parties, of the difficulties inherent in the complicated geographical and ethnographical aspects of the disputed areas.

"Therewith the two Axis Powers have again given proof of the fact that — contrary to British policy, which ever since the outbreak of hostilities between the Axis Powers and Great Britain has endeavoured to cast the fire-brand of war into the Danube Valley — they are able, in co-operation with the Powers of that region, to prevent war spreading to it. After the Russo-Rumanian agreement on the question of Bessarabia and the Bulgaro-Rumanian agreement concerning Southern Dobrudja, the judgment pronounced today by the Axis Powers and accepted by both Parties concerned has solved the last territorial problem of the Danube Valley. To the benefit of all concerned reconciliation has definitely set in in this part of Europe. It is my conviction that we have laid the foundations of a restoration of lasting and peaceful connections between Hungary and Rumania."

Following Herr von Ribbentrop, Count Ciano read the following statement:

"Now that the Protocol has been drafted in which the Hungarian and Rumanian Governments accept the new and final frontier between Hungary and Rumania as determined by the judgment pronounced by Germany and Italy, I wish on behalf of my Government to give expression to the liveliest and sincerest satisfaction over the *peaceful and fair settlement of a conflict which so seriously threatened relations between*

the two countries and the peace of the Danube Valley. Hungary and Rumania alike have contributed with the same spirit of understanding to this settlement. I have nothing but praise for the clear-sightedness and wisdom of their statesmen. The Hungarian and Rumanian Governments perfectly understand the stability and peaceful aims of the two Axis Powers, and have given expression to their confidence in the Italian and German spirit of justice. That spirit has made it possible for Herr von Ribbentrop and myself to overcome the many difficulties caused by the intricacy of the complicated geographical, economic and ethnographical demands. We have offered a solution of these difficulties, not only with scrupulous impartiality, but also with the certainty that *we are creating the foundations of stability and of a co-operation based on reciprocal confidence between the two nations who appealed to us.*

"With today's arbitration and the preparatory work that made it possible Germany and Italy have pursued their usual straightforward policy; they have, that is to say, prevented the countries of South Eastern Europe, to which our enemies have done their best to extend the war, from being drawn into it. But our aims are even loftier than that: we do not want merely to preserve peace in this part of Europe; we also wish to make it stable and secure, *giving to it the stability and security that only justice and goodwill, which Germany and Italy have always striven to serve, can give.* Now that we have resolved the conflict which for twenty years has always threatened peace, *a new era of understanding, confidence and co-operation will begin in the relations between Hungary and Rumania, an era always desired by Italy, and one that from now on Italy together with her Ally Germany will help to stabilize by means of her firm friendship and support.*"

When these statements had been read, the four Foreign Ministers went over to one of the drawingrooms, where they signed the Protocol.

The acceptance of the Vienna Award meant that the representatives of Hungary and Rumania decided to leave the solution of the disputed questions to the arbitration of Germany and Italy. The Hungarian and Rumanian Foreign

Ministers declared that they had taken cognizance of the judgment pronounced by the German and Italian Foreign Ministers, and accepting the same on behalf of their Governments, undertook to carry it out without reservation.

The Protocol, which was drafted in Italian and German, was signed by all the four Foreign Ministers. Then Herr von Ribbentrop asked the leaders of the delegations to return to the other room for the signing of the various copies of the deed. *Therewith ended the first promulgation of the decision.* There was about 15 minutes conversation in connection with the signing of the copies, after which the Hungarian delegation retired to the Green Drawing-room reserved for their use.

At a quarter past three Herr von Ribbentrop gave a lunch for the members of the German, Italian, Hungarian and Rumanian delegations in the Marble Hall of the Belvedere Palace.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

SOLEMN SESSION OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

PREMIER'S GREAT SPEECH

On 4th September the Hungarian Premier, Count Paul Teleki, officially announced in Parliament the restoration to the mother-country of a zone on Hungary's eastern frontier and of part of Transylvania, All Members of both Houses were present. They were in gala dress for the occasion and listened to the Premier's speech with enthusiasm and with loud acclamation. After a moving opening speech by M. Tasnádi Nagy, Speaker of the Lower House, the Premier rose to address the House.

He began by saying that the reason why he spoke from that place was that *twenty years ago he had been forced to announce the peace edict of Trianon from the same spot.* Now he had the pleasure of announcing the abrogation of that edict.

"The peace" — continued the Premier — "which was dictated to us then was an arbitrary peace. *The strains of the Hungarian Anthem as they surged up behind me in the Cupola Chamber then still ring in my ears.* Their message was that *we would never resign ourselves to accepting that arbitrary peace.* Those strains were our confession of faith. And truly, the nation has never acquiesced. Our motto has always been: No, no, never! Since that time the nation has struggled — struggled from decade to decade — with such weapons as were possible. We struggled against those who were in power. We sought redress wherever there was any hope of its being found, wherever we expected to meet with understanding.

"We did not meet with understanding from those who for twenty years were masters of Europe. Their answer to our plea was usually: never, never! They never showed any

signs of reasonableness. The first to recognize the legitimacy of Hungary's demands was the Duce, and when the Axis States became the leading Powers in Europe, it was there we found understanding, thanks to our old comradeship-in-arms and the sympathy linking us to them, and also because they made use of their strength for the work of reconstruction, instead of expending it on petrifying a state of affairs the untenable nature of which was realized even by the Western Powers, though they lacked the courage to change it."

The Idea of Hungarian Revision Makes Headway.

"The idea of Hungarian revision gradually gained prominence in the politics of the European Powers, and when the States artificially constructed twenty years ago began to collapse, a course of events that was in fact but natural set in, and dawn broke for Hungary.

"I venture to assert that the rapidity with which the restored areas have returned to Hungary was little short of miraculous.

"After the restoration of part of Upper Hungary and of Subcarpathia, the eyes of the Hungarian nation turned with redoubled interest towards Transylvania, the loss of which had for twenty years been our bitterest grief.

"When Russia solved her own problem — very swiftly and simply, — it was only natural that Hungary and Hungarian public opinion should demand with added force and insistence the fulfilment of our national demands. *We were honestly determined to settle the question with reasonable deliberation and in a peaceful manner, for in our opinion revision was not something out of the question, but something possible. We tried to effect an agreement with Rumania by negotiation, and this for two reasons: first, in order to maintain peace in this corner of Europe; secondly, because we were convinced that the other Party would appreciate the enormous sacrifice the Hungarian nation was prepared to make.*

"There is no need to enter into a lengthy account of the negotiations. We suggested in good earnest a definite compromise; we offered to cede to Rumania a large area of about

30.000 square kilometres where the majority of the inhabitants are Rumanians, but our offer met with no response."

The Prime Minister then proceeded to explain why the Turnu-Severin negotiations had failed and how the award by arbitration had taken place. He also outlined the national importance of the restored territories.

Hungary Will Ensure Transylvania's Prosperity and Treat All its Inhabitants with Equal Kindness

The Premier stated that adequate economic measures would be taken to ensure the prosperity of the returning areas. *Hungary would continue to fulfil her historical mission in the Danube Valley. The Government's policy was one of utmost generosity.* All preparations for the inauguration of a new Hungarian life were complete. In the first place Transylvanians would be given a rôle to play, especially those who had remained there and who, steeled by the experiences of the past twenty years, would prove capable of governing themselves. This applied also to those whose mother-tongue was not Hungarian, but who had lived together with the Magyars. All the grievances of the past two decades must be forgotten. *To build, not to punish, was the aim of the Hungarian nation.* The Government had taken steps to prevent any reprisals of a military or civil nature such as in similar situations were apt to occur.

Count Teleki then continued as follows:

"We owe a debt of gratitude in the first place to the Axis Powers (loud applause) for their loyal friendship and for their undertaking a difficult and thankless task at a time anything but easy for them, when they are engaged in a hard struggle. The Axis Powers undertook this task, and were able to carry their intentions through; they were successful in solving a problem so extremely difficult as to baffle almost the most expert authorities. They thus helped us to regain a considerable part of the lost areas. All thanks is also due to the Hungarian nation itself, to every member thereof; to those who joined the army willingly and with enthusiasm and in even greater measure to those who re-

mained at home and suffered the privations that every nation is bound to endure in such times of major effort. The Hungarian nation willingly endured them.

"I think I may safely say that the results achieved are such as to justify rejoicing. The decision which we accepted with gratitude will be carried out with the greatest impartiality."

In conclusion the Premier sent his greetings to those who next morning at seven o'clock were to be received into the bosom of the Hungarian nation and to every Hungarian outside the new frontiers of Hungary. Count Teleki's address was received with loud applause and cheers. When at long last the thunders of applause had subsided, the Members of Parliament dispersed after singing the Hungarian National Anthem.

COUNT CSÁKY'S EXPOSÉ BEFORE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES

On 4th September the Hungarian Foreign Minister delivered his exposé on the Vienna Award before the Foreign Affairs Committees of both Houses of Parliament. He stated that the Award pronounced in Vienna had inaugurated a new era, which might well be termed a turning-point in the life of the Hungarian nation. The area regained from Rumania was about 45.000 square kilometres *in extent, with a population of 2.300.000. With this territorial addition Hungary had attained the position of a strong medium-sized State.* The position of the Government had not been an easy one. The Government of Soviet Russia had set in train a course of events from which Hungary could not afford to hold herself aloof, whatever the cost, but at the same time she had to be careful to avoid being drawn into their vortex in a way that would adversely influence the future development of friendly relations between Hungary and the Axis Powers. *Hungary had been fully prepared from a military point of view, but the Government was determined not to risk a single life so long as there was the faintest hope of achieving results without bloodshed.* The energetic preparations made by the Hungarian Govern-

ment had had a reassuring effect on the Magyar minority in Transylvania, and the Hungarian troops on the Rumanian frontier had acted as a check on the Rumanians.

Count Csáky said that in July the representatives of the Axis Powers had made no secret of the fact that an armed conflict between Hungary and Rumania would be inopportune for them, since it would lead to unpredictable complications in the Balkans, although at the same time they admitted that Hungary's demands were legitimate. Events, however, matured in the Axis Powers the realization that the time had come to act. Here the Foreign Minister outlined the course of the unsuccessful Turnu-Severin negotiations and told his listeners how the Hungarian and Rumanian Governments had finally accepted the arbitration of the Axis Powers. He then said: —

"History will establish the full significance of the Vienna Award. As an undercurrent to the rejoicings of those who have returned there is the grief of those (some 750.000) who remain in Rumania and who long for Hungarian rule. I do not believe that Rumania wishes to make their existence and development impossible."

In the following words Count Csáky gave expression to his appreciation of the work of the Axis Powers: —

"Whereas, in order to maintain the hegemony of the Western Powers, the Paris Peace Treaties which — perhaps unconsciously — actually represented in effect the principles of anarchy, scattered abroad the seeds of strife which bade fair to bear the fruit of war at any moment and which finally brought about the complete collapse of an unnatural system, the constructive policy of the Axis Powers was directed towards promoting reconciliation and the creation of possibilities of development — in other words, towards peace.

"The new German Reich and Italian Empire do not merely preach peace; they also strive to establish it on surer foundations. For twenty years the entire activity of the League of Nations was devoted to making reconciliation and peace impossible, for it was only on the principle of *"divide et impera"* that its masters could maintain their supremacy.

"The Axis Powers have guaranteed Rumania's territorial integrity and the inviolability of her frontiers. From a Hungarian point of view their action has made the work of several generations easier with their sincere friendship and invaluable support."

Hungary's Relations with Rumania.

"The time for peaceful work has come, in the course of which we sincerely desire the advent of a new era in respect of Hungary's relations with Rumania. When the Rumanians have recovered from the series of painful disappointments that have overtaken them, they will discover that the new framework of South-Eastern Europe offers them many advantages and possibilities. Instead of being an empty facade, Rumania may well become a factor of importance among her reliable and strong neighbours. As I said to the Rumanian Foreign Minister in the presence of Herr von Ribbentrop and Count Ciano, it will not be the fault of the Hungarian Government if relations between Rumania and Hungary do not improve to the degree of cordiality demanded of the two countries by the given circumstances.

"Let the Rumanian minority returning to Hungary and the Magyar minority remaining in Rumania be a pledge of good relations. We are firmly determined to treat the Rumanians of Hungary not merely well, but with a generosity that will make them realize in every way that to live in loyal symbiosis with the Hungarian nation is to their advantage and that it opens out a whole series of possibilities of development."

In conclusion Count Csáky announced that a gradual demobilization had begun, and on behalf of the Government expressed his thanks to all the men who had been mobilized.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS OF RUMANIA'S INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

Rumanian public opinion is mainly concerned with the events that have taken place since 28th June — that is to say, since the loss of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. *Two unsettled problems — the questions of Transylvania and Southern Dobrudja* — have been troubling Rumania since Herr Hitler's conversations in Munich with the Hungarian statesmen and the visits to Salzburg at the beginning of August of M. Filov, the Bulgarian Premier, M. Gigurtu, Rumanian Prime Minister and M. Manoilescu, Rumanian Foreign Minister. It was only natural that Rumanian public opinion should have watched with growing excitement the development of the negotiations at Craiova with Bulgaria and at Turnu Severin with Hungary. Rumania is divided into two camps. To the one belong those who realize that the time to yield has come; to the other those who cling to the old *status quo*.

Confusion and chaos prevail in Rumania's internal and foreign policy alike. The latent Cabinet crisis may materialize any day. It is rumoured that after the resignation of the Gigurtu Government an attempt will be made to form a National Unity Government which would shoulder the responsibility attendant on the territorial readjustments to come. M. Maniu and the Iron Guard still continue to fight against the idea of revision. First on 25th July, then on 7th August, the leaders of the Iron Guard were received in audience by King Carol. The spokesman of this delegation was Simon Horia, ex-Minister of Education, who submitted to the King a memorandum which is said to have dealt with the question of the administration of the totalitarian Party permitted in Rumania. The Iron Guard has also published a pamphlet stating that *Rumania must not surrender Transyl-*

vania. Three of its members (M. Budisteanu, Minister of Education, M. Noveanu, Minister of Supplies, and M. Bideanu, State Secretary) have been struck off the roll of members for a breach of discipline. Following this these statesmen tendered their resignations, which so far have not been accepted by the King.

Julius Maniu, who was at one time Premier, has drafted a new national programme, which most definitely rejects the Hungarian demands. The most important items of this programme are: 1. The National Unity Government shall be so appointed that all political shades, from the Iron Guard to the Parties of the Left Wing, shall be included; 2. Hungary's territorial demands must be firmly rejected, since for at least three months Germany will not permit a war in South-Eastern Europe; 3. Rapprochement with Russia; 4. The restoration of normal relations with Great Britain and Turkey. Maniu's anti-revisionist movement has grown stronger since his conversations with Premier Gigurtu. In the interests of the Rumanian standpoint he has despatched to Rome, Berlin, New York and London a memorandum signed by himself, George Bratianu and Nicholas Jorga, who share his views, and by a number of leading Rumanian politicians. The memorandum was not signed by Alex. Vaida-Voivod, K. C., who gave as the reason for his refusal to sign it the explanation that he did not wish to take part in a movement inaugurated without the knowledge of the King and the Government. This attitude of Alex. Vaida-Voivod's seems to confirm the rumour that Maniu's movement *is also directed against the King*. For the rest Vaida-Voivod in a letter to the King urges military resistance, and begs His Majesty not to yield an inch of Transylvanian soil to Hungary.

On one point Vaida-Voivod and Maniu were in agreement; namely *that a meeting should be convened in Kolozsvár to discuss the question of autonomy for Transylvania*. At the last moment that meeting was forbidden by the High Military Command.

One phase of the Rumanian Government's double-dealing is that, while professing friendship for the Axis Powers, it allows a coterie of old Rumanian politicians to pursue a

policy hostile to Germany and Italy. At the beginning they realized that the time to yield had come; but those August pamphlets were distributed in Bucharest with the slogan: "Rumania's real friends are the Allies and not Germany." The text of this pamphlet was also published in the newspapers, no objections being raised by the censor. In point of fact a member of the Government, M. Strat, State Secretary for National Economy, delivered a speech in Kolozsvár in which, amongst other things, he declared that the Rumanian people had acquiesced in the loss of Bessarabia in order that they might be able to retain possession of Transylvania. "We shall never under any circumstances surrender our rights" — said M. Strat.

Besides this, reports that the Rumanians are inciting the population of Transylvania against Hungary have been received. It would appear that in their hatred of Hungary the Rumanians do not see, or do not want to see, the actual situation clearly. Added to the fulminations of the Rumanian Press, the authorities in Transylvania are introducing anti-Hungarian measures. In Temesvár and Arad a ban has been placed on the listening-in to any programme (even to music) from Budapest. In the town of Szalonta nobody may walk about the streets at night-time. All the Szeklers living in Temesvár have been ordered to leave the town. No steps are being taken by the Government to put a stop to Communist organization in Kolozsvár, which is spreading fast day by day, chiefly among the workmen employed by the Railways, the Post Office and other State undertakings, or to prevent numerous Communists from obtaining possession of fire-arms.

Worthy of mention in the welter of confusion characterizing Rumania's internal policy is the pamphlet published by M. George Tatarescu, former Prime Minister, in connection with the Soviet ultimatum. This pamphlet, which gives an account of what happened at the time, has raised a great storm in the Rumanian Press. In a virulent attack against it M. Pamfil Seicaru, editor-in-chief of "Curentul", declared that Tatarescu was not willing to wait for history to justify him, but had hastened to excuse himself, well knowing that he would be called to account. In another article "Curentul" urged that those politicians whose

behaviour was not compatible with the interests of the State, should be brought to book.

The people are given information about *the repeated disappointments suffered by Rumanian Government circles*. The first disappointment was that the Axis Powers did not postpone the solution of the problem of South-Eastern Europe until the war was over. M. Gafencu, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, was recently appointed Rumanian Minister to Moscow, which shows Rumania's desire for a *rapprochement* with Russia. Britain's behaviour has touched Rumania to the quick. For when the Rumanians expropriated the British oil shares, Britain replied by confiscating Rumanian ships. Then at the end of July the British Minister in Bucharest handed an extremely sharp diplomatic Note to the Rumanian Government. In this Note Great Britain energetically protested against the Rumanian measures, which gravely affected British interests, and as a possible reprisal, mentioned the restriction of Rumanian financial operations, or a complete financial boycott, perhaps a complete blockade. Another sign that relations between Rumania and Great Britain are thoroughly bad is that when M. Viorel Tilea, Rumanian Minister in London, was recalled because of his pro-British and anti-German sympathies, and M. Stoica was appointed in his place, the latter's appointment was not accepted in London, so that M. Stoica cannot represent King Carol at the British Court. For the rest, Rumania's behaviour is described in London as being in keeping with the traditional Rumanian spirit of opportunism which is always ready to side with whichever legions happen to be the stronger. It is said that the following opinion has been heard of Rumania: "Rumania is not a nationality, it is a business."

The crown of Rumania's double-dealing is the loathsome way she flatters Germany. The Rumanian Press declares that friendship with Germany must be maintained even at the price of sacrifices, and that the need for these sacrifices must be understood. Then again the Administration endeavours to create a breach between the Magyars and the Germans of Rumania. This is borne out by statements made by the local management of the Kolozsvár branch of the German Racial Community in Rumania and by the German

Consul in Nagyvárad, statements which have been published in the Hungarian Press. On the other hand concessions are granted to the Germans of Rumania, which, however, are obviously merely intended to make a good impression in foreign countries, especially in Germany. Here mention must be made of the address given on 15th August by M. Nichifor Crainic, Rumanian Propaganda Minister, before the local branch of the German-Rumanian Cultural Society in Brassó. Writing of that address the "Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tageblatt" of 17th August says: "No Rumanian Minister has ever spoken to a racial group in this way about the cultural tasks of the State and the co-operation to be established." To crown all, in a speech made at the banquet following his address M. Crainic declared that for his part he did not regard the Germans of Rumania as a minority. He considered the expression "minority" an insult, as it merely denoted quantity.

Even the German Press in Rumania feels that such gestures as M. Crainic's are made to impress foreign countries. The "Arader Zeitung", for instance, writing of the proposed establishment of a German university in Temesvár, says: "If the leaders of the State, in view of changed conditions in Europe, wish to devote more attention to our racial group here in this country, let them first of all grant us our most elementary rights. Not, however, by establishing a German university. For the present we do not require one, or a German Minister either, although it would be very useful for propaganda purposes. Instead of a university, we shall be content to be given a hundred each of German teachers, village notaries, tax collectors, district medical officers, postmasters, postmen, etc. for the villages where those posts have been taken from the Germans during the past twenty years."

These were the events that led up to the great political change which began with the abdication of King Charles and the coming into power of General Antonescu following the resignation of M. Gigurtu.

"TRANSYLVANIA"

BY

JOHN ERDELYI

One of the leading Hungarian societies of Hungary, the *Hungarian Historical Society*, has just published a volume entitled "*Transylvania*" containing very weighty material. In this exceptionally valuable book, which is objective and presents irrefutable data in a brilliant style, eminent authorities playing leading roles in the scientific life of Hungary contribute papers proving the fact that Transylvania has always been an inseparable part of Hungary and demonstrating the indisputable right of the Hungarian people to the possession of that country.

The book points out that when after crossing the steppes of present-day South Russia they reached the territory of present-day Hungary, the Magyars did not find any firmly established State in this territory. Therefore, *when the Magyar people founded its State — the first of the kind to be established in this territory — it was fulfilling a historical mission.* The establishment of this State in the indivisible Basin encircled by natural frontiers was effected in keeping with the dictates of natural laws. *Transylvania became a natural outpost of the united country — and at the same time a natural bulwark of European civilisation too — at the gateway of the East, where there were not as yet any fully developed countries, merely rival savage tribes and peoples whose inroads threatened the peace and Christian culture of Western Europe.* It was this state of things that developed the role of Hungary and her eastern outpost as a bulwark of defence protecting Europe into a historical mission. And this mission was fulfilled during centuries of bloody struggles — right down to the Treaty of Trianon — with splendid heroism, sagacity and unexampled self-sacrifice.

The role of Transylvania was to guard the gateway of the West against the East. It however also included the work

of maintaining the Western character of the peoples living in this territory and of conferring the blessings of Western civilisation on those of these peoples which had not yet adopted Occidental culture.

The Hungarian (Magyar) character of Transylvania is proved by a paper in this book showing that *the name of Transylvania (Erdély) itself is Magyar, the Rumanians having borrowed that word when Rumanianising the name of Transylvania and calling that province — Ardeal*. Professor Knizsa proves that most of the geographical and place-names in Transylvania are Magyar. We find also Old Slav and Saxon names; but *there is not a single place-name of Rumanian origin to be found in the whole province except in that region which the Rumanians describe as their most ancient place of settlement — and even here, in Hunyad County, only four placenames of Rumanian origin exist*. This is also irrefutable evidence that Transylvania as a country owes its origin to the Magyars, the Rumanians not having begun to filter into this province until Transylvania had been completely civilised and organised into a State by the Magyars and by the Saxons settled there in small numbers by the Magyars.

The map showing the art memorials drafted by *Professor Gerevich* proves indisputably that as shown by the style expressed in the art memorials of *Transylvania* the art of that country forms an inseparable, integral part of the creative genius of the Magyar people. In this field there are no traces of any contrasting manifestations of the Rumanian genius; *for there is not a single Rumanian art memorial in Transylvania. — for all the world as if the Magyar artistic genius had in that country branched off into a separate Transylvanian artistic genius*.

The book proves also that *it was not until long after the establishment and consolidation of the Magyar State that Rumanians began sporadically to filter into Transylvania*, withdrawing to the mountain pasturelands whence later on they descended in tiny, sporadic groups into the valleys.

Present-day Rumania, as contrasted with the pre-Trianon Hungary forming a perfect unit surrounded with perfect geographical frontiers, might be termed a centripetal country. For the bulwark of the Carpathians forms a mighty

dividing wall, not only *because the ring of mountains is broken only by ten steep passes, only half of these passes opening on more important roads leading to the two parts of Rumania, — not only because there are only four railway lines crossing them, — but also because Transylvania differs entirely from Rumania in character, culture, way of thinking and manners. And the dividing ring is so rigid and unmovable that it practically defies, even in these days of aeroplanes and other rapid means of communication, every attempt to overcome the obstacles which it presents.*

Decisive evidence as to the inseparability of Transylvania and Hungary is offered also by the statistical data contained in the book. For nine years the Rumanians deferred the publication of the figures of the 1930 Census relating to Transylvania; not until the lapse of that period did they venture to attempt to employ the daring subtleties of modern statistics in an endeavour to prove the Rumanian character of Transylvania. *Aloysius Kovács*, Director of the *Hungarian Bureau of Statistics*, has ingeniously refuted the Rumanian forgeries. At the same time he shows the forcible means employed by the Rumanians in their endeavour to disguise the Magyar character of Transylvania. But even the cunning of the Rumanians failed to spirit away the Magyar majorities of the towns of that province. Comparative maps and statements throw into sharp relief the lying methods of Rumanian statistics.

We would in conclusion refer to the most valuable material contained in this book — *that contributed by Count Paul Teleki, Prime Minister of Hungary, — what is practically the leading motif of the whole work, acting like the baton of a conductor to lead the whole powerful and harmoniously co-operating orchestra; creating the impression of the work of a judge directing the whole course of a trial, his summing-up being reflected also in the verdict. Special mention must be made of Teleki's superb map showing the changes in the political frontiers of Europe in a very striking manner. Teleki has marked on a single map the frontier-changes of ten centuries, the thickness of the frontier lines varying in proportion to the length of the period during which it remained unchanged. We see then that the thickest frontier-line in*

South-Eastern Europe is that surrounding Hungary, showing that the frontiers of that country — the Carpathian ridge, the Danube and the Western boundary-line — remained unchanged for ten centuries. They served as permanent frontiers like the chain of the Pyrenees in the South-West of Europe. Most countries are intersected by a whole mosaic-like network of narrow lines in many cases thin and fine as hairs showing how frequently and how multifariously the winds of history have blown hither and thither the frontiers which are much less supported by the laws of geography and can therefore be much more easily shifted. The time-proof character of the Hungarian frontiers is shown beyond dispute by this map as contrasted with those frontiers which have been continually shifted like scenery backwards and forwards, from right to left and from left to right, by the storms of history.

This magnificent work, which was compiled within the short period of a month, offers many-sided, indisputable and objectively scientific evidence of the justice of Hungary's cause and of the truth of the claim that Transylvania has always been Magyar and must remain eternally Magyar by the unchanging laws of history, geography and ethnography and by the postulates of economic interests and of culture, as well as in the interests of European peace and development and to ensure the self-defence and balance of power of our Continent.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD IN SLOVAKIA

BY

LOUIS JOCSIK

It is an old political truth that the smaller a State, the better schooled in politics must its leaders be, in order to ensure freedom from upheavals. But where is a State born but yesterday to find leaders well-drilled in high politics? In Slovakia — if in that country we can speak at all of the abilities of her politicians — what complicates the situation is that there is no unity to be found in their conception of how the political life of the State should be shaped. In consequence of the growth and consolidation of Germany's influence in Europe, it was in point of fact *with the support of the Reich* that the new State came into being. But if we examine its brief life so far, we see that *the leading political groups had to be changed one after another before the Slovaks could find their proper form of existence in the new Central Europe*. First of all *Beneš's* disciples and political adherents, the Francophile Czecho-Slovak Centralists, had to be removed from political and public life. It is, however, interesting that the Czecho-Slovaks, whose behaviour was a classical example of *Beneš's* tactics, so overran political life that even now, *in the August of 1940, the Slovaks are inconvenienced with the task of purging it of them*. On 4th August the "*Grenzbote*" wrote that *Beneš's* disciples and those whom political activity has enriched, are to be excluded from political life. This work is in process at present, so that it is not yet possible to publish a list of the names of *Beneš's* disciples and the others.

We have still a vivid recollection of the visit of Alexander Mach, Slovak Propaganda Minister, to Germany in the spring of this year. During his stay there he lost no opportunity of declaring that practically from the very beginnings of their ancient history the Slovaks had entertained feelings of friendship for Germany, to which they had given expres-

sion times innumerable during the past centuries. The Slovak Propaganda Minister loudly asserted that Slovak public life and Slovakia's present policy was imbued with this friendship for Germany, which had determined every single phase thereof. After this *it seemed strange that Alexander Mach should be compelled to retire from politics, even if only for a short time.* He was even made to resign his command of the Hlinka Guards. Nobody could understand the trend of events, *especially when signs of pro-Soviet sympathies began to be observable in official Slovak circles.* A few months later another interesting event took place: *Alexander Mach returned to politics and with the removal of Durchansky, Slovak Minister of Home and Foreign Affairs, the political group that had caused Mach's downfall disappeared from political life.* Slovak public life and politics had been shaped by clique interests, and the foreign policy of the various cliques was determined by personal considerations and personal ambitions. These cliques were pro-German and pro-Soviet by turns, according to how much real or potential support against their rivals those Powers might be expected to afford.

A very interesting and suggestive commentary on these events has been published in the official organ of the Germans of Slovakia, the "Grenzbote". Its issue of 30th July contained inter alia the following passage: — "A Slovak group which considers itself very wise has made an attempt *to do violence to the real spirit of the Slovak nation and to lead it into political bye-paths. This clique imagined that it could follow its own ideas. It ran after impossible political conceptions and fatuously believed that it would be able to make Slovakia the navel of Europe, or as later they expressed it 'the political axle-tree of our Continent'.* These men must now disappear once for all, for our statesmen recognize that that path leads to ruin. Dr. Tiso, President of the Republic, Dr. Tuka, Slovak Premier, and M. Alexander Mach, Minister of the Interior, have promised the Führer and the Government of the Reich that political adventurers, their associates and tempters, will be suppressed once for all."

But those who have a first-hand knowledge of Slovak

politics know well that the suppression once for all of political adventurers, their associates and tempters desired by the "Grenzbote", is impossible, for the meantime at least. For if we examine the political attitude displayed by the Slovak politicians shortly before the creation of the Republic, we shall see clearly that what Alexander Mach said during his above-mentioned stay in Germany was anything but true, for instead of every phase of Slovak political life having been inspired by pro-German or pro-Axis sympathies, there was no sign of such sympathies at all. *If we look through the back numbers of the newspapers of that period, we shall find that their leading articles and reports are as eloquent of anti-German and anti-Italian feelings (or was this their way of showing friendship?) as though all the Slovak politicians and journalists had been disciples of Beneš.* The official "Slovak" of 19th July 1935, for instance, contained a leader entitled "*Hitler has not kept his promise*". Here we shall only give a short passage from that article: — "*Germany, alas! persecutes Christians, she tramples under foot the Concordat concluded between Germany and the Vatican, and does so in order to prove clearly to the whole world that it is not Hitler's custom to keep his word*". The "Slovak" published on its front page a report set in thick type saying that in Berlin the military pilots had rebelled in the pilot school and at the aerodrome. Here, too, we shall only give a brief quotation: "*The pilots convened a mass meeting at the aerodrome at which they launched a sharp attack against Hitler and Göring. Typical of the tenor of the speeches were the following expressions. 'We want a proper Air Minister, not a clothes-rack.'* (They call Göring a clothes-rack because he is always changing his clothes and covers himself with decorations.) and '*Hitler is not Germany!*' Police forces were sent to quell the mutiny. They were fired upon by the mutineers."

So much for the traditional friendship of the Slovaks for Germany. Enough anti-German and anti-Italian statements of a similar nature to fill a thick volume might be collected from the official organs of the Hlinka Party and the present Government. But it is not only anonymous reporters and writers of leading articles modestly hiding their

identity behind their initials that have attacked Germany and Italy; present-day Slovakia's leading politicians have also made a display of their enmity against those Powers. A striking example thereof is afforded by an article entitled "Bleeding frontiers" which appeared in the "Slovak" of 31st July 1935 from the pen of Charles Sidor, who at present represents Slovakia at the Vatican. In that article we read: *"Warm human blood is flowing in Abyssinia. In the last skirmish 40 Italians and 20 Abyssinians were killed. Human blood is being shed already, despite the fact that Italian military experts have decided that war is not to begin before September. By that month, namely, the rains will have ceased and the hot weather will be over, and it will be easier to fight and shed blood — the Italians for their country, the Abyssinians for their liberty.*

"But swords and sabres are being brandished in other places as well. To the credit of those concerned be it said that no blood is being spilt. In Gdynia and Sopoty the Germans are staging anti-Polish demonstrations. Our official Press Bureau reports that the demonstrators went about with boards covered with maps on which the Polish frontier at Gdynia was painted red and which bore the inscription 'Bleeding frontiers'." Here ended the article. For the rest of it was so biting anti-Italian and anti-German that even the Czech censor was forced to delete it. We have only the following comments to make. This is the friendly (sic!) tone with which Slovak policy has welcomed Germany's and Italy's actions. Slovakia owes her existence as an independent State to the friendly support of those two Powers. The whole world knows that she has them to thank for it. The above quotations, however, clearly show what Slovakia's policy is doing to support the policy of the two Axis Powers to whom she owes her independent existence as a State.

HUNGARIAN MINORITY COMPLAINTS AND WISHES NEVER ANSWERED

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

Dr. *Imre Várady*, the only Senator representing the 500.000 Magyars of Yugoslavia, on July 16th once more called upon Premier Tzvetkovitch and again drew the attention of the Head of Government to the grievances of the *Magyar* minority which had so often been submitted but never attended to, and to the legitimate wishes of that minority which had so repeatedly been expressed. Várady noted that the ministerial promises made on the occasion of previous *pour-parlers* had not been fulfilled and that its loyal behaviour and the equality guaranteed under the Constitution alike entitled the Magyar national minority to demand the unreserved fulfilment of the official promises made so repeatedly which had been actually made public in the Press.

Of the complaints and wishes submitted by *Várady* on the present occasion to the Prime Minister himself we would refer only to the following: the first thing brought to the notice of the Premier by Várady was the question of the Magyar Cultural Union which has been under discussion already for 21 years; the establishment of the said Union has not yet been permitted by the competent Minister, despite the fact that the Magyars living in the Banate of Croatia on March 3rd last were enabled without interference on the part of the authorities to establish the Cultural Community of the Magyars of the *Banate of Croatia* and that the *Ban of Croatia* on April 20th last already approved the Statutes of this central organisation. In this connection *Várady* noted that Stanoje Mihaldzhitch, former Minister of the Interior, who was placed on the retired list on July 18th, when approached in the matter definitely promised to grant the

permission required for the establishment of the Union, but that he too then entirely forgot to keep his word.

Later on Várady once more spoke of the Ordinance for the restriction of real estate dealings issued on February 24th, 1938, by *Milan Simonovitch*, then Minister for Justice, in agreement with the Ministers for War and Agriculture, which made it practically impossible for minority citizens (*in particular for Magyars and Germans*) to acquire real estate and in many cases even the lease of agrarian land. The Ministry for Justice had indeed last February — after repeated interventions on the part of the leaders of the Magyar and German minorities — issued certain instructions containing abatements; but the commissions functioning in the territory of the *Woywodeship (Voivodina)*, which comprised solely Serb and other Yugoslav Members, were not putting these instructions into practice and were continuing in this matter action running counter to the interests and constitutional rights of citizens belonging to minorities. Then Várady went on to report that in connection with the enrolment of school pupils the educational authorities failed to give effect to Ordinance No. 26.323 issued on May 15th by the former Minister of Education, M. Bozho Maximovitch, which was dealt with in our August number, continuing as previously to enforce the notorious "name analysis" system for the purposes of preventing the children of parents whose names the authorities considered as not purely Magyar but who themselves professed to being Magyars, from attending Hungarian schools. When questioned in the matter, all these educational authorities answer is simply that they have not received from their superior authorities the instructions or ordinance to which the parents refer; or they demand the procural of all kinds of papers and make the parents write applications that have to be provided with expensive stamps, by the aid of these and similar measures making it difficult or even impossible for hundreds of Magyar children to enter the so-called "parallel sections" of schools in which Magyar is at least in part the language of instruction.

In addition Várady described to the Prime Minister in detail the educational situation of the Magyar minority, referring among other things to the anomaly that in the so-

called "*Magyar section*" of the Zenta State grammar school altogether 2 and in the so-called "*Magyar section*" of the Szabadka (Subotica) State Modern School only 3 Magyar teachers were employed, whereas there were sufficient numbers of fully qualified teachers of Magyar nationality available, "*these teachers being however prematurely pensioned off or scattered at random all over the country among the Serb secondary schools*". By way of supplementing Várady's data we would note that according to the authentic figures published in the Report of the "*Cultural Union of Magyar University Students*" issued this July, 10 Magyar students of the Zagreb Faculty of Arts and 10 Magyar students of the Belgrade Faculty of Arts have acquired teacher's certificates since 1924, and would therefore have been primarily entitled to appointment to the allegedly "*Magyar*" sections of the two schools referred to above, in which "*Magyar sections*", however, usually only religion and the Hungarian language and literature are taught in Hungarian. This same Report tells us also that during the last academic year the Zagreb Faculty of Arts had 8 and the Belgrade Faculty of Arts 10 Magyar students — a number sufficient to ensure the necessary reserve of teachers even if the Magyar minority were by the principle of equality of rights given the same treatment as that meted out to the German minority in Yugoslavia, which an Ordinance issued on August 23rd by M. Koroshetz, Minister of Education, has empowered to develop the German lower-grade grammar school at Uj-Verbász into an eight-class high-grade grammar school and to establish a lower-grade grammar school at *Apatin* and an eight-class high-grade grammar school at Belgrade. These three German secondary schools will be maintained out of the Educational Fund of the German ethnic community; and that will probably be the case also with the new German "*real-gymnasium*" (*combination of classical and modern school*) to be established at Zagreb early in the new school-year: that will increase the number of German secondary schools in Yugoslavia to four.

Premier *Tzvetkovitch* listened with great interest and with concentrated attention to the material put before him by Senator Várady with reference to the above questions and

also to several important social and economic problems with which the Magyar minority has to contend, and promised the immediate redress of the grievances and a favourable answer in respect of the wishes put forward by the Magyar minority.

Várady then, accompanied by *Leo Deák*, former Member of the Provincial Diet, called on the Minister for Communications, *M. Beschlitz*, who has been entrusted with the administration of the affairs of the Waywodeship, whom he requested, not only to support him in connection with the matters referred to above, but also to re-transfer the Magyar teachers from the districts inhabited by Serbs and Croats to the Magyar language areas, to approve without delay the Statutes of the Magyar cultural associations, to permit the establishment of an independent private secondary school under Hungarian management and to agree to the opening of new parallel elementary school sections with Magyar as the language of instruction in all places in which a request to that effect was submitted. As on so many previous occasions, Minister *Beschlitz* on the present occasion too promised to fulfil the requests submitted to him with the least possible delay. So far, however, — i. e. down to the beginning of the new school-year — *the only part of the Minister's promises to be really fulfilled* is that under an Ordinance issued by *M. Koroshetz*, Minister of Education, in the parallel Magyar section included in the Belgrade State Teachers' Training College there is to be opened in the new school-year too the first class, for enrolment in which more than 60 persons have already applied, the same *Minister Koroshetz* having also made it possible — as against the provisions of the School Acts — for the admission to the parallel Magyar section of the *Szabadka (Subotica)* high-grade „*realgymnasium*“ of pupils whose mother tongue is Hungarian and who have so far attended secondary schools in which the language of instruction is Serbian. When the other promises are likely to be fulfilled, is a matter which for the present remains a dark secret.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

SITUATION OF MAGYARS IN OLD RUMANIA

In *pre-Trianon Rumania* — known generally as the "Regat" — there are roughly a quarter of a million *Magyars*. Their situation is the worst conceivable; there is not a single branch of religious, intellectual, economic, administrative, legislative or juridical life in which they are not subjected to disadvantages and chicanery. It must be taken as a result of the traditional intolerance of the Rumanians that flourishing Magyar industrial and commercial centres — indeed, whole Magyar districts and counties — are being ruined in the "Regat". In Moldavia (between the *Sereth* and the *Pruth*) at the close of the eighteenth century one-sixth of the population was still Magyar; today the number of Magyars is only 100.000. In Muntenia there was a separate *Székler county (Sacueni)*; but by 1845 the very memory of the county had been obliterated. Of many towns originally established and inhabited by Magyars there is no trace today except in historical records. In 1783 separate Magyar reeves had to be appointed. Magyars have since then too continually poured into Old Rumania; but they have been exterminated by Rumanian intolerance, while during the same period Rumanians found a home in Hungarian territory, ensuring their cultural development by means of the spiritual impulse afforded the "Regat" by that Hungarian territory. By way of illustration we offer our readers a few data referring to the campaign of extermination carried on by the Rumanians. Of *Moldavia* the *Bosnian Bandinus* reports that "*the thoughtless Prince (Lackó), who was inclined to be cruel, becoming indignant, not only attacked the (Sereth Magyar) monastery in a paroxysm of tyranny, but assailed also the whole Catholic (Magyar) people too. After he had demolished the monastery... he had every Catholic (Magyar) church in Moldavia destroyed.*" This record — I repeat — is not taken from the work of any Hungarian suffering under the

outrage. Strikingly illustrative of conditions in Muntenia is the evidence offered by *Jorga*: "*Prince Serban Cantacuzino had the town constable of Campolung dismissed for clinging to his Catholic (Magyar) faith*" ("*Cronicele Muntene*").

The situation of the Magyars today is no better; indeed, the injustice of that situation is even greater, seeing that at present the rights of nationalities (*here, the non-Rumanian minorities*) are guaranteed by international agreements, while Hungary has granted the Rumanians living in her territory every right; and we must not forget that Rumania keeps continually stressing that the situation of the minorities living in that country is satisfactory.

The Magyars — 250.000 souls — have not had even a single representative in Parliament, though they are living in a compact mass in a territory where they form 80% of the population; and under the present one-party system they are not represented at all either in the Central Committee or in the local organisation. The situation is the same in respect of the county and parish selfgoverning bodies. They are not allowed to have any religious, political or social organisations of their own. Persons endeavouring to effect any organisation are expelled from the territory. Apart from a single denominational school in Bucharest they have no schools at all; and that school may be attended by only 250 pupils — roughly one tenth of the number of Magyar children of schooling age in *Bucharest*. The 200.000 Members of the Catholic Church have not a single Magyar priest, only some 4 or 5 of the priests knowing any Hungarian. Only the Reformed Church has succeeded in organising in Muntenia 13 parishes; but the Rumanian State refuses to undertake to subsidise these parishes, actually leaving no stone unturned to prevent their activity. If it were in its power, the Rumanian State would place this Church too under the control of Rumanian elements, just as it has done in the case of the Catholic Church with its 200.000 Members. The religious and cultural organisations of Muntenia, which were established by public subscription prior to the Great War, were dissolved at a moment's notice. Churches, schools, cultural homes were sequestered or closed, the organisations being placed under a ban at the outbreak of the Great War and

not having since then been allowed to resume activity. The Magyars in the "Regat" are being persecuted; and if they desire to ensure their being able to earn their daily bread, they must deny their Magyar character, — though they were living in this territory before the Rumanians, even according to the testimony of Rosetti, the Rumanian historian, and established towns and cultural institutions, before the Rumanians appeared at all. At the same time the badly calumniated Hungarian State granted the Rumanians living in Hungary seats in Parliament and in the county and parish (*municipal*) representative bodies, and also autonomy, ensuring them in addition the right to have their language taught in their schools. There was a larger number of Rumanians in the service of the Hungarian public administration — so we are told by the Rumanian *Vaida-Voivod* — than there were Rumanians from Transylvania in the Rumanian public administration. The Rumanians of Hungary had 2985 public elementary and 228 secondary schools. And the number of persons serving in the public administration who professed to be Rumanians was 10.023. In addition, the two Rumanian Churches enjoyed full autonomy and received subsidies from the Hungarian State.

There is no other nationality in the world in the position of a minority exposed to oppression so severe as that under which the 250.000 Magyars of the "Regat" are suffering.

EXPROPRIATION OF PROPERTY OF "HUNGARIAN CULTURAL SOCIETY OF TRANSYLVANIA"

The oldest and only large Hungarian cultural and people's welfare society of the two million Magyars of Transylvania is the "*Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület*" (*abbr. E. M. K. E.*), which was formed half a century ago at *Kolozsvár*, then the centre of Transylvanian intellectual life. Till the beginning of the last Great War the E. M. K. E. was engaged in the establishment and maintenance of churches, schools, kindergartens, public libraries and co-operative societies. During the war all its funds went to the establishment of Red Cross institutions for the sick and wounded and for disabled soldiers, irrespective of race or of whether they were friends or foes. The E. M. K. E. was recognized as a fictitious person by the Rumanian Law

Courts, but this purely Magyar cultural society was compelled to extend its membership to non-Magyars, even to Rumanian priests and teachers — to the latter without demanding the payment of membership fees. The aim of this injunction was to obtain a Rumanian majority in the Society, whose estates were then expropriated for a song, its schools being either expropriated or closed. In this way the Rumanian State tried to make the existence of this old Hungarian cultural society impossible. *We are involuntarily impelled to draw a comparison between the treatment meted out to this Hungarian society and that accorded during the Hungarian era to the A. S. T. R. A., the great cultural society of the Rumanians of Transylvania. Before the war this society was free to carry on its activities, and there was no law compelling it to accept non-Rumanian members. After Transylvania had passed into Rumanian hands the A. S. T. R. A. received millions of lei in lieu of State grants, but the E. M. K. E. has never received a penny from the Rumanian State.*

The greatest blow to the E. M. K. E. was the "expropriation" of its estate in *Algyógy* (County Hunyad). This expropriation cannot be qualified as anything but a legal outrage perpetrated by the Rumanian State, against which the E. M. K. E. has been fighting for the past twenty years. That struggle was ended by the judgment pronounced on 22nd May of this year by the Bucharest Supreme Court of Appeal.

In 1889 a Szekler landowner of *Algyógy*, *Count Goddard Kun*, by deed of gift conveyed his estate of 1813 yokes with a two-storied mansion containing 48 rooms situated at *Algyógy*, County Hunyad, to the E. M. K. E. with the stipulation that the Society should convert the mansion into a Hungarian school of practical agriculture for Magyars (Szeklers) and maintain it as such. With the assent of the donor the E. M. K. E. made a contract with the Hungarian State, leasing the usufruct thereof to the latter for a term of 40 years. By power of attorney and on behalf of the E. M. K. E. the Hungarian State took over the management of the school of practical agriculture established on behalf of the E. M. K. E. the Hungarian State took over the E. M. K. E. from the revenue of the estate, doing so as the mandatary of the E. M. K. E. The contractual obligations undertaken by the Hungarian State would have expired on 31st December, 1930, on which date the E. M. K. E. would have recovered the usufruct of the estate with all its equipments and would have administered it itself from that time on.

Transylvania came under Rumanian rule, and on 11th March, 1919, a delegate of the Rumanian Minister of Agriculture took forcible possession of the school of agriculture on the *Algyógy* estate belonging to the E. M. K. E. From that time on the Rumanian State, ignoring the contract concluded between the E. M. K. E. and the Hungarian State, administered the

Algyógy school of agriculture. Despite the fact that the Hungarian State had not been the owner of the *Algyógy* property, the District Court at *Algyógy* conveyed it to the Rumanian State. On 25th November, 1925, the E. M. K. E. denounced its 40 years' contract concluded in 1891 with the Hungarian State, and in consequence the Rumanian State should have restored the property with all its appurtenances to the E. M. K. E. on 31st December, 1930. Meanwhile, however, came the Land Reform, in the course of which the Supreme Agrarian Committee (*Comitetul agrar*) on 13th December 1930 gave final judgment on the question and expropriated the *Algyógy* estate with all its buildings and woods. All that was left — and that merely in mockery — was the tomb of the founder, *Count Goddard Kun*, with a plot of about 800 square metres. In terms of the judgment given by the Supreme Agrarian Committee, the courts of the first instance fixed the price to be paid for this estate — *expropriated after the Land Reform had been carried out* — at 500.000 lei payable in State bonds at par, in other words, at 275 lei per yoke. For 275 lei it would not have been possible even at that date to buy a pair of trousers. The E. M. K. E. appealed against this judgment, and on the finding of an inspection conducted on the spot, the Deva Law Court on 17th February 1934, decided that State bonds of a nominal value of 3.280.173 lei should be paid as compensation for the property. This sum was raised to 4.013,273 lei by the King's Bench in a judgment given on 11th November 1937 as the result of two inspections of the property. This sum was considered too much by the State and too little by the E. M. K. E., and so both parties contested the decision before the Supreme Court of Appeal. This Court, the highest in the land, against which there is no appeal, sustained the decision of the King's Bench, fixing the sum to be paid as compensation for the property at 4.013,273 lei.

BOOKS

Dr. Andvew Fall: „Why Hungary is Entitled to Transylvania“.

An extremely interesting book was recently published by Dr. Endre Fall under the title: *“Why Hungary is Entitled to Transylvania”*. In the first place the author points out that the Paris peace treaties annexed to Rumania 103.000 sq. kilometres of Hungarian territory (31.7% of pre-war Hungary) with 5.200.000 inhabitants. This, together with Bessarabia, South Dobrudja and Bukovina, involved the annexation of 157.146 sq. kilometres of new territory by Rumania, this territory containing nearly 9 million (8.738.000) inhabitants; this amounts to an increase by 114% in territory, while the above number of inhabitants was added to Rumania's original population of roughly 7 millions (6.966.000). The population of Greater Rumania included 5 million minority inhabitants. As for Transylvania, this province has preserved its Hungarian character ever since the conquest of the country by the Magyars. Not until the twelfth century did the kings of Hungary begin to settle German colonists here, investing them with special privileges in respect of local government. The Wallachian shepherds (by which name the “Rumanians” were known until the nineteenth century) did not begin to filter into Hungary in small numbers and only sporadically from the Balkans until the tenth century; gradually their numbers increased, until they reached their pre-war figures. Their migration followed no set scheme; this explains why the Wallachians did not receive privileges similar to those of the German colonists. Nevertheless, many Wallachians were raised to the rank of nobility, in the same way as the Magyar serfs. The Wallachians belonged to the Greek Orthodox church, and only a small number adopted the Greek Catholic faith.

The Hungarian war of independence of 1848 granted equal rights and complete liberty to the Magyar serfs and to all non-Magyar nationalities, including — of course — the Wallachians. Act LIV of 1868 incorporated the rights of the minorities, including those of the Rumanian churches.

It is evident, therefore, that the Rumanians cannot lay any historical claim to Transylvania. The theory of what is called “Daco-Roman continuity” is both false and unscientific. It has been proved that the ancestors of the Rumanians (Wallachians) migrated from the Serbo-Albanian coast to Thessaly and then

to Macedonia, where the Greeks called them "*blacchos, vlacchos*" (meaning "peasant"; hence their former name "Wlach", "Wallachian"). After this the wandering tribe lived in the neighbourhood of the Bulgarians; from here they wandered into their present kingdom, whence a number of small groups penetrated into the neighbouring province of Transylvania. The waywodeships of Moldavia and Wallachia were created by the kings of Hungary, who intended them to act as marches (military frontier districts), so that these two provinces — the union of which in 1861 led to the creation of the Principality of Rumania and subsequently, in 1881, by decision of the Berlin Congress, to the foundation of the Kingdom of Rumania — really owe their existence to the kings of Hungary.

On geopolitical grounds, too, Hungary alone has a rightful claim to Transylvania. The Carpathian mountains are so inseparably united with the Danube Basin encircled by them that peoples inhabiting the latter also form a similarly indivisible unit. The same fact is proved by the inseparable water system of this area. The forests and mines of the mountains form a firm link with the granary of the Great Plain; they weld the provinces of the thousand-year-old Hungarian Kingdom into an unbreakable economic unit. On the other hand, the Carpathian mountains separate Old Rumania from Transylvania, their respective water systems and economic interests remain counter to one another.

The distribution of its population, too, binds Transylvania to Hungary. The river valleys and the municipal centres in Transylvania are inhabited by Magyars, and the Eastern counties (the "Sicilian area") are likewise inhabited by Magyar Szeklers; this area extends over 18.768 sq. kilometres (over one third of Transylvania) and the Rumanians form only one fourth of the population here. The Saxon element forms small but compact groups, whereas the Rumanians — even in the counties where they live in large numbers — are mixed with other national elements, mainly Magyars. The intellectual superiority of the Magyar people may be seen from the fact that even the Rumanian official statistics admit that the large towns of Transylvania (Nagyvárad, Arad, Kolozsvár, Szatmár, Marosvásárhely, etc.) have an absolute Magyar majority, while the others with one exception show a relative Magyar majority.

The strategic importance of the Carpathians is extremely great. With the help of this chain of mountains Hungary possessed a stronger natural bulwark than the Maginot line throughout her history of a thousand years; and it enabled Hungary to defend herself and — at the cost of enormous sacrifices — Western Europe against the danger of Pan-Islamism and then against that of Pan-Slavism, thus securing the balance of power in Europe. It is, therefore, extremely important for the whole of

Europe that the Hungarian people should again be allowed to guard the Carpathians as it did during a thousand years.

Rumania has deprived her minorities of their rights, of their means of livelihood; the Land Reform deprived them of their land, while the various regulations deprived them of the possibility of earning a living by finding work in economic life, as we showed in our last number. On the other hand, the Hungarian régime fostered their economic interests and promoted the well-being of the population in general, irrespectively of nationality. The Hungarian régime endowed the Rumanian churches with large estates and other property. The Rumanian and Saxon banks in Transylvania were allowed to allot former Hungarian estates to their racial kinsmen even at the cost of the interests of the Magyar element and to increase the wealth of their people at an unprecedented rate. Twenty years of Rumanian rule have proved enough to arrest this natural development of economic life and to reduce the population to a state of destitution.

The author then quotes a number of foreign authorities describing the Rumanians as immoral, uncivilized and savage hordes; he even quotes certain Rumanian authorities censuring the appalling corruption now raging in Rumania. As against this picture, the author points out that the Hungarian Princes of Transylvania and the kings of Hungary founded the first Rumanian printing presses, published the first Rumanian religious books and inspired the first beginnings of the development of Rumanian literature; they were also responsible for replacing the Slav liturgy by the Rumanian national liturgy. As we have seen, they endowed, the Rumanians with complete equality of rights by means of the Acts of 1848 and 1868; they also gave considerable grants to the Rumanian churches and schools; the teaching of the Rumanian language was allowed freely in these schools, and the heads of the Rumanian churches were invested with high secular functions. On the other hand, the whole world knows the machinations whereby the Rumanians continued the unceasing persecution of their minorities, — how they deprived them of their right to the Hungarian language, of their schools, of their church privileges, and how they went on Rumanianising their minorities after turning them out of their estates.

Anyone who peruses Dr. Fall's highly interesting book will be conscious of the fact that Hungary alone has any real claim to Transylvania, not to mention the purely Magyar frontier district on the Rumanian side of the new frontiers.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

FAVOURABLE RESULTS SHOWN IN THIS HALF-YEAR'S BALANCE-SHEET OF HUNGARIAN BANKS

The "*Budapesti Közlöny*", the Hungarian official gazette, has (August 18th, 1940) published the first half-year's balance-sheets of seventeen leading *Budapest* banks. *The balance-sheets show that these banks have achieved very favourable results in the past six months*; the aggregate amount of their balance-sheets is 2520.4 million pengő, as against 2243.2 millions at the same period last year; the increase being thus 277.2 million pengő, i. e. 12.4%. Of importance is the fact that the amount of short-term credits and bills of exchange has risen to 1391.1 million pengő, as against 1252.7 million, the increase since last year being 138.4 millions.

The increase is still more remarkable under the heads of securities and interest: 440.6 million pengő, as against 293.4 millions last year; thus the increase amounts to 147.1 millions, i. e. 50.2%. *This surprising rate of increase is due to the fact that the leading banks of Hungary have participated very largely in State issues and loans issued by the city of Budapest.*

The amount of savings deposits in the balance-sheets is 508.6 million pengő, a slight decrease as against the amount of 518.4 millions on June 30th, 1939; on the other hand, the total amount deposited on current account shows an increase from last year's 753 million to 804.6 millions, the increase being 6.4%. *To sum up, we may note that this half-year's balance-sheet of the seventeen banks shows very good results, and we may add that the other — smaller — banks in Hungary have achieved similarly favourable results in the last six months.*

RUMANIA

RUMANIA'S PETROLEUM POLICY

Rumania's petroleum export trade has always been closely connected with *Rumania's* foreign policy. That country has always endeavoured to trick the opposing Great Powers, to play them off against one another and then, when the time seemed ripe, to join the victorious Party. It has also put its petroleum output at the service of that policy. It has taken good care to prevent the formation of any important Rumanian undertaking and has preferred to see foreign capital directing the production of Rumanian petroleum. This is of peculiar significance today, when petroleum has come to play a decisive role, in times of peace

in economic life, and in wartime alike on the battlefield and in economic life.

Already prior to the Great War, in 1907, 62% of the Rumanian production of petroleum was in the hands of *German* capital. After the *Great War* Germany was deprived (*without any compensation being paid her*) of her investments in the petroleum industry of *Rumania*, 52% of the productive capital being transferred to *British* and *French* holders with a similar intention — that, namely, of taking away from Britain too when the time was ripe the capital that had been invested. In the meantime efforts were to be made to incite the Great Powers against one another in the field of petroleum production.

The British and French capitalists became aware of the game that was being played and recently showed no particular desire to invest considerable sums, particularly seeing that even according to the optimistic computations of Rumanians the Rumanian wells will in 10 or 20 years become exhausted. This situation was extremely disagreeable to Germany, for as a consequence of the blockade warfare with which the new Great War opened she was made dependent upon the supply of Rumanian petroleum. And in any case, in recent years both Britain and France had reduced the quantities of petroleum imported from Rumania; for they were able to procure that material from other sources far more easily; whereas Germany had continually increased the quantities of petroleum procured from Rumania. This process may be seen clearly from the following table:

	1937	1938	1939
<i>Rumanian Exports to</i>			
	(<i>quantities in tons</i>)		
<i>Germany (inclusive of Czecho-Slovakia)</i>	881.100	999.200	1,285.200
<i>Great Britain</i>	1,229.906	926.200	748.900
<i>France</i>	968.800	486.600	400.500
<i>Italy</i>	583.100	560.500	636.800

This situation — which we might characterise as a situation of natural conjunctures — was cleverly exploited by the "see-saw" policy pursued by *Rumania* for the purpose of enhancing the tension between the *Great Powers*. By her management of her petroleum production *Rumania* endeavoured to prevail upon the *British* and *French* undertakings to produce for Germany, while at the same time she granted *Germany* far-reaching concessions for the boring of new wells, a procedure regarded by *Great Britain* and *France* as prejudicial to their interests. *Rumania* however did everything in her power to prevent the petroleum to be delivered to Germany reaching that country, very cleverly making it appear as if the difficulties impeding the delivery were due to *Great Britain* and *France*. And she would have done just the opposite, had there been any possibility of doing so.

Rumania scrambled at the opportunity presented by the complete defeat of France and the elimination of British influence in South-Eastern Europe and expropriated (*without offering any compensation*) the British and French capital invested in her petroleum industry. That is how the game went. That was exactly what *Rumania* did with Germany after the first *Great War*; and there can be no doubt that she would be just as ready to overreach Germany — if opportunity offered — as she has been to trick *Great Britain* and *France* now.

SLOVAKIA

SLOVAKIA'S "WHEAT"

Martin Razus, a Slovak poet, has called wood the "wheat" of Slovakia. He meant that wood has just the same importance for the Slovaks as wheat has for Hungarian farmers. Indeed, Slovakia's wood industry is the basic industry of that young State. The existence of the young State depends mainly on how far it will be able to develop its wood production, i. e. its basic industry. According to official statistics the total forest area of Slovakia amounts to 1.440.353 hectares, more than half of which is managed by the State. Leaders of Slovakia's economic life propose to raise the country's wood production to 5 million cubic metres a year. It will be interesting to point out that the old Slovakia (in Czechoslovakia) reserved 12.355 hectares a year for cutting; this was before the restoration of certain Northern Hungarian territories. The total amount of wood produced in this area was 2.790.791 cubic metres. At present the forest area of Slovakia is 16.000 hectares less than before: out of this present area 17.000 hectares are reserved for annual cutting, that being 5.000 hectares more than during the Czech régime. The Slovak experts reproached the Czechs for having introduced a predatory system of exploitation in the forests of Slovakia. If, however, the Slovaks themselves intend to produce 80% more wood from their forests now when the forest area is 16.000 hectares smaller than it used to be, it is evident that this object can only be achieved by intensifying this Czech predatory system of exploitation. Slovakia's situation is such that she can only offer wood and timber goods in exchange for those commodities which she needs for her economic life and for supplying the wants of her population. This fact, again, urges the Slovak Government to increase the extent of the annual cutting area. From all parts of the country applications are continually being filed asking for an increased cutting area. The wood-producers of Slovakia have the example of Bohemia and Moravia before them, where the cutting area has been increased by 150%.

Slovakia's wood exports in 1939 may be seen from the following records:

POLITICAL ECONOMY

<i>Purchasing States:</i>	cub. m.	E x p o r t s	
		Slov. crowns	%
<i>Protectorate</i>	1.003.413	254.518.000	53.44
<i>Germany</i>	551.983	144.306.000	30.30
<i>Holland</i>	101.851	31.447.000	6.60
<i>Hungary</i>	175.099	26.661.000	5.60
<i>Great Britain</i>	23.594	7.056.000	1.48
<i>Palestine</i>	20.629	6.566.000	1.37
<i>Italy</i>	2.092	1.017.000	0.21
<i>Switzerland</i>	1.272	566.000	0.12
<i>Other States</i>	12.849	4.109.000	0.88
<i>Total:</i>	1.892.782	476.246.000	100.00

The total value of Slovakia's wood output — it appears — in 1939 amounted to about 500 million crowns. The above list shows that the protectorate is Slovakia's most active customer; it buys over 50% of her wood, representing a value of 254.518.000 crowns. But Slovakia's wood industry is seriously jeopardized by the fact that the Protectorate is unable to pay its debt of 493 million crowns, a higher sum than the total value of Slovakia's annual exports. M. Friedrich, the economic expert of the daily "Slovak", states that wood alone figures with 101.700.000 crowns on the list of debts of the Protectorate recorded to the end of last year. In this connection M. Friedrich makes the following observation: "If the clearing debt is to increase at this rate, it means that anyone who exports wood from Slovakia to the Protectorate will not see his money until a year later. Yet, it must be remembered that our wood-merchants have at their disposal only a very limited capital. This circumstance compels people to transact business indirectly, from hand to hand, in order to secure their mobile capital. It is easy to imagine what it would mean to our wood industry, and to our economic life in general, if we could invest our blocked millions immediately. Nor have our banks adequate capital available. Sooner or later it will be impossible to export to the Protectorate. For this reason our wood-merchants are compelled to sell wood to the Protectorate only if 50 per cent. of the purchase price is paid at once." This, then, is the actual position of Slovakia's wood export trade. Its actual importance must therefore be reduced far below what it appears to be on paper. At present the blocked accounts of Slovakia amount to nearly 100 million crowns, i. e. as much as the total value of Slovakia's wood and timber exports.

Sometimes it happens that a Slovak economist, forgetting all about his hatred of Hungary, commits himself to an open confession of the present troubles. Thus M. Kriska, engineer, wrote as follows in the "Slovak" on February 24th, 1940: "Until

1919 Slovakia's forest cultivation was favourably complemented by the Hungarian Lowlands. What timber the Slovaks could not use for their own purposes was carried down the rivers towards the South. Only a negligible amount of the Slovak timber went west. During the Czechoslovak régime most of the Slovak wood was bought by Hungary; but it was impossible then to develop the same system of interchange as before the Great War. Since the territorial changes in 1938 most of the Slovak wood goes to the West; but here the demands of the market are quite different from what they were in Hungary. The States of the West are not able to replace the Hungarian market, particularly in respect of Slovakia's surplus in fire-wood."

This is a clear and decisive recognition of the fact that the Danube Basin within the Carpathians formed a well-balanced economic unit before 1918 and would do so even to-day if only certain hot-headed Slovak nationalists had the courage to take into account the natural force of gravitation exercised by this wonderful economic unit.

YUGOSLAVIA

AMOUNT OF YUGOSLAVIA'S 1940/41 BUDGET EXCEEDS THAT OF PRECEDING YEAR BY 2.381 MILLION DINARS

M. Sutej, Minister for Finance, July broadcast an address on the official authorization for the last eight months of the 1940/41 budget which has been granted by the Cabinet Council. In the absence of Parliament — and according to provisions of the Constitution — the Government asked for appropriations, first for the quarter April to June, and now from August 1st to March 31st next year. The total amount of expenditure for the next budgetary year is estimated at 14.708 million dinars, as against 12.327 millions in the preceding year. The amount of expenditure for the whole year is, therefore, estimated at 2.381 million dinars more than last year. This surplus amount is divided as follows: 943.1 million dinars (i. e. 40%), serve to cover the surplus expenditure of the army, 391.1 million dinars (16.3%) to pay the debts of the State, 262.6 millions (11.4%) to increase pensions and annuities, while another 15—16% are to be used to cover the costs of the Ministry of Transport. The remaining 18% of the surplus amount is to be divided among the other ministries. The surplus expenditure has caused a considerable rise in several categories of taxes and dues. This raising of taxes was effected by making the wealthier tax-payers pay slightly more now than before, while the poorer ones pay some who less and small holders are to pay as little as possible. It is hoped that the rise of receipt will ensure the State a surplus revenue. The total amount of these surplus receipts is estimated at 2.381 million dinars. (*Politika*, August 1, 1940; *Obzor*, August 2.)

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