

DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE
DANUBIAN BASIN

Dr. ANDREW FALL
MANAGING EDITOR

L. VIII. No. 8.

JANUARY, 1941.

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HUNGARY'S RUMANIAN NEIGHBOUR

BY

FRANCIS HERCZEG



The Hungarians are not of a rancorous disposition; they are on the contrary inclined to forget too soon the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon them. Nothing could be easier than to maintain good neighbourly relations with such a people.

Hungary possesses the faculty of entering into the way of thinking of other peoples; and if those peoples prove unable to agree with her, she does not threaten them with the thunders of the God of Vengeance. *We know, for instance, that Rumania is passing through a period of revolutionary delirium and that every movement made or word spoken in Rumania must be judged in the light of that fact.* The revolution was in reality the natural outcome of the horrible and monstrous corruption of the former political school. The statistical data relating to the depredations and accumulation of wealth of this school just published show that *in respect of depravity and daring the Rumanian politicians beat all previous records.*

We can differentiate between the small coterie of corrupt politicians and the industrious, honest and God-fearing masses of the Rumanian people. We are therefore able to comprehend the revolutionary fever of that people; *but we shall never be able to understand the bloody epilogue of the revolution, the massacre of unarmed, defenceless men* This question of understanding or failure to understand is however a matter of temperament and does not depend upon passing moods.

The only respect in which the events in Rumania affect Hungary is that *we should be delighted to know of the presence beyond the Carpathians of a neighbour with whom we can live in peace and amity.* It is a *sine qua non* of

good-neighbourly relations that sound conditions should prevail in Rumania; and there will not be any sound conditions in that country until the revolutionary movement is able, not merely to drive from the arena of public life the morally rotten politicians, but also to destroy their spiritual inheritance. That spiritual inheritance is *the Great Lie, which appears to dissolve in the political life of Rumania as easily as salt in sea-water. For it is quite manifest that the men who falsified the balance-sheets of the public utility works in order to pocket hundreds of millions belonging to the national wealth, falsified also the whole political way of thinking of the Rumanian people.* People's minds were corrupted by false pictures of Rumania's historical past and of the political and cultural weapons of the Rumanian nation; in this manner the aspirations of the nation were diverted into a blind alley. This was the spirit that made Rumanian public opinion believe that by clinging to what had been theirs for a thousand years the Hungarians were guilty of committing a shocking injustice against the Rumanians.

There can in the future be permanent peace in South-Eastern Europe only if the educated classes of Rumania shake off the net of illusions in which they are struggling like moths in the web of a spider. It would appear, however, that Bucharest has not yet come to a sober comprehension of realities. *For the present Wallachia is sending forth a deafening chorus of hatred and vindictive spite out-howling the chorus of steam sirens. And there is food for reflection in the fact that the official circles too are joining in the hellish concert.*

It may be that the present leaders of Rumania know their own people pretty well and are therefore fully aware that they are quite incapable of taking Transylvania out of the hands of the Hungarians. That the long chain of historical events in the course of which Hungary bled to death in the first Great War, voluntarily disarming herself and collapsing under the weight of the Bolshevik rule, should repeat itself exactly, and that the Western Powers should once again consider it useful to include Rumania among the victorious Associated Powers, is anything but

likely in view of the manner in which Rumania has repeatedly betrayed her real character.

But there is another side to the question too; and it is in this that we are concerned. At Vienna the two States — Hungary and Rumania — agreed to accept the decision of the Axis Powers when they undertook also the obligation never to formulate any further territorial claims against one another. Hungary has loyally fulfilled this obligation; though *it was an extremely difficult matter for her to renounce Southern Transylvania, that province rich in national, historical and natural treasures, as well as the lovely region of the Lower Danube, the Cserna Valley, the princely metropolis of Arad, and the richly fertile plains of Temes where there are not as many Rumanians as there are negroes in London.*

Hungary has loyally met her obligation; *but the Rumanians did not do so for a single day. And what does that mean? If the anti-Magyar propaganda is continued, such a course — apart from being exasperating — is fraught with exceptionally dangerous consequences.* Even the silliest political thesis, if repeated a thousand times without being once contradicted, is liable to deceive clever men too. Silly political theses of the kind were once employed to motivate the dismemberment of Hungary.

Since the Vienna Award the Hungarian Frontier Re-adjustment movement has tactfully observed silence; for it had no wish to embarrass the Government. But if the Rumanian irredenta sirens continue to howl as they are howling now, we shall be left no other choice but to start the revision movement required to urge the need for a redemption of the areas still in foreign hands.

RUMANIA'S SPIRITUAL DISUNION

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

Owing to the mental crisis following the collapse of Greater Rumania, to repeated earthquakes, and other disturbing events, the atmosphere of Rumanian political life is tense with unrest and excitement. Internal anarchy, spreading in an increasingly widening circle, a dangerous state of confusion, and spiritual disunion characterize Rumania today. Public opinion cannot calm down, for the masses are of the opinion that the fate and future of their country rest on unstable and insecure foundations. After the funeral of the victims of the political outrage the Rumanian Press and wireless, taking their cue from the speeches delivered at Gyulafehérvár by the Leader, General Antonescu and his Deputy, M. Sima Horia, threw themselves wholeheartedly into a campaign of anti-Hungarian propaganda.

Lately, also, the leaders of Rumanian political life let loose a flood of virulent invective against the Vienna Award at the assembly of ex-servicemen held on 8th December in Bucharest, which was attended by a delegation of German officers. *Speeches inciting to rebellion and demanding a revision of the Vienna Award were delivered. In a very bellicose speech General Antonescu repeatedly gave voice to the battle-cry: "The blow — he said — that we had to endure last month stil rankles. A nation was stretched on the rack in Europe."* The rest of the speakers, one and all, also demanded the restoration of the pre-Award frontiers and of Rumania's integrity. In his address General Antonescu, the Leader of the State, said that they had been forced to relinquish the frontiers for which Rumania had made so many sacrifices. Then, veiling his meaning in enigmatic predictions and mystical pronouncements, he encouraged his hearers to rebel. Among other things, he declared that "the Rumanians

have never attacked anybody from behind." He would seem to have forgotten that modern Rumanian history is one long record of well-disguised acts of treachery. General Antonescu also spoke of a "chivalrous spirit." What this represents in Rumania is shown by the assassination of Jorga, Madgearu and the 70 victims of the Jilava massacre, to say nothing of the two decades of bitter humiliation suffered by the Magyars of Transylvania. Fierce attacks were also launched at this meeting against Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia, as the violators of Rumania's "ancient soil".

As already stated, the Rumanian Press and wireless are engaged in a campaign of unbridled seditious propaganda. The ringleaders in this respect are the semi-official "Curentul" and Maniu's organ, "Romania Noua". Quite recently "Curentul" published an article by Jon Blagaila in which it was stated that "in a short time everything that has been stolen from Rumania will come back again;" all that was required was a little patience and confidence. In another recent issue of that semi-official newspaper a leading article dreamt dreams of a "Gigantic Rumania" and said that "when Rumania is strong again, not even the old frontiers, much less her present ones, will be enough for her." No count can be kept of the excessively virulent Press attacks on Hungary. *Obviously the object of these salies in the Press is to divert the attention of public opinion from the increasingly unbearable and untenable conditions obtaining in Rumania and make people forget the hopeless position into which the State has drifted.* At the same time, however, this blind fury and irresponsible agitation are poisoning the atmosphere of the whole of South-Eastern Europe. They have been sharply criticized in the international Press. The Swiss "Basler Nachrichten", for instance, issued a warning to the Rumanian Press, saying that "*there are limits even to the greatest patience, and it is to be feared that if in consequence of the attitude adopted by the Rumanian Press a further aggravation of the relations between Hungary and Rumania results, complications may ensue.*" Writing of the anti-Hungarian attacks in the Rumanian Press the "Politika" of Belgrade comes to the conclusion that relations between Rumania and Hungary have again grown worse, and that

this is due partly to the anti-Hungarian tone of the Rumanian papers, but chiefly to information reporting the persecution of the Magyars left in Rumania. In his speech delivered in the Upper House during the Appropriation Debate on 19th December, Count Paul Teleki, Hungarian Premier, speaking of the Rumanian question, stated that Hungary had not once lost her patience even when the persecution of Magyars and their expulsion from Rumania had assumed intolerable proportions. Hungary had again given proof of her conciliatory spirit when, a few weeks ago, she asked for a resumption of negotiations with Rumania; nothing, however, had come of it. "There is nothing further that I can do" — said the Premier — "but pray that Rumania may be in a position to negotiate."

Rumanian foreign policy is opposed to the decision of Berlin and Rome and to the peace policy pursued in the Balkans by the Axis Powers. To this opposition may be attributed the resignation of M. Sturdza, Rumanian ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, in fact, was merely Antonescu's shadow and whose office has been taken over for the present by the latter. By many M. Sturdza's fall is regarded as a set-back for the Legionist movement. The change effected in the person of Germany's Minister in Bucharest would also seem to be connected with the oscillations of Rumania's foreign policy. Herr Fabricius has been succeeded by Herr Killinger, hitherto German Minister in Pozsony, who is not only a diplomat, but also one of the leaders of the German National Socialist Party. He is expected to take an active part in Rumania's internal as well as foreign policy.

For in Rumania internal political conditions have not yet become consolidated. Instability continues and insecurity increases daily. There are still serious and fundamental differences between the Head of the State, General Antonescu, and the organizations of the Iron Guard because of the irresponsible acts of revenge that ended in so much bloodshed. The gaping chasms caused by this split reek of hatred and are growing wider and deeper. Not long ago there were moments when it might have been expected that Sima Horia and his followers would openly turn against

Antonescu and the army, the more serious elements of which have taken sides with the Leader of the State.

For the moment Antonescu has won the day, But it may be established that he has lost the sympathies of a large section of the Iron Guard. For in order to prevent further massacres by the extreme elements Antonescu has set up courts martial, which pronounce death sentences in 24 hours on such as incite to armed rebellion or become leaders of a rebellion of that sort. This measure, calculated to break the power of the Iron Guard, may be considered the first step towards a military dictatorship. The Iron Guard, however, which must still be looked upon as being organically bound up with the very substance of the Rumanian State, is busier than ever; its police detachments still function, although they were long since ordered by the Government to disband and disarm.

The movement headed by Julius Maniu and Bratianu and the reports broadcast by a secret Rumanian wireless station contribute to make the feeling of insecurity worse. A growing number of Rumanian politicians, public officials, priests and army officers who had played a rôle under the previous régime are taking refuge in Hungary and Bulgaria, which latter State has now closed its frontiers towards Rumania.

Mention must also be made of the recently-framed law *which deprives of their Rumanian citizenship any Rumanians living abroad who are engaged in activities contrary to the interests of the State.* It is clear that this law is directed primarily against Titulescu and Viorel Tilea, former Rumanian Minister in London, who frequently broadcasts in the B. B. C. and makes use of it as a means of attacking the present Administration. The instability of the internal situation is aggravated by a prohibitive rise in prices. According to the "Argus", a Bucharest agricultural newspaper, the price of bread has risen by 30%, that of flour by 143%, while there are commodities — onions for example — whose price has gone up by 433%.

To all this must be added that the Magyars left in Rumania are being terrorized, harried, persecuted, tortured and deprived of their belongings. Rumanian Government Com-

missioners have been appointed to control the undertakings of the Magyar minority, and the one remaining newspaper of the Magyars of Rumania, the "Déli Hírlap" of Temesvár, has again been suppressed.

Great and justified indignation was aroused in Hungary by a passage contained in the Christmas pastoral letter issued by Mons. Nicholas Balan, the Metropolitan of Transylvania. Writing of the present situation the Metropolitan said: — *"The war is a raging storm that can neither be stopped nor avoided. Rumania has taken her share of sacrifices; the sacred soil of this country has been cut to pieces and millions of our brethren have come under alien rule. But let us cling to our faith in an overruling Providence. In the history of the world the last word has always been spoken by God, not by the diplomats. Let us therefore put our trust in Him; let us unite and send a message of confidence to those who have been left outside our frontiers. May peace reign upon earth, but let it be a just peace that will bring liberty to every nation."*

Detailed instructions concerning the application of the curriculum for the elementary schools in the school-year 1940—1941 have been issued by the Ministry of Education. § 2 of Chapter II, page 4, contains the following instructions: —*"In classes III, IV, and VII the geography of Greater Rumania is to be taught irrespective of the present arbitrary, unjust and temporary frontiers. Pupils must be inspired with a consciousness of our right to the detached areas, and the hope that the old frontiers will be restored must be implanted in them together with the determination to fight for the realization of this aim as soon as possible."*

No day goes by in Rumania without an attempt of one kind or another being made by official and semi-official circles to stir up hatred against Hungary. The coarse invectives appearing in the form of speeches at popular meetings, statements and newspaper articles are not worthy of attention — they do not carry far in any cause. But the two above-quoted instances are not the ordinary products of the hatred felt for Hungary; they are the fruits of the systematic work with which *official Rumania is striving to upset the Vienna Award. The pastoral letter issued at Christmas by*

the Metropolitan of Transylvania cannot be regarded as a private communication. When as the Head of the Church he states his disapproval of the Vienna Award, certain conclusions must be drawn. The greatest caution is imperative, for the Church is a very ponderable factor in Rumania, where forms of government and the Governments themselves change, but the Princes of the Church remain.

For a similar reason it is necessary to speak of the orders re the teaching of geography issued by the Minister of Education. *It was in his official capacity that the Minister, acting on the express request of the Government, instituted a measure repudiating the provisions of the Vienna Award.* This clearly shows the confusion reigning in Rumania and *how impotent or unwilling the Government is to carry out the arrangements made by the representatives of the two Great Powers which Rumania professes to regard as her friends.*

The twenty-two years of Greater Rumania's existence as the product of the irrational peace edicts is merely an episode in the world's history, and certainly does not constitute a legal title to the detached areas. If nevertheless a member of the Rumanian Government thinks it wise to make propaganda in the schools against the Vienna Award, which was undoubtedly a perfectly legal act, he not only goes back on his own word and repudiates his own signature; *he also issues a challenge to the two States responsible for the Award and to all the States affected by this clinging to the dream of a Greater Rumania. This use of the map as an instrument of propaganda cannot be viewed with indifference either by Hungary, Bulgaria or Russia.*

THE SLOVAK CENSUS

BY

LEWIS JÓCSIK

Slovakia, that two-year-old State, likes to pose as a national one, since — according to Slovak politicians — it has no minority inhabitants to speak of. Nay more, Slovak nationalism, questioning the justice of the first Vienna Award, has of late been asserting that a large number of Slovaks were detached from Slovakia, and now claim is being laid to the allegedly Slovak areas handed back to Hungary. A certain section of international public opinion has taken this Slovak propaganda seriously and has been willing to believe *that this little State of two and a half million inhabitants was really national in character. But now, when the time has arrived to make preparations for the second Slovak Census — lo and behold! — it turns out that there are no fewer than six different nationalities in this tiny State.* Hitherto Slovak politicians were loud in their protestations that Slovakia was a realization of the nationality principle; now, however, the very principle itself is a stumbling-block, and one, it would seem, with which the Slovak politicians are barely able to cope. Of late matters have become so complicated that the friendship between Germany and Slovakia is threatened by the way nationality differences have become accentuated. Let us review events in their sequence.

The first Slovak Census came as a bolt from the blue on 31st December 1938. In the nature of things Slovak nationalism made use of it to whittle away to an incredible extent the size of the national minorities. Thus, whereas according to the last Czecho-Slovak Census, which certainly did not favour the nationalities, there were 118.000 Ruthenians in Slovakia, the Slovak Census found only 79.000. The number of Magyars was reduced even more radically. *According to the Czecho-Slovak Census of 1930, the number*

of Magyars in Slovakia was over 150.000; but the Slovaks registered only 68.000. It is characteristic of their methods that even these figures have not been adhered to, for in newspaper articles and political statements the number of Magyars in Slovakia has been arbitrarily reduced to 57.000.

M. MACH, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR PREPARES FOR CENSUS.

From statements made by official persons it would appear that the Slovak nationalists are most afraid of what the Census may reveal concerning the number of Magyars and Ruthenians in Slovakia. One after the other anti-Magyar and anti-Ruthenian statements have been heard which threaten the Magyars and Ruthenians with condign punishment if they "dare to abuse" the opportunity offered by the Census. This is surprising. It is not as though the Magyars or the Ruthenians had it in their power to influence the results of the Census otherwise than by courageously and frankly declaring themselves Magyars or Ruthenians respectively. But the Slovak politicians, even responsible persons like M. Mach, Minister of the Interior, are touring the country making statements galore about this awkward question. *For instance, M. Alex Mach has found it expedient to make a "preparatory" tour of the kind this month.* On the first of the month he made a great speech at Mezölaborc, a place situated in the Ruthenian part of Slovakia. There he thought it necessary to speak very plainly to the leaders of the Ruthenian minority. "*Now that Slovakia is a National Socialist State*" — he said — "*we cannot permit our Slovak stock to be denationalized.*" What does this mean? It means that the Slovaks would like to eliminate the difference between the Ruthenians and themselves. They would like the Ruthenians to acquiesce in their being regarded merely as a Greek Catholic sect and for the rest declare themselves *en masse* citizens of Slovak nationality. When M. Mach reported the results of his tour in Eastern Slovakia, he said: — "*As regards the Russian-Ruthenian-Ukrainian problem, it may be affirmed that the so-called nationality question in those parts is being raised by the Greek Catholic priests,*

who are doing their best to complicate and confuse matters. These priests, though some of them are of Slovak extraction, are not good Slovaks, and even their professed national feelings and their Ruthenian sympathies are open to question. I have come to the conclusion that there is no Ruthenian problem. The Greek Catholic priests are trying to keep the spirit of the past alive. In the Slovak State the nationality claims of the Ruthenians are receiving full attention, and liberty to promote their own racial and cultural development is assured. *According to the earlier Hungarian statistics, only 50.000 of the roughly 200.000 members of the Greek Catholic Church in those regions were Ruthenians.* Permission to form a Ukrainian Party — which of course could not be granted — was demanded by certain circles that had hitherto professed to be Ruthenian. Their object was obviously to use that Party as a means of political propaganda."

The Slovak Minister of the Interior's exposé teems with contradictions. In the first place he speaks of the complete liberty enjoyed by the Ruthenians and at the same time disputes their right to declare themselves of Ruthenian nationality. In a word, he denies the validity of the racial principle, which the Slovaks would like to interpret in a manner that would benefit themselves only. A point of special interest is that M. Mach appeals to those Hungarian statistics which in other cases are wholly rejected by Slovak propaganda. M. Mach forgets that during the twenty years of Czech oppression the Ruthenians awoke to a strong realization of their nationality and were welded into a nation in the fiery furnace of Czecho-Slovak persecution. In those twenty years of nationality strife the Slovaks, too, grew self-conscious as a nation, and often joined the Ruthenians in their struggle against the Czechs. Now, however, they wish to be the sole rulers in Slovakia, and have taken over the anti-minority rôle formerly played by Czech imperialism. The Slovak anti-Ruthenian propaganda campaign has now assumed such proportions that *M. Stephen Fencik, the Deputy representing the Ruthenians of Hungary, in the Hungarian Parliament has felt constrained to speak firmly and openly against the oppressors of the Ruthenians in Slovakia.* In his speech he stated what the national aim of the Ruthen-

ian people was: the liberation from Slovak oppression of all the Ruthenian areas up to the line of the river Poprád.

The question of nationality is not treated by the Slovak Census in an objective, but in a subjective manner. In other words, it is not a man's mother-tongue that decides his nationality; *what counts is his own declaration of nationality*. Obviously the intention is to force people to seek refuge from political oppression by declaring themselves Slovaks, but the results may prove the opposite of what is expected. *For a nationality Census based on the declaration of the persons concerned provides nationalities which so far had no voice in politics with the possibility of asserting themselves separately*. This is what is happening at present in the case of the Moravian Slovaks, a group of people living on the western frontier of Slovakia. When preparations for the Census were beginning to be made, the Slovak politicians were dismayed to find that the Moravian Slovaks had ambitions of their own. The only thing to be done was to launch a campaign against them, in the course of which Slovak propaganda began, on the one hand, to deny the separate existence of a Moravian Slovak nationality and, on the other, to threaten "the disturbers of unity" with severe sanctions.

GERMAN GRIEVANCES.

When a man's own declaration was made the criterion of his nationality, there arose a situation quite different from what the Slovak politicians hoped to create, for it put trump cards in the hands of the minorities. We know that the Germans are a much-favoured nation in Slovakia. Though comparatively few, their weight in Slovak domestic affairs — their political and social importance — is much greater than that of the rest of the minorities; for the German minority is in every respect on an equal footing with the ruling Slovak nation. And now the other minorities are offered an interesting possibility of escape from the burden of Slovak oppression in the sphere of domestic politics. All they have to do is to declare themselves Germans and to do so *en masse*. How does Slovak propaganda react to this possibility? M. Mach is the first to grasp the battle-axe. In

the December 10th issue of the semi-official "Slovak" we read: — *"Anyone who contrary to his conviction and despite his origin states that he is a German in order to secure for himself a better position or German citizenship (for that is practically what it amounts to) we declare to be a dishonourable man, and he will be dealt with accordingly. The Germans have no need of such. The German nation with its 80 million people will be stronger without them than with them, and we shall not suffer them in our midst either. I can assure them that we shall get rid of them, and that speedily."*

This incredible statement was received in Slovakia, with dumfounded consternation, which increased when in the "Slovak" of 11th December M. Charles Murgas, M. Mach's successor as chief of the propaganda bureau, addressed a "last threat" to people contemplating this step. The "Grenzbote", the official organ of the German minority, replied to Mach and Murgas in a leading article which contained the following passage: —

"A nation whose self-consciousness has to be awakened is to be pitied. We are willing to accept as brethren all who today feel that they are Germans, no matter what political standpoint trying circumstances forced them to adopt in the past. The Slovaks ought to know that their future is secure only if they take sides unreservedly with Germany. In this respect it is of no importance whether there are 100 or 200 thousand Germans in Slovakia; what is of importance is that nothing should happen to disturb the good relations between Germany and Slovakia."

The same issue of the "Grenzbote" publishes a report of a speech made by Herr Karmasin, who also sharply criticized M. Mach's statement. How sharply, may be gathered from the fact that Herr Karmasin took M. Mach's threat of expulsion as applying to himself. In his speech he emphatically declared that the Germans of Slovakia were autochthonous inhabitants of that country, a town-building and civilizing element, and that they had no intention of leaving those areas.

The clash between the Germans and the Slovaks has been aggravated by the circumstance that the Habans, a

fairly large group of Protestants that once took refuge in Slovakia, have now awakened to national consciousness and declare themselves Germans. Employing the usual methods, Slovak propaganda loudly denies the Habans' right to be considered Germans, but now after the article in the "Grenz-bote" it does so in a milder tone.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that Jews are not to be allowed the right of declaring to which nationality they belong. In their case this Census principle has been set aside, obviously to prevent the Jews from adding to the strength of any of the nationalities by joining it. The results of the Census are to be made public in February. The figures are bound to be untrustworthy, but all the same we await them with interest, if only as a fresh proof of how Slovak propaganda tries to throw dust in the eyes of European public opinion.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

LATEST EVENTS AFFECTING SITUATION OF MAGYAR MINORITY IN YUGOSLAVIA

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

November 24th., 1940, was a great day for the Magyars of Yugoslavia, particularly for the Magyars of the Voivodina directly concerned in the events of the day. For it was on that day that, after twenty years of struggle and many a bitter disappointment, there was established at Ujvidék, the Capital of the Danube Banate, the "Cultural Union of the Magyars of Yugoslavia". This event had been rendered possible by the government authorities having — subject to certain amendments — approved the Statutes previously submitted to them and at long last granted permission for the convening of the constituent General Assembly. This General Assembly was attended by the leaders of the Magyars of Yugoslavia and by members of the presidential boards of the various Magyar cultural and social organisations of Yugoslavia, the number of persons present being about 250. The chair was taken by Senator *Imre Várady*, from whose opening speech we quote certain interesting and characteristic passages throwing light on the situation: — "I must admit" — he said — "that it was no easy matter to secure permission to convene the General Assembly. There were depressing periods in which our associations were dissolved, the Nagybecskerek (Petrovgrad) Cultural Association — an organisation with a past of nearly seventy years behind it — being suspended and numerous other associations sharing the same fate these associations including the Szabadka (Subotica) People's Circle too, which, as is well known, is the Magyar association in Yugoslavia with the largest membership. All these facts pained us deeply, but we did not falter or abandon hope in a better and brighter future. With untiring effort we continued the work of dancing attendance on authority and refused to relinquish our

efforts to improve the lot of our associations; for we cherished the hope that the attitude displayed towards the Magyars would change. We were greatly assisted by the fact that *in the Banate of Croatia the Statutes of the Magyar Cultural Association established last March were approved without any attempt being made to temporise . . .* And when we had this precedent to refer to, we resumed our preparatory and pioneer work with renewed energy and zeal. *The Prime Minister, M. Tsvetkovitch, himself* declared that what had been accorded in the Croatian Banate to the Magyars living in that province, could not be refused the Magyars of the Danube Banate either. . . . *There must not be any factiousness within the Cultural Union itself.* We are Magyars and all belong to the same people. All social walls of division must be pulled down. We are all the children of one mother; and we cling to our culture with our whole being. Whatever we may lose, we shall never for anything in the world sacrifice our Magyar tongue and our Magyar culture. We see that the two neighbouring countries are also preparing to bring about a rapprochement primarily in the cultural field . . . After the recent exchange of visits we cannot but hope that the two countries which are dependent upon one another for the maintenance of peace will find the path leading to a rapprochement in other fields of public life too. On the occasion of the celebration of my seventieth birthday I made a speech containing what was veritably my political last will and testament when I stressed that the dearest wish of my soul and the most fervent desire of my heart was that in the Magyar ethnic group — whose destiny binds it to this country — I might see Magyar working shoulder to shoulder with Magyar and hand in hand moving towards the final goal."

After the opening speech made by M. Várady, who from the very outset has been one of the most eminent leaders of the Magyars of Yugoslavia, for the purpose of informing and encouraging the audience, the General Assembly unanimously passed the Statutes and elected the Members of the Presidential Board and Executive Committee of the Cultural Union of the Magyars of Yugoslavia. The main results of this election were as follows: — honorary president, *Dr.*

George Sántha, former President of the Magyar Party of Yugoslavia dissolved on January 6th., 1929; president, *Gyula Krämer*, manufacturer in Ujvidék; vice-presidents, Alexander *Agoston*, reformed bishop, Dr. *Elemér Koráni*, Catholic rector of the parish of Ujvidék-Rókus and Count *Ernest Bissingen*, landowner. The Executive Committee consists of 70 Ordinary and 35 Supernumerary Members, most of the Members elected being leaders of the provincial Magyar cultural and social associations.

Magyars of Yugoslavia Delighted at Conclusion of Hungarian-Yugoslav Agreement.

The establishment of the Union involves the fulfilment of a long-cherished wish of the Magyars of Yugoslavia; and that after so many unsuccessful attempts and so arduous a struggle it has at last become an accomplished fact, is to be undoubtedly attributed very largely to the constant improvement of the relations between the two neighbouring States which eventually led to the conclusion at Belgrade, on December 12th., of a treaty of amity and consultation. From this treaty signed for the purpose of consolidating peace in this part of Europe the Magyar ethnic group of Yugoslavia expects an improvement of its lot and the immediate radical redress of many painful injuries and wrongs, as well as the fulfilment of the numerous legitimate wishes put forward by the Magyars which have not yet been dealt with favourably. According to the relevant statement made by Senator Imre Várady, "the historical change affecting the two nations concerns the Magyar ethnic group of Yugoslavia directly and profoundly. And it is to be hoped that the Magyar minority will benefit by this change... And I must add, though not by way of reproach" — continued Senator Várady — "that very many legitimate wishes of the Magyars are still awaiting adjustment. Now there is also a sentimental reason for trusting that our wishes will be fulfilled without delay within the limits prescribed by the laws". Dr. Leo Deák, another eminent representative of the Magyar minority of Yugoslavia, in the December 17th. issue of the Szabadka "Napló" declared that "the principal reason why the Magyar ethnic

group of Yugoslavia is delighted to welcome the friendship between Hungary and Yugoslavia is that it expects that friendship to lead to an improvement of its lot as a minority. We trust" — continued M. Deák — "that as a consequence there will be an end also to our consciousness of being a minority and that the principle of equality and of unrestricted vital rights will be enforced in practical life also for the benefit of our people. We are firmly convinced that *this friendship will not demand of us any sacrifices or the renunciation of our traditional folkic character and of many other things.* We hope implicitly that all the difficulties that have arisen in connection with the question of instruction in the mother tongue will be eliminated and that in future we shall be able undisturbed to continue the cultural work for which we have made so many sacrifices."

"Minority" Cases.

Now, if we draft the balance-sheet of the events occurring on the Magyar minority front since the appearance of our last issue, we may book as assets the granting of permission to establish the Cultural Union and also the treaty of amity, which it is to hoped will have beneficial effects. We may include as an item on the Assets side also the fact that immediately prior to the events in Belgrade on December 12th. *the "Pester Lloyd" and two other papers appearing in Hungary — the "Magyarország" and the "Esti Ujság" — were granted by the Yugoslav authorities admission into Yugoslav territory and their delivery by post permitted, as also the fact that in terms of his Ordinance No. 68.517 ex 1940 the Minister of Education has made possible the opening of the parallel Magyar elementary school section at Cservenka, the opening of a similar Magyar section at Torzsa being permitted in terms of Ordinance No. 60.915 ex 1940 of the same Minister. And that closes the list of "active" items. As items on the Liabilities side of the balance-sheet we must take into account — 1. the transfer, on the basis of "name analysis" and in terms of a warrant No. 938 issued by the competent chief constable, of 11 pupils from the Magyar parallel section of the State elementary school at Uj-*

verbász to the school in which the language of instruction is the State language, this step being taken by the head teacher himself despite the parents of all 11 children alike having declared themselves to be of Magyar nationality. The parents appealed to the Banate authorities for redress of the grievances arising from the arbitrary measures taken by the chief constable and by the head teacher. 2. At *Szabadka (Subotica)*, at the beginning of the school year, in terms of the Ordinance of the Minister of Education dealt with in our October issue (No. 26,323), which — as is well known — affords an opportunity for the enforcement of the parents' will in connection with school registrations, *those Magyar pupils who during the previous school year had been compelled to attend the schools in which Serbian is the language of instruction, were by request of their parents transferred to the parallel Magyar section.* Later on, however, despite the protests of the parents, these pupils were sent back to the classes in which instruction is given in Serbian („Napló”, November 8th, 1940). 3. In the frontier village of *Őrszállás (Stanišić)* the Magyar parents last August already appealed to the Inspectorate for the opening of a parallel Magyar section for the 56 Magyar pupils who had applied for admission. No answer has yet been received. („Uj Hírek”, November 13th. and „Középbácska”, November 16th.) 4. At Ludaspuszta (homestead) belonging to the jurisdiction of *Szabadka* the two Magyar elementary school sections have for years past not had a teacher. Though the Minister of Education has ordained the establishment of a further parallel Magyar section within the confines of *Szabadka*, there is still no teacher to function in that section, — that being the case with the recently established parallel German elementary school section too. And in any case the parallel Magyar sections of the *Szabadka* State elementary schools are threatened with the danger involved by the pensioning off of some twenty of the Magyar teachers functioning there who will within the next two years reach the age limit, — a circumstance which, in view of the impossibility of providing adequate substitutes, makes the maintenance of some of the parallel sections problematical („Napló”, November 15th). *There is a very considerable*

shortage of teachers also in the Banate — particularly of Magyar teachers. According to a report published in the November 14th. issue of "Obzor" the number of teachers needed in that Banate is about 800, — a circumstance diametrically contradicting a statement made on November 28th. by the Ministry of Education which asserted that the shortage of teachers had been practically eliminated. 5. One of the chief grievances of the national minorities of Yugoslavia is that their interests are by no means satisfactorily or adequately represented on the Commissions for the assessment of taxes and for hearing appeals against the taxes imposed, a circumstance that leads to their being made to bear disproportionately heavy charges under the head of taxes and imposts. That this complaint is fully justified, is shown — *inter alia* — by the composition of the Assessment Commission at Óbecse, only 2 of its 20 members being Magyars, though at least 49% of the inhabitants of the parish are Magyars ("Reggeli Ujság", December 1st, 1940). 6. A painful impression has been caused among the Magyars of the Voivodina also by the fact that at the vestry elections of the Roman Catholic parish of Zombor the name of *M. Leo Dedk*, one of the eminent leaders of the Magyars, was omitted from the list of candidates on the ground that no persons of prominence in the political world must be nominated. And nevertheless — despite this proviso — *Dr. Grga Vukovitch*, a lawyer who is one of the leaders of the peasant party in the Bácska district, was placed at the head of the parish. 7. The now notorious land purchase Order in Council has given rise to fresh troubles too. Owing to the untiring efforts made to enlist support — though chiefly to the energetic attitude of the German ethnic group — the minorities succeeded in securing considerable facilities in respect of the transfer in the land registers of landed property. But this favourable change was very short-lived — lasting indeed only a few days; for the President of the *Ujvidék* Court of Appeal again intervened, issuing a circular ordinance instructing all courts of law subject to his jurisdiction — i. e. all courts in the Voivodina — as land registration authorities *not to effect any transfer not previously approved by the Ministers for War and for the Interior.* In practice this means

that Yugoslav citizens belonging to the national minorities will again be deprived of the possibility of purchasing land or acquiring leases.

As may be seen from this sketchy description of the situation, the "passive" items of the balance-sheet are still — at least numerically — far in excess of the "active" items. We would fain believe that the influence of the treaty of amity concluded between the two countries will lead to an improvement in the ratio of these items augmenting the assets and decreasing the liabilities.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

THE HUNGARO-YUGOSLAV TREATY OF AMITY

The treaty of perpetual amity concluded on 12th December 1940 by Hungary and Yugoslavia was described by almost every section of the international Press as a diplomatic event of the first magnitude. *Since two decades this is the first time that the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs has paid a visit to one of the capitals of the former Little Entente.* For this to take place it was first necessary that the triumph should be assured of that dynamic policy which has swept away the Little Entente, together with the significance of the Geneva League of Nations and all the power factors on which the irrational arrangements of the Peace Treaties dictated by a spirit of revenge, which have now collapsed for ever, were based.

Fourteen years ago the Regent of Hungary, in a now famous and at the time surprising speech, pointed out the necessity of an understanding between Yugoslavia and Hungary. The present important alliance has been concluded in the spirit of the Regent's speech.

Amidst all the manifold complications of fateful events the two nations have never withheld their appreciation of each other's chivalry and military virtues.

Solemn Reception of Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The capital of Yugoslavia was gay with flags and bunting when its inhabitants, with outbursts of spontaneous cheering, lined up to welcome the Hungarian Foreign Minister, who, accompanied by Countess Csáky and his suite, arrived on 11th December in Belgrade for a two days' visit. At the beflagged railway terminus they were met by M. Tsintsar-Markovitch, Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs and other prominent personalities, also by the German and Italian Ministers and their suites. The Hun-

garian Foreign Minister passed down the platform on which was drawn up a company of honour of the 18th Infantry Regiment in full parade. For two days the whole town was gay with flags. Count Stephen Csáky was accorded an audience by Prince Paul, and the Countess Csáky was received by Princess Olga. A lunch was given in their honour by M. Tsintsar-Markovitch; in the afternoon Count Csáky received visits from the Yugoslav Premier, M. Maček, Deputy Premier, and the Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs whom he had visited in the forenoon. In the evening Count and Countess Csáky had dinner at the Royal Palace.

That same day the Yugoslav Journalists' Association gave a lunch in honour of the Hungarian Pressmen. On 12th December the Treaty of Amity between Hungary and Yugoslavia was signed with impressive ceremony. The act took place in the Red Salon of the Foreign Ministry. The text of the instrument signed by the Hungarian and Yugoslav Ministers for Foreign Affairs runs as follows:

The Hungaro-Yugoslav Treaty of Amity.

His Highness the Regent of the Kingdom of Hungary and, on behalf of His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in view of the contacts between their nations based on the present gratifying neighbourly relations, sincere esteem and reciprocal good faith existing between them, and being desirous of establishing these contacts on a firm and permanent basis,

convinced that the consolidation and strengthening of the present links in the spheres of politics, economy and culture would serve the interests of the two neighbour States as well as the peace and welfare of Europe,

have determined to conclude a Treaty of Amity, and for this purpose have designated as their plenipotentiaries:

Count Stephen Csáky de Körösszegh et Adorján, Privy Councillor and Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, as plenipotentiary of His Highness the Regent of the Kingdom of Hungary and

M. Alexander Tsintsar-Markovitch, Yugoslav Minister

for Foreign Affairs as plenipotentiary of the Prince Regent, acting on behalf of His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia, who having exchanged their well and duly attested mandates have come to the following agreement:

Article I

Permanent peace and perpetual friendship shall exist between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Article II

The High Contracting Parties have agreed to confer on all questions which in their opinion affect the contacts between them.

Article III

This present Treaty shall be ratified and the instrument of ratification shall be signed as soon as possible in Budapest.

The Treaty shall become operative on the date of the ratification of the instruments.

In token of which the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries herewith sign and seal this document.

Done in two original copies in Belgrade on the 12th day of December 1940.

(signed) Csáky

(signed) Tsintsar-Markovitch.

When the document had been signed, the representatives of the Press were conducted from the antechamber where they had been waiting to the Red Salon. Besides the Hungarian and Yugoslav reporters a large number of the foreign newspapermen stationed at Belgrade, as well as numerous special correspondents sent to Belgrade for this occasion, were also present.

The first to make a statement to the representatives of the Press was M. Tsintsar-Markovitch, Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, who read out the following declaration drafted in French:

"I am very happy to be able to tell you that on the

occasion of the visit of Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Foreign Minister, a treaty of permanent peace and perpetual friendship has been concluded between Hungary and Yugoslavia. This event lends an added significance to Count Csáky's visit.

"The atmosphere in which this act took place and the cordiality of which you are all witnesses, make it unnecessary for me to speak of the significance of the Treaty, *which places the ties of friendship existing between the two countries on a formal basis.*

"*In making the text of that Treaty public, I beg you to regard it as a fresh contribution to the policy of peace and co-operation which is being pursued in the Danube Valley by the Hungarian and Yugoslav Governments.* I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the representatives of the Press for the support they have always so effectively rendered to the Governments of the two neighbouring countries in their efforts to strengthen the friendship existing between Hungary and Yugoslavia.

"I consider it my special duty to greet the representatives of the Hungarian Press, whom we are very pleased to see in Belgrade, and I seize this opportunity of *emphasizing with gratitude the important rôle played and the great service rendered by the Hungarian Press, which Press has always devoted itself to the task of furthering a rapprochement between Hungary and Yugoslavia.* I feel convinced that you will continue to labour towards this end, for the good, not only of Hungary and Yugoslavia, but also of this entire part of Europe."

After M. Tsintsar-Markovitch's statement to the Press, Count Stephen Csáky read out the following declaration: —

"The treaty which I have had the honour of concluding with the Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is short, but it expresses much. The essential point is contained in Article I, which runs as follows: — "*Permanent peace and perpetual friendship shall exist between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.*" Peace is humanity's greatest blessing, and everything must be done, especially in these troublous times, to maintain it in this part of Central and South-Eastern Europe, where Providence has set

these two nations. The Hungarians, like the Yugoslavs, have gone through many trials in the past; bloody struggles lasting for centuries mark the paths they have had to tread in the course of history. *Now that both nations have firmly established themselves in this part of Europe, they will be able to devote their energies to the work of national consolidation, and to give all the assistance possible to those Powers who are striving to save this region from disaster and preserve its values to be used for the good of a reconstructed world when the present fierce struggle is over. The spirit of reciprocal trust and friendship which has always so happily united our two nations and which has so aptly found expression in the present Treaty, is a sure guarantee that our peoples will be able to follow successfully the common path so wisely chosen by them.*"

Count Csáky's speech was enthusiastically applauded by the assembled Pressmen.

Toasts.

In the evening M. Tsintsar-Markovitch gave a dinner in the Guards' Casino in honour of Count Csáky. The guests included all the members of the Yugoslav Government and numerous other distinguished representatives of Yugoslav public life.

In the course of the dinner M. Tsintsar-Markovitch, rising to toast the Regent of Hungary, said: —

"Mr. Minister. It is with the greatest pleasure that I cordially greet Your Excellency on the occasion of your first visit to Belgrade, the Capital of Yugoslavia. Your visit is a special honour and a source of deep satisfaction to us. It has taken place at a time when the international situation is grave, even critical. It is therefore all the more fortunate that *a perfectly clear atmosphere of cordiality and friendship marks the relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia.* We take Your Excellency's presence here to mean that it is your wish to consolidate and strengthen these amicable relations, and that wish is fully shared by His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia's Government.

"The Hungarian and Yugoslav nations, living side by side and both inspired by a love of their countries and with

undoubtedly similar traits of character, have always respected each other. In the centuries of their historical past they had many struggles in common, and many were the common misfortunes that overtook them. Today we are impelled, not only by our sympathies, but also by our interests, to follow the path of understanding and mutual trust and *strive to make the relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia as close as possible in the spheres of politics, economy and culture.*

"In these absolutely clarified relations *we do not see anything likely to prevent co-operation between these countries becoming closer in every walk of public life.*

"Of recent years many factors on both sides have paved the way towards a *rapprochement*. Personal contacts between certain prominent politicians have opened up an increasingly wide perspective of co-operation between Belgrade and Budapest. Their activities have been followed with the greatest sympathy and approval by all classes of the population in both countries.

"And now allow me in this festive hour to turn in thought towards His Highness Admiral Horthy, the Regent of Hungary, *with whose name the present friendship between the two nations must certainly be coupled.* When I speak with the profoundest respect of his great services, I recall the time — I was *chargé d'affaires* myself at Budapest then — *when in his Mohács speech Admiral Horthy categorically and imperatively declared that rapprochement and co-operation between the two countries were a necessity.* Ever since, that statement has always been regarded as the starting-point and basis of Hungaro-Yugoslav political, economic and cultural co-operation.

"*This far-seeing conception has now been fully realized.* As regards concrete results, Your Excellency's present visit to the Capital of Yugoslavia marks an important stage in the relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia. It was attended by a spontaneous manifestation on both sides of the sincere and cordial friendship linking the two nations, and also by the strengthening of that friendship by a formal Treaty, which was signed today in Belgrade by Your Excellency.

"I can assure Your Excellency and the Hungarian Government that the Yugoslav Government attaches the greatest importance to this happy development in the relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia. *It is our firm intention to establish by means of this Treaty a point of contact in the sphere of international politics where we can strive to prevent the spread of war to this part of Europe.*

"May the solemn political act performed today by Hungary and Yugoslavia be and remain, not only the strong basis of cordial neighbourly relations, but also *a valuable contribution to the maintenance of peaceful development in the Danube Valley, in accordance with the aims of the two neighbouring Great Powers, Germany and Italy.*

"Bearing these thoughts in mind and with this firm conviction I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink with me to the health of Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, the great and wise Head of a friendly and neighbourly State, also to the greatness and prosperity of Hungary and the Hungarian people, and to the happiness and good luck of our honoured and distinguished guests, His Excellency Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and his wife, Countess Csáky."

To this toast Count Csáky replied as follows: —

"Mr. Minister. I feel profoundly affected by the extremely cordial words addressed to me by Your Excellency, and sincerely touched by the warm reception accorded to us on our arrival. I beg Your Excellency to accept my own and my wife's grateful acknowledgment of your kindness. It is a matter of particular gratification for me than I am the first Hungarian Foreign Minister to visit Yugoslavia in an official capacity, and I am very happy to think that this visit is a proof of Hungary's *sincere wish to remain for ever in close and friendly relations with the Yugoslav nation.*

"That nation, the guardian of traditions a thousand years old, has never ceased to fight for its ancient civilization and the sacred ideals of liberty. Its splendid qualities and its legendary heroism have aroused the sincere admiration felt by every Hungarian for the valiant, courageous and doughty Yugoslav people.

"All homage is due to this great nation, its youthful King and his worthy Regent, Prince Paul.

"Your Excellency was kind enough to recall the speech delivered by Admiral Horthy in 1926, with which our Regent laid the foundations of our policy of co-operation and reciprocal understanding. That speech was inspired by the opinion that *two nations whose destinies have been so similar — trials alternating with glory — must be able to agree on a policy of peace.*

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I have come here in persuance of that policy, a policy of true friendship towards your people, a policy that will never deviate from the path leading to a *just and peaceful solution of the international problems.* Happily, in this respect the Hungarian Government's policy is in full agreement with the wise and rational policy so admirably pursued by His Royal Highness Prince Paul and the Yugoslav Government.

"I am infinitely happy that our two Governments have given expression to the spirit of this policy by concluding a Treaty of Amity. May I be allowed to say that not only the Hungarian Government, but also *Hungarian public opinion, wishes to make the contacts with Yugoslavia closer,* as may be gathered from the speeches of various members of the Hungarian Parliament.

"The Treaty which we have just signed is short. Its symbolic roots, however, reach deep into the soul of the Hungarian nation, from whence it will draw strength to bear the fruit of a close co-operation in the fields of politics, economy and culture.

"For the rest this Treaty is merely an outward expression of the ties that anyhow exist between the two nations. This is why it will be a good and lasting treaty. Good, because the two nations have decided to co-operate for the maintenance of peace, and lasting, because *it is in accordance with the idea of stable peace,* the chief aim of the Axis Powers.

"In this spirit I drink to the health of His Majesty King Peter II and His Royal Highness the Regent, Prince Paul, to Yugoslavia's prosperity and greatness and to the

happiness of their Excellencies M. and Mme Tsintsar-Markovitch."

Next day the Hungarian Foreign Minister went, as the guest of the Yugoslav Government, to shoot chamois in Slavonia.

The Treaty of Amity between Yugoslavia and Hungary was welcomed with the greatest joy by Germany and Italy, for it is of major importance to the Axis Powers that these strong States of South-Eastern Europe, which have not become involved in the war, should be able to prepare themselves in an atmosphere of peaceful co-operation for the tasks awaiting them in the future. The British, French and American Press also expressed unanimous approval of the new alliance.

The two nations have many spiritual attributes in common, a circumstance that greatly facilitates a political *rapprochement*. Neither of them denies that they are equals as regards military prowess, and it is certain that other traits characterizing the two patriotic peoples who cling to their countries, are very similar.

Hungary has concluded this Treaty in the firm conviction that there are no differences which cannot be resolved with the help of a spirit of understanding, and no obstacles which cannot be surmounted by the exercise of a little goodwill.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

FINLAND IN MOURNING

The death of President Kallio, one of Finland's greatest statesmen, is being sincerely mourned by the whole Finnish nation. The sincerity of the nation's grief is the greatest tribute that could have been paid to that eminent patriot, for it proves that his greatness was not measured by the standard of success, but that *the nation appreciated the admirable qualities and patriotic spirit shown by its leader in an unhappy period of the country's history*. Fate decreed that M. Kallio should die at the very time when, having resigned his office as President of the Republic, he was preparing to hand over that dignified but arduous and responsible post to his successor. M. Kallio's life was one long and strenuous struggle. The son of poor parents, after many vicissitudes he reached the highest position in the land, to which he was raised by his own efforts and the respect and popularity his personality commanded. Under his guidance Finland attained a high level of progress, social development and material welfare, but it was also while he was President that this struggling country was overtaken by fresh disaster.

After the catastrophe this sister-nation of ours, which has never been the spoilt child of Fortune and which, perhaps for that very reason, is one of the most persevering and indomitable nations in Europe, surrendered to the inevitable, set about adapting itself to changed circumstances, and *determined to continue its great work of national construction and regeneration with undaunted faith and unflagging zeal*.

M. Kallio was not one of the great men who shape the world's history; he was a typical representative of his own people: *a pious, strong-willed, sober and resolute man, the ordinary son of a small nation, but a man who had it in him to be a hero, an apostle, perchance a martyr*. If it be true that every nation has the ruler it deserves, then M. Kallio was indeed the most fitting President for his people, a President such as they deserved, and to their greatest praise it can also be said of them that they were worthy of their first citizen, the late President Kallio.

COUNT STEPHEN BETHLEN ON THE TRANSYLVANIAN, RUMANIAN AND HUNGARO-YUGOSLAV QUESTIONS

The Christmas issue of the "8 Órai Ujság" contains an interview with Count Stephen Bethlen, former Premier, in the course

of which, speaking of the topics of the moment, he said amongst other things:

"From a military point of view the restoration of the northern part of Transylvania is of extreme importance. With it the reservoir of men from which Hungary can draw her military strength has become much larger, and much smaller the neighbouring country's reserves of population upon which to base her power politics. To the mother-country have returned those Magyars who were Hungary's best soldiers in the past, and with them the Széklers, who are the best soldiers in the world.

From an economic point of view the restored areas offer great possibilities for the future. Transylvania's wooded areas are of incalculable importance to us as an economic factor. The unexploited treasures in Transylvania's mines await to be brought to the surface, and will prove one of the strongest props of our economic independence. *Transylvanian agriculture, too, will complement that of the mother-country.* Thanks to a better climate, rich meadows and pastures, cattle-breeding in Transylvania has a great future before it, if advantage is taken of the possibilities at hand and we hasten to the assistance of the people there in this field of agriculture."

Speaking of the Rumanian question, Count Bethlen said:

"During the past few weeks Rumanian propaganda has been loud in its condemnation of the Vienna Award. I do not, however, attach any importance to this from the point of view of our foreign policy. I do not think it at all important, even if this attitude of Rumania's means that she does not intend to respect the Award and the commitments given therein to the Axis Powers. This does not concern Hungary. It is a matter affecting future developments in the relations between Germany and Rumania, and interference on Hungary's part would, in my opinion be improper. Hungary accepted the Vienna Award without any reservations, although, as everyone, knows, it required great sacrifices of the Magyars of Transylvania. Hungary's decision cannot be shaken by Rumania's attitude, and I can only approve with all my heart the standpoint adopted in this question by the Hungarian Government. On the other hand it is predictable that unless Rumania's behaviour undergoes a change for the better, sooner or later it will inevitably give rise to a strong reaction in the attitude adopted by Hungarian public opinion. When all is said and done the Vienna Award was more than a verdict; it was also a bilateral agreement between Hungary and Rumania, the observance of which cannot continue to be unilateral. If day by day one of the parties to the agreement repudiates its obligations, this must sooner or later lead to the other becoming less willing to respect its own commitments. For the present there is no question of this, for in view of the fact that there is a revolutionary upheaval in Rumania, Hungary

regards the symptoms observable there with a certain measure of tolerance and patience, nor does she take the attitude displayed by the Rumanian Government too seriously.

"There is, however, a side of the Rumanian question that must be judged with much greater severity, a phase that has nothing to do with international politics, but which is of the greatest importance for the Magyars of Transylvania; threatening, as it does, their lives and liberties. Rumania's announcement that she refuses to consider the Vienna Award final and the extremely insulting statements breathing hatred of the Hungarians are directed *not only against independent Hungary, but also against the Magyars left in Rumania, and it is to be feared that in the over-charged atmosphere of Rumanian public life at present conclusions fatal to the Magyars of Rumania may be drawn from this propaganda.* We must therefore be on the alert. We must adhere to the provisions of the Vienna Award, but this does not mean that the Rumanians are to have a free hand to do as they like with their Magyars. For their lives we must stand on guard. Not a single hair of their heads must be allowed to be harmed."

Count Bethlen then went on to speak of the South-Eastern question. He said:

"*As a factor contributing to the maintenance of peace in South-Eastern Europe, I believe that the conclusion of the treaty between Hungary and Yugoslavia was an act of major importance; for everything that makes for the elimination of differences in this hotbed of danger for Europe is another pillar in the edifice of European peace. The initiative leading to the conclusion of the Hungaro-Yugoslav treaty must certainly be placed to the credit of His Highness the Regent.* Unfortunately, at the time of his speech at Mohács the general situation in Europe was not ripe for, nor was the constellation ruling foreign policy in South-Eastern Europe and the Balkans favourable to, that idea. At that time the Little Entente was *in floribus*. *Before the collapse of that alliance and the dissolution of the Balkan Bloc this form of rapprochement between Hungary and Yugoslavia was not feasible.* If we recall that period to mind, we shall remember that Yugoslavia saw in her treaties with the other two States of the Little Entente a surer guarantee of her security than in a friendly *rapprochement* with Hungary, from which the war and other events had separated her with a rift too wide for the moment to be spanned. First the Little Entente had to cease to exist. This took place *de facto* when Czecho-Slovakia ceased to be a State and Rumania was ousted from the swollen Trianon frontiers back to her present ones. The Balkan Bloc, too, collapsed, and all I can say is that *I heartily approve of the Hungarian Government's action in seizing this favourable opportunity of bringing about a rapprochement between Yugoslavia and this country based on the inclinations of the two nations, with*

their avowed opinions of each other and their reciprocal sympathies. The time for this approach was ripe, and the Hungarian Government realizing its possibilities in good season spontaneously decided to make it.

"The hope that it will bear good fruit in the future presupposes as a *sine qua non* that the Magyars living in Yugoslavia will be allowed to live in circumstances that ensure their existence and the possibilities of cultural and economic progress and prosperity will be assured them. I have no doubt that this will be so. The Yugoslav Government has, namely, made promises more than once to this effect to the Magyar minority, and initial steps in this direction have already been taken. It is only so that the Magyar minority can become a connecting link between the two countries, instead of being the dividing line it so often was in the past. Naturally Hungary must also grant to the Yugoslav minority all that she demands for the Magyars of Yugoslavia.

"I feel absolutely confident that this will take place in the near future, and that in South-Eastern Europe the resulting relation between Yugoslavia and Hungary will prove a pillar of peace, of economic co-operation and of the independence of the small nations within the framework of a new Europe."

IMPORTANT MANIFESTATIONS OF HUNGARIAN POLITICAL LIFE

In our last issue we published an abstract of the debate on the Estimates in the Hungarian House of Deputies. In our present issue we are publishing a short summary of the *debate in the House of Deputies on the Appropriations Bill* and of the *debate in the Upper House on the Estimates*, because it is in connection with these Bills that the Hungarian Parliament is able to exercise its most far-reaching criticism. During the debate in the House of Deputies on the Appropriations Bill M. *Aladár Vozáry*, Deputy for Sub-Carpathia, *while speaking approvingly of the idea of granting the non-Magyar nationalities the most extensive rights*, noted that *such a measure must not be allowed to militate against the Magyar people.* M. *Louis Mezey* (Government Party) established that the idea represented by the Right had already won the day, so that there was no longer any need of revolutions. M. *Stephen Ferencsik*, Deputy representing Club-Carpathia, *repudiated the charges made by the Slovaks, for he himself as Member of a non-Magyar nationality had ascertained that the persons responsible for directing Hungarian policy had never turned against the non-Magyar nationalities.* According to M. *Gabriel Pál*, Deputy representing Transylvania, *there was nothing of a vindictive character, merely the righting of wrongs.* On the strength of authentic evidence he knew how horribly the *Magyars remaining in Rumania were being persecuted.*

In his answer to the observations made, the Prime Minister stressed that *the role of Hungary in the Middle Danube Basin is to hold the balance. One of the main tasks facing small nations was the preservation of their peculiar national character; and the small nations had it in their power to maintain their independence.* Hungary's cordial friendship for the Axis Powers was approved by the Hungarians both of the mother country and of the re-incorporated territories. He protested against the *declarations made by responsible Rumanian statesmen at Gyulafehérvár, and declared that it was impossible to stand by with folded arms in the event of an attempt being made in Rumania to divert attention from the internal troubles by inciting to hatred of the Magyars.* After the Prime Minister had spoken, the House by a large majority passed the *Appropriations Bill.*

At the session of the House of Deputies on December 10th. the House passed the *Rehabilitation Bill*, in terms of which those persons who have committed crimes and have been punished, shall in the event of their having turned over a new leaf be exempted from all grave consequences of their previous criminal record. This benefit may be applied by judges at their discretion; but in the case of offenders under 18 years of age the Bill unconditionally precludes the possibility of any sentence involving disadvantageous legal consequences.

During the debate in the Upper House on the Estimates, *Archduke Joseph Francis* declared that the greatest importance attached to our stressing that *the Hungarians were the leading people of the Danube Basin.* *Count Ladislas Somssich* had his doubts as to whether the present period was suitable for the initiation of constitutional reform? *M. Zoltán Meskó* expressed his satisfaction to learn that *in the restored territories no injury had been done to the Rumanians*, adding that *for that very reason he was entitled to express his indignation at the persecution of Magyars in Rumania.* *General Charles Bartha*, Minister for National Defence, assured the Upper House that the national defence measures were permeated with the most intensive social sense, at the same time announcing that *in officers' training courses — in addition to German and Italian — the language of one or other of the neighbouring States had been made a compulsory subject.*

Dealing with the question of constitutional reform the *Prime Minister* noted that it was every nation's duty to inquire whether its machinery of administration and government was in keeping with the transformation through which Europe is now passing. There had ensued a change also in the ethnical — "nationality" — structure of Hungary — *a circumstance that made it advisable to consider soberly the question of constitutional development.* *In respect of the Rumanian question he had from the very outset stressed the need for understanding.* *He had not lost*

patience when the expulsions and the persecution of the Magyars in Rumania had assumed excessive dimensions. Several weeks ago he had in a most conciliatory spirit asked for negotiations to be opened. But nothing had been done. All he was able to do now was therefore to pray that Rumania might be in a fit state to negotiate. Hungary had served the cause of peace when in agreement with Yugoslavia she had found the way to understanding; and that understanding would be further strengthened by the aid of the reciprocal respect of such long standing. No doubt this agreement would react to further a general rapprochement between the peoples of South-Eastern Europe.

M. Louis Reményi-Schneller, Minister of Finance, emphasised the importance of the further equipment of the Army and established that the originally "one-thousand-million" investments programme had expanded to 2.800 millions, 1650 millions of this amount having already been spent. Hungary was gradually adopting a more and more intensively systematic scheme of controlled economy. M. Dezső Laky, Minister for Public Supply, promised to do everything in his power to enable every one to obtain the commodities required for the maintenance of life. He would not however tolerate any accumulation of stocks. The Government had the gravest difficulties in ensuring proper and adequate supplies to carry us over to the new harvest; but plans had been prepared by the aid of which every one would be able to obtain enough to accumulate the reserve of energy required in his work.

TRANSYLVANIAN CONFERENCE

Several important discussions have taken place between the Hungarian Premier and groups representing Transylvanian interests. The most important of these conferences was the one held on 7th and 8th December at Marosvásárhely. At that conference it was stated that *the delivery of the 420 wagonloads of wheat, 300 wagonloads of maize, 6.2 wagonloads of lard and bacon, 7.5 wagonloads of noodles, 7.5 wagonloads of tinned food, 15 wagonloads of soap, 185 wagonloads of oil and petrol, 140 wagonloads of paraffin and 2.4 wagonloads of cooking-oil required to supply Transylvania's needs for the winter, had begun.* State Secretary M. Paul Algyay, pointed out that they had to contend with great difficulties of transport, *because the main railway line had been cut by the new frontier and the public roads in the restored areas were in a very bad state of repair.* The Government was having the roads mended, and had begun to build a connecting railway. These works and the erection of new Government and military buildings were undertakings of such great dimensions that 25 branches of industry were employed on them.

M. Joseph Varga, Minister for Industry, announced that after Nagyvárad a Chamber of Labour would shortly begin to function also at Marosvásárhely. M. Nicholas Bonczos, State Secretary in the Ministry for the Interior, then told the conference that *65.000 persons had fled to Hungary from the areas left under Rumanian rule. That most of them were waiting for a chance of being able to return was evident from the fact that only 4441 refugees had to be placed in camps and only 10.151 had received aid from the public funds.* After listening to the different reports Count Paul Teleki said that he had appointed a committee to study the question of Land Reform in the restored areas. This committee would have finished its work by the middle of January, but he could promise now that the non-Magyar, that is to say Rumanian owners of small holdings that had been acquired by lawful means would not be dispossessed.

Deputy Gabriel Pál complained of the terrible condition in which the Rumanians had left the restored territories, whose inhabitants would always owe a debt of gratitude to the mother-country for taking possession of them again. In his closing speech the Premier laid stress on the point that there was greater need of co-operation today than ever before. *The restoration of the Transylvanian areas had greatly enriched Hungary; for this reason — but also because it was their duty — the Hungarians would do all they could to help Transylvania as quickly and as effectively as was humanly possible.*

Dr. VANCEA, A RUMANIAN LAWYER, ON THE "OPPRESSIVE" HUNGARIAN RULE AND THE FUTURE OF THE RUMANIANS OF TRANSYLVANIA

The following statement was made by Dr. Joseph Vancea, a lawyer of Marosvásárhely, about the pre-war "oppressive" Hungarian rule, what the Rumanians did in Transylvania and what his opinion concerning the future of the Rumanians of Transylvania is:

"In pre-war days I always observed that no one suffered any civil disability because of his Rumanian nationality. The following will serve to illustrate what I mean by this: As a young lawyer's clerk I was employed in the office of a Hungarian solicitor at Szászrégen. In a civil lawsuit our office represented a Hungarian farmer who was at law with a Rumanian one. The court decided to settle the case by examining one of them under oath. In the Rumanian irredentist papers I had always read that the Hungarian courts of justice were not impartial, so I expected that they would give the benefit of the oath to the Hungarian suppliant, but to my astonishment it was the Rumanian who was allowed to make his statement under oath. This convinced me that what the Rumanian irredentist Press

was saying about the partiality of the Hungarian courts was totally unfounded.

"Another case of a similar nature came before the Hungarian Court of Administration. My client, a Rumanian, was using a Hungarian count, a prominent figure in politics, because of a ditch. *The Rumanian won the case.*

"Rumanian lawyers who held Hungarian diplomas were allowed to plead for their clients in the Hungarian courts in the Rumanian language.

"I had a very interesting experience in 1912, I was summoned as an interpreter to a trial by jury. A lawyer accused of seditious propaganda whose mother-tongue was Rumanian, but who spoke Hungarian perfectly — he held a Hungarian diploma, — was allowed to say in a Hungarian court of justice that he refused to submit his defence in any language but Rumanian. The President of the Court, Count Nicholas Lázár, sustained his plea and I was summoned to act as his interpreter."

Speaking of the state of affairs in Transylvania under Rumanian rule, Dr. Vancea said: —

"In those 22 years we learned what Balkan corruption meant. The following little witticism will serve as an apt illustration of the state of matters then. The Rumanian State Railways, the "*Calea Ferata Romana*", were called the C. F. R. for short. Everybody knew that the State Railways were a hotbed of graft and corruption. So the letters C. F. R., instead of being taken as short for *Calea Ferata Romana*, were generally said to be short for "*Coruptio Fara Rusine*", which being translated means "corruption without shame."

"*The inland revenue officials were incredibly corrupt.* They certainly grew rich. In Brassó there is an entire street of brand new mansions which is called "the thieves' street", because all the houses in it were built for public officials whose legitimate emoluments were not more than 5 or 6 thousand lei (about 40 dollars) a month. A well-known case illustrative of the point was the prosecution of the sugar refinery at Marosvásárhely, on the charge that it had cheated the revenue to the tune of 1,000,000 lei, which was instituted because the manager refused to pay a large enough sum as *bachsheesh* to the inland revenue men.

"We all know how many acts of brutality were perpetrated in Transylvania during the Rumanian era by the Rumanian gendarmes. I could also enumerate hundreds of instances of various kinds of abuses which served to undermine the population's faith in the lawfulness and honesty which ought to be the foundation of a State."

In connection with the articles in the Rumanian Press dealing with the alleged brutality of the Hungarian gendarmes, with Hungarian atrocities and the number of people who had been executed, Dr. Vancea said:

"From the first day on since the restoration the Hungarian gendarmes and State police have always been exemplary in their behaviour. They are polite and respectful of the law. If there were some unpleasant incidents of a not very serious nature, especially in the first few days following Transylvania's restoration, they were mostly the acts of fugitives who had been sadly manhandled and expelled from Rumania, or of people who had a grudge because of some physical or financial injury suffered in consequence of unjust treatment from the Rumanian authorities. I know of a case in Marosvásárhely when two cabmen gave a thrashing to a Rumanian official who had made them pay several thousand lei for their licences."

As to the future of the Rumanians of Transylvania Dr. Vancea summed up his opinion in the following words:

"I feel very confident about the future, for I know that the Rumanian people here will find prosperity within the confines of St. Stephen's Realm. I know the Hungarian people; they are first and foremost a nation of soldiers and are therefore guided by the principles of chivalry, honesty, order and lawfulness. I am convinced that Hungary will continue to fulfil its age-old mission of standing guard at the gate of the East. The Rumanians of Transylvania desire to live at peace with their Hungarian brethren and co-operate with them in the work of building up the Realm of St. Stephen."

ORGANISATION OF "FREE CORPS" IN RUMANIA RUMANIANS AGAINST VIENNA AWARD

At the *Josika* settlement, which was left to Rumania, a mass demonstration meeting was arranged by the Iron Guard on 27th December. About 5000 Iron Guards assembled there near the Hungarian frontier to make a demonstration against the restoration to Hungary of Transylvania. Among the Iron Guards who arrived from Bucharest were several leading men from Legionist headquarters.

These Legionist leaders made speeches in which they used the foulest language about Hungary. A resolution was also passed to organize armed "free corps" against Hungary and for the re-occupation of the Transylvanian territories assigned to Hungary by the Vienna Award. At the same time a few Rumanians who escaped across the frontier from Hungary to attend the meeting were encouraged to refuse to pay taxes in Hungary and to offer resistance to all the measures introduced by the Hungarian authorities. These Rumanians were fêted and given wine and spirits to drink after the meeting.

When the meeting was over and the resolution to form "free corps" adopted, a large quantity of arms and ammunition

was distributed among the several groups, which then marched in procession past the leaders from Bucharest.

The fact may be established that by means of such meetings as the one held at the Josika settlement Rumanian propaganda hopes to foment unrest among the Rumanians left in Transylvania, which might, in the present atmosphere, lead to instances of armed conflict that could be represented for propaganda purposes as examples of "Hungarian atrocity".

COUNT ESTERHAZY'S SPEECH ON GRIEVANCES OF MAGYARS IN SLOVAKIA

In the course of the Budget Debate on December 20th, 1940, Count János Esterházy, leader and only parliamentary representative of the Hungarian Party in Slovakia, made a long speech in the Slovak Parliament. Count Esterházy called the attention of the House to the numerous grievances of the Magyar minority and lodged a firm protest against their continuation. In the introduction he pointed out that his complaints are always met with sincere sympathy on the part of the members of the Slovak Government. *They appear to take an interest in the matter and promise speedy redress; but all their good will comes to nought on account of the indolence of the lower authorities, which exercise a sabotage against all orders serving the improvement of the situation of the Magyars.* "Most of our complaints concern the Minister for the Interior", declared Count Esterházy. "The orders of the Minister for the Interior, I regret to say, are mostly ignored by the subordinate authorities."

Then Count Esterházy proceeded to outline the educational grievances of the Magyars. He pointed out that the Slovak Government is, of course, entitled to leave out from schoolbooks those passages which were written in the spirit of the old régime; in this respect the orders are that the passages and pictures in question have to be pasted over. Some school Inspectors, however, are over-zealous and do not allow the use of the old schoolbooks at all. It would be very useful, said the Count, if the new schoolbooks could be published as soon as possible, as even the smallest Hungarian schools have enough pupils to make the undertaking pay. *"For my part I shall do my best to persuade the Minister of Education to prevail upon the Minister of Finance that they should allot a certain sum in the Budget for the publication of the new school books.* In connection with senior schools, I cannot help pointing out that the Magyars near Nyitra are without senior schools. A Magyar senior school must somehow or other be set up at some point in this little Hungarian isle, whereby the senior school of Pozsony (Bratislava) would also be relieved to some extent. The number of classes in the senior school at Pozsony must also be increased, because the Magyar

children must not be forced either to continue attending the primary school or to go to non-Magyar senior schools. More care should be taken of the schoolbooks and the school equipment. In the first class of the State Magyar Grammar School at Pozsony this year 131 children asked for admission, but only 60 were accepted. No parallel class could be established because there seems to be no room for it. This is the third building within two years to which the school has been forced to move. They have no laboratory, no gymnasium, and they have continual trouble with the heating. At the end of June last year, registrations for the first year of the Commercial Academy were cancelled, and the school is being gradually closed. Even the two parallel classes of the Commercial School have not been set up, so that 50 Magyar pupils who wanted to take up commercial careers have now been left without schooling."

After this Count Esterházy mentioned the grievances of the Magyar cultural associations. The Magyar Cultural Association in Slovakia has never been engaged in political activity. The Association moved from Komárom to Pozsony long before the change of régime, yet its statutes have not been approved. "Thus it is useless to recommend teachers and schoolmasters to give lectures and arrange performances if they have no adequate frame-work."

Then the Count proceeded to deal with the grievances of the Magyar educated classes. Thus, for instance, M. Zsedényi, a lawyer from Gölnicbánya, has been expelled from Slovakia, excepting the County of Árva, although he had had his office in the town for many years. The order says expressly: "Excepting Árva". But there is no County of Árva, or even a town or village called Árva in the whole of Slovakia. It is impossible, therefore, to deport someone to a place which simply does not exist. *When on December 17th I rang up M. Arva, head of the State Defence Bureau, to withdraw the above order in M. Zsedényi's case, he replied that M. Zsedényi was having a fine time at Alsókubin (a small place), where he could ski as much as he liked (laughter on all sides).* Such measures are apt to create mistrust and bad feeling in many people who are also afraid of a similar treatment."

At the end of his speech Count Esterházy discussed the situation of the Magyar workers. In this connection he mentioned the following facts: "In the course of the last two years I have repeatedly asked for the approval of the statutes of the Magyar trade union, for it is an impossible situation that a State should secure the livelihood of the workers in two different ways. It is impossible that, for instance, workers of the same mine should not receive the same treatment, and that where members of one national group receive a 20% supplement to their wages, the Magyar workers should not receive the same

merely because they happen to have no trade union of their own. When I repeatedly inquired into the matter, I was told that the trade union statutes would not be accepted, as Slovakia had become a national socialist State and the existing Slovak and German trade unions would also be abolished in the near future, so that the Magyar will also have to fit in the new order. The Minister promised that the Magyars workers would also enjoy the benefits of the new order; but I have my doubts in this respect, and therefore I demand that the statutes of the Magyar trade union should be approved as soon as possible."

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN SLOVAKIA

On December 14th, 1940, the "Slovenská Politika" published an article under the title "*The Spread of Anti Nationalist Pamphlets*", in which we read the following passage: "*After three months of inquiry the examination of the case of the communist agents in Slovakia has now come to an end. These agents, it is stated, were paid by a foreign Power and were engaged in disseminating communist pamphlets. At Trencsén, six such agitators were arrested, at Besztercebánya five, and at Zólyom three. In their rooms the police also found multiplying machines and material for the printing of the pamphlets. The arrested communists admitted their guilt; they have been taken to the prisons of Trencsén and Besztercebánya*". Such news may be read in the Slovak papers day after day. On December 14th the Slovak press gave an account of the number of prisoners at Illava: *most of the 145 political prisoners now kept at Illava are communists.* This piece of information shows us that the largest part of Middle-Slovakia — from Trencsén to Zólyom and Besztercebánya — is infected by the influence of communist propaganda.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

THE BRANCH LINE TO SZEKLERLAND

The Vienna Award — as we have already pointed out in our previous issues — cut off railway communication between Szeklerland and the rest of Transylvania. As a result a distance of about 600 kilometers, from one station of the severed line to another, could only be covered by motorbuses and motor lorries. The Government immediately set to work to amend this impossible situation. The building of a *new narrow gauge line in Szeklerland* was completed a short time ago and the opening of the new railway line took place on December 21st, 1940. The speedy completion of the railway line is a tribute to the efficiency of the Hungarian Government, in whose name the new line was opened by M. József Varga, Minister for Transport and Commerce, who declared that in 1942 a new normal gauge railway line would be opened in Szeklerland.

RUMANIA

THE NEW GERMAN-RUMANIAN CLEARING AGREEMENT

On December 4th Germany and Rumania signed an agreement for the new regulation of the economic relations of the two countries. The most important part of this agreement is the protocol containing — among other things — the ten years' agreement between the two States.

The protocol points out that Rumania has submitted to Germany a ten years scheme for the economic re-construction of the country and has asked for Germany's help and protection in the realization of this scheme. Germany, on the other hand, is willing to offer Rumania technical and financial assistance, as well as long term credits; Rumania is to receive machines and implements for the improvement of her agricultural production, the draining of marshes and for the building of an irrigation system. Germany will give *Rumania* technical and financial assistance for the systematic improvement of her industrial production. With a view to improving Rumania's communications, Germany is to furnish the country with large equipments within the framework of a credit operation; this is to include the railways, roads, and the oil line. Germany is willing to offer Rumania capital beyond the limits laid down, as well as agricultural, industrial and other experts for the building up of a modern

banking and credit system and of industrial production. Both Governments will see that the German market always remains open to Rumania at reasonable prices.

After the signing of the agreement, M. Cancicov, Rumanian Minister of Economic Affairs, informed the press of the importance of the agreement. He also declared that Rumania had joined the Mark discounting system, which means that from April 1st, 1940, the discounting rate of the Reichsmark will be 60 instead of 50 lei, with the exception of the oil quotas which, though the purchasing price has risen by 5%, will continue to be discounted at the rate of 50 lei to the Mark. This agreement — *M. Cancicov said* — *will put an end to a long dispute which could never be satisfactorily solved, viz. the question of how to discount the Mark.* The question will not arise any more, unless a new general settlement of the rate of exchange of the Mark is again undertaken for the whole of Southern Europe, or a general re-settlement of currencies is carried out. The definite settlement of the rate of the Mark has created a secure calculation basis for the economic life of the country, M. Cancicov continued. Never before, he said, had Rumania concluded such a far-reaching economic agreement with any foreign Power. —

SLOVAKIA

MILK PROBLEM IN SLOVAKIA STILL UNSOLVED

We have repeatedly commented on the difficulties encountered by the Slovak Government in respect of the solution of the milk problem. The milk problem began when part of the Highland territory was re-annexed to Hungary. We have also pointed out that the problem could be solved by the reorganization of the distribution of milk. In the winter months — when the supply of milk is, of course, even more important than in the summer season — milk has again become one of the gravest problems of Slovakia, affecting not merely the Government, but the administration and the population as well. On October 25th, 1940 the "*Slovák*" described the readjustment of the compulsory milk supply, as a result of which the villages have to take their milk to the neighbouring towns; only the smallest quantities, absolutely necessary for the demands of the families, can be retained in the villages. Thus the city of *Pozsony (Bratislava)* is being supplied by 185 villages. In addition to this, compulsory milk supply has been introduced in another 395 villages; even so, however, the supply problem of four towns: *Nyitra, Zsolna, Zólyom and Pöstyén* has not yet been solved.

The milk supply of the largest consumer of milk — *Pozsony* — is still unsettled; nor has the problem been so far solved in any of the other towns except the four mentioned above. On November 1st, 1940, the "*Slovák*" pointed out that even after the introduction of compulsory milk supply the Capital cannot secure more than 30—35.000 litres of milk a day, instead of its normal demand of 50.000 litres. This shows that the milk problem of the Capital is still awaiting a satisfactory solution.

Further aggravation of the milk problem was caused by certain changes in Slovakia's foreign trade. Hitherto *Hungary* exported 4.000 litres of milk a day to Slovakia, but the increase of her own home consumption has compelled Hungary to stop this export, a step which has involved the Slovaks in another problem impossible of solution. Recently the decrease of cheese production was expected to ease the milk problem; this, however, has only led to a further increase of milk prices. Thus, on November 26th, the "*Slovák*" reported the further extension of Pozsony's compulsory milk supply. It may be seen, however, that the problem cannot be solved by administrative measures; the only solution is to increase the milk production.

SHORTAGE OF FAT IN SLOVAKIA

One of Slovakia's outstanding problems is: how to secure the quantity of fat needed by the population. More than once has the young State been faced with this formidable problem. Hungary has repeatedly helped *Slovakia* with supplies of pork and bacon. The *Slovak Government* has now decided to draft a scheme for the elimination of the fat shortage from the series of its economic problems. The *Government* intends to subsidise farmers engaged in pig breeding, to enable them to go on with the fattening of 100—120 kilogram pigs; by this means the Government hopes to develop the scheme to produce a total of about 20.000 pigs of 150 kilograms each. A Government subsidy is absolutely necessary, as the ever growing shortage of meat and fat forces the farmers to sell their pigs long before they reach the weight of 150 kg.; in addition to this, the prices of fodder are so high that fattening is a luxury. The pigs fattened with the help of the State would then be bought up by the State for the purpose of covering the country's demand for fat. The same scheme promises further help to those farmers who exceed the 150 kg. limit. Hitherto Slovakia has imported fat and exported her own products in exchange. The present scheme of the Slovak Government shows that *Slovakia* finds it more and more cumbersome to proceed with this system of compensations.

YUGOSLAVIA

ECONOMIC CONNECTIONS BETWEEN HUNGARY
AND YUGOSLAVIA

Even before the Great War Hungary's industry possessed excellent connections in the markets of the East; it knew their demands and habits, as well as the possible customers in those markets. After its speedy improvement in the twenties, *Hungarian industry* attempted to establish business relations in the Balkans first of all. In the end this attempt proved successful, as the increase in quantity was followed by a corresponding increase in the quality of our products, which soon become popular all over the world, even in the markets of the Far West and overseas. *At the same time, however, the markets of the Near West also took an interest in Hungary's industrial production.*

Towards the close of Austria's political independence, in 1937, the value of Hungary's industrial exports to that country amounted to 8.5 million pengő, out of a total export of 99.5 millions. At the same time Hungary exported 24.0 millions worth of goods to Germany, 11.6 mil. to Yugoslavia, 24.5 mil. to Rumania, 2.3 mil. to Bulgaria, 1.9 to Greece, and 3.6 millions to Turkey. In the same year Great Britain imported 19.7 millions worth of goods from Hungary, but this was not the highest record: in 1931 Hungary's exports to Great Britain represented a value of 33.6 million pengő. In 1937 the other States participated in Hungary's industrial exports as fellows: Egypt 10.5 mil., Holland 6.5 mil., British India 2.7 mil., France 7.3 mil. Generally speaking before the new war the countries of the West took an ever increasing interest in Hungary's industrial production. The total value of the industrial articles exported by Hungary to Switzerland, France, Belgium, Great Britain and Holland amounted to 64.5 mil. pengő in 1933, while in 1937 this amount rose to 124.2 millions. To the five Balkan States Hungary exported 33.8 millions worth of goods in 1933 and 46.5 millions in 1937.

In France, the home of fashion, before this war Hungary sold large quantities of ready-made clothes and printed woollen fabrics. To Great Britain we exported women's silk underwear, boots, gloves, glass articles, etc., while to a number of other Western States Hungary exported wireless sets and parts etc. The new war, naturally, put an end to all western export trade. The States of the Continent have become still more important, and it is now that Hungary's economic policy appears to have been correct in so far as it has always encouraged economic and friendly relations with *Yugoslavia*.

The records of Yugoslav-Hungarian export trade relations do not sufficiently show the real importance of the well founded friendship and economic connections of the two countries. In

most annual reports Hungary appears to have been more active in her *imports* from her neighbour, but it would be incorrect to infer from this unfavorable balance that her relations with her neighbour did not serve Hungary's economic interests; for if we look at the articles imported from Yugoslavia, we see that they all are articles indispensably necessary to the maintenance of our industrial production, such as: iron ore, raw hides, crude metals, pig iron, and many other articles. At the moment, however, Yugoslavia figures as debtor in the clearing accounts. Unfortunately today Hungary cannot satisfy her neighbour's demands in industrial production, nor can Yugoslavia export sufficient quantities of raw materials to Hungary, at least much less than normally. *War, however, is by no means the natural state of mankind, and we are sure that at the end of this war the friendly agreement recently concluded between Hungary and Yugoslavia will ripen the historical relations of the two peoples into a most advantageous economic intercourse.*

At present Yugoslavia is still more pronouncedly an agrarian State than Hungary is, but she is well on her way towards industrialization; now, this process of industrialization will necessitate enormous investments in the products of manufacturing industry. It is in this respect that Hungary may reckon on an increasing export of such commodities as means of transport, railway engines, motor wagons, etc., for as soon as it is possible, Yugoslavia will no doubt embark upon a large scheme of modernizing her system of communications. In the near past Yugoslavia's greatest exporter was Germany, then Italy followed, while the rest of her imports was distributed in small quantities among different other States: thus, Hungary's participation as only 3.6%. This percentage can and must be increased in the future, and Hungary has very good reasons to believe that Yugoslavia will in the future become an ever growing market for Hungary's industrial exports.

YUGOSLAVIA BUYS 5000 WAGONLOADS OF HUNGARIAN SALT

According to a report published in the *Jugoslavenski Kurir*, Yugoslavia has decided to purchase 5000 wagonloads of salt from Hungary. The *Foreign Trade Bureau* has been authorized to transact this business in agreement with the Directorate of Monopolies. The above quantity is to be paid for partly in the form of compensations — goatskin, tannin, and, possibly, sugar beet, — while the other half is to be paid by clearing.

The Danubian Review is published monthly. — Editorial Offices and Management: Zrinyi-utca 1, Budapest V. — Responsible for the publication: Dr. ANDREW FALL. — Issued and printed by Sárkány 1740² Ltd. — Responsible for the printing: A. and J. Wessely.

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