

DANUBIAN REVIEW

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LADISLAS DE BÁRDOSSEY

On 4th February M. Ladislas de Bárdossy succeeded Count Stephen Csáky, whose premature death is sincerely mourned, as Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Perhaps it was by no mere chance, perhaps it is of symbolic significance, that now when the day ushering in the realization of Hungary's legitimate national claims has set in, the Hungarian Foreign Minister is that M. de Bárdossy who, as Hungarian Minister in Bucharest, played an active part in securing by peaceful means the partial revision that resulted in the restoration of the Eastern regions and part of Transylvania. M. Ladislaus de Bárdossy is a born diplomat. His present occupation of a highly responsible post means that a great man has been succeeded in a splendid but arduous task by one whose whole life has been spent in the service of the lofty aims of Hungary's foreign policy.

M. de Bárdossy is a happy example of a diplomat to whom office is not merely a profession, but also a mission undertaken in the nation's interests and whose sense of duty makes him keenly aware of the great responsibilities involved. The fifty-year-old new Minister of Foreign Affairs began his career in the Ministry of Education, whence, at the early age of thirty, he was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in recognition of his exceptional abilities. As head of the Press Department he obtained first-hand knowledge of all the aims of Hungary's foreign policy during the past two decades. His linguistic abilities, ardent patriotism and international connections made him particularly well fitted to take part in post-Trianon Hungary's struggle against the Little Entente and the various anti-Hungarian Press campaigns, and direct some of Hungary's battles, often anonymously in the background behind the scenes. In connection with the Transylvanian agrarian lawsuits and the affairs of the Magyar minorities M. de Bárdossy did valuable work by supplying international public opinion with information. With exemplary self-effacement he performed his duties, first in London, then in Bu-

charest, where until a few weeks ago he represented Hungary in delicate circumstances and difficult conditions, protecting the interests of the Magyars left outside the frontiers established in Vienna.

M. de Bárdossy has taken over the management of Hungary's foreign affairs at a moment when the high tension in the international situation demands an added sense of responsibility and an increased readiness for self-sacrifice from every diplomat. His special abilities, knowledge and diplomatic training are guarantees that the direction of the Hungarian Foreign Minister does not mean any change in Hungary's foreign policy. M. de Bárdossy is a convinced advocate of the unchanging, frank and sincere foreign policy from which Hungary has not deviated during the past ten years: it is a policy of loyalty towards her friends, amicable relations with all the Powers that sincerely desire peace, and one that aims at safeguarding, defending and serving the nation's interests within the framework of the present treaties. Our relations with the Axis Powers will remain as sincere and friendly as they were under M. de Bárdossy's predecessor. *The person and personality of the new Foreign Minister will prove a great asset to the country and a guarantee in these troublous times that in the future, too, Hungarian foreign affairs will be in the hands of a Hungarian patriot who has foresight, breadth of vision and the courage of his convictions.*



LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

BY

FRANCIS HERCZEG

The last word on the question of the elementary education of children belonging to linguistic minorities was pronounced by the Order in Council which, abandoning the idea of minority schools graded A, B, and C, has invested parents with authority to choose the language in which their children are to receive instruction. This Order is worthy of the high political and cultural niveau of the Prime Minister and his Minister of Education. Of a truth, in a country where — to use Count Teleki's own words — "*many different kinds of peoples are joined together in one form of life by common aspirations*", no more radical solution could well be conceived. We share the Prime Minister's avowed opinion that everybody is unquestionably entitled to cherish his own mother-tongue, his own ancient customs and traditions, and that it is the duty of every State to support its citizens in their endeavour to do so.

This must be recognized as a logical consequence inherent in St. Stephen's conception of the political State. The broad-mindedness of the policy advocated by the first king of Hungary is anyhow revealed by the fact that the thesis propounded by him at the dawn of Hungarian political life still holds good today and is one of the important requirements of the coming New Order in Europe.

It is, however, obvious — and this cannot be over-emphasized — that the great aim, the spiritual pacification of the peoples belonging to the Danube Valley, cannot be achieved until all neighbour States within whose borders Magyar linguistic minorities reside, also adopt the lofty ethical ideas revealed in the Order lately issued by the Hungarian Government. *If Hungary alone pursues the path entered upon with high hopes, if among her neighbours a single one is found that chooses to adhere to its old anti-cultural racial and*

educational policy, then the Hungarian Governments's Order must of necessity result in a series of fresh injustices to the Magyars.

Let us examine the practical aspects of the question, taking the problem of the Rumanians in Hungary as an example of the point at issue. All Rumanian parents will naturally send their children to schools in which the medium of instruction is the Rumanian language. Even were the Rumanians inclined to become Magyarized, which they are not and never were, their national propaganda, the most agile agents of which are the priests of the Orthodox Church, is too effective and makes too deep an impression on their minds, to allow of one single Rumanian father daring to send his son to a Magyar school. *The Rumanians of Transylvania will take full advantage of their legal rights, the result of which will be that a section of the Rumanian people will be comparatively well-educated, thanks to the higher grade of elementary education received in the schools in Hungary, and well-disciplined by their position as a minority.* For we know that intellectually and morally the Rumanians of Transylvania who grew up in Hungarian surroundings stood high above the level of the Rumanians of Old Rumania.

The question now is: *what is to be the lot of the Magyars of Rumania? If the Bucharest Government does not radically change its standpoint so far as the nationality question and the minority schools are concerned; if it refuses to take the same enlightened and generous view of these questions as the Hungarian Government does; if it goes on being as zealous as hitherto in causing the Magyar schools to fall into decline by means of name-analysis — unavowed but nevertheless practised — and by making the Magyar pupils fail en masse at their examinations; if it continues in the policy so ingloriously pursued during the past twenty-two years — then the return for the cultural work done by the Hungarian Government in raising the level of the Rumanians in Hungary will be a materially and spiritually repressed Magyar minority in Rumania.*

Every person with any commonsense will understand that so far as this question is concerned the principle of reciprocity must be allowed to assert itself, and it cannot be a matter of

doubt that little is to be expected in the way of reciprocity from the loyalty and consideration of the Rumanian Government and Rumanian public opinion. These questions must be settled, in a manner leaving no scope for ambiguity, by means of bilateral agreements. There are quite a number of questions awaiting settlement, for *there are Magyars enough in Bucharest alone to people a large town. Then there are the Magyar Csángós of Moldavia, who have never succeeded in obtaining permission even to confess to their priests in the Hungarian language, to say nothing of the fact that in their wildest dreams they have never dared to hope for Magyar schools. What has been said of Rumania is applicable more or less to other neighbour States too.*

When day by day we see how jealously the giant nations of Europe keep count of the smallest settlements of their racial brethren in foreign countries, we must understand that it would be an unpardonable blunder to have as little care for our Magyars living under alien rule in the future as we have had in the past. In the present circumstances that would be equivalent to onesided disarmament.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

"TRANSYLVANIA PARTITIONED."

BY

ZSOMBOR DE SZASZ

In the October 1941 number of the *American Foreign Affairs* there appeared, from the pen of Professor Philip E. Mosely, of Cornell University, an article entitled "Transylvania Partitioned", which betrays a marked bias in favour of all things Rumanian, and a similarly marked antipathy towards Hungarian aims, claims and hopes. Professor Mosely has, of course, a right to his Rumanian sympathies, even in the present days of the Iron Guard spell. The object of these lines is not to criticize his attitude, but to throw some light on certain of his statements, which may perhaps lend them different interpretation from that conveyed in the article.

To both Magyar and Rumanian nationalists, writes Professor Mosely, Transylvania has long represented the keystone of national integrity, the strategic security and economic well-being of their peoples. This is true only with reservations; there is an enormous difference between the postulates of Hungarian and Rumanian national integrity.

The Hungarian idea of national integrity, that is, the instinctive conviction that Hungary proper and Transylvania belong together, is as old as the Hungarian kingdom and is not restricted to Magyar "nationals", but has been felt by every Hungarian in every age. The history of Transylvania, so far as its Hungarian character is concerned, cannot be broken up into periods of union and separation. From the foundation of the Hungarian State at the end of the ninth century until 1540 Transylvania formed an integral part of the Kingdom; from that year until 1690 the western parts of Hungary were ruled by the Habsburgs and the Danube-Tisza regions by the Turks; in the east the Transylvanian Principality was formed. But this separation was only territorial, and portended no psychological breach in Hungarian

unity. Foreign domination, Habsburg and Turkish, threatened the Hungarian nation, and during this period Transylvania was the bearer of the Hungarian national idea. To serve the interests of the entire Hungarian nation by preserving her own independence and separate existence, — this was the paradoxical aim of Transylvania's policy at this time. Not division but unity, not a permanently separate Transylvanian State, but the salvation of the unified Hungarian nation was the goal. In struggling against both Habsburgs and Turks the Princes of Transylvania were led by no separatist ambitions, but only by the hope of the ultimate reunion of dismembered Hungary, of which Transylvania was a part. This was the mission and the justification of an independent Transylvania.

The country's policy under Habsburg rule between 1690 and 1867 was merely a continuation of this attitude. The unitary conception of the Hungarian nation never suffered a break.

These facts prove that it was not "national ambition", as Professor Mosely puts it, which impelled the Hungarians to seek a reunion between Hungary and Transylvania, but a natural endeavour to restore an integrity of long standing, broken up by events beyond their control. Another error on Professor Mosely's part is his statement that the union was "at last in 1848—49 proclaimed by the revolutionary Hungarian Government." Professor Mosely evidently wishes to lay the union at the door of the revolution; the fact is that it was proclaimed in the early months of 1848, before there was any sign of a revolution, by entirely legal legislations (not by a "government") both in Hungary and in Transylvania, the enactment being sanctioned by King Ferdinand as Act VII, of 1848. That, as a result of the war of liberation against Austria, the Act was not carried into effect at the time, has nothing to do with its legality. Nor was the *de facto* restoration of the unity the outcome of the "political astuteness" of the Hungarians, but the result of the persistence, or "intransigence", if Professor Mosely prefers the term, with which they clung to their historic rights and institutions, among which they counted the union of Hungary and Transylvania.

The Rumanians, as Professor Mosely has to admit,

cannot point to a "long record of political domination over Transylvania"; that domination lasted twenty years in all, beginning in 1920 with the Treaty of Trianon and ending on August 30, 1940, with the Vienna Award.

This brings us to the vexed question of the foundations of the respective Hungarian and Rumanian claims to Transylvania. Professor Mosely writes that "since 1918 the Hungarian claim to Transylvania has perforce rested on historical, geographic, strategic and economic — but not on ethnic — arguments", while that of the Rumanians rests on ethnic grounds — no others are mentioned by Professor Mosely.

This statement is correct except for the suggestion that the ethnic argument was dropped by the Hungarians in 1918; the Hungarian claim never rested on the ethnic argument, because, since the eighteenth century, the Hungarians have always been in a minority in Transylvania.

The Hungarian claim rests, first of all, on the historic fact that ever since the conquest of the country at the end of the ninth century Transylvania was always, uninterruptedly, Hungarian. Her history was made by Hungarians, her culture was evolved by them. Her constitutional structure, which was one of the most peculiar in Europe, was built up on the conception of the first King of Hungary, St. Stephen, and rested on the equality of the three free "nations" in the land: the Magyars as the original occupants of the country, the Székelys as the autochthonous inhabitants descended from Attila's Huns, and the Saxons who had been invited by the Kings of Hungary in the twelfth century to colonize the uninhabited waste lands. In the early centuries when this organizations came into being the Rumanians were nowhere. They made their appearance later as bond serfs and peasants, playing no part in the country's history until the eighteenth century when, under the influence of the nationalistic ebullitions of western peoples, they began to demand first equality, then autonomy, and finally separation.

While the Hungarian claims rested primarily on historical and traditional grounds, those of the Rumanians were based on ethnic arguments.

It is an undeniable fact that the Rumanians were in a

majority in the transferred territories. Professor Mosely writes that in 1910 the percentage of the Rumanian inhabitants in these districts was 55. We do not know whence he took these figures, for the Hungarian census of 1910, the only one available for that year, puts the percentage at 53.81. According to Professor Mosely, this percentage, 55 or 53, increased by 1930 to 57.6 (according to the official Rumanian census of that year to 58.3). These figures show a majority of three or four per cent. on the side of the Rumanians; on this slight majority the Rumanian claims were based, and it was deemed sufficient to justify the transfer of Transylvania from Hungary to Rumania. When, in 1918, the Rumanians, assembled in Gyulafehérvár, declared for the union, they were careful to invite no Magyars or Saxons to the assembly, lest they should be outvoted.

Professor Mosely regards the increase of the Rumanian inhabitants between 1910 and 1930 from 53 per cent. to 57 per cent., and the decrease of the Magyars from 31.8 to 26.7 per cent. (he does not quote the latter figures) as a natural phenomenon. This is a delusion; the decrease in the number of Magyar inhabitants is the result of artificial causes. One of these was the wholesale expulsion of Magyars — approximately about 200,000 — during the first years of the Rumanian domination. Another was that, whereas under Hungarian rule most of the Jews of the country (73 per cent.) declared themselves to be Hungarians of the Jewish faith, the Rumanian administration refused to accept this and forced them to describe themselves as either belonging to a Jewish minority or as Rumanians, notwithstanding the fact that in both cases their native language was Hungarian. A further reason was that a few thousand Magyars, because they happened to be members of one of the two Rumanian Churches, the Greek Orthodox or the Uniate, were registered as being Rumanians by race.

Professor Mosely quotes some statistical figures in connection with another question. „During the long period of Hungarian rule“, he writes, “the Rumanians came to resent with increasing bitterness the numerous barriers placed in the way of their progress, showed a Rumanian literacy of only 27.9 per cent., compared with 59.9 for the Magyars, the Ru-

manians saw in these figures an argument for demanding their national and social emancipation rather than a proof of inherent Magyar superiority".

This is a most curious statement.

It should be known that elementary education in Transylvania was primarily in the hands of the various Churches; the children learned to read and write in the denominational schools. There was nothing to prevent the Rumanian Churches from maintaining elementary schools and attending to the instruction of the children in their fold to the same extent as did the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches. If they failed to do so, it was no one's fault but their own.

The suggestion that the Transylvanian Rumanians demanded secession from Hungary because they hoped to find in the Rumanian Kingdom, in Wallachia and Moldavia, the cultural advantages which they lacked here, is ludicrous on the face of it. The Rumanian population of the old Kingdom was on an even lower cultural level than that of Transylvania.

We may perhaps be allowed to add a few figures to those of Professor Mosely.

In 1910 in the border county of Háromszék 60 per cent. of the Magyar inhabitants and 38.2 per cent. of the Rumanians could read and write; in the adjoining Rumanian county of Buzeu only 18.7 per cent. were in that position. In the Transylvanian county of Brassó 75.3 per cent. of the Magyars, 83.6 of the Saxons and 56.5 of the Rumanians were literate; in Prahova, on the other side of the border, only 23.3. In the Transylvanian county of Hunyad, which had a strong Rumanian majority, 68.8 per cent. of the Magyars and 20.2 of the Rumanians were literate, while in the contiguous Rumanian county of Gorj only 17.6 could read and write. It would seem from these figures that the Transylvanian Rumanians had little cause to reproach the Hungarian administration and but a scanty prospect of having their cultural level raised by transference to the kingdom.

One omission in Professor Mosely's article in connection with the Rumanian claims is significant.

Rumanian historians have for some time past stubbornly upheld a fabulous story according to which the present-day Rumanians are of Roman origin, being descended from those Roman soldiers and civilians who settled in Transylvania in the second and third centuries of the Christian era, when that country was a Roman colony; thus, it has been maintained, they are an autochthonous race in Transylvania and possess a primordial right to the country.

This is the so-called theory of "Daco-Roman continuity".

It was invented at the beginning of the nineteenth century and has been refuted not only by Hungarian but also by French and German historians; the Rumanians have clung to it nevertheless and have used it as a strong argument to support their claim on Transylvania. Not until the union was effected did Rumanian historians decide to drop it. It is not without interest to note that it played no part at the Peace Conference and that Professor Mosely has likewise refrained from mentioning it.

One of the arguments used by the Rumanians at the Peace Conference was the fact that a few weeks after they had proclaimed the union the Saxons of Transylvania had lent it their adherence.

This "small but not unimportant element" in Transylvanian life, the Saxon people, were invited by the Kings of Hungary in the twelfth century to people the deserted regions of the country. They enjoyed an extensive autonomy, the so-called *Universitas Saxonum*, were granted many rights and privileges, and formed one of the three free "nations" of Transylvania. Their sane common sense and high level of culture made them a strong pillar of the Hungarian State, which on its side formed a solid basis for their cultural and historical progress. Bishop Teutsch, wrote "Should Hungary be ruined we should be annihilated, both as a people and a Church; should our country be torn away from Hungary, our history of many centuries would be wiped out as well as our future."

Yet a few weeks after the Rumanian assembly in Gyulafehérvár the Saxons accepted, to quote Professor Mosely's words "with as good grace as possible the change of

sovereignty by voting for union with Rumania." After a few years of Rumanian domination, however, the same Bishop Teutsch wrote as follows:

"... The decision was not easy, because the whole past of the Saxon people and the roots of all their institutions lay in Old Hungary. The annexation of Transylvania by Rumania meant breaking with the Occident and an approach to the Orient, which harbours great dangers for their civilization.

"Nevertheless they could do no other than they did; they had to make the Madgyes declaration, although they knew that they would alienate the Hungarians — and although their souls were filled with anguish. The reasons for their feeling thus were clear: they felt that the change would mean, not the end of Hungarian feudalism and the substitution, in its place, of general freedom and equality, but only the transformation of the former servants into present-day rulers."

This hardly sounds as though the Saxons had been very eager to join the Rumanians in 1919, nor that they were very happy under their rule.

Less precipitate than the Saxons were another German-speaking people of the transferred territories, the Swabians of the Banat. In July 1919, before they had made their declaration of adherence, Herr H. Anwender, who later became a member of the Rumanian Parliament, wrote: „The Swabians are still hesitating, although, after the Saxon and Serb declarations, their continued clinging to Hungary is both hopeless and vain." But this attitude was nature, he added, for of all the minority peoples of Hungary "the Germans had been the least desirous of a shifting of the frontiers."

It was not till August 14, seven months later, that they recognized the annexation of the Banat by Rumania.

This reluctance will be understood the more readily if it is remembered that the Transylvanian Rumanians themselves were not over keen to be attached to the kingdom. Both at the preliminary discussions which took place in Arad and at the Gyulafehérvár Assembly the leaders hesitated for a considerable time before they could decide whether union with a Balkan State such as Rumania was desirable. Their reluctance found expression in the famous Resolution of Gyulafehérvár, which stipulated, not only administrative autonomy for

Transylvania but also the introduction of a "pure democratic government" in Rumania, which was lacking in that country.

It would lead us too far to enumerate all the points in Professor Mosely's article which would be seen in a different light if they were divested of their Rumanophile make-up. But we find it impossible to pass over in silence one remark which we cannot but think was written with the deliberate intention of hurting Hungarian susceptibilities. "The jubilation", writes Professor Mosely, "with which the Hungarians have now accepted the partition of Transylvania and the recovery of half its area makes it clear that they do not take too seriously their own arguments regarding the 'natural unity' of the region, but are delighted to have secured a large territorial increase which ethnic claims alone could not justify."

We said above that the Hungarian claims to Transylvania have never been and are not at present based on ethnic arguments but primarily on historic ones. The recovery of half of Transylvania was received with jubilation because nearly one million Hungarians were freed by it from an odious and oppressive foreign yoke and reattached to their motherland. This could not but be cause for great satisfaction, the outward signs of which Professor Mosely saw and noted. What other feelings and hopes lie buried in our hearts he cannot see. We are in the midst of a terrific struggle, but we have never wished to realize our claims by armed force, and we are content that the first step has been taken in the right direction.

Convinced as we are of the righteousness of our cause, we are prepared to wait, and are not impressed by Professor Mosely's threat that the Vienna Award may prove to have been but a stopgap if Britain wins the war.

THE SITUATION IN RUMANIA

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

In the last week of January Rumania passed through a serious internal crisis. Until 1919 that country counted as a new State in the European family of political communities. *Then, thanks to the Paris Peace Treaties, her fantastic Daco-Rumanian dreams were realized*, and Rumania's new life began as a State which was not the result of a long process of organic evolution. In a country like this upheavals were to be expected. The *coup d'état* of 6th September following on the Vienna Award of 30th August last put an end to the dictatorship of King Carol II, and forced Rumania to enter new paths. Legionist Rumania resolved herself into a peculiar dualistic form of State, and an extremely curious kind of government arose in which the Legionist movement, represented by the Iron Guard organization, exerted an influence on politics without being entrusted wholly with the executive power of the State. Officially General *Antonescu*, himself an avowed adherent of legionist principles, was Prime Minister and Leader. He had control of the army and was supported by a section of the population. On the other hand, the Iron Guard, which had been split into factions by internal strife, demanded and obtained a share in the government of the country through the person of the Deputy Premier, *Horia Sima*. This was the organization of the first Legionist Rumanian State, in which for four and a half months the Iron Guard strove with passionate determination to achieve its sole aim: exclusive possession of the executive power. The equilibrium maintained by General *Antonescu*, backed by the army, and *Horia Sima*, backed by the Iron Guard (maintained that is to say, by two separate factors not organically connected) was upset, and for three days (January 21—23) *a spiritually disunited Rumania was threatened with total anarchy*.

After the assassination of Herr Döring, a major of the German General Staff, the General Manager of the Rumanian State Railways was shot. Thereupon General Antonescu dismissed his Minister of the Interior, who placed himself at the head of one of the Iron Guard factions, and for three days street fighting that amounted to a civil war took place all over Rumania. These riots were inspired by Party-egoism and by low instincts finding an outlet in robbery that were psycho-pathological in nature. The mob, which all over Rumania committed acts of gross vandalism, was fired by the worst mass instincts. As General Antonescu said in one of his proclamations: "The Legionist movement ended in anarchy." The whole world, appalled, read in the press, or heard over the wireless, that the short rule of the Iron Guard had turned Rumania into *a sink of corruption, with added horrors of murder, robbery, and looting*. This was not merely the attempt of a small group to upset order; it was the movement of an organization embracing the whole of Rumania to seize control of the executive power, *and the result of that movement was that several thousands were killed and incalculable material damage done. An attempt on the life of General Antonescu himself was made twice.*

ANTONESCU'S DRAMATIC PROCLAMATION.

The most faithful picture of the civil war that raged in Rumania on January 21, 22, and 23 is reflected in the proclamations, Press statements, and decrees issued by General Antonescu during and immediately after those three critical days. Here special mention will be made of the proclamation issued at noon on 25th January, in which General Antonescu told the people of Rumania the bloody events of the preceding days, accusing the Iron Guard of a degree of ingratitude unparalleled in history. "*Rumanians*", — so began the proclamation, — "*we have again gone through days of upheaval, horror and disgrace. My children, for whose sake I gave up my career, for whom I have suffered, for whom I paved the way to the coup d'etat of 6th September, with whom I shared the government of the country, found no better way of showing their loyalty to myself and their nation, which had faith in*

*the power of ideals, than by firing at me and attempting to upset order in the State. I do not believe that any more crying acts of ingratitude have ever defiled the pages of history. Close to the Prime Ministry, in the building nearest to it, in the headquarters of the Guard, with the aid of M. Petrovicescu, former Minister of the Interior, head of the State Police, to whom I had entrusted the security of the State, cannon, machine-guns and rifles were stored, and a plot was hatched to put me out of the way in the dead of night. When that plot failed, I was attacked in broad daylight. The streets of the capital were blocked by carts and cars abandoned by the workmen who had been forced to join the strike, factories were either closed down or set on fire, houses, whole parts of the town, were destroyed, people were robbed and murdered. The capital and many other towns in the country lived through hours of horror and civil war. All my efforts to quell the rebels were of no avail. The waves of hatred swept through the streets. I was obliged to send for the army. I, who engineered the *coup d'état* of 6th September without shedding one drop of blood; I, who suffered more than anyone else at the time of the Jilava atrocities, because I did not want to stain my hands with blood, but was determined that though the criminals would have to be earnestly punished, perhaps even put to death, it should be done by a public trial; I who have always punished every crime and injustice and shall continue to do so: I was forced to order my soldiers to fire on their Rumanian brethren, Rumanians, You will have to be told the whole truth. On the occasion of the raid on the Prime Ministry, when two private soldiers were killed and an officer was severely wounded, not a hair of the head of any of the rebels was injured. The band of six hundred ruffians, men, even women and one twelve-year-old child, all recruited from the lowest dregs of the population, that turned machine-guns on the soldiers, escaped without a scratch. The soldiers did no more than appeal to the rebels and use threats to induce them to disperse. In the Calea Dorobanților the rebels captured a soldier, soaked him with petroleum and burnt him before the horrified eyes of his comrades. The same thing took place on the Dâmbovița Embankment. In other places the soldiers, who even then did*

not use their arms, were stripped naked and mocked, while cries of "Dogs!" "Cowards!" were shouted at the officers, just as in an anarchist revolution. The soldiers were fired at from the roofs and windows of houses. The army was forced to fire on the mob when one after another the soldiers were brought down by the rebels' bullets. Those scoundrels who, using the Legionist movement as a cloak, would destroy the country to serve foreign aims, deserve no better fate than the ruffians who, following their lead, met their death in the streets. *The greatest blame attaches to those (and they deserve the severest punishment) who persuaded the mob to join a mad movement breathing anarchy and hatred, to those who cheated their followers and led them to their death, abandoning them to their fate when fighting began.*"

The first official report of the number of killed and wounded, which was issued on 29th January, begins its enumeration of data with the following words: *"The rebels staged a terrible massacre; they had no regard for the most elementary principles of humanity, and their lust for blood was insatiable."*

With draconic severity General Antonescu has instituted measures for the protection of public order that are unprecedented even in the Rumanian legal system, although, as we know, no country in Europe ever passed so many laws for the defence of the State as did Rumania. The ruthless mercilessness of the new Defence of the Realm Edict (*decret-lege*) issued at the beginning of February shows the terrible difficulties with which General Antonescu has to contend. The Decree makes a whole series of criminal acts punishable with death; illegal entry into private houses is punishable by a sentence of hard labour for life, and members of any secret society may be sentenced to from 10 to 25 years years penal servitude. From a number of its paragraphs it may be seen that the Edict is directed solely against the Iron Guard, and that its one object is to prevent that body organizing in the future. The courts must pass sentence within 24 hours and there is no appeal against their sentences.

On 27th January General Antonescu formed a new Cabinet, in which he kept the Prime Minister's and the Foreign Minister's portfolios for himself. The rest of his Ministers are

army officers and departmental men, and there is practically not a single politician among them. Together with Antonescu himself, there are 12 generals in the new Cabinet, which reports from various sources state will remain in office only until the internal situation is cleared up. *Our first impression of Antonescu's present Government is that it is merely a stepping-stone towards a military dictatorship.* His proclamation, issued when the new Cabinet was formed, definitely emphasises that his *"Government, which rests on a military foundation, represents unity and discipline."* As regards that Government's foreign policy, the same proclamation states that "Rumania marches without hesitation on the side of the Axis Powers." Great Britain has since broken off diplomatic relations with Rumania.

With the formation of this Government the first Rumanian Legionist State, in which the system of administration was based on the co-operation of Antonescu and Horia Sima, was superseded by the second Legionist State, which — as announced by General Antonescu in his proclamation of 24th January — is to be organized by the Leader himself according to his own ideas. *"I shall prove"* — said General Antonescu in that proclamation — *"that the leaders of the Legionists did not deserve to be obeyed blindly.* Many of them, who obtained high political positions by no other means than shameless impudence, were not qualified to fill them; they did not behave correctly, and were wholly lacking in all humane feelings. Because of such" — went on General Antonescu — "I was unable to achieve unity between the young and the old; it was in vain that I issued proclamations during the five months of my administration, all my efforts to create a brotherly spirit among the brethren were of no avail" General Antonescu's proclamation closed with the following words: *"In the future a real Legion will be formed under my personal and immediate leadership."*

In the statement to the Press made by General Antonescu on 2nd February a passage which says that *"when work and discipline have been fully restored in the country, political reorganization will begin"*, would seem to indicate that he is thinking of some form of resurrection of the old political Parties. It is not impossible that he will try to create a new

United Party, but neither is it impossible that he will inaugurate political organization with the collaboration of the old politicians. The "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" of 26th January does not believe that General Antonescu will be successful in reorganizing the Iron Guard and in creating a new United Party, for *that would be the fourth United Party in Rumania within two years' time.*

Rumania is still in a fluid state. The task of straightening out the confusion caused by the short spell of civil war and the work of purification is not finished yet, and is causing General Antonescu's Government no little worry. Tranquillity and stable order have not yet been achieved. Rumania is still far from a state of peace, for now that General Antonescu and the Iron Guard have completely parted company the section of the Iron Guard that suffered defeat continues to organize.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

MARGINAL NOTES ON YUGOSLAV POLICY

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF M. TSVETKOVITCH'S PREMIERSHIP

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

On February 5th it was two years, that after the unexpected downfall of M. Stoyadinovitch, his successor, M. Tsvetkovitch, formed his first Cabinet. Our reason for mentioning this anniversary is that M. Tsvetkovitch has done great service to his own country and also to the cause of peace, not only by bringing to a successful conclusion an agreement between the Serbs and Croats, and normalizing relations between Russia and Yugoslavia, which had been unsettled ever since the end of the war, but also, and from a Hungarian point of view primarily, by *drawing Yugoslavia and Hungary closer together through the Treaty of Friendship concluded on 12th December last, and last but not least, by his more humane and equitable treatment, especially as compared with former conditions, of the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia.*

As regards the Treaty of Friendship, the Bill dealing with its enactment was unanimously passed without debate by both Houses of the Hungarian Parliament. This was taken cognizance of in a series of strikingly enthusiastic articles by all the Yugoslav newspapers irrespective of their political views. The Treaty will be ratified shortly when M. Cincár-Markovitch, Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs visits Budapest.

Two recent events mark the strengthening of the cultural links that have been forged during the past few years between the two neighbour countries. *The one was a concert given in Budapest on January 23rd by the "Obilic", a mixed choral society of university students from Belgrade; the other, the presentation to the Belgrade University of about 200 volumes of the latest publications issued by the Hun-*

garian Academy of Sciences. This gift was from the Hungarian Government, and it was handed over to the University by the Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, *M. George Bakács-Bessenyei.*

Another thing that points to an increasing improvement in the political relations, attributable partly to the international tension, was the extreme satisfaction with which the news of the former Hungarian Minister in Bucharest, *M. Ladislaus Bárdossy's* appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs was received in *Yugoslav political circles and by the Serb and Croat Press alike.*

One of the newspapers of the German minority, the "Volksruf", sharply criticized *M. Budanovitch*, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Szabadka (Subotice) because he had ordered the Roman Catholic school-buildings at Szilberek (Brestovac) in the Bácska to be knocked down, and had had a home for a society called the "Youthful Crusaders" built in their stead. The "Volksruf" finds it astonishing that *"the persuasive ability of the priests should be able to coax the extremely thrifty and cautious Swabians to part with millions and millions of dinars for such an entirely meaningless and useless institution designed merely to make the Swabian youth dull and stupid."* Besides in Szilberek, Bishop Budanovitch has established homes of this sort for German youths in three other, mainly Swabian, villages of the Bácska. *"And — says the "Volksruf" — in the rest of the German villages the priests are scheming to obtain possession of German schools and German money for the same purpose" "We warn the parish councils of the German villages — continues the newspaper — not to help the priests to carry out their schemes, not to make terms with the ecclesiastical authorities concerning the school-buildings and school funds confiscated from the Churches by Ordinance No. 10.030 issued on 20th August 1920, when education was nationalized, and not to give any money for such purposes."* ("Volksruf", 1940, Dec. 11.)

As was stated in an earlier issue of this paper, the Germans of Yugoslavia already have over 50 sport societies. German in character and completely under German management. Now, at a meeting of the German sport societies of

the Bácska held on 6th January at Ujverbász (Novi Vrbas) it was resolved at the instigation of the "*Schwäbisch-Deutscher Kulturbund*", the central organization at Ujvidék (Novisad) of the cultural and social clubs of the German minority, to form a separate German football association in the Bácska, to function as a sub-department of the *Kulturbund*. The formation of this association will be followed shortly by the formation of similar German football associations in Seremia and the Banate. *Besides this, a separate German games committee is to be organized.* The clubs joining the German football association are soon to resign membership of the Szabadka sub-division of the Yugoslav Football Association. This resolution, which could not have been put into execution a year ago because of the insuperable obstacles that would have been raised by the authorities, signifies an important stage of advance in the widespread organizing activities of the Germans in Yugoslavia. ("Napló", Jan. 8.).

The movement of the German minority to achieve independence has now spread to all social, professional and even religious organizations, and will increasingly result in the creation of a united German front in all walks of public life.

A similar movement, but one more political in character, has been set on foot by the Bunyevatz people of the Vojvodina, a large number of whom openly profess to be Croats. On 12th January these Bunyevatz-Croats held a meeting at Szabadka under the aegis of the Croat Cultural Alliance, to which 72 cultural societies of the Bácska and Baranya sent representatives. At this meeting, presided over by Mons. Blasko Rayitch, Papal Prelate, and attended by Bishop Budanovitch, comparisons were drawn between the situation of the Bunyevatz-Croats of the Bácska and Baranya and that of the Germans, who, it was complained, were now steadily gaining ground even in the public administration. The Germans — it was stated — had no fewer than four secondary schools, but permission to establish a Croat denominational secondary school in Szabadka had not yet been granted by the higher authorities. It was also complained that there were strikingly few Roman Catholic

teachers or teachers of Croat (Bunjevatz and Shokatz) nationality in the State elementary and secondary schools in the Voivodina. Before the meeting dispersed a resolution consisting of four points was adopted. According to it, the Bunjevatz and Shokatz people of the Bácska and Baranya are Croats, who have thrown in their lot with the Croat nation and have accepted the Croat Peasant Party as their representative. *They demand the appointment of "Croat" teachers in the Croat schools and the establishment of a Roman Catholic "Croat" secondary school and a teachers' training college in Szabadka, where the greater part of the Bunjevatz people reside.* In conclusion the resolution declares that *the cultural organization of the "Croats" of the Bácska and Baranya is the Croat Cultural Association, and their economic organization, the "Matica" in Szabadka.* All "Croat" cultural and economic societies are therefore requested to join these two "Croat" peak organizations. ("Novosti" Jan. 15.)

One effect of the Treaty of Friendship concluded between Yugoslavia and Hungary on 12th December last is that the organization of the Magyars of Yugoslavia has also begun with great *élan*. It makes things much easier that the authorities only occasionally raise difficulties, and no longer make it *a priori* impossible with all sorts of machinations for the Magyars to unfold their wings, as they so often did in the recent past. *The Hungarian Cultural Alliance formed at Ujvidék on 24th November is working with feverish zeal to accomplish the organization of the Magyars of Yugoslavia in the fields of culture, economics, public health and physical training.* This work is greatly facilitated by the gratifying circumstance that the bye-laws of the Alliance were approved at last on 3rd February by the Government. Various Magyar societies have now joined the Alliance, and *there is every reason to expect that in a short time all the cultural, social and economic societies of the Magyar minority will become members thereof.* In terms of the approved bye-laws, means will also be found of establishing sport clubs of a Magyar character, a long-felt want in Yugoslavia. Besides this, the Hungarian Cultural Alliance proposes establishing local branches in as many Magyar villages as

possible, in order to ensure harmonious work and effective co-operation.

The Hungarian Cultural Community in the Banate of Croatia has also been working with satisfactory and growing success. Recently it established two new local branches, and in time it will organize all the Magyars — some 65 or 70 thousand — living in that Banate. To this work of organization belongs the formation on 9th February of a new association for the Magyar university students in Zagreb. This was greatly needed, seeing that after the creation of the Banate of Croatia a Decree was issued by the Ban dissolving all students' associations.

Another satisfactory result of the Treaty of Friendship was that on 11th February the Belgrade Government at long last approved the agreement concluded and signed on 26th July 1939 by Hungarian and Yugoslav delegates concerning the *Tökölianum* and the *Angelianum*, two Serb institutes in Budapest, as well as the *Julian* Hungarian schools which till the end of the last war had been functioning in *Croatia-Slavonia* and *Bosnia*. The ratification of the agreement and the exchange of the documents of ratification will take place in Belgrade. ("Novosti" and "Reggeli Ujság", Febr. 12.).

In the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship *the authorities in Zombor, Ujvidék, Zagreb and Szenttamás (Srobran) allowed the Magyars to arrange balls expressly called "Hungarian balls"*. These balls provided occasions for the exhibition of Hungarian peasant costumes, the performance of Hungarian peasant dances and the presentation of Hungarian peasant customs. A few years ago any attempt to arrange a Hungarian ball or to wear Hungarian costumes would have been frustrated by "irresponsible elements" with all sorts of acts of violence and terror.

The Treaty of Friendship also makes its effect felt in connection with the notorious Decree restricting the buying and selling of real estate. In the matter of an appeal the judgment of the Szabadka Courts of Law, which constitutes a precedent, was that the District Courts have no right to adopt an attitude at variance with the provisions of the recent Ordinance containing various mitigations of the ori-



ginal Decree. The result of this precedent is that, for the present at least, *the practice of strictly limiting the free buying and selling of real estate has ceased, and even people of Magyar nationality have only to produce their certificates of Yugoslav citizenship in order to be able to buy and sell houses and land.* ("Reggeli Ujság", Jan. 23.) This, however, does not mean that a question closely affecting the material interests of the Magyars of Yugoslavia and their chances of being able to acquire property has been definitely settled; but it is an important step towards a just and satisfactory solution.

A certain improvement is also noticeable in the field of Magyar education. One Magyar female teacher has at long last been appointed by the Ministry of Education to teach in the elementary school belonging to a group of outlying farms near Oromhegy (Uzunovicevo) where, for lack of teachers, 238 Magyar children of schooling age have not received any elementary education for some time now. In the purely Magyar village of Gombos (Begojevo), thanks to the representations made by Dr. Leo Deák, former member of the Provincial Diet, 42 Magyar children were transferred from various classes of the State elementary school to a parallel Hungarian department. These children had been relegated to the State school at the beginning of the present school-year by the educational authorities on grounds furnished by the notorious system of name-analysis. Yielding to the insistence of Magyar parents the Government has also opened a Hungarian parallel department in the village of Erdöd (Erdevik), but has omitted or neglected to appoint a teacher of Magyar nationality, or at least one who can speak Hungarian.

A radical and just solution of problem, the school was again urged by Senator Varady, Dr. Leo Deák and Dr. Ivan Nagy, three prominent leaders of the Magyar minority, when they paid their respects to *M. Miho Krek*, the new Minister of Education, on 13th February. Whether their efforts will be crowned with any success worthy of the name, the future will reveal.

TWO CENSUSES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

BY

LOUIS JÓCSIK

We have already reported that a census of the population is being taken at present in Slovakia. Mention has also been made of the disturbances, the nationality complications caused, or rather brought to the surface, by that census. *The nationalities in Slovakia declared that they were separate racial groups, and this led M. Mach, Minister for the Interior, and M. Murgas, Propaganda Minister, to issue statements threatening dire consequences if the Habans, an ancient German people, dared to register as belonging to the German racial community. To these statements Herr Karmasin, leader of the Germans of Slovakia, replied. In extremely pointed terms he told the Slovak politicians that the Germans of Slovakia laid claim to every avowed German in the country, even to those who did not absolutely conform to the German racial character.*

These complications have all arisen from the principles on which the Slovak census was based. Let us see what these principles were. The first was that *everyone belongs to the nationality of which he declares himself to be a member.* This is a natural right, for if there is anything that cannot be forced on people, it is their nationality. But what happened in Slovakia? Seeing that from the very outset the Germans of Slovakia were the most-favoured racial group, what happened was that a *number of persons who did not absolutely conform to the German racial character professed to be Germans.* This was the reason why the Minister for the Interior and the Propaganda Minister made those statements threatening the Habans. In their statements they invoked what they called the "objective census principle", and then endeavoured to enforce it by means of threats. According to the teachings of demography, that principle should be construed as meaning that *nationality characteristics are determined not merely by subjective data (e. g. the statements of the persons concerned), but also by objective criteria.* An objective criterion of this sort is the mother-tongue. If now we study the complication that have arisen in connection with the Slovak census, we shall see that the Slovak politicians would have liked to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. *They made nationality dependent on the statements of the persons concerned. By doing so they thought that with the aid of propaganda they would induce the vacillating elements to declare themselves Slovaks.*

This is borne out by the active way M. Charles Murgas threw himself into the work of preparation for the census. *When, however, they realized that a census based on the statements of the persons enumerated gave the mixed elements an opportunity of registering as non-Slovak nationals, they would fain have enforced the "objective census principle", and were soon at cross-purposes with themselves.* With one hand, they gave the enumerated freedom of choice, but when the latter began to take full advantage of that privilege, they tried to deprive them of it with the other hand. No wonder that Herr Karmasin, Count John Esterházy and Bishop Gojdics, leaders respectively of the Germans, Magyars and Ruthenians of Slovakia, took every opportunity of protesting against this double-dealing.

A census was also taken in another country of Central Europe — in Hungary. If we examine the fundamental principles of the Hungarian census and the attacks launched on it by the Slovak Press, all that took place in Slovakia in connection with the Slovak census will appear in an even more curious light.

The Hungarian census was fair to the minorities.

What were the fundamental principles of the Hungarian census? *In accordance with age-old traditions, the Hungarian census naturally allowed every person absolute freedom to act on his own convictions when stating to which nationality he belongs. Every Hungarian census hitherto taken, from the first to the last, has granted this right to every inhabitant of the country. At the same time control is exercised to prevent the enumerated abusing this liberty in any way.*

How is this achieved? The census papers contain two spaces to be filled with answers to the following questions about nationality. The first question is "What is your mothertongue?" the second, "To what nationality do you belong?" What is cleared up by the answers to these questions? Let us see what possibilities present themselves. It may happen that the answer to both questions is "Magyar", In that case the person concerned may be considered a hundred per cent. Magyar. These are the true-born elements, of which it may be established that the objective and subjective criteria are in complete accord where the question of nationality is concerned. But it may also happen that a man who states that his mother-tongue is Magyar declares that he belongs to a non-Magyar nationality. Here we have a person who, though his mother-tongue is Magyar, has grown up in the cultural and social atmosphere of some other nationality. In such cases the Hungarian census, with liberal generosity, allows people whose mother-tongue is Magyar to declare themselves members of a non-Magyar nationality.

Of all the nationalities in Hungary it is the German minority that at the present census reaps the greatest benefit from this measure.

Another thing that may happen is that a man declares himself to be of Magyar nationality, but states that his mother-tongue is not Hungarian. This is usually the case with people who did not begin their lives in Hungarian surroundings and whose first language was not Hungarian, but whose ideology and sympathies have become, or are on the way to becoming, Hungarian in their present social, cultural and political environment. As we see, the Hungarian census metes out the same treatment to all and sundry, be they Magyars or people belonging to other nationalities.

The basic principles of the Hungarian census are in accordance with our ancient traditions.

It is incomprehensible why the principles on which the Hungarian census was based should have raised such a storm in Slovak nationalist Press. The Slovak newspapers evidently did not understand them because they were so different from the principles that the Slovak census and the Slovak Press endeavoured to enforce. *It is worthy of note that the nationalities in Slovakia took up arms for the enforcement of the very principles on which the Hungarian census was conducted. In other words: while in Slovakia the nationalities had to fight hard in order to ensure that their separate existence should be registered by the present census, Hungary, with a noble gesture, herself hastened to give her nationalities every opportunity of documenting their independent national status.*

The Slovak nationalist Press could not, and cannot, understand how it is possible, especially in Central Europe, that there are cases when nationality and language do not of necessity mean the same thing. This is something that the nationalistic ideology, the ambition of which is to ensure the absolute domination of one nationality, cannot in the nature of things understand or admit. The strife that arose in Slovakia, though it seemed to be concerned with abstract principles, thus most clearly shows that *the Slovaks would like to be sole masters of the country.* In contrast to this the Hungarian census was conducted on the principle of equality, without which a peaceful symbiosis of the nations and nationalities in Central Europe will always remain a vain hope.

Numerous articles dealing with St. Stephen's conception of the political State have appeared in this periodical. The principles that found expression during the present Hungarian census were the same as St. Stephen's principles of government. By this we mean that *the present Hungarian census was conducted in accordance with traditions of a thousand years' standing.* It is natural that a country dating from yesterday finds these principles hard to understand, but understood they must be if Slovakia does not wish to endanger her own peace and the peace of her Central European neighbours.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

CULTURAL TREATY SIGNED IN SOFIA BY THE HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Dr. Valentine Hóman, Minister of Education, accompanied by a large suite, arrived in Sofia on 17th February for the purpose of signing the new Hungaro-Bulgarian Cultural Treaty. Bulgarian official circles and Bulgarian public opinion seized this opportunity of giving outward expression to *the warm and sincere feelings of sympathy that have always existed between two kindred nations, equally afflicted by the Peace Treaties and both struggling to obtain revision, feelings which have their roots in the traditions of the dim historical past.* Both nations are famous for their heroism, their chivalry and their natural gifts, and the cultural links between them have always been strong. The Hungarian nation has also welcomed with enthusiasm this fresh documentation of an old friendship.

The Hungarian Minister of Education was invited to a number of lunches, banquets, soirées and excursions arranged in his honour. He was also received in audience by the King. He was elected a member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and both he and several of his suite had high distinctions conferred on them by King Boris. At the soirée given by M. Filov, Bulgarian Premier, the following words were adressed to the Hungarian guests of honour by their host:

"The links between the Hungarian and Bulgarian nations reach far back to the beginnings of their histories, and many signs go to show that Magyar civilization and Proto-Bulgarian civilization were of one common origin in very ancient times. Those links remained unbroken throughout the succeeding centuries. In recent times the friendship between Hungary and Bulgaria was made stronger by their comradeship-in-arms during the world war and the similarity of their sufferings in the years following its conclusion. In view of these circumstances the need of a cultural treaty was felt by both nations. That it has been signed in such troubled and fateful days proves that Hungary's and Bulgaria's aims are mainly centred on peaceful co-operation."

"In the course of their history Bulgarians and Hungarians — said the Hungarian Minister of Education in his reply to Premier Filov's address — have often lived in close proximity; *sometimes they even joined forces in defence of their national existence against an oppressive alien power.* In very ancient times, before the State-building Proto-Bulgarians and their

kindred the Magyars took possession of their present homes, they belonged to the same zone of civilization in the Far East, in fact for long periods of time they lived within the framework of one State. This cord, twined of two strands, was reinforced by a third when, awakening to a realization of the historical ties uniting them and the similarity of their present problems, each began to study the civilization of the other and to make an exchange of cultural value. *The Bulgaro-Hungarian Cultural Treaty is the crowning-point of the work carried on for decades by Bulgarian and Hungarian scholars*, and I believe that this treaty, which will ensure co-operation between national cultures that extend to all the different phases of national life, *will result in a closer friendship between two nations rendered inter-dependent by the laws of historical necessity, and prove the strong pillar of a fairer future for both.*"

PENAL MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD NATIONALITY FEELING

On February 5th. the Hungarian House of Deputies passed the *Bill dealing with the penal measures to safeguard nationality feeling*. This is in keeping with the traditional spirit which St. Stephen already defined and established as a precept when he founded the Hungarian kingship. This fundamental principle is in evidence as a guiding precept in the whole course of the constitutional development of the Hungarian people. *The equality of the non-Magyar nationalities and the spirit of tolerance towards the minorities was the source also of Act XLIV. of 1868, which is still a fundamental law.* That peace with the nationalities did not however develop in the degree desired by the Hungarian political conception arising from the St. Stephen traditions, — *though the Magyars went to the extreme limit of tolerance and goodwill* —, this being due to those nationalities which lived on the frontiers of the States of their racial brethren being continually exposed to a systematic propaganda of incitement on the part of those States. The measures of Act XLIV. of 1868 were extended and made even more liberal by Trianon Hungary in Acts III. of 1921, XVI. of 1938 and XIII. of 1939, in 1940 by the incorporation of the system of *ethnic groups* dealt with at the time in our Review and by the issue of a series of ordinances including the minority elementary education Order in Council explained in another article in our present issue. The text of the Bill providing for penal measures to safeguard nationality feeling runs as follows: —

Text of the Act.

§. 1. „*Any one offending the nationality feeling of any of the nationalities living in the country by the use of a term*

of a humiliating character or by the committal of an act of such nature shall — provided his act does not render him liable to severer punishment — be guilty of an offence punishable with imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months. In the event of the offence being committed by publication in the press or in any other manner publicly, the punishment shall be imprisonment for a period not exceeding twelve months. Criminal procedure against offenders shall be instituted on application by a private party.

§. 2.

"The present Act shall come into force on the day of its promulgation."

The Preamble to the Bill contains the following passages:

"Act XLIV. of 1868 ensured the non-Magyar nationalities complete equality of rights and as incidental thereto the same protection under criminal law as is enjoyed by the citizens of the State belonging to the State-building Magyar race. In addition, the non-Magyar nationalities living in Hungary, as equal Members of the united political nation composing the Hungarian State, enjoy special protection under § 172 of Act V. of 1878 dealing with crimes and offences (Penal Code), in terms of which confinement as first-class misdemeanants (under §§ 1 and 4 of Act XVI. of 1938 imprisonment) for a period not exceeding six months shall be inflicted on any one guilty of inciting either of the nationalities against any other nationality by publication in the press or otherwise publicly. The measures of our criminal law provide satisfactory protection of the important public interests attaching on the one hand to the safeguarding of the respect due to the Hungarian nation and on the other hand to the ensuring of the peaceful symbiosis of the nationalities which have made their home in the country.

"But so far our system of criminal law has lacked legal measures affording expressly penal protection to the nationality feeling composed of spiritual factors of a community or individual character — of sentimental and moral elements — resulting from membership of a particular nationality against all acts offending that feeling. It is this protection that the present. Act desires to provide when — with the object of enforcing the fundamental principles already referred to — branding as an offence and making liable to condign punishment to be adjusted to the manner in which the offence is committed any act of any person by which that person offends the nationality feeling of any other nationality living in the country either by the use of a term of humiliation or by the committal of an act of such nature. By extending protection under penal law to acts offending nationality feeling the Act desires also to achieve the educational object of prevailing upon the sons of the various

nations living together in the same country and sharing the same lot to refrain from belittling one another merely because they speak different languages. This ultimate object of the Act is the realisation of the universal moral principle that no one should regard himself as of lesser value because he belongs to another nationality. *As a measure affording protection under penal law to nationality feeling the Act is without precedent in the field of criminal legislation; for neither the older nor the most recent foreign penal codes (e. g. the Italian, Swiss, Danish, Yugoslav, Polish, Russian, Rumanian, Czecho-Slovak codes) contain any measures providing for the penal protection of nationality feeling.*"

Debate in the House of Deputies.

Among those taking part in the debate in the House of Deputies was Imre Mikó, who pointed out that, when in a speech delivered in Milan Mussolini first called Hungary "*the Great Dismembered of Europe*", the Rumanian Press poured a veritable drum-fire of hatred on the Magyar minority living in Rumania. One Rumanian paper actually went so far as to suggest that the Rumanians should settle the Magyar question by arranging a new St. Bartholomew's Night. Then Mussolini — so wrote a Rumanian paper called "*Rumanian Voice Among the Széklerised Rumanians*" — would be able to make a suggestion re the accumulation of the corpses. At the time this article published in the Rumanian paper in question was submitted to the League of Nations at Geneva by Gustavus Kővér; but the good people of Geneva did not discover anything deserving even to be rebuked in the Rumanian appeal to the lower instincts. *This shows that in Rumania no importance was attached to safeguarding nationality feeling.* M. Mikó then said that the Bill was an exemplary contrast to the minority procedure of the League of Nations and showed that Hungary was carrying into effect in her inner life this epoch-making reform, *not under pressure from foreign countries, but in fulfilment of the St. Stephen conception.* —

ORDER IN COUNCIL DEALING WITH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION OF LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

On February 1st the Hungarian Government issued an Order in Council in keeping with the St. Stephen traditions which is to ensure the cultural development of the linguistic minorities and the instruction of their children in their own mother tongues. The text of the Order is published herewith in full, the significance of that Order being explained by the official statements of the Hungarian Premier and the Hungarian Minister of Public Education which are subjoined.

"The Royal Hungarian Government — by way of supplement to and amendment of Order in Council No. 4800/M. E. ex 1923 relating to the adjustment of the elementary education of children belonging to the linguistic minorities — ordains as follows: —

§ 1.

"The regulations relating to the elementary education of children belonging to the linguistic minorities shall be amended in keeping with the provisions hereinafter following.

§ 2.

"In those schools (standards) in which instruction is given to children belonging to linguistic minorities under the system defined in paragraphs 3. and 4. of § 1. of Order in Council No. 11,000/M. E. ex 1935, those subjects too which at present are taught in Hungarian shall be taught in the mother tongue of the children.

§ 3.

"In those parishes (villages, school districts) in which the parents of the children under 15 years of age belonging to linguistic minorities so desire, the Royal Hungarian Minister of Public Education may in agreement with the Royal Hungarian Prime Minister and with due consideration for local conditions ordain that instruction shall until further notice be given as provided in paragraphs 3. and 4. of § 1. of Order in Council No. 11,000/M. E. ex 1935.

§ 4.

"The regulations relating to the obligatory teaching of the Hungarian language shall not be affected by the present Order.

§ 5.

"The present Order shall come into force on the day of its promulgation; the Royal Hungarian Minister of Public Instruction shall provide for the carrying into effect thereof.

Budapest, 1-st February, 1941.

*(signed) Count Paul Teleki,
Royal Hungarian Prime Minister."*

Count Paul Teleki, Prime Minister, made the following statement in connection with the new Order in Council: —

"To ensure the cultural equality of the linguistic minorities is a St. Stephen tradition; for the St. Stephen State idea is the concept of an understanding between the peoples and of a judicious and sagacious leadership of the peoples as organised politically by the great King. The State idea of a united and uniform territory combining people of many races through a

uniform standard of life in a common existence and uniting them in common endeavours and for common welfare.

"This spirit of our ancient traditions impels me to declare that *every one has an indisputable right to cherish his own traditions, and that it is the duty of the Hungarian State, as of all States, to further such endeavour on the part of its citizens who are not Magyars by tongue* and to make it possible for them — indeed, to encourage them — to acquire knowledge in their mother tongues. We must ensure the non-Magyar nationalities being able freely to develop their culture, to preserve their peculiar nationality character (to use a modern term, their "folkic character") and to develop the same, providing also for this being done in full agreement and on the basis of reciprocity, and not in the form of antagonisms between the several nationalities. *We do not wish — indeed, it is not possible — to make any one Magyar against his will or his feelings, or to pretend that he is a Magyar. But for that very reason we cannot permit either that any one should against his will or his Magyar feelings be reckoned as belonging to another nationality or compelled to join that nationality by the aid of spiritual pressure.* The Hungarian State cannot under any circumstances tolerate any attempt to introduce disunion or antagonism — either officially or by agitation — among the families of mixed race or the several groups of divergent nationalities so frequently found living together in this country as a consequence of the nationality composition of its people. We must therefore in our treatment of the nationality question keep at arm's length all State chauvinists and extremist nationality agitators, — the wildly fanatical men who have "neither eyes nor ears" and the kind of business men whose motto is "this is what I live on".

"The new Order in Council too was drafted in the spirit of our ancient traditions and with due regard for the needs of practical life. It provides that in nationality areas and in all places where there is a sufficient number of children of schooling age who are not Magyars by language, the children belonging to the linguistic minorities shall be enabled freely and of their own choice to attend schools using their mother tongues as languages of instruction. *In this manner the instruction will in general be given in the mother tongue of the child in question.*

"As is only natural, the validity will continue of the measure taken at an earlier period providing that where so desired by the parents of the children (provided the latter are sufficient in number) in schools in which Hungarian is the language of instruction too their mother tongue must be taught as a separate subject, and the Order provides also that if the parents express a decided wish to that effect, instruction shall be carried on in the future too in two languages where the persons concerned declare such procedure to be desirable and necessary. And we

shall find means to provide further that *non-Magyar children living in sporadic groups in a Magyar environment shall receive instruction also in their mother tongue.*

"In order to secure the family-unit forming the basis of the nation we must in this connection at all costs maintain the right of the father; *the decision of the question as to which school a child shall attend must be left to the unprejudiced will of the parents: and the parents must also be ensured the right of changing their minds during the years in which their children are receiving elementary education and of transferring them to another school.*

"The Government will leave no stone unturned to provide that parents shall be able to freely assert their will; and *every attempt to influence them — whether on the part of an official organ or of other parties — will be most rigorously punished.* We shall maintain in force unchanged the legal measures relating to *the obligatory teaching of the Hungarian language*, as well as those which ensure the instruction in their mother tongue of Magyar children living in non-Magyar or mixed villages."

Dr. Valentine Hóman, Minister of Public Education, made the following statement regarding the carrying into effect of the new Order in Council: —

"The Order in Council and the explanatory theoretical comments thereon offered by the Prime Minister clearly explain the attitude of Government and at the same time lay down the guiding principles underlying the elementary education of children who are non-Magyars in language. It is my task to provide for the carrying into effect of the Order. I must provide that the children of my non-Magyar compatriots *shall — naturally without prejudice to the obligation to teach the State language — be taught in their own mother tongues if they decide to that effect freely and without pressure from without.*

"I must provide that, in all cases in which a sufficient number of children of schooling age who are non-Magyars in language are living in a Magyar environment, provided that their parents so desire, these children shall be taught their mother tongue as a separate subject in the Magyar schools, or that certain subjects shall be taught — under the system of teaching with mixed languages of instruction — in their mother tongue. *I must finally provide also that every Magyar child of schooling age shall receive elementary instruction in Hungarian, because Magyar children must attend schools in which Hungarian is the language of instruction.*

"At present, outside Transylvania — from which province I shall not be able to get exact figures until a few weeks later —, *instruction is being given in the mother tongues of the pupils in roughly 1200 public elementary schools — in 700 of these schools exclusively in the mother tongue of the children and*

in the others in both Hungarian and in the respective mother tongue. In these schools there can be no obstacle to the introduction of teaching in the respective mother tongues. And if we see any need for the establishment elsewhere too of schools or the opening of classes in which the language of instruction is a non-Magyar tongue, we shall solve that problem also as from the beginning of the coming school-year.

"A number of the Magyar children living in nationality environments have so far received instruction in Hungarian in the schools with mixed languages of instruction. This is not feasible in the new type of nationality school; and for that reason I must try another solution. Where the decision of the overwhelming majority of the parents is in favour of the establishment of a school using exclusively the non-Magyar mother tongue as the language of instruction, I shall establish a separate class or school respectively for the Magyar children wherever the number of such children in the village in question exceeds ten. And for Magyar children in non-Magyar environments in groups of less than ten I shall establish elementary boarding-schools at some central point in which the children may be placed by their parents against a very trifling payment in kind or free of charge in the case of an entire lack of means, as has been done already with great success in the case of the elementary boarding-school at Komád. The older children of the farming classes — the pupils of the V—VIII. classes — would naturally only be able to remain in the boarding schools in the winter months and then after completing their studies would have to hasten to the assistance of their parents.

"In terms of our laws the language of instruction of an elementary school is to be determined by the body or persons responsible for its maintenance. For that reason — in view of the large number of denominational schools — I shall apply to the Church authorities to carry the Order in Council into effect within their own spheres of jurisdiction in a similar spirit."

THE HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE'S EXPOSE

Speaking on 6th February in the Hungarian Parliament, M. Louis Reményi-Schneller, Minister of Finance, outlined his programme for the coming fiscal year. He explained foreign, in particular German and Italian, economic plans, and then continued as follows: —

"The Government's chief aim is to organize all the economic resources of the nation, increase the capacity of every factor of production to its uttermost limits, and place its services at the nation's disposal. I shall begin with the most important of all the factors of production, the soil. We desire to make the soil produce all that it possibly can without losing its productive energy.

In the first place we wish to increase the area of arable land. Not a foot of soil must be left uncultivated; measures must be taken to ensure that every rood of soil fit for cultivation shall be tilled. Poor, sandy, barren areas and areas unfit for cultivation because of their sodaic content must be improved and made arable. At a modest computation there are 600,000 acres of sodaic soil in the country. Plans to deal with this matter are being worked out, but, of course, they will require time for completion. Parcelling must be conducted on a broader basis, and if necessary, made compulsory. Every means of improving the soil will have to be employed. Irrigation must be developed. Another important aim in view is to improve and standardize the quality of the crops. Everything is being done to further this aim. Great care is also being taken to employ the productive energies of the soil for the cultivation of the more valuable kinds of plants outside cereals, such as fodder, industrial plants, medicinal plants, fruit and vegetables. On these principles a department will be created the task of which will be to determine the quantity and quality of the different kinds of produce to be grown in each region, with due consideration for its climatic conditions. Cattle-breeding and export demands must also naturally be taken into consideration. Special attention will be devoted to the German and Italian markets. We also aim at raising the level of the expert knowledge required for increased production."

Speaking of the development of forestry, the Minister pointed out that *there was a close connection between forestry and the timber trade.* Domestic needs, industrial requirements and the interests of the Treasury would have to be brought into harmony.

"We also wish to develop cattle-breeding in a systematic way" — continued the Minister of Finance, — "in particular cattle-breeding by the peasantry. In this respect the restored areas will be responsible for a considerable change, seeing that with them possibilities have increased. *We are preparing a general scheme of cattle-breeding in which due attention will be given to the different branches of economy, in particular to the question of public supplies . . .*

"In connection with agriculture mention must be made of the Land Reform. Large estates are capable of fulfilling their vocation if they make use of all the capital at their disposal to further production and give employment to as many wage earners as possible. *Everything must be done to prevent production falling off as a consequence of the Land Reform.* Co-operative farming societies should be encouraged and support given to the branches of production that best serve the interests of the small farmer. It is particularly important that a knowledge of modern methods of farming should be spread as widely as possible among the farming classes. With the restoration of a part of Upper

Hungary, Subcarpathia and Transylvania the possibilities of prospecting for mineral wealth have greatly increased. The development of mining is closely connected with the question of *energy*. Water-power must be harnessed to produce electric energy. Here again the problem is connected with the questions of *irrigation and navigation*. All these must be co-ordinated, and we must make provision for a uniform electrification of the whole country. By doing so we shall be able to ensure that *the entire population of Hungary is supplied with electric energy*

"The distribution of supplies must be centralized and their use controlled. If necessary, the order of production in the factories must also be controlled. The Government is determined to promote with all the means at its disposal the utilization of our domestic raw materials, also of synthetic and artificial materials. The collection and utilization of waste materials must be ensured. The shortage of artificial raw materials will teach us many things that will be of use later on. Many substitute and artificial materials are being used today that are at present regarded as substitutes but which a few years hence will be looked upon as suitable raw materials and will be generally employed.

"The development of industry is another important item of the Government's programme, if for no other reason than to provide a growing population with employment. Here one of the chief aims is to ensure a livelihood to the largest possible number of workers. We must leave no stone unturned to provide industry with its requirements...

"Commerce must be organized. A check must be placed on all unjustified speculation and unnecessary commission business. The distributon of the primary articles of consumption requires a perfect system of organization...

"As thorough and organic as our entire production must be, so carefully must human labour, whether manual or intellectual, be organized. Two things will have to be made absolutely clear: It is the duty of all to do the work they undertake with all their might, and able-bodied persons must not be allowed to remain unemployed... Close co-operation must be established within the different branches of occupation. Provision must be made for the social welfare of the workers, and honest, skilful work must be appreciated. This leads us to the questions of wages, workinghours, holidays with payment, hygiene, physical training, State labour exchanges and the housing problem.

"The aim of this programme is to raise the general standard of public welfare. For this purpose more and more articles of consumption must be produced. It cannot be carried through over-night, especially under present abnormal conditions, with bad crops, a lack of raw materials, etc. We must not think in terms of money but of commodities. However much money we possess, we cannot buy what does not exist. Consumption must

therefore be organized, distribution of commodities is not a private right. *The object of exportation is to acquire possession of the needful raw materials unobtainable at home, not merely to dispose of our own surpluses.*

"To put these plans into effect a *uniform management of money and capital is necessary.* So far as money is concerned, the most important thing is that *the purchasing power in circulation should be in ratio to the commodities produced.* To this end prices must be regulated, fixed and controlled. No well-organized economic life is possible without this. *The development of economic life is regulated by the gold stocks in hand.* Gold is one of the means by which international payments are maintained. Lacking credit no profitable investments are possible, but *credit must not be employed except to promote production. Capital must not be mistaken for money.* Capital's rôle is to provide fresh possibilities of labour, and it is our intention to make capital serve in every respect the interests of the nation."

NEW SOCIAL REFORM IN TRANSYLVANIA

On February 1st the Minister for Commerce ordered the extension to Transylvania too of the new social reform introduced in the mother country some time ago. In other words, this means the enforcement of Act XXI of 1937., which provides for the *introduction of the forty-eight hours labour week in all branches of industry, commerce and mining, for a minimum wage system, and annual holidays with pay.* At the same time the Ministry ordered the carrying into effect in Transylvania of Orders in Council Nos. 7290 ex 1940 and 9150 ex 1940., which provide for the payment of a 7% supplement to every private employee, servant, labourer, etc.

"SLOVAKIZATION" OF MAGYAR NAMES

We have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the Slovak Government has started, and is now encouraging, a movement aiming at the "Slovakization" of Magyar names, i. e. the replacement of Magyar names by Slovak ones. The movement was originally suggested by private individuals, then the press took it up and published articles by hotheaded Slovak nationalists expressing surprise at the fact that even leading personages of the Slovak State are still using their old Magyar names. This, they said, was an impossible state of affairs and demanded that the nationalist and chauvinist character of the Slovak State should be demonstrated and secured in every respect. For this reason, they pointed out, *it was not permissible that leaders of Slovakia's political life*

should use Magyar names or, for that matter, even that the small people should wear a foreign mask.

The movement, which was thus started by private individuals, presented a very delicate problem for Slovak statesmen. The situation became even more delicate when *the public began to demand that the movement should be supported by the official authorities; this demand came as an unpleasant surprise to many leading Slovak statesmen with Magyar or German names.*

Let us see how the Slovak Government attempted to solve the delicate problem. In the first place, they had to find a historical justification for this new movement of "Slovakization". For this purpose they invented the explanation that *the large number of Magyar and German names in Slovakia is due to the violent campaign of "Magyarization" under the old Hungarian régime, which forced so many thousand good Slovak patriots to give up their original Slovak names and exchange them for Magyar names and become Hungarians altogether.*

The situation became more and more delicate for those statesmen who have Magyar or German names, but this fact was never noticed by the chauvinists of Slovakia's political life. It is easy to imagine how weak the patriotic feeling of the present Slovak nationalists and chauvinists must have been, if the immediate ancestors of these men, before the Great War, succumbed to the alleged movement of Magyarization. For this reason they began to issue statements to the effect that such names as Csatlós, Pöstyéni, or Karcas were genuine Slovak family names though, of course, their Hungarian form and origin are indisputable.

In this connection it will be useful to mention the memorable event in Hungarian history which may serve as a back-ground for this accident in Slovakia's political life at the present-day.

In the eighteenth century the ethnographic boundary line between the Magyar and Slovak areas lay much farther north than it is to-day; it lay about 50 to 70 kilometres farther north. At the end of the religious wars (which lasted in Hungary much longer than elsewhere in Europe) the Protestant Magyars were driven out of their homes in Upper Hungary, and their place was taken by Slovaks everywhere, Slovak colonists being allowed to settle on the estates in that area. The dividing line between the Slovak and Magyar areas was thus broken in its continuity, and the small ethnographic groups of each race came to be intermingled. These sporadic groups, at the most peaceful periods of history were then merged into the ethnographic majority. This is the explanation of the fact that simple Slovak people, living about 70 to 90 kilometres from the present Hungaro-Slovak frontier, let us say at Trencsén,

Nagyszombat, Zsolna, etc. still retain their ancient Magyar names. These simple people were really of Magyar origin, their ancestors must have belonged to some of the sporadic Magyar groups which were torn out of the Magyar community by the movement of the anti-Reformation and were then assimilated by the Slovak majority. — *The Magyar people has thus contributed, among other things, towards the quantitative increase of the Slovak people too.* We, on our part, do not deny that the reverse process has also taken place frequently: Slovak elements have also been absorbed by the Magyar people. It is, therefore, hard to understand why the political leaders of Slovakia now endeavour to abolish the traces of the "Slovakization" of originally Magyar families. They do this with the intention of branding Hungary's historical past with the charge of Magyarization, and from this point of view it would be very useful for them to obliterate the fact that these people with Magyar names are not Magyarized Slovaks but "Slovakized" Magyars.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

NO INFLATION DANGER IN HUNGARY

The General Meeting of the Hungarian National Bank, on February 3rd, found that after paying half of its debt to the International Payments Bank and several other banks abroad, it had obtained net profits of 23 million pengő, which amount it decided to offer to the Ministry of Finance for the purpose of a medium-term agricultural credit fund. The Bank has also decided to pay a 6.5% dividend, (i. e. 6.50 gold crowns).

At a special meeting of the National Bank, *M. Lipót Baranyai*, Governor of the Bank, held an *exposé*. He declared that *the economic and financial situation of Hungary may be considered as favourable*. In time of war, production must be maintained not so much by money as rather by the securing of raw materials and other commodities. Money certainly helps to procure these, but it cannot replace them. Some people were of the opinion that war time production must be speeded up by financial inflation, but this is clearly a mistake, for, as we may see in the case of Hungary's economic life, *inflation would lead to the deterioration of the value of money*. A few clever financiers do occasionally make fortunes out of inflation, but the bulk of the population, especially the earning classes, can only lose by it. For this reason the increase of expenses is to be counterbalanced partly by saving and partly from taxes and such loans as the present generation is able to repay. *It would be a gross mistake*, M. Baranyai pointed out, *to place the burden of the present generation on the shoulders of the following generation, for the present generation has no right to do this: nor would it be fair from the moral point of view to incur debts which the following generation would have to pay*.

The reorganization of industry had been carried out in such a way as to *increase, in the first place, the usual production of articles required for the country's defence*. By this means it was possible to raise our national defence to an up-to-date level, and it is certain that we shall be able to preserve this level. In order to be able to bear the expenses of this undertaking, the nation has willingly agreed to observe the strictest economy in its daily life. The prices of certain commodities have increased, owing to the bad crop, the shortage of certain raw materials and the increase of the prices of im-

ported articles. Nevertheless, *there has not been — nor is there any danger of there being — either inflation or depreciation*, because it will be averted by economy. The re-annexation of a part of Transylvania has, naturally, caused additional expenses, which will be covered by means of a lottery loan with the participation of every class of Hungarian society.

WOOD PRODUCTION AND ELECTRIFICATION OF SZEKLERLAND

The Economic Council of Transylvania has carefully examined the project concerning the timber production and the sale of timber in Szeklerland.

In connection with the establishment of new factories in Transylvania it was agreed that for the moment *it was most advisable to establish factories whose production may be covered by the raw material found in the province itself, without incurring the danger of a possible shortage of raw material owing to war conditions*. Such factories would be flax and hemp mills, but their operations can only be speeded up by a more extensive cultivation of textile plants, for which the soil of Szeklerland offers the best opportunity.

The Council also discussed the problem of the electrification of Szeklerland and various proposals concerning preparations for the summer season in the health-resorts of Transylvania. Lastly, the Council discussed the question of supplying Szeklerland with agricultural implements and hardware.

RUMANIA

RUMANIA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

After the dreadful catastrophe of the earthquake, the extraordinary situation and other well-known events of the recent past have reduced Rumania's economic life to such a precarious position that the foremost economists of the country are gravely brooding over the best possible solution of the outstanding problems. In an article published on February 9th, 1941, the "Excelsior" deals with the general problems of Rumania's economic life. *The productive capacity of both industry and agriculture shows an appalling decline*, and the distribution of products thus diminished in volume is also one of the gravest problems. The economic disorganization of the country is mainly due to two principal causes: in the first place, the *inefficiency of the Rumanian railway system* and, in the second, the *lack of leaders* in Rumania's economic life. The Government has now set up a scheme for the purpose of reviving the activity of the most essential branches of production, especially in the field of agriculture. The Government

has also authorized the National Cooperative Institute to work out a scheme for the development of production. *The National Bank has granted a credit of 500 million lei to the Institute, the sum being guaranteed by the Ministry of Finance.* One of the most essential issues of this new scheme is that the Institute has decided to purchase for the above sum tractors in Germany, to distribute them among the peasantry. Private landowners (farmers) in the towns and villages are invited to apply for tractors. *Special premiums* are offered to those farmers who grow wheat, maize, potatoes, beans and any other plants for the consumption of the food and textile industries.

SLOVAKIA

WHAT SLOVAK "NATIONAL BREAD" IS MADE OF

By Lewis Jocsik.

In all the countries of Europe the war has compelled the governments to adopt emergency measures. No State in the whole Continent is an exception to this rule. Each of them has been forced, for the time being, to have resort to emergency measures dealing mostly with the organization of food supplies, and with the procural of raw materials respectively. This is also true of Slovakia. One after another, emergency decrees have been issued by the Slovak Government. Recently an Ordinance prescribing the kind of bread allowed in Slovakia was issued by the Ministry for Economy. The Ordinance provides that only one sort of bread, the so-called "national bread", may be made for sale. This "national bread" consists of a mixture of various kinds of flour and potatoes, and its ingredients are as follows:

<i>Wheat flour</i>	55%
<i>Wholemeal rye flour</i>	15%
<i>Barley flour</i>	20%
<i>Potatoes</i>	10%

White bread may not be made except for dietary purposes, so that *pure wheaten bread cannot be supplied except to hospitals and sick people, and then only by doctor's orders.* The flour must be mixed in the bakeries. The sale of whole meal rye flour in the mills is restricted by law. Bakers and tradesmen must buy their supplies of the various kinds of flour according to the ratio determined for the so-called "national bread".

The Ordinance in question has fixed the ratios of the various kinds of flour composing the "national bread" at a maximum. Bread of this sort cannot be manufactured unless the production of bread cereals in Slovakia corresponds to the ratio determined for the "national bread" by the Ministry for Economy. For if wheat cannot be used to the extent of 55%, it

is evident that, to supply the population with the required quantities of bread, the ratio determined by the Ministry for Economy cannot be adhered to, and other cereals must be substituted for the amount of wheat lacking.

Let us see how things actually stand. In what follows we shall take the figures of the semi-official "Slovak" as our guide. These figures were published in the year 1939. We have chosen that year because at that time the complications caused by the war had not yet begun to make their effects felt, and thus it will be easier to form a clearer picture of the situation that will throw light upon the present problem too.

The semi-official "Slovak" estimated that Slovakia's requirements in bread cereals in 1939 were 10.000 wagon-loads. This quantity was made up as follows:

<i>Wheat</i>	4000 wagon loads
<i>Rye</i>	3000 wagon-loads
<i>Barley</i>	3000 wagon-loads

Reckoned on a percentual basis:

<i>Wheat</i>	40 ^o / _o
<i>Rye</i>	30%
<i>Barley</i>	30 ^o / _o

These figures alone show that *Slovakia is not likely to be able to produce the quantities required for the manufacture of the "national bread" prescribed by the Ministry for Economy.* The Ordinance presupposes 15% more wheat in the mixture than the quantity available in Slovakia for bread-making.

But there are also other problems connected with the question. If we consider that the population of Slovakia numbers 2.500.000 souls, then even with the quantities quoted above, each inhabitant would on an average consume only 40 kilogrammes of bread cereals per annum. It is evident that there is some error in the calculations of the Slovak economists. They purposely under-estimate the quantities of bread cereals required, in order to prove that Slovakia is self-supplying. The truth is that the Slovaks are great bread-eaters, and will certainly refuse to reduce the amount they consume of this their staple food merely in order to prove that the theory of Slovak self-sufficiency is well-founded. As things stand at present, if we reckon all the bread cereals produced in Slovakia, 120 kilogrammes on an average fall to each inhabitant per annum. Now 120 kilogrammes of bread cereals produce only 85 kilogrammes of flour, a quantity considerably below what is required before the population may be said to be adequately supplied with bread.

Great and serious, therefore, are the problems that have to be coped with in Slovakia to ensure the inhabitants their

daily "national bread." And if we set the problem of "national bread" in the framework of the general situation, its significance as a source of worry and anxiety assumes increasingly greater proportions.

The general crisis in Slovakia's food supplies is not confined to bread alone, but affects all articles of food. We shall arrive at very interesting conclusions by comparing present war-time conditions with the state of matters prevailing in 1914. Conditions in these two years (1939—40 and 1914) lend themselves readily to comparison, as in both cases the even tenor of life was disturbed by the complications arising from a state of war in Europe. In 1914, it is true, Slovakia as such did not exist, but the Slovak nation was part of a belligerent State, while at present Slovakia is not involved in the war. This is the difference between the two years under comparison. It is obvious that this historical difference ought to affect Slovakia's supplies of foodstuffs favourably. In order to be able to draw an ultimate conclusion we must compare the prices of foodstuffs then and now. *To do so let us take the prices prevailing in 1914 as an index-number representing 100 and compare the present prices with that figure. Then we shall see that compared with 1914 the index-number of foodstuffs in 1940 fluctuated between 815 and 898.* This highest number, 898, was reached in the June of 1940; at present (the beginning of 1941) it stands at 860. The ultimate conclusion, therefore, is that compared with the first year of the last war, the price level today is 8.6 times as high. This clearly shows the difference between the two years in question. Since the price-index of foodstuffs represents the average for all articles of consumption, we shall not be far wrong if we draw an inference applicable to the general situation as regards food supplies from the level of the price-index. Despite the fact that so far as food supplies are concerned the situation in Slovakia ought to show an improvement, comparison proves that it does not. In 1914 Upper Hungary, as part of the Monarchy, was in a state of war; Slovakia at present is not, and yet so far as food supplies are concerned her position is 8.6 times worse than it was in 1914, when she was part of the Kingdom of Hungary.

YUGOSLAVIA

DECREASE OF NUMBER OF FACTORIES IN ZAGREB AREA

Official reports published at Belgrade show that on January 1st, 1940 the number of factories in the whole country totalled 3,254, as against 3455 in the previous year; this amounts to a decrease by 5.82% in the total number of factories. The following list shows the comparative state of affairs on January 1st 1940 and 1939:

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Belgrade:	712	690	+22
Zagreb:	539	793	—254
Lyublyana:	415	414	+1
Oszijek:	172	161	+11
Split:	190	172	+18
Banja Luka:	48	55	—7
Novisad:	711	710	+1
Sarajevo:	217	215	+2
Dubrovnik:	24	24	0
Podoritza:	42	42	0
Skopje:	184	172	+12

The above list shows that the decrease in the number of factories is most pronounced in the Zagreb area, where it amounts to 32%.

360 MILLION DINARS A YEAR TO BE SPENT ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA'S AGRICULTURE.

The Yugoslav press publishes a detailed description of the Government's recent decision to spend a *total amount of 1.800 million dinars — during a period of 5 years —* on the improvement of Yugoslavia's agriculture. The production of agriculture must be increased for two apparent reasons: firstly, in order to comply with the demands of home consumption and, secondly, to enable it to serve the essential interests of the country in respect of agricultural exports. Hitherto the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture has been so low that it was far from sufficient to serve the interests of agriculture. The present scheme may be divided into two sections: first, the increasing of agricultural production and new investments, and second, the instruction and education of farmers. In the investment part, particular attention is to be paid to *cattle breeding and animal hygiene* as well as to the growing of *plants*. As regards agricultural education, the Government proposes to establish a number of agricultural schools and courses. Lastly, *the financial part of the Land Reform will have to be settled* in those places where this settlement has not yet taken place. The sum reserved for the improvement of the standard of agriculture (1.800 million dinars) is to be secured partly by loans and partly from the profit derived from exports. The "Prizad" and the Export Bureau obtain net profits from exports amounting to about 800 millions a year, so that the State will only have to raise a loan of about 1 milliard for the whole period of five years.

FORMATION OF A NEW MINISTRY IN YUGOSLAVIA

In January the Yugoslav Cabinet Council published a decree ordering the formation of a Ministry of Public Supplies. Among the tasks of this new Ministry are such as the supplying of the population with food, the conception and execution of a new plan of production, the purchase and distribution of raw materials and half-finished goods, the fixing and control of prices, the control of production, and, lastly, the coordination and cooperation of all organs serving the purpose of public supply. The Ministry will exercise control over such organizations and institutions as the "Prizad" (a monopolistic export company), the Public Office of Provisions, the monopolistic company "Silos", the controlling board of the timber trade, and various other organizations of a similar character.

The head of the new Ministry is *Dr. Milan Protitch*, Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, who is the son of the late radical leader, M. Stoyan Protitch, first Premier of the Yugoslav (the S. H. S.) State. The new Minister is known as a great authority on economic questions, and in the ten years of his office *he has raised the National Bank to a very high standard of efficiency and played an important part in the stabilization of the dinar.*

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DRINKING CURES

The **Hungaria**, **Attila** and **Juventus** radio-
active springs in the **Rudas Park**. Splendid
results in cases of kidney, stomach, intestine and
gall troubles, high blood pressure and premature
old age. Ask your doctor!