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VITEZ STEPHEN DE HORTHY

BY
ANDREW DÉSY

The Hungarian nation has with unanimous enthusiasm chosen as Deputy Regent Stephen de Horthy, the son of the Regent. The moving solemnity of the ceremony of election showed a remarkable resemblance to the dignified atmosphere of that historic day on which the Hungarian people raised to the dignity of Regent one of the most glorious figures of Hungarian history and one of the greatest personalities known to that history — Nicholas de Horthy. This event is rendered unforgettable, however, not only by this similarity of externals, but also — and indeed chiefly — by the fact that on the present occasion too, as twenty-two years ago, the Hungarian nation once more stood united as one man in setting its seal amid constitutional forms to its unanimous will.

The background twenty-two years ago was one of collapse and destruction; and today a fresh and vigorous Hungary risen from her ashes, sublimely manifesting a strong will steeled in days of trial.

Twenty-two years ago Hungary was bleeding from a thousand wounds and writhing under the devastations and shameful insults of a communistic rabble-revolution and the Rumanian depredation which crowned the horrors of the collapse of the Monarchy. And the political instinct of the Hungarian people found the leader sent by Providence who was the only man capable of raising from its state of apathetic lethargy the dismembered country which had been disfigured, plundered and trodden in the dust.

To Nicholas de Horthy is due the return of the Hun-

garian people's self-respect and self-consciousness, faith and will-power. It was he that consolidated the nation reduced to a state of lethargic stupor; it was he that led that nation back to the path of unconditional constitutionalism. It was his wise government that converted a country already regarded as doomed to extinction into a strong and hard-working country which has achieved surprising results. It was he that pointed the way leading to creative work and social progress, — that created the really excellent and strong Hungarian army. He has never lost sight of the mission of the Magyars in the Danube Basin or of their duty as heirs of the St. Stephen traditions. Nor has he ever made a secret of his conviction that to Hungary is due the leading role in the Danube Valley.

Thanks to his splendid government four sections of the territory stolen from Hungary have returned to the thousand-year-old kingdom, of which they form inalienable, inseparable parts; and this fact in itself is one of the sources of that uncompromising conviction that according to the eternal logic of reason, historical inevitability and history all the other legitimate demands of the Hungarian people are bound to be fulfilled.

This is in the interest, not of Hungary only, but of Europe generally. During the whole course of its history of a thousand years the Hungarian people has always had to bear the burden of a serious mission for the protection of Western Europe; and today also the Hungarian nation has a very important role to play in the struggle against Bolshevism. In the New Europe, therefore, the Hungarian people must be ensured a worthy place, — that place which it has so far claimed as exclusively its own in the Danube Valley.

It was the Hungarian people's ardent affection for and gratitude to the Regent that was reflected also in the spontaneous resolve to elect as Deputy Regent the Regent's son,

an eminent scion of his family with qualities similar to his own who stands nearest to him and has been trained to act as his, most fitting collaborator in his own family circle.

Stephen de Horthy is an engineer possessing eminent qualifications who has seen the world and has utilised the experience gained during his travels, with the aid of an exceptional power of organisation, to develop into one of the most up-to-date industrial establishments in Europe the wagonfactory of the Hungarian State Railways; he initiated the manufacture of aeroplanes in Hungary; and has rendered his country signal service by the re-organisation of the State Railways. He is a magnificent airman, his great feats as a flyer being known all over the world; at the same time he is a skilled constructor of aeroplanes. He is a highly cultured and strong-willed Magyar — in everything he does or thinks. He is the predestined upholder of the Horthy tradition, — the man who is most familiar with this tradition and best qualified to develop it. He is the exceptionally gifted son of an exceptionally gifted father.

RECONCILIATION AND UNDERSTANDING

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

One of the chief grievances of the Hungarian nationals in Yugoslavia during the twenty-two and a half years of alien rule was that their sons had no chance of obtaining posts in the public services. With very few and rare exceptions, there was nothing open to them in the State offices and the offices belonging to the autonomous bodies, such as the Provincial Office — later on the Banate Office — the district, municipal and communal administration, the post office, the railways, or any of the State undertakings. *In the same way the Magyars were almost wholly debarred from membership of the autonomous councils: the Banate Council, on which they were grudgingly allowed two seats. the municipal and parish councils, and all representative bodies, including, in the sphere of politics, the Skupshtina and the Senate.*

In the Skupshtina, where at the elections held on 11th September 1927, thanks to the pact concluded by the Magyars with the then Government coalition, they managed, in spite of various machinations, to obtain three seats, only one was secured at the 1931, 1935 and 1938 general Parliamentary elections, and the Hungarian minority was not allowed to exercise the slightest influence on the nomination of candidates. In the Senate the Magyars had to be content with one representative, Dr. Emery Várady, who from the very beginning was one of the most eminent leaders of the Magyars of Yugoslavia.

How little chance the Magyars had of obtaining posts in public offices may be gathered from the following statistics. According to the Budgets of the State and the autonomous bodies for 1940/41, the number of public officials and

employees in the State, Banate, municipal and communal offices was 250.000. *Of this number only a few hundred were Hungarian nationals — even including the Magyar teachers — although in proportion to their numbers the Magyars would have been entitled to at least 9000 posts in the public offices.* Language could not have been an obstacle to the gratification of this fully justified claim, for the younger generation of Magyars spoke the official language of the State perfectly. Two things, in particular, were very unfair, namely that the Magyar villages had no Magyar parish clerks and that it was very rare to find a Magyar among the parish officials and employees of the Magyar communities.

This injustice was felt to be a major grievance by the Magyars of Yugoslavia, especially in view of the fact that during the Hungarian era there were numbers, not only of Serb parish clerks, but also of Serb municipal, county and State officials and employees. The Serbs were even represented on the army staffs, where some of them reached the highest rank. How true this is may be seen from a passage taken from an article that appeared in December 1935 in the Serb paper, the "Voivodina", from the pen of a fanatical supporter of the Pan-Serb idea, Dr. Radivoy Simonovitch, a physician of Zombor. The passage runs as follows: — "During the Hungarian era Serbs were often appointed or elected to be lord lieutenants, deputy sheriffs, chief constables, magistrates and State officials of high rank."

It is the intention of the Hungarian Government to continue this commonsense and at the same time generous policy of allowing the nationalities to enjoy all the rights guaranteed to them in the laws of Hungary. This policy of understanding will also be applied to Southern Hungary, and a half years. That this is the Government's fixed resolve happened to the Magyars there during the past twenty-two and a half years. That this is the Government's fixed resolve is proved by the appointment at the beginning of the year of a large number of Serbs and other Southern Slavs to responsible posts in the offices of the autonomous bodies.

The Regent, for instance, has on the recommendation of the Finance Minister appointed 16 Serb district and law court judges, and the Minister of Justice has in his own province appointed 64 Serb, Bunyevatz and other Southern Slav officials to posts in the courts of justice, district courts and the Public Presecutor's office. Among those appointed there are 8 secretaries, clerks and junior clerks, 10 Land Register officials, 3 head clerks, 5 temporary subordinate officials, 4 temporary prison superintendents and 4 warders. Among the parish and district medical officers appointed by the Minister for the Interior there are 8 Serbs, and there are 67 persons of Serb or Bunyevatz nationality among the first and second clerks appointed in the post office by the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

It was also a spirit of reconciliation and understanding that inspired the Hungarian Government to make provision for the Serbs to obtain seats on the municipal councils. The Minister for the Interior has given 30 Serbs and Southern Slavs seats on the county council of Bács-Bodrog; 18 Serb and Bunyevatz nationals were appointed members of the town council of the Royal borough of Zombor and 6 Serbs became members of the town council of the Royal borough of Ujvidék.

DUE PROPORTION OF MINORITY DEPUTIES

The above figures give only part of the appointments, but they are enough to show that the Hungarian Government is paving the way to co-operation in every branch of the civil service and public life, and is giving the minorities the chance to do their share of creative national work. This aim was also furthered by the wise decision of the Government to summon representatives of the minorities in the restored county of Bács-Bodrog to Parliament. Among the 21 deputies summoned there were 5 Germans, Jacob *Egerth*, Dr. Francis *Hamm*, Dr. Adam *Schlachter*, Joseph *Spreitzer* and Dr. Joseph *Trischler*; 2 Serbs, Milan L. *Popovitch* and Bogdan *Dungyerski*, while the Bunyevatz people are represented

by Dr. Gregory *Vukovitch*. Besides dealing with the affairs of the country as a whole, these men will represent the interests of their own nationalities. The Germans of the *Bácska* are represented in the Upper House by a German landowner, Herr Christian *Nelker*.

All this has taken place in accordance with the nationality policy pursued by Hungary for a thousand years and in the spirit of the St. Stephen principle, of which, writing recently in the "*Láthatár*", a cultural review devoted to minority affairs, Dr. de *Bárdossy* said: — "History has brought together here many racial elements of different mentality and sprituality, whose forms of life have often proved extremely difficult to reconcile with those of the Magyars. But there is always the possibility of creating harmony between nation and nation by means of sincere words and sincere deeds. The Magyars — as we learn from the teachings of all their great spiritual leaders — have always recognized the right of every nationality to cherish and freely develop its own language, its own racial characteristics and qualities... *True to the political traditions of the past thousand years, today, too, we are actuated by a spirit of understanding, not by one of hatred, an emotion to which we are still strangers, although during the past twenty-two and a half years we have learned what being a minority under alien rule means.*"

What has hitherto been done in this spirit of tolerance and understanding does not, cannot, mean in these critical war times the maximum of accomplishment or the full assertion of minority rights as established in the laws of Hungary. One indispensable *sine qua non* of that is that the other party, the Serb minority, must give proofs of its sincere desire for co-operation and its undeviating loyalty to the Hungarian State. That the leaders of the Serb minority are ready and willing to do so was announced by the Serb publicist, now member of the Hungarian Parliament, Milan L. *Popovitch*, in a recent statement to the Serb paper, the "*Nova Posta*" of *Ujvidék*. Amongst other things M. *Popovitch*

said: — "It is our desire to take part in the political life of the Hungarian State as soon as possible and to conform to the new political circumstances. This is a natural line of development, for our destiny is closely linked with that of the Magyars, by whom we are surrounded and *together with whom we lived for centuries under the influence of Magyar culture and Magyar political administration...* In the present serious and critical days we must forget everything that divided us in the past... No agitators working with bombs and explosives will ever come from our ranks in the Bácska... It will be clear to all that we shall do our duty faithfully to the Hungarian State, and the Serb minority expects that *as in the past so also now* the Magyars will show complete understanding of our vital interests and satisfy our rightful national demands, for vital and national interests must be protected by every self-respecting and virile people."

Our only comment is that a sincere *rapprochement*, and intention to conform to the rules of Hungarian life and a willingness to co-operate will — if they are genuine and are followed by deeds — be reciprocated with understanding and brotherly sympathy by the Hungarian people.

THE NUMBER OF MAGYARS IN CROATIA

BY

ALEXANDER BESENYŐ

During recent decades official statements have dealt very unfairly and in a most senseless manner with the number of Magyars living within the territory of the independent Croatian State. It is all the more encouraging to see that the "*Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien*", a paper appearing in Croatia, has now given the number of Magyars living in that country at a figure very nearly approaching the actual strength of that minority as announced by the Magyars themselves. *This Croatian organ estimates the number of Magyars at 85—90,000 souls.* On the Hungarian side this number has been consistently referred to as the lowest figure acceptable as that showing the number of Magyars in Croatia. It is gratifying to see that the justice of the Hungarian cause is already beginning to make headway, and that it is becoming more and more widely realised that the nationality statistics of the Succession States were reduced to such small figures by the aid of falsification. The new Census taken among the inhabitants of the liberated territories has everywhere confirmed the accuracy of the Hungarian data. We have had to wait long — very long — for this confirmation. It was a difficult task to fight against the distortions of twenty years. It had been a case of three against one. The Serbs, Czechs and Rumanians exploited the credulity of the civilised world and abused the confidence reposed in them. Today, at long last, the truth has come to light. *In the whole course of our twenty years' work of enlightenment not once was it proved that our data were inaccurate.* And now our accuracy has been confirmed in Croatia too.

In 1910 the number of Magyars in Croatia-Slavonia was 105,948. The Serbian Census of 1921 reduced the quota of Magyars in this territory by one-third, placing the strength

of that minority at 70.024. The figures of the Serbian Census were endorsed also by the official Croatian statement issued in 1941. The Serbs treated the Croatians too very unfairly when taking their censuses; a circumstance which the Croatians never failed to emphasise. Indeed, they never accepted as authentic the data referring to them. *It is therefore incomprehensible why they should have identified themselves with the injustice perpetrated against the Magyars*, though the latter had identified themselves in their turn with the attitude of mistrust and repudiation assumed by the Croatians in connection with the Serbian statistics. Now, if we cannot accept as authoritative basis the figures given by the Serbs or the official statement of the Croatians either, which simply reproduced the data of the Serbian Census, we must try to find some reliable and objective source calculated to guide us aright in this question. And this source is the Hungarian Census of 1910, which we have already referred to; and that Census places the number of Magyars at 105.948. *On the occasion of the successive Censuses held every ten years the number of Magyars showed a continuous increase: between 1880 and 1890 the number of Magyars living in Croatia-Slavonia showed an increase of 27.000; the increase of that number between 1890 and 1900 being 21.000; and that between 1900 and 1910 being 15.000.* We may therefore safely accept the evidence so strikingly offered by the earlier censuses, — viz. that the increase was continuous and always on a large scale. This uniformity of development was in evidence also between 1910 and 1918, the year in which the change of rule ensued. The ratio of increase in the several decades was not however of a uniform character. We may in consequence presume that this ratio remained in force in the last decade before the change of rule too, and that the increase between 1910 and 1918 must have been one of roughly 10.000. *We see then that the number of Magyars living in Croatia-Slavonia was roughly 115.000.*

Thus, the number of Magyars "spirited away" by the 1921 Serbian Census was still larger — some 45.000 — that being one-third of the total number of Magyar inhabitants. We are quite ready to admit that after the change of rule there was a decline in the number of Magyars. This decline

was due to the operation of two factors, — 1. the expulsion of Magyars and 2. the dissimilation of Magyars.

Yugoslavia drove large numbers of Magyars from the territories acquired by annexation, doing so by means of persecution. The persons thus driven out of the country by persecution were mostly former public employees of the Hungarian State. In the territory of Croatia-Slavonia there were no Magyar public employees except those in the service of the railways and the "Julian" school organisation: and there were not many of the latter; for that very reason the number of Magyars expelled from the territory of Croatia-Slavonia was not particularly large. That number may be estimated as 6—7.000. The number of Magyars living in Croatia-Slavonia on the occasion of the 1921 Serbian Census was therefore roughly 108.000.

The natural increase among the Magyars of Croatia-Slavonia continued also between 1921 and 1941. Seeing that the Magyars lived in unfavourable circumstances, we must determine this natural increase during that period (20 years) at a minimum figure; we shall estimate it at 6—7000: and the figure obtained as a result corresponds to the original number of Magyars shown in 1918, the natural increase calculated by us as ensuing during this period of twenty years corresponding exactly to that of the Magyars driven out of the country by the Serbs.

A dissimilation of Magyars in a foreign environment and in an exceptionally unfavourable political, cultural and economic situation, may be taken as absolutely comprehensible and inevitable. For the Magyars of Croatia were deprived of 100 elementary schools; their political organisation was made impossible: and they were subjected to ruthless persecution in economic and political respects. We may presume that under such circumstances the highest scale of the dissimilation in evidence in other territories too ensued in the territory of Croatia-Slavonia: this highest ratio of dissimilation being almost 15% of the total number of inhabitants. Now, if we take into account also this ratio of dissimilation, the number of Magyars in Croatia must have still been at least 100.000. The most pessimistic calculation reduces this number to 90.000; but even this figure far exceeds the figures

given by the Serbs and Croats, which estimate the number of Magyars living in Croatia at not more than 70.000.

In 1910 Magyars were to be found in large numbers in three counties of Croatia-Slavonia, — in County *Verőce* (37.656 souls), in *Syrmia* (29.552 souls) and in County *Pozsega* (14.224). There were 126 villages in which groups of Magyars over 100 strong were living. There were therefore 90.000 Magyars living in Croatia in large groups ensuring them possibilities of leading an independent cultural and economic life and of independent political activity. There were groups of Magyars exceeding 500 but not exceeding 1000 in number living in 40 townships (parishes); and there were groups of Magyars exceeding 1000 in number living in 23 townships (parishes). The number of Magyars living in scattered groups less than a hundred in number was only 15.000; as a consequence there was no excessive danger of their being eventually absorbed by their Croat or Slavonian environment.

Taking as our basis the Serbian Census of 1921, *we find 104 parishes (villages) where the number of Magyar inhabitants exceeded 200*. In such villages there are a sufficient number of children to justify the establishment of a Magyar section attended by 25—30 children. And even the Yugoslav educational ordinances offered legal possibilities of taking such a measure; but the practical carrying into effect of the provisions of those ordinances was obstructed during the whole period of Yugoslav rule, right down to the moment when the Yugoslav State collapsed. *After the Croato-Serbian agreement Maček and his party consented to the establishment of Magyar schools; but the practical realisation of the scheme was never effected, chiefly owing to a dearth of Magyar teachers*. And in any case this concession was exploited as a political bait; the object being to win the sympathy and support of the Magyars — to ensure the Magyars in the Baranya Triangle and in the region between the Danube and the Tisza taking sides with the Croats and bringing with them the magyarophile Bunyevatz and Shokatz nationalities. For no teachers could be found to teach in the Magyar schools; during twenty years hardly a single teacher who was Magyar by language was trained in

the Yugoslav teachers' training colleges. In the townships (parishes) where the number of Magyar inhabitants exceeded 500 — and particularly in those where that quota exceeded 1000 — it would be possible to establish several classes. And in some parishes there would be an adequate number of Magyar pupils in all classes. *Prior to the change of rule there were 100 Magyar elementary schools functioning in Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia.* Several types of secondary schools — e. g. gymnasiums (or grammar-schools), commercial and city schools — should also be allotted to the Magyars, who number over 100.000 souls. And a Magyar section should be attached to one of the Croatian teachers' training colleges, students to be admitted at least every four years. It is not our intention to deal exhaustively here with all the minimum demands which might justly be put forward by a Magyar minority numbering over 100.000 — particularly when we remember that these Magyars are living on ancestral soil: in our present article we have confined ourselves to ascertaining the number of Magyars living in Croatia.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

HUNGARIAN-SLOVAK RELATIONS

BY

LOUIS KARPATY

The relations between two nations are reflected on the one hand in inter-State actions and on the other hand in the manner in which they reciprocally treat their minorities, — provided that they have minorities living under their care. The relations between Hungary and Slovakia too must be adjudged from these two viewpoints. There are Magyars living in Slovakia: and there are Slovaks living in Hungary too; and there is in addition a lively diplomatic and economic intercourse between the two States. And now, if we would outline the present condition of the relations between Hungary and Slovakia, we must survey briefly the relevant events. We must investigate the question of the results attained by Hungary and Slovakia respectively in the development of the relations between the two States.

I. HUNGARY

During the winter months the Slovak minority has been displaying a lively cultural activity. Literary and cultural soirées and lectures have been arranged, theatrical pieces performed, and social gatherings organised, in most cases with a double object. In the first place, to strengthen the cultural consciousness of the Slovak minority; and on the other hand, to procure from the receipts of the cultural soirées etc. the material means of enabling the Slovaks of Hungary to develop their own social policy — and in particular to provide support for poorer Slovak students attending universities. This cultural activity on the part of the Slovaks of Hungary has been on so large a scale and so general in character that the Slovak papers appearing in Slovakia too have been repeatedly compelled to acknowledge the fact. In its January 15th., 1942, issue the "*Gardista*", a daily, for instance, publishes an exhaustive report dealing with the cultural activity of the Slovaks

living in Hungary during the Christmas week and at New Year. The January 23rd. issue of the same paper was again in a position to publish a report of cultural activity on the part of the Slovaks living in Hungary. *Here, of the factors engaged in cultural activity, mention is made of some ten Slovak cultural associations.* Long articles summing up the cultural activity of the Slovaks of Hungary were published also by the following papers: — "*Slovenska Politika*" (January 29th.), "*Slovenska Pravda*" (January 29th.) and the semi-official "*Slovak*" (February 1st.).

Valuable evidence of the loyal attitude respecting the relations between the two countries adopted by Hungary is the significance attaching to the visit to the Tatra region of M. Anthony Ullein-Reviczky, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, Chief of the Hungarian Press Bureau, who spent his holiday in a health-resort in that part of Slovakia. The Hungarian diplomat took advantage of the opportunity offered by his stay in that country to get in touch with M. Casper Tido, Chief of the Slovak propaganda Bureau, and M. Mach, Slovak Minister for the Interior. These conversations attracted the attention, not only of the Slovak and Hungarian, but of the foreign papers; and the pourparlers were regarded as tokens of a desire on the part of Hungary to develop the friendly relations between Hungary and Slovakia.

In this connection there are events to be recorded in other fields too. Hungary has approved of the conclusion in Slovakia of the so-called Settlement Convention. She has acknowledged the validity of the claims put forward by Slav settlers introduced into Magyar areas previously detached from Hungary, which claims amount to more than 100,000,000 crowns. *To cover this amount the sum of 60—70,000,000 crowns is to be written off from the amount of the debt due by Slovakia to Hungary under the agreement relating to the distribution of the assets of the Kassa—Oderberg Railroad Co. In addition, Slovakia is to take over from the estates of Hungarian nationals situated within the territory of that State 18,000 cadastral yokes of arable and 40,000 cadastral yokes of forest land.* As may be seen, therefore, the loyal attitude in respect of property rights and

economic questions by Hungary towards the young State of Slovakia is the same as that shown by her in cultural matters too.

Quite recently an agreement was concluded in terms of which Hungary is to surrender to Slovakia documents of great importance: one of the most important collections of this kind to be handed over being the archives of the former Pan-Slav Association, the "*Slovenska Matica*", which the Hungarian authorities were compelled to seize when taking penal measures to counteract Pan-Slav agitation.

II. SLOVAKIA

The Hungarian (Magyar) ethnic group living in Slovakia has also in recent months attempted to develop its cultural life. The object of the endeavours of the leaders of the Magyars of Slovakia was the same as that of the leaders of the Slovaks living in Hungary, — to appropriate the receipts obtained by their cultural activity for socio-political purposes, for the support of infant schools and the financial assistance of Magyars studying in Slovak universities. *The January 29th. issue of the "Gardista", however, launched a savage attack on John Esterházy, leader of the Magyars living in Slovakia, blaming him for the appearance in the "Magyar Hirlap", a Hungarian daily published in Pozsony, of a notice of the arrangement of a Carnival gathering.* The attitude adopted by the "*Gardista*" was that such gatherings could not possibly be tolerated, even if so far no ordinance prohibiting such had been issued. As a consequence, *the only event of the kind in the life of the Magyars of Slovakia which we are in a position to record was the conversazione arranged by the Magyars of Nyitra, which was a gratifying success both in material and in moral respects.* The "*Magyar Néplap*", in its January 25th. issue wrote about this event; but the February 1st. issue of the semi-official "*Slovak*" already announced that Carnival gatherings of all kinds had been prohibited in Slovakia.

The Slovak papers have recently launched several attacks on the person of John Esterházy. *He was attacked, for instance, in the January 29th. issue of the "Gardista" in connection with the arrangement of a cultural soirée by the*

Magyars of Pozsony. He was attacked also in the January 28th. issue of "Slovenska Politika", which quoted a speech made in the Slovak Parliament by Deputy Kocsis expressing doubts as to whether the grievances enumerated by Esterházy in the Slovak Parliament as having been suffered by the Magyars of Slovakia had really occurred. At the same period broadcasts were given by the Pozsony radio station in which a re-evaluation of the past history of Hungary was put before the public on the basis of unwarrantable presumption. Early in February, for instance, Dr. Tóth—Paulini spoke of the Slovaks having during the past two decades been subjected by the Hungarians to a large-scale magyarisation. What really happened was just the contrary: for even in the second half of the nineteenth century the Magyar element in the districts of Upper Hungary continually lost ground as compared with the Slovaks, — a fact most strikingly proved by the very name of the speaker himself, seeing that it would be difficult to find a more distinctively or more ancient Magyar name than Paulini-Tóth.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

OLDER AND RECENT THEORIES OF ORIGIN OF RUMANIANS

BY
LADISLAS SZENCZEI

Two of King Matthias's Italian guests and courtiers, Bonfinius and Aeneas Silvius, visited Transylvania. Both of them were struck by the similarity between the language spoken by the Rumanians there and the Latin and Italian tongues. As was to be expected of humanists and men of the Renaissance, they were well aware that at one time Transylvania had been a flourishing Roman province called Dacia Trajana. They saw ruins, then five centuries younger than now, of former Roman towns and settlements. *From what these humanistic travellers saw in Transylvania, coupled with an imagination fired by a love of the ancient world, was born the official theory of the origin of the Rumanian people, the so-called theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity.* From King Matthias's court in Buda, which was then a centre radiating the intellectual ideas of the Renaissance, this theory spread far and wide in every direction. We find it in the records of Genoese and Venetian merchants, who, passing through the Hellespont with their galleys, visited the coasts of Moesia and then, penetrating farther to the North and West, came into contact with the inhabitants of Moldavia and Muntenia. Later there was a Rumanian chronicler who proudly said: — "*Din Rim ne tragem*" ("We are descended from the Romans"). The name of this chronicler was Miron Costin; his race-conscious assertion, however, was not able to take root in the racial soil of the Rumanian people then covered over with a thick layer of Slav sand. Even the language used in the churches was Slav, and the laws (*pravila*) issued by the princes of Moldavia and Muntenia were drafted in a Slav language. If now and then some writings appeared in Rumanian, the text, which was full of Slav expressions and was disguised in Cyrillic letters, revealed little or nothing of the neo-Latin origin of the Rumanian language. Miron Costin's

proud boast was quickly forgotten; his chronicle was hidden under the Pravoslav (Orthodox) dust of unknown monasteries in Moldavia,

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Habsburgs induced a great part of the Rumanians of Transylvania to unite ecclesiastically with the Roman Catholic Church. The new Catholics were allowed to retain their Oriental liturgy, all their Oriental ritual, the Slav or Rumanian language in Divine Worship, but in exchange they had to accept the Filioque and the authority of the Pope. As a reward for union with the Catholic Church the Rumanian priests enjoyed all the privileges accorded to priests of recognized religions. The organization of the Greek Catholic Church began and, like the other denominations in Transylvania, that Church also received grants of land from the Administration. *This was how the enormous estate at Balázsfalva came into the possession of the Rumanian diocese. At Balázsfalva a theological academy and college were soon established, whence year by year batches of race-conscious priests were sent forth to all the places in the hills and valleys of Transylvania where there were Rumanian adherents of the Uniate Church.* Innocent Micu-Klein, a zealous Bishop of Balázsfalva, persuaded Rome to open the doors of the De Propaganda Fide institute to Rumanian theological students. *Gregory Sinkai, Peter Maior and Samuel Micu-Klein, the fathers of Daco-Rumanian history-writing and philology, studied at that institute.* It was these men who first elaborated historical and philological arguments in support of the long-forgotten theory of the origin of the Rumanians put forward by Bonfinius and Aeneas Silvius. It was they who in support of their arguments quoted Anonymus, King Béla III's nameless clerk, who in his records made mention of fierce battles between the Magyars and the Wallachians (Vlachs). This was how Anonymus's poem, written as a panegyric on the bravery of the Magyars, came to be used as a historical proof of the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity. The spiritual descendants of the "Transylvanian school" did not find Anonymus's records sufficient, so in support of their theory they enlisted a Russian chronicler named Nestor, who in the tenth century wrote about fighting between the Magyars

and the "Volochs". By now the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity has grown to be a veritable stone of Sisyphus, and for more than a hundred years one generation of Rumanian historians after another has been engaged with ant-like assiduity in collecting more and more data in proof of the noble origin of the Rumanian people and their un-interrupted historical past of two thousand years.

In the shortest time the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity found its opposers, chiefly among German, Hungarian and Southern Slav scholars. It is interesting that while French, English and American historians readily accepted it, the people in the neighbourhood of Transylvania regarded it with scepticism. Rösler and Hunfalvy were the two savants who in opposition to the theory of Daco-Rumanian origin and continuity suggested another, less distinguished, origin of the Rumanian people. They pointed out that Dacia became a Roman province in 107 A. D., but that in less than 170 years it became impossible for Rome to hold it. Nor were these 170 years — little more than a century and a half — a time of peaceful, tranquil work, for this new conquest, jutting out as it did from the body of the Roman Empire, was kept in a state of constant terror by the invasions of barbarians from the east and the north-west. Is it possible that a stormy century and a half could have been sufficient to Romanize the Dacian population of the province? Were the settlers in the new province Romanized elements? or were they not more probably a mixture of races such as peopled the provinces in the eastern part of the Roman Empire? Records almost unanimously prove that the settlers in Dacia had merely passed through a very superficial process of Romanization, and that for the greater part they spoke Greek or some eastern language. Even the two Roman legions stationed in Dacia could not have exerted any considerable influence on the population in this respect, for at that time the legions were not recruited in Italy. Do not the most reliable sources speak of a complete evacuation of the province? And even if there remained Romanized elements in Dacia after the Emperor Aurelian's order to evacuate it had been executed, how is it conceivable that they could have survived the flood of the migration of the peoples?

How was it possible that from the fourth to the thirteenth century, for nearly a thousand years that is to say, history and archeology were silent on the subject of Daco-Rumanians and that even philology produced no evidence, for the language of the Rumanians at that time was definitely Balkan in character.

The chronicles of Anonymus and Nestor are not evidence, for the nameless clerk took the ethnological conditions and political events of his own time and placed them three centuries back, and his object in any case was merely to sing the glory of the Hungarian nation. As historical evidence Nestor's chronicle is even less reliable. Apart from this, the „Volochs" he mentions were not Wallachians, but western people and adherents of the Latin ritual. According to the German, Hungarian and Slav opponents of the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity, history and philology witness rather to the Balkan origin of the Rumanian people. For over 600 years the middle of the *Balkan Peninsula* was under Roman rule, so that Romanization was much more possible and probable there than in Dacia. Latinization was so wide-spread that not only the settled farmers and town-dwellers learned to speak Latin, but even the autochthonous pastoral inhabitants. The fate of these eastern Latins was radically different from that of the Latins in the west. The difference was -that, whereas after the fall of the *Roman Empire* the western Latins had dealings only with conquering German soldiers, the eastern Latins had to struggle against an invasion of large numbers of agricultural Slavs. While in the west the conquering Germans were absorbed by the masses of Romanized Gauls and Iberians, the farming and urban sections of the eastern Latins could not withstand the influence of the large number of Slav elements, also of an agricultural character, that kept pouring into their country. On the other hand the section of the Romanized Balkan people who were able to escape being exposed to the influence of these agricultural Slav elements, i. e., the pastoral section managed to preserve its neo-Latin language; and it is to this section that we must trace the ancestors of the ancient Rumanian tribes which were to be found in Macedonia in the south, in Istria in

the west and in present-day Rumania in the east. *The Rumanian language, though unmistakably of neo-Latin origin, reveals typically Balkan characteristics in its construction, such as may have distinguished the language spoken by the ancient Thraco-Illyrian shepherd nomade.* Romanized racial elements that, thanks to their pastoral occupations, succeeded in keeping themselves unaffected by the Slavs, wandered northwards to escape the oppressive rule of Byzantium and, crossing the Danube, occupied present-day Rumania, whence after the Mongol invasion they appeared in Transylvania too. Their migration lasted till the beginning of the nineteenth century. The most authentic proof that their settlement took place at a late date is the fact that an extremely large proportion of the names of places and rivers throughout the whole of their country are Slav, Magyar, Petcheneg and Cumanian, in origin, and that only a very few are derived from the Latin. These, then, are the arguments advanced by those who refuse to accept the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity.

It should be noted that there have been Rumanian historians who have stated the opinion that the Rumanians were a Balkan people and not of Dacian origin. The first of these scholars in chronological order was a nameless Rumanian historian who lived about the middle of the sixteenth century and whose work was published in the latter part of last century. He wrote as follows: — "*When the Rumanians had separated from the Romans they migrated northwards and crossed the Danube at Turnu-Severin.* Some of them, following the river Olt, penetrated into Hungary, and by way of the valleys of the Maros and the Tisza reached as far as Máramaros. Another part of the Rumanians who had crossed at Turnu-Severin settled in the district lying between the foot of the mountains and the river Olt, while a third section occupied the lower reaches of the Danube". In "*Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen*", the work of a Rumanian historian named Hurmuzaki, we read: — "When the empire of the Bulgarians established in Moesia gradually grew stronger, its frontiers in the ninth century were extended to embrace present-day Rumania, where later on a number of Rumanians were

settled, who gladly migrated from Haemia and Macedonia to the beautiful plains along the Danube, forced as they were to leave their homes by the Byzantine Administration. In the tenth century the Petchenegs settled on Rumanian soil. After them came the Cumanians, who remained there for a longer period. *During the rule of the Petchenegs the migration of the Rumanians from Bulgaria and Thrace to present-day Rumania went on unceasingly.*"

Recently Gamilschegg, a German historian, made an attempt to reconcile the two theories, that of Daco-Rumanian continuity and that of the Balkan origin of the Rumanians. He accepts the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity for the districts of the Bihar and Ore mountains and certain parts of the Banate, while for the rest of the Rumanian areas he considers the theory of migration from the Balkans probable. According to him, the region of the Ore mountains between the rivers Ompoly and Aranyos was the heart of the Daco-Rumanian area, which rose like a fortress out of a Dacia-Trajana laid waste by the inroads of the barbarians. Its high plateaus afforded protection to the remnants of the Romanized Dacians. Similar natural fortresses affording protection to the Romanized populations exist in the Balkans, and they were the pillars upon which rested the ethnographic bridge of the eastern Latins, which stretches from the Balkans and Macedonia to the Ore mountains.

Even this reconciling theory was powerless to calm the troubled waters stirred up by the problem. The origin of the Rumanians, over which bitter warfare has been waged, is still a bone of contention. One of the latest and most interesting developments in this unceasing dispute is the theory advanced by *Dr. Nicholas Lupu*, a member of the old Rumanian National Peasant Party, which if not quite original is at least bold. It is not original, for it was propounded several decades ago by *Ovid Densusianu*, a brilliant though over-imaginative Rumanian historian. The theory advanced by Densusianu and lately revived by *Dr. Lupu* is as follows:

When the Rumanians awoke to national consciousness nothing interested them more than the question of their

origin. Many of them were tormented by a sense of inferiority, others grew reconciled to this inferiority and resignedly accepted the idea of a bastard origin. It is certainly not pleasant for anybody to think that his race is the supposed offspring of a colonizing adventure. But this sense of humiliation ceases when instead of thinking of the brief period of colonization the Rumanians remember the Dacians. Dacia — says Dr. Lupu — was a mighty empire, its kings ruled from the river Bug to the Tisza, and even the Roman standards were forced to bow before their power. Who were these great people who, when the whole of the known world was groaning under the heel of Rome, dared to defy the Roman eagles? Endorsing the theory of Densusianu Dr. Lupu arrives at the astonishing conclusion that the Dacians were pre-Latins, in other words a race from which both the Latins and the Rumanians sprang. In prehistoric times these pre-Latins peopled the whole Balkan Peninsula and the Basin of the Danube, then, migrating towards the west, they poured into and took possession of the Apennine Peninsula. The Rumanians and their language were therefore not of neo-Latin origin, they were a separate part that had remained in the east of the great original Latin stock. *The present Rumanian language sounds like and has the same construction as the neo-Latin languages because it derives from the same ancient source.* According to this theory, the Rumanian language could not be compared with French, Spanish or Portuguese, only with Old Latin, which long before classical Latin was spoken had been the language of the shepherds and farmers of Latium.

For the present Dr. Lupu has to be content with negative proofs of his theory, and he opposes many of them to the idea of continuity. He hopes to persuade Rumanian public opinion and the scientific world to accept his point of view by discrediting the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity. He believes that if this theory, which has been officially adopted, is discredited, the Densusianu-Lupu pre-Latin theory will carry more weight. It is interesting that Lupu uses practically the same arguments to prove the improbability of Daco-Rumanian continuity as were advanced by Rösler, Hunfalvy and their school. *"It is much more*

probable" — says Lupu — "that the Thracians, Getae, Dacians and Illyrians formed a language family speaking an ancient pre-Latin tongue, and that the Rumanians of Rumania are a remnant of them that survived the storm of history. We Rumanians are a differnt people from the Romans and in certain respects may consider ourselves their ancestors. The Roman colonization of the Balkan Peninsula and Dacia may have confirmed their inhabitants in their ancient Latin tongue, but could not have added any important or determinative elements to it."

Dr. Lupu's theory has been violently attacked by a certain section of the Rumanians. They reproach him for using the same arguments as the enemies of the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity and thus encouraging them. From a philological point of view Lupu's and Densusianu's theory is absurd, for the Rumanian language, despite its own particular characteristics, is definitely a neo-Latin tongue, and, were it true that it was not an eastern neo-Latin language but one of pre-Latin origin, it would be quite different from what it is. The old Thracian, Getan and Illyrian languages have not disappeared so completely as to make it possible to declare that they were pre-Latin tongues. These Balkan languages have a descendant which is still spoken, the Albanian language. *But the Rumanian language itself is sufficient proof that Lupu's theory is false, for it is unmistakably neo-Latin in character.* Rumanian historians and publicists are therefore fully entitled to reproach Lupu. All his theory is good for is to discredit the officially accepted theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity.

There are historians who believe that the Thracians, Getae and Illyrians were Teutonic peoples and that the Rumanians, as their descendants, are in point of fact of Teutonic origin.

This is how the extremely confused dispute over the origin of the Rumanians continues to move backwards and forwards; and it will not be settled until political passions withdraw from a domain in which they are out of place.

THE VENDS

BY

GÉZA RUBLETZKY

In pursuance of her historical mission Hungary keeps an eye on all her nationalities alike in order that she may be able to understand their wishes, solve their problems and redress their grievances. In the columns of this Review we have repeatedly dealt with the efforts made by the Magyars to solve the problems of the Serbian, Rumanian, Slovak etc. non-Magyar nationalities in the most human spirit possible, — that being indeed the only course in keeping with the traditions of a thousand-year-old kingdom.

Our present article deals with the smallest ethnic group of Hungary — indeed, probably of the whole of Europe. The "*Vend District*" is the territory lying in South-Western Hungary between the rivers *Mura* and *Rába*. *This territory was cut by the Peace Edict of Trianon out of the Counties of Vas and Zala. Although the smallest numerically, the ethnic group of the Vends is not inferior either in importance or in value to any other European ethnic group.* The aggregate number of the Vends does not exceed 70,000; their language is undoubtedly Slav, though it is not comparable to any of the languages of the Slav peoples surrounding them, being according to linguists most nearly related to Polish. *According to the Russian linguist Shachmatov, the Vends are of Celtic origin* and became slavised during the course of the sixth and seventh centuries. Yugoslav propaganda during the past twenty years used every effort to prove to the world that this tiny ethnic group, which was torn from the body of Hungary under the terms of the Treaty of Trianon, is in reality Slovene and as such a constituent element of the

Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. But *never in the whole course of history have the Vends regarded themselves as Slovenes*, from whom they differ indeed both in language and in religious faith. *Vend self-consciousness is so strong in every single Vend that in whatever language he may be asked what nationality he belongs to, he will reply that he is a Vend, — not that he is a Slovene.*

For a thousand years — ever since *the Magyars' first appearance in Europe and their foundation of a State of their own in that Continent* — the Vends have belonged to Hungary. Never in the course of history have they even attempted to break away from their allegiance to that country or to turn against the Magyars. According to the data that have come down to us, the fact can be established that already in the first century after the conquest of Hungary by the Magyars the Vends all spoke Hungarian well, while at the same time preserving their own language. And the Magyars have always cherished affection and shown understanding for the smallest non-Magyar nationality living in their country. We have innumerable data to prove that the majority of the Vends knew Hungarian already as far back as the thirteenth century and that their intellectual life since that period has always been Magyar. This fact is proved also by the churches at *Tótlak, Bántornya, Martonhely and Mura-szombat built in the fourteenth century* and by the frescoes still to be seen on their walls, which — besides illustrating scenes from the Bible — *depict also scenes from the lives of Hungarian Saints — St. Stephen, St. Imre, St. Ladislas and St. Elizabeth. There are still extant ordinances dating from the days of Turkish occupation which were sent to the magistrates of the Vend villages by the Pasha of Kanizsa; and they are written in Hungarian.* The church registers and other documents dating from the periods of the Reformation and Anti-Reformation prove that in this region *the clergy*

preached their sermons in Hungarian. The church authorities took the evidence of and crossquestioned all parties in Hungarian; and at church assemblies the Vend men all spoke in Hungarian. The directest evidence documenting the community of the life of Vends and Magyars are the family names. The family names of a considerable proportion of the Vends are Magyar. The rumour propagated throughout Europe early in the century and echoed by the European Press which asserted that the Magyars were oppressing and were doing their best to magyarise the non-Magyar nationalities, finds a living refutation in the fact that the Vends still exist as a separate ethnic group. *Had the Magyars really desired to magyarise the non-Magyar nationalities, it would certainly not have been a difficult task to denationalise a tiny ethnic group numbering roughly 50,000 souls.*

For a thousand years there was never any doubt that this territory politically belonged to Hungary. Nevertheless, after the collapse of the Dual Monarchy, the Yugoslavs formed a detachment under the command of Captain Jurishitch and sent it — with the support of cavalry and artillery and armed with machine-guns — to invade the Vend District, which it broke into on December 26th, 1918, occupying *Muraszombat*, the chief town in the district.

But the Vends refused to accept the situation thus forced upon them and organised in secret; then, on January 2nd, 1919, under the leadership of Vince Bednyák, they attacked the Yugoslav troops stationed at Muraszombat and drove them out of the town.

The Muraszombat affair exercised its due effect. One of the leading Members of the Government of Slovenia, for instance, declared that Yugoslavia did not need the Vend District. The fighting provoked by the Vends also had the effect of prevailing upon the Supreme Council and the

Territorial Commission, by a resolution dated May 12th, 1919, to reject the Yugoslavs' demand relating to the Vend District.

From a writing published by Stephen Zolger, Yugoslav Delegate to the Peace Conference, we learn that "the Vend District would never have been subjected to Yugoslav rule if the French Delegates and experts had not on all occasions played the game of the Yugoslavs", and "*if Tardieu had not arbitrarily perverted the meaning of the resolutions of the Supreme Council repeatedly to the advantage of the Yugoslavs*", — a procedure which "*often involved him in a violent conflict with the representatives of other Great Powers*". The official Delegate of the Yugoslav Government taking part in the Peace Conference, therefore, proves in writing that the Supreme Council adjudged the Vends to Hungary, but that the Council's relevant resolution was arbitrarily changed by Tardieu, who drafted it to mean that the Vends should be incorporated in Yugoslavia. This is how, by false means, the Yugoslavs obtained permission to occupy the Vend District; and the occupation was carried into effect on August 12th, 1919.

In the third year of Yugoslav rule, on September 19th and 20th, 1921, *the whole Vend people, carrying Hungarian flags and wearing Hungarian cockades, marched to the road along which the cars of the Boundary Commission were passing.* The line of cars was stopped at various points by the Vends, who sang the Hungarian National Anthem, and only allowed the cars to proceed after they had given three cheers for Hungary. Colonel Crée, head of the Boundary Commission, speaks of the moving character of the demonstration in his report to the Council of Ambassadors. It was under the influence of these demonstrations that the Boundary Commission passed its resolution which proposed

a new boundary to be demarcated for the Vend District. But the Yugoslav Government rejected the proposal.

The demonstration had sad consequences, the Yugoslav authorities visiting the Vend villages in succession and *seizing every one — men, women, boys and girls — whom they suspected, the persons thus arrested being dragged to prison.* The Hungarian Government, Colonel Crée and the Council of Ambassadors all intervened to secure the liberation of the victims. In the following years the Vend recruits, when they were summoned to join Yugoslav regiments, refused to obey the summons and, *escaping over the frontier, reported for military service to the Hungarian commands at Körmend, Szombathely, Zalaegerszeg and Nagykanizsa.*

The Vends who had emigrated to the *United States of North America* also in many ways documented their loyalty to Hungary. They held meetings, and *submitted memorandums and despatched telegrams to the Supreme Council and the Government* with the request that the Vend District should be re-incorporated in Hungary.

With the collapse of Yugoslavia the Vend District was restored to the mother-country; and the moment active life was resumed there, *the Vend parents appealed to the Hungarian Government to allow their children to attend Magyar schools.* The Hungarian Government, which respects the rights of the non-Magyar nationalities, has established Vend schools, leaving it to the choice of the parents to decide which school their children shall attend. Apart from guaranteeing them their cultural rights, the Government has granted — and is still granting — the Vends economic assistance too. The constructive work has been begun under Magyar direction in this tiny territory too as it has in all the re-incorporated districts.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT ENTHUSIASTICALLY PASSES BILL RELATING TO ELECTION OF DEPUTY REGENT

Great enthusiasm was shown by the Hungarian Parliament when passing the Bill which incorporates the dignity of Deputy Regent in the organisation for the exercise of the supreme political power. This Bill supplements the Hungarian fundamental laws drafted for the purpose of determining the legal sphere of power of the Regent. In terms of the new Bill the Regent of Hungary is entitled to the right of nomination in connection with the filling of the office of Deputy Regent; and a joint session of the two Houses of Parliament is to be held to elect the person designated to fill this high dignity. In the event of only one person being nominated too the question is to be put to the vote, the ballot to be secret. In the event of the Regent not availing himself of the right of nomination the joint session may also nominate, though only when at least 150 Members are present. Parliament may elect also by acclamation, if its will is manifested in a manner leaving no room for doubt. The Deputy Regent is to take the oath; and as being the Deputy of the Regent, is entitled to the same rights, the same protection under the criminal code, and inviolability, the only right to which he is not entitled being that of nominating a person for election as Regent. In the event of the office of Regent becoming vacant, in terms of the constitutional law passed in 1937 the sphere of authority of Regent shall be exercised by the Regency Council until such time as the new Regent — to be elected with the least possible delay — shall have taken the oath, when *the official functions of the Deputy Regent shall also cease.*

The Preamble to the Bill stresses that the Bill was necessary in view of the fact that situations might arise in which the person exercising the royal power — at present the Regent — may for shorter or longer periods be prevented by residence abroad, a campaign, illness or the need for rest due to exhaustion or other causes from performing the functions of this office. In the present period of unrest in particular it is impossible to maintain a deficient system of constitutional law which fails to provide for the appointment of a deputy Regent in the event of there being obstacles to the actual exercise of the Regent's power.

A consideration of all these moments had led to the conviction that the best thing to do was to provide for the deputisation of the Regent by the creation of the office of Deputy Regent in keeping with the existing situation, though taking care that the new provisions shall dovetail into the other measures in

public law which have during the last two decades served to build up the institution of the Regency.

The institution of Deputy Regent can naturally only be effectively dovetailed into the life of the State *in the event of the Deputy Regent working in complete harmony with the Regent*; the latter must therefore be ensured a decisive influence in the selection of the person of the Deputy Regent. The harmony between the Regent and his Deputy must consequently be founded upon personal securities.

This new institution is in perfect harmony with the spirit of Hungarian public law; for *during the course of the historical past of the country provision was made continuously for the deputisation of the Head of State*, the dignity of Palatine — who figured as the king's deputy — having been maintained also by the Act of 1867.

Both Houses of the Hungarian Parliament availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the debate on the Bill to demonstrate their allegiance and enthusiastic affection for the highly respected and beloved Person of the Regent of Hungary. All speakers alike stressed that his undying merits had raised Nicholas Horthy to a place among the greatest Heads of State and that there was no precedent for the respect and popularity enjoyed by the Regent and demonstrated alike by the whole Hungarian nation and by every son of the Hungarian people.

HUNGARY'S DEPUTY-REGENT: PARLIAMENT UNANIMOUSLY ELECTS VITÉZ STEPHEN HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA

The election of a Deputy-Regent took place on 19th February at a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament. When the Speaker of the Upper House, Count Bartholomew Széchenyi, had stated that, as the meeting was attended by 203 members of the Upper House and 280 members of the Lower House, a quorum was present; that the Regent had waived his right to nominate candidates and that no one desired to put the question to the vote, *he then announced amidst unanimous acclamation and scenes of spontaneous enthusiasm that vitéz Stephen Horthy de Nagybánya had been elected Deputy-Regent of Hungary.*

The gaily decorated Cupola Hall of the Parliament was thronged with a distinguished gathering, — *amongst others present were all the accredited diplomats stationed in Budapest*, — which loudly cheered the Regent and Madame Horthy when they made their appearance after the election had taken place. When the Regent had confirmed the election, a delegation was chosen to carry the news to the new Deputy-Regent. The members of that delegation were Baron Sigismund Perényi, keeper of the Regalia and John Szabó on behalf of the Upper House and Béla Ivády and Andrew Csizmadia, a small farmer, on behalf of the

Lower House. Amidst cheers that seemed as if they would never cease the Deputy-Regent in the uniform of a lieutenant of the Air Force made his entry into the Cupola Hall. He was asked by the Speaker of the Lower House, M. Andrew Nagy de Tasnád *to take an oath to be loyal to the Regent, to keep the laws of the land, respect its ancient and approved customs and make others keep and respect them, defend the independence and territorial integrity of Hungary, perform the duties of his office in concord with the Parliament, the Regent and the Government, and do all he justly could for the benefit and glory of the country.* The election of the Deputy-Regent and the text of his oath were incorporated in an Act of Parliament which was signed by the Regent.

Vitéz Stephen Horthy de Nagybánya was born in 1904. He was the eighth of this great and ancient Hungarian family to bear the name of Stephen. His birthplace was Pola; his infancy was spent in Constantinople and Vienna, where his father occupied a high position. He was educated in Budapest, obtaining a first-rate secondary school leaving certificate and an equally excellent diploma at the Budapest University of Technical Science. By the time he had obtained his diploma as a mechanical engineer he had mastered the German, French and English languages. During his student years he went through a course of training at the Naval Academy, and *in 1926 volunteered for military service.* He joined the Air Force, and proving an excellent pilot, gradually rose to the rank of a lieutenant. *As a lieutenant of the Air Force he took part in the military operations connected with the return of Northern Transylvania and Eastern Hungary.*

His first job was in the department of the Csepel Machine Factory producing aeroplane motors, where he worked as a foreman. *Later on he worked as an engineer in the Ford Works in America.* In 1930 he became the chief engineer of the motor-car department of the Hungarian State Iron, Steel and Machine Works, where by 1939 he had risen through the ranks of technical director, head councillor, vice-director and director to the dignity of managing director. Some time later he became president of the Hungarian State Railways.

The new Deputy-Regent is one of Hungary's best engineers, organizers and technical experts. He it was who in Bombay, where he flew alone in his little sport aeroplane, established an agency of the Hungarian State Railways. *His flight to Bombay is regarded as one of the greatest feats in the history of international sport flying. It was due to his efforts that the Hungarian Aero Alliance was established, the first Hungarian aeroplane factory set up and the training of pilots organized.* He is an excellent-all-round sportsman, a first-rate horseman, and his big game hunting

exploits in Africa are well known to all big game hunters throughout the world.

He was elected to a seat in the Upper House by the County of Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok. He founded a number of youth sport societies and was one of the pioneers of tourist traffic in Hungary.

In 1940 he married the Countess Ilona Edelsheim-Gyulai. They set off for their honeymoon by aeroplane, visiting *Southern Italy, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, Palestine and Syria*, and returning to Budapest *via Turkey, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia*. This journey of 8000 kilometres by air was one of the world's most successful flights. The Deputy-Regent has one child, a boy eighteen months' old named Stephen after his father.

DEPUTIES FROM SOUTHERN HUNGARY SUMMONED TO PARLIAMENT

In accordance with Hungarian law, until it is possible to elect Members of both Houses of Parliament to represent the restored areas, the legislative body may, on the Government's recommendation, summon deputies from those parts to attend Parliament, while the Regent has the constitutional right to appoint Members of the Upper House. This took place when a strip of Upper Hungary, Subcarpathia and part of Transylvania were restored, and now, on 6th February, both Houses of Parliament *unanimously adopted the Government's motion to summon twenty-six representatives from the restored Southern areas. Of these twenty-six representatives three are members of the German racial community, two are Serbs, one is a leader of the Vends and two represent the Bunyevatz people.* Among the new deputies we find one *agricultural labourer*, three small holders, two secondary school teachers, two journalists, two Roman Catholic priests and one Reformed Church pastor. The rest are land-owners, engineers, doctors and tradesmen. One manufacturer, one landowner, one Bishop of the Reformed Church and one of the leaders of the German racial community have been appointed by the Regent to represent Southern Hungary in the Upper House.

The first formal appearance in the Hungarian Parliament of the deputies from Southern Hungary took place on 9th February. On their arrival the Hungarian anthem was played, and they were welcomed with loud acclamation. The Speaker, M. Andrew Nagy de Tasnád, expressed the pleasure he felt at welcoming the worthy representatives of an ancient part of Hungary in the home of the Hungarian legislature. *The Magyars* — he said — *extended a cordial and friendly welcome also to those of them who were not of Magyar race, whom they did not regard as strangers but as citizens of the Hungarian*

State enjoying the same rights as the Magyars and upon whose wisdom, goodwill and sense of responsibility reliance could be placed. The Speaker emphasized that, although the sword must be wielded honourably, the implements of labour may not be laid aside.

M. Ivan Nagy spoke on behalf of the new deputies from Southern Hungary. *He expressed their gratitude to the Regent, the Hungarian army and Hungary's great friends, the Führer and the Duce, for having put an end at the cost of war to the sufferings of the enslaved Magyars of Southern Hungary.* Those Magyars, like the rest of the Magyars all the world over, were devoted to the Regent. M. Nagy declared that the injustices they had suffered in the detached areas had broken down all social barriers between Magyar and Magyar. *He promised that the new deputies would work for the whole Hungarian nation, that they would be the apostles of Hungarian co-operation, and faithful adherents to the principles of St. Stephen, which guaranteed equality to all the minorities, though naturally only those who were loyal to Hungary and respected her laws could lay claim to that right.*

AGGREGATE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS OF HUNGARY 14,668,000

The 1941 Census was taken by the *Central Statistical Bureau* as representing the state of things existing on January 31st., 1941, — i. e. prior to the return to the mother-country of the district of Southern Hungary subsequently re-incorporated. In the middle of October, 1941, the collection of the Census data was extended also to the districts of Southern Hungary which had in the meantime been recovered.

On the basis of the reports received from the 339 towns and villages situated in these districts the Central Statistical Bureau has compiled the preliminary figures of the Southern Hungary Census. According to the provisional results showing the state of things existing on October 10th., 1941, *the number of persons living in the territories re-annexed after the collapse of Yugoslavia is 1,024,876.* According to the preliminary data collected by the Census taken at the end of January, 1941, *the number of inhabitants living in the territory of Hungary as it stood prior to the liberation of the districts of Southern Hungary, was 13,643,620.* We see then that on the basis of the total numbers shown by these two Censuses — not taken quite simultaneously — *the population of present-day Hungary may be computed at roughly 14,668,000 souls.* This number may — by natural increase — *have risen between the beginning of February and the middle of October, 1941, to 14,733,000.*

Immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Trianon,

of Eastern Hungary and of Transylvania which have been re-incorporated in the mother-country.

One of the fundamental problems of the economic life of Transylvania is how to raise the level of agriculture in order to serve the purposes of surplus production. The first *sine qua non* indispensable to a solution of this problem is that agricultural professional education should be placed upon proper foundations. During the days of Rumanian rule the areas of Transylvania now restored possessed only a single agricultural college, and two State and two denominational agricultural (farm) schools. Apart from further developing these institutes the Hungarian Government has adopted the so-called "winter agricultural schools" as the most desirable type of school for this branch of professional education. *Agricultural schools of this kind have been opened at Bánffyhunyard, Gyergyószentmiklós and Szászrégen.* Preparations have also been made for the opening in the near future of agricultural secondary schools at *Marosvásárhely and Sepsiszentgyörgy.* For the benefit of farmers belonging to older generations *36 winter agricultural courses have been arranged* which will be in progress so long as the winter weather lasts. For women *three months' courses in agriculture and household economy have been organised at Csiksomlyó, Kézdivásárhely, Marosvásárhely and Zilah.*

For the purpose of ensuring the continuity of production — as also of improving the standard of quality of the products — during last autumn the Government distributed among the farmers of Transylvania 300 wagon-loads of wheat and 60 wagon-loads of rye seeds. Last year great difficulties were caused by shortage of agricultural machinery in the areas of Transylvania restored to the mother-country. To counteract the effects of this shortage, last autumn, with the co-operation of the Association of Magyar Farmers of Transylvania (EMGE) *several hundred drill ploughs and winnowing machines were distributed among the villages in need of such.* Among poorer farmers ploughs, harrows and chaff-cutters, as well as other necessary appliances and implements, were distributed. The Government has taken special measures also for the development of fruit-growing in Transylvania. *In 46 villages, for example, autumn courses in the science of pomology arranged last year initiated no fewer than 3200 students into the secrets of the up-to-date cultivation of fruit-trees.*

In Transylvania exceptionally great importance attaches to pasturage as being the principal factor in the feeding of the live stock. In every county model pastures have been created; and, where that was feasible, the model pastures have been located on an Alpine level. The Government has made considerable material sacrifices for the purpose of raising the qualitative standard of animal-breeding. *To that end more than 1800*

cows and calves, 1300 brood mares, 500 brood rams, 6000 ewes, 1000 Mangalitza (Hungarian breed) sows and 1400 head of brood poultry have been distributed at specially reduced prices. The authorities are confronted with gigantic problems in the field of veterinary hygiene. As a consequence of the neglect of the former (Rumanian) régime there are very many cases of glanders and of mange among the horses, while the stock of sheep has been decimated by fluke. For the purpose of destroying every trace of glanders the whole stock of horses in Transylvania has been examined. For the development of dairy farming, during the second half of last year courses in milk industry were organised at Kolozsvár, Csikszereda, Székelykeresztur and Marosvásárhely. Special mention should be made of the sugar-production problem of County Háromszék. In this region there is a highly-developed cultivation of sugar-beet. The Botfalú refinery — which previously manufactured the beet produced in this county — is on the other side of the frontier. As a consequence of the intervention of the Department of Agriculture the management of the spirit régime has undertaken to make production contracts with all the farmers who in the past too grew sugar-beet and to pay the same price for the beet as the sugar refineries. In this manner the disadvantage resulting from the Botfalú refinery having remained on the Rumanian side of the frontier will be completely eliminated. In respect of the industrial plants, special mention is due to the cultivation of flax, for which Széklerland is particularly suitable; owing to the lack of means of industrial manufacture, this plant was previously very little cultivated: but now the Department of Agriculture is using every effort to organise at Sepsiszentgyörgy a large-scale establishment for the manufacture of this article which shall encourage the extension over the whole area of Széklerland of the cultivation of flax for industrial purposes.

In other fields too the Governments is making exceptional efforts; in Csik County alone, for instance, tenders have been invited for the electrification of 21 villages, the operations for this purpose to be begun already in the spring. Kolozs County has been granted 317.000 pengő to cover the costs of road repairs. County Háromszék alone received from the Government during the course of a single year the sum of 4.115.958 pengő in the form of subsidies and loans respectively. *3.5 million pengő have been foreseen for cultural building purposes;* and this amount is to be utilised in full already during the current year, — there being indeed every prospect of further credits being appropriated for the purpose. The Social Insurance Institute's building estimates for the year 1942 foresee the outlay of sums exceeding 1.000.000 pengő in amount for the development of health-resorts and watering-places in Transylvania.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN FINANCIAL QUESTIONS

During the debate on the Bulgarian budgetary Estimates M. *Bosilov*, Minister of Finance, speaking in the Sobranje, established the fact that in war-time it was indispensably necessary that the public finances should be administered in accordance with a systematic plan. In this connection he referred repeatedly to Germany, where the costs of the war are secured by adequate taxation and internal loans. The Bulgarian national income may be estimated at roughly 100.000.000.000 leva and the aggregate national wealth at roughly 500.000.000.000 leva. The 1942 budgetary Estimates foresee a total revenue of 14,390.000.000 leva; so that, as the expenditure is estimated to amount to 12,499.360.000 leva, in the current budgetary year the State may reckon on a surplus of 1.890.140.000 leva.

The inland loan amounting to 3.5 milliard leva has been fully subscribed: indeed, by the end of the year 1941 the sums subscribed showed an amount exceeding the original value by 150—200.000.000 leva.

On August 31st., 1939, the note circulation aggregated 4 milliard leva; but by November 15th., 1941, it had advanced to the amount of 12.935.000.000 leva. This circumstance is to be attributed to the fact that in the meantime the territory of Bulgaria had increased by 50% and that the general rise of prices throughout the country had advanced already by 50%.

In the period between August 31st., 1939, and November 15th., 1941, the Bulgarian National Bank had at its disposal foreign exchanges representing a value of 35.000.000 Swiss francs — an amount equivalent on the basis of a normal rate of exchange to roughly 800—900.000.000 leva. It had proved impossible to avoid raising the scale of taxation, that being the only way to secure the increased expenditure of the State which had not been foreseen. The increased taxation had devolved in particular upon those branches of occupation which had secured greater opportunities of earning. The object of this measure was to show indulgence towards the general masses of the people.

At the end of 1941 the amount of the public (State) debts aggregated altogether 30.000.000.000 leva, — about 18 milliards of this amount being internal indebtedness (*Donauzeitung*, December 28th., 1941).

HUNGARY

HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION.
REPORT OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL BANK

A booklet containing a report of the business transacted by the National Bank of Hungary has been published by its Board of Directors.

In consequence of the extension of the war to vast territories — so runs one part of the report — *economic life in practically every part of the globe is becoming increasingly a matter of war economy.* The countries engaged in the war are straining every effort to make the greatest possible use of their economic resources for the furtherance of war-production. To this end economic life is being controlled to an unprecedented extent by the State, the object being, on the one hand, to increase the quantity of materials needed for the war, and, on the other, to keep civilian consumption within strict limits. The neutral countries and those no longer at war are faced with the necessity of taking similar measures, for owing to the dearth of raw materials and the other difficulties attending production, it is only by these means that they can ensure the supply of necessaries for any length of time.

In these circumstances economic life in the countries which owing to the war have entirely ceased to trade with one other, also shows practically similar aspects. The great increase in employment, the devotion of production to the manufacture of war materials and arms, a sharp rise in earnings, a shortage of the articles of consumption available, and behind all these factors the greatly swollen condition of State finances, *are the common features that today characterize economic life in almost every country.*

Although every country strives to cover as much as possible of its war and armaments expenditure *by taxation*, and despite the fact that in this respect the results are much more satisfactory than during the first Great War, a considerable part of the war expenditure has nevertheless to be provided by means of *loans*, and here a great rôle is being played by short term loans covered by Bank of Issue credit. In consequence the money markets everywhere *are extremely liquid, and rates of interest are particularly low.*

In almost all countries prices are controlled. Despite this it has proved impossible to prevent them soaring considerably. This is only partly accounted for by defects in the system of control; to a certain extent it is the result of a lack of commodities, the difficulties of foreign trade, the increased prices of imports, the use of expensive substitutes and *the higher cost of production.*

In consequence of the war a great change has taken place

in international economic relations. Certain economic connections have been entirely severed, but others have grown closer. The continent of Europe — with the exception of the regions ruled by the Soviet — is living a separate economic life of its own. This situation is responsible for the fact that the countries of Europe are now to an unprecedented extent interdependent, and it has resulted in their striving to establish *friendly economic co-operation*. This reveals itself particularly in a desire to do away with the difficulties caused by foreign exchange and currency restrictions. It was to serve this end that *measures intended to eliminate the disparity between the rates of foreign exchanges have been introduced*. The result has been so satisfactory all over Europe that it would be desirable to follow it up with a system of *multilateral clearing* that would enable the credits accumulated in international trade to be set free for use. It would also be desirable to reduce the number of obstacles to international trade presented by the different trade policies and eliminate the difficulties caused, on the one hand, by different price policies in different countries and on the other by a lack of co-operation in the sphere of price policy. For as things stand today, although every country strives to control prices, *the disproportion in prices between them is very great*. The foreign trade difficulties arising from this state of things, are aggravated by the circumstance that in most cases *price control is confined to domestic trade and does not apply to exports*. In practice this means that the prices of exports rise, while in the markets dealing with raw materials — if self-interest requires it — lower prices are offered for the exports directed towards those markets, and all this in turn makes it exceedingly difficult to arrive at a mutually satisfactory price policy.

In fundamentals Hungary's economic situation did not change greatly during the past year; but the effects of the war are being increasingly felt. In industry employment was at an extremely high level. This was chiefly due to large orders from the State. According to the information given in his speech on the Budget by the Minister of Finance, State investments, which in 1938 were contemplated to require 1,000.000.000 pengő, have involved an increase of the outlay to 4,500.000.000; the sums spent on this item since 1938 were 2,500.000.000, those spent during the twelve months preceding his speech being 654.000.000 pengő.

The production of articles of consumption has not kept pace with the great rise in employment. The dearth of raw materials was felt most seriously by the branches of industry engaged in the production of the most important articles. In addition, one section of the industries producing them *were now working mostly for the army, and thus only part of the raw materials at their disposal could be manufactured for civilian consumption*.

The disproportion between earnings and the articles of

consumption available was increased by the credits granted in the second part of the year to foreign countries for the purpose of extending and financing our export trade. These credits served to increase domestic purchasing power, without, however, providing by means of importation goods to take the place of the commodities exported and increasing the quantities available for home consumption. For the most part people do not wish to spend their surplus earnings on articles of consumption, but on *investments*, so that the effect of increased incomes has been felt primarily on the *Stock Exchange and in the real estate markets*.

The disproportion between purchasing power and the quantity of goods available, which disturbs the even tenor of economic life and prevents the stabilization of the price level, is being dealt with by the Government in two ways. On the one hand, by means of increased taxation and the introduction of new taxes, by raising the price of articles handled by the State régies and by issuing loans, the State is availing itself of part of the surplus purchasing power of the population, and on the other hand, by further measures restricting the purchase of commodities it makes sure that *this surplus will not by indiscriminate buying deprive the less well-to-do classes of the possibility of obtaining what they need*, or cause raw materials and half-manufactured goods to be withdrawn and made unavailable for purposes desirable from the point of view of national economy.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

RUMANIA

PATRIARCHAL AGRICULTURE IN RUMANIA

Of late the Rumanian Press is being agitated by the agrarian problem. The controversy was started by the memorandum addressed to the Conducator by Constantine Garofild, president of the Association of Agrarian Syndicates; after an answer had been received from General Antonescu, several other persons joined in the discussion, — among others, P. Nemoianu.

Garofild's memorandum is a faithful reflection of *the uncommon difficulties against which Rumanian agriculture has to struggle*. The agrarian reform carried into effect for reasons of political opportunism — a reform for which neither the State nor the peasants who were thereby allotted land were prepared — cut up the landed estates in an unprecedented manner without however providing the peasantry with adequate working capital or agricultural equipment. During the past two decades the division of property under the laws of inheritance further crumbled the landed estates. As a consequence of all these circumstances the productive capacity of Rumanian agriculture

is lower than anywhere else in Europe. Garofild severely criticises the endeavours to find a way out of the *impasse* by a joint cultivation of the dissected estates; the only measure for that purpose which he is prepared to regard as beneficial being the system of parcelling. He shows very little confidence in the idea of mechanisation, regarding as useful only a degree of mechanisation which a small-holder is able to effect without any extravagant outlay out of his own resources. This degree of mechanisation cannot be taken to include tractors and harvesting machinery. It would be much more useful to substitute for tractors and harvesting machinery the development of cattle breeding, seeing that the work which it is within the province of small-holders to undertake can be performed much more cheaply by oxen than by an exorbitantly expensive tractor, which in addition consumes enormous quantities of petrol, thus withdrawing a quota of the latter article from the export trade. Mechanisation and rational cultivation cannot therefore exceed the limits of the resources of peasant proprietors without causing trouble.

What Garofild is doing here is really nothing more than espousing the cause of the ancient patriarchal methods of agriculture; and he cites instances to prove the absolute incapacity of Rumanian small-holders to adopt mechanised farming. The tractors placed at the disposal of the peasantry by the Chambers of Agriculture very soon became scrap iron, the persons handling them being men not possessing the necessary expert knowledge. This peasantry owns 80% of the total area of landed property in Rumania; and, if the experiment made by the Chambers of Agriculture is made general, the enormous capital invested in tractors and harvesting machinery will dissipate in the hands of inexperienced owners, causing the country an incalculable loss of blood. It is therefore far more rational that, until the Rumanian peasantry has been raised from the slough of ignorance, preparations should be made for a reform of the patriarchal cultivation of the soil at present in vogue, thereby enabling the Rumanian peasants to advance to a higher degree of agrarian culture: for any sudden mechanisation is bound to plunge into bankruptcy, not only the pasantry, but also the State.

While in respect of peasant farms Garofild advises caution, his praise of the medium-sized estates and latifundia displays an enthusiasm for which there has not been any precedent in Rumanian journalism during the past twenty years. The blessings of mechanisation and completely rationalised cultivation he regards as within the reach of larger estates only; that is why he looks upon the medium-sized estates and the latifundia as being the lever with the help of which Rumanian agriculture may be raised from its present precarious situation.

And in any case — so say those in favour of medium-sized estates and latifundia — the mechanisation of Rumanian agriculture cannot possibly be effected economically *unless the machines required are produced by the inland industry, that rendering unnecessary any appeal to the assistance of States whose industry is already highly developed*: for if dependent upon importing this machinery from those States, the Rumanian nation would become involved in an indebtedness the lucrativeness of which could not be guaranteed with agrarian culture at its present low level. Therefore, nothing could be done until Rumanian heavy industry had reached a level of development enabling it to itself provide Rumanian agriculture with the necessary quantity of machinery; otherwise Rumania's foreign trade balance would suffer gravely as a result of overhasty measures to indulge the freak of mechanisation.

The attitude adopted by Garofild and his followers is at present being subjected to the cross-fire of the champions of mechanisation-at-all-costs. The latter — as it appears to us — are rather romantic *doctrinaires* than expert economists; otherwise they would realise that there are only two ways out of the patriarchal backwardness of Rumanian agriculture, either a revolution or a rational development. Now, it is not enough to champion the cause of revolution in words; action must be taken too. And that is hardly likely to be the course adopted by the present system.

RUMANIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

Official statistics showing Rumania's foreign trade in the first eleven months of 1941 and in the same period of 1940 respectively have been published by the Association of Rumanian Exporters. These statistics give no information about two of Rumania's most important exports, oil and timber; they merely give data about bread cereals, leguminous vegetables, oil-seed, and fodder. Except in the case of leguminous vegetables a great decline is noticeable in these exports. The figures are as follows:

	1941		1940	
	Jan.	Nov.	Jan.	Nov.
	tons		tons	
<i>Wheat</i>	2.500		379.516	
<i>Maize</i>	117.758		564.553	
<i>Barley</i>	7.570		41.115	
<i>Oats</i>	1.698		4.639	
<i>Rye</i>	—		61.090	
<i>Millet</i>	7.920		8.963	
<i>Beans</i>	1.837		1.030	
<i>Bran</i>	31.506		30.509	

POLITICAL ECONOMY

<i>Peas</i>	55.406	7.097
<i>Lentils</i>	2.163	658
<i>Soya beans</i>	5.155	14.534
<i>Rape</i>	131	910
<i>Sunflower-seed</i>	5.142	8.833
<i>Pumpkin-seed</i>	617	1.526
<i>Hemp-seed</i>	—	120
<i>Mustard-seed</i>	337	2.165
<i>Lucerne-seed</i>	—	1.241
<i>Tares</i>	9.358	9.648
<i>Oilseed-cake</i>	35.855	39.367
<i>Other produce</i>	11.640	10.363

This means that in the first eleven months of 1941 exports in these commodities totalled 296.593 tons, as compared with 1.187.914 tons in the same period of the previous year. The decline is therefore about 76⁰/₁₀₀. Rumania's most important market was, of course, Germany, which imported 206.944 tons. The other countries follow in the following order Sweden 35.556, Switzerland 33.273, Italy 16.677, the Czech Protectorate 3520, Denmark 484, and Slovakia 139 tons. ("Stud", Feb. 5.)

SERBIA

AGRICULTURE IN SERBIA

Hitherto wheat was grown on an area of 600.000 hectares in present-day Serbia. *The average crop was 11 quintals per hectare, which gives a total of 6.600.666 quintals per annum. The requirements of the population were 5.700.000 quintals for consumption and about 1.200.000 for seed. This brings the total quantity needed per annum up to 6.900.000 quintals.* Normally the quantity produced would be barely sufficient, the Government is therefore trying by every means at its disposal to increase production. The country is much less well provided with potatoes, for the quantity produced annually is scarcely half what is required. The Government therefore wishes the people to grow potatoes on twice as large an extent of land as heretofore and has already issued orders to that effect. ("Stud", Feb. 14.)

NEW RATES OF INTEREST IN SERBIA

The Committee entrusted with the control and supervision of the banks has fixed the rates of interest for all credit institutes from 1st January 1942 on as follows: accounts current recallable at one day's notice 1⁰/₁₀₀, at six months' notice 2⁰/₁₀₀, at twelve months' notice 3⁰/₁₀₀; safe deposits withdrawable at one day's

notice 2.5% and at twelve months' notice 3%. *Depositors who wish to withdraw more than 20.000 dinars in one month must state for what purpose the money is required.* The rate of interest payable on loans issued after 1st January 1942 has been fixed at 8%. The Committee has issued a warning to the banks and their customers that all passbooks must bear the names of their owners. *The issue of passbooks bearing no name is strictly forbidden.*

SLOVAKIA

LAND REFORM IN SLOVAKIA

In the history of land reform — as in so many other fields — *Czecho-Slovakia* created precedents without parallel. The carrying into effect of the land reform was begun immediately after the establishment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic; but even after twenty years that reform work was still incomplete. And this very circumstance is what lent the Czecho-Slovak land reform the peculiar character without a parallel elsewhere. *Twenty years proved insufficient for the Czecho-Slovak Governments to transfer the sequestered estates to their new owners.* The reason for this is a very simple one. In Czecho-Slovakia the land reform did not serve the purpose of a re-organisation of production; nor did it possess any social significance. *The masters of Czecho-Slovakia in carrying the land reform into effect utilised the opportunity thus offered to realise political and anti-nationality aims;* and the activity of the Czecho-Slovak Land Office always assumed a more bustling character when the waters of the internal political world of Czecho-Slovakia foretold the brewing of a storm. And this rising of the waters usually made its appearance on the occasion of an election. Prior to every electioneering campaign the Czecho-Slovak Land Office began once more to distribute land, rewarding the canvassers of the Government Party by the allotment to them of slices of the areas reserved for the purpose. The demands of the Government Party for means of rewarding canvassers were continuous and gigantic whenever internal political manoeuvres were in progress; that is why it proved impossible even in the course of twenty years to complete the work of land reform.

The land reform of Slovakia in many respects resembles that in force in Czecho-Slovakia. This is partly due to the pressure of circumstances and partly to the fact that those who are at present responsible for carrying out the work of land reform in Slovakia were trained in the Czecho-Slovak school and acquired the methods employed there in respect of land reform measures. It is already three years since Slovakia became

an independent State; but the land reform has barely advanced beyond the initial stages. To be fair, indeed, it must be admitted that the inheritance which the *Slovak State Land Office* had to take over from the *Czecho-Slovak Land Office* is of so burdensome a character that the work of liquidation is no easy matter. And the very fact that the land reform of Slovakia is being so very slowly carried out is definitive proof that as realised in Czecho-Slovakia the land reform was employed primarily as an instrument of anti-Magyar policy.

In its December 31st., 1942, issue the "*Gardista*" — a semi-official Slovak organ — published an article dealing with Slovak land reform. In this article we find the following passage (reproduced here word for word): — "*The great majority of the settlements called into being in the Czecho-Slovakia of former days are to be found today within the territories re-incorporated in Hungary. In the territory of present-day Slovakia there are only six such settlements. And these are at present being managed by the Slovak State Land Office.*"

As may be seen from this passage, the programme of Slovak Land Reform is still one of settlements. The article referred to above shows that there are three funds under the management of the Slovak Land Office. The first of these funds is the Indemnity Fund, the second the Settlement Fund and the third that for meeting the demands for compensation of agricultural labourers who have lost their jobs as a consequence of the land reform. From the article in question we see further that the Settlement Fund has at its disposal sums amounting to altogether 15,000.000 Slovak crowns.

In this connection the question arises as to which territories are those designated for the purposes of settlement in Slovakia? Where are the areas that may be requisitioned for the purposes of settlement?

We have no exact statement on this point at our disposal; and we cannot help recalling that *the data relating to Czecho-Slovak settlements were always handled by the Czecho-Slovak Governments in a manner practically excluding their becoming public property.* But we can form an idea of the purposes of Slovak settlement policy by the aid of one or two cases which sufficiently illustrate the practical effectuation of that policy. Not long ago the Slovak Press demanded that the Slovaks should be transferred from the northern Slovak counties — which are relatively over-populated and therefore offer reduced possibilities of earning a livelihood — to the more southern areas. At the same time the papers published details relating to settlement experiments of the kind. From this we learn that three settlements have been organised in the northern villages of the Magyar peninsula of *Zoboralja*, — at *Vicsákapáti*

and in the neighbourhood. The Slovak Press tells us that these settlements have been established on estates confiscated from their Jewish proprietors. But if we raise the question of consistency in this respect, we must stress that in that case *these estates ought to have been distributed among the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, seeing that it was from them that the Jews originally acquired the property.*

When a part of the Magyar territories wrested from Hungary were restored to the mother-country by way of redress of the wrongs suffered by that country under the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary liquidated the Czecho-Slovak settlements wedged into the Magyar ethnic body. As a consequence 1012 families had to move back to Slovakia to their original places of residence. At the time the Slovak *Land Office* introduced the system of so-called compulsory leases for the assistance of these 1012 families. An ordinance was issued which provided that in "nationality" districts — i. e. primarily in areas inhabited by Magyars — all farms exceeding 30 hectares in area could be utilised for the purpose of leaseholds for the benefit of the Czecho-Slovak settlers. So far 10,153 cadastral yokes have been allotted out of "nationality" estates under this ordinance, in the form of leaseholds to be at the disposal of the settlers for three years. In conclusion we would merely once more note that *these measures plainly reveal the influence of the example set by the Czecho-Slovak land reform.*

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

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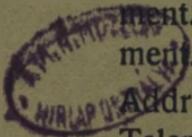
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