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HIRLAPOSZTÁLYA

BANQUET IN LONDON

BY

FRANCIS HERCZEG

The fires of war are still blazing; but the parasites who batten on destruction are beginning to creep out of their dens. What can the appearance of those men, popularly described as "the hyenas of the battlefield", mean? Is the end near? Or are they so impatient that they cannot wait till the day of plunder and a division of the spoils arrives? For them the world war is merely a gamble in which they hold no stakes, though determined to share in the winnings.

In the bucket-shop of war speculation the boldest and most cynical broker is perhaps Edward *Benes*. After the most woeful political bankruptcy ever known to history, in which he and his republic were swept away, he has turned up again and is seriously attempting to give the Allied Powers council and advice. What does this mean? Does he really believe that people have such bad memories? or does he count upon the commonsense judgment of the world having been upset by war-psychosis?

At the birth of the Paris Peace Treaties, which entrusted the maintenance of peace in Central Europe jointly to Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, Benes played the rôle of a busy midwife. It will be remembered how the geographical, historical and ethnographical data on which the new Power system was based were falsified. *When they could make patriotic capital out of it, Benes and his accomplices themselves boasted of the trick with which they had improved their position in Trianon.* Their Power system was in fact like a pyramid set on its apex in mockery of all the natural laws of equilibrium.

The criterion of the value of any political system is the power of resistance its machinery is able to display in difficult circumstances. The three Trianon States collapsed,

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two of them in heaps of rubble, at the first breath of wind denoting the advent of changing conditions. A telephone message from Berlin was enough to do away with the Czecho-Slovak Republic and send its President flying. Without attempting to resist, Greater Rumania became Lesser Rumania the moment she was given to understand that this was the wish of the neighbouring Powers. And when the van of the German army approached the frontiers of Yugoslavia, that country split in two. During the twenty years of their existence these three States did not even attempt to accomplish the mission for which they had been created.

Not long ago the former President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic made a speech at a banquet in the Liberal Club, London. On reading what he said we are struck by the fantastic assurance with which he reckoned on the political ignorance of his audience. A few months ago the slogan adopted by public opinion in Western Europe was that the mistakes of the Paris Peace Treaties must not be repeated; *and now in London Beneš again recommended the Little Entente, that inverted pyramid, as an ideal war aim.*

An interesting fact is that he is less bitter against Germany than against Hungary, upon whom he would fain invoke the vengeance of the Allied Powers. The reason is that Germany *merely* put an end to the independent Czech Republic, while Hungary is a country that in given circumstances might be plundered. It will perhaps be worth while to examine more exhaustively the part of his speech dealing with Hungary. *His most serious accusation against this country is that it is ruled by a feudal aristocratic class.* We heard the same accusation from his lips in Trianon; but both there and in London he was careful not to cite the Hungarian code of laws in support of his statements. Yet if class-rule exist, there must be *some* trace of it in the laws of the country. Beneš, however, is content to trust the axiom that if something — even a lie — is repeated again and again, the average man will come to believe it. But it is curious that he should inveigh against Hungarian feudalism in England, the only country in Europe where there are still many romantic remains of aristocratic class-rule. The most casual observer of Hungarian life must see clearly that

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there has been no trace of class-rule in this country for a hundred years. And in the field of social provision the plundered and impoverished Hungarian State has made greater progress than the victors of the last war.

Another of Beneš's indictments is that Hungary joined the war with the same methods and for the same aim as Germany: the wish to destroy the pre-war States of Central Europe. This statement reveals a cynical contempt of the political maturity of his hearers; for every newspaper reader in London ought to know that when Hungary entered the war it was too late to destroy Czecho-Slovakia or Yugoslavia, since both of them had already ceased to exist. Bohemia was by that time a German Protectorate secure against any design to destroy her that Hungary may have cherished. Rumania, the third State of the Little Entente, is today Hungary's comrade-in-arms on the Russian front. Beneš is naturally as well aware of all this as we are; but he seems to have had great faith in the ignorance of his British audience.

Beneš went on to say that Hungary had violated the obligations voluntarily undertaken by her towards her neighbours. She had occupied considerable areas of their territories by violence. Did Hungary actually violate any obligation *voluntarily* undertaken? It is to be hoped that even Beneš does not regard the Trianon Edict, which Hungary was forced to accept and against which she has always protested, as a *voluntarily* undertaken obligation! The only other obligation was the treaty of perpetual friendship concluded with Yugoslavia. *This treaty was favourably received by Hungarian public opinion; for the Magyars to a certain extent sympathized with the brave Serb people, though their feelings were not reciprocated.* And now, how did matters stand as regards the treaty of perpetual friendship? Shortly after it had been ratified a peculiar situation arose: by means of a military *coup d'état* the Head of the Yugoslav State and the Government with whom Hungary had concluded the treaty, were driven away; at the same time all the political foundations upon which that friendship were to have rested were demolished; and on 10th April the Yugoslav State itself ceased to exist. All

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this was a domestic matter concerning Yugoslavia alone; it was none of Hungary's business; but by the elementary rules of logic, if one of the contracting Parties had ceased to exist, the other could neither honour nor violate the contract. *From the ruins of Yugoslavia two new States arose, Greek Oriental Serbia and Roman Catholic Croatia.* A state of guerilla warfare that still continues broke out between the two. To which of them was Hungary linked by ties of perpetual friendship? To Croatia, or to Serbia? The sympathies of the Hungarian people turned more towards the Croats, with whom for eight hundred years they had lived in a close and peaceful alliance probably without a parallel in the history of the world between peoples of different races. The ancient Magyar areas wrested from Hungary by Serbia in Trianon (areas in which the Serbs had always been in the minority) were left unclaimed and at the mercy of predatory bands of Chetniks. There was no organized executive power in those areas; and in these circumstances the Regent of Hungary did no more than his duty when he ordered the Hungarian army to place those unclaimed areas under the protection of the mother-country. Emphasis must be laid on the point that the Hungarian army did not advance beyond the thousand-year-old Hungarian frontiers and did not enter Serb or Croat territory.

At the London banquet Beneš raised the question: "Is Hungary to be allowed to keep the areas that she *stole* from her neighbours?" In one and the same speech Beneš accused the Magyars of arbitrarily *occupying* considerable areas and of *stealing* them. This is a gross confusion of terms; yet, judging by Edward Beneš's past as a statesman, one would have expected him to have a better knowledge of the legal definition of a crime. It would be interesting to know whether any of the members of the Liberal Club could refrain from smiling when Beneš set himself up as the champion of honesty and the defender of right, and whether in their hearts they did not ask what sort of sense of historical right could lead a man to invoke a system of oppression that lasted twenty years as a legal title to those areas and refuse to take cognizance of the thousand years during which the Magyars had lived, worked and shed

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their blood for Southern Hungary. *It is true that this was ignored also by the drafters of the Trianon Treaty; but the world now sees the consequences of that mistake.*

There is one passage in Beneš's speech that throws a vivid light on his involved mentality and audacity, — the one in which he says that Hungary and Germany must be educated afresh and must go through the same political and ethical revolution. In another place he reveals the aims of his educational programme for them. A régime of a socialist nature must be established in Hungary that would enable the Magyars to enter into new and close co-operation with their three neighbours, the Rumanians, Yugoslavs and Czecho-Slovaks, and would once and for all end the era of lamentable rivalry and territorial disputes. *Beneš's aim is quite clear: he would like to lop off as many Hungarian counties as he could make use of for "strategical" and "economic" purposes, and then put an end to all territorial disputes.* In a word, he would like to educate the Magyars not to feel themselves Magyars any longer.

It would be desirable that the London Liberals should be made to realize that it is the fond wish of the Magyars to live on peaceful, brotherly terms with the Czechs, Yugoslavs and Rumanians, but also that no amount of education and no kind of revolution would ever bring to the surface a section of the population ready to apathetically acquiesce in the dismemberment of the country. There is no such unprincipled section of the population in Hungary, and such probably does not exist in any country. Has Edward Beneš forgotten what the first act of the Hungarian Dictatorship of the Proletariate was as soon as it had organized its red army? Its first act was to drive the Czechs out of Upper Hungary; for in the heart of every Magyar there lives and will continue to live the determination to win back at the first opportunity every part of our ancient heritage wrested from us by force of arms or guile. Were this not so, we should not deserve to be called a nation. Our people have always been content with the soil bequeathed by their ancestors; *they have never wished to go beyond the natural boundaries of the Carpathians; but they have always regarded all alien occupation as illegal,*

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unjust and transitory. Even a hundred and fifty years of Turkish occupation was not able to root out national feeling.

But there is something that Beneš forgot to mention. He did not tell his audience that it was only under the protection and with the support of the Great Powers that the States of the Little Entente had been able to exist at all. What a piece of historical irony! For centuries, while the Magyars were in possession of the ridges of the Carpathians, the whole of Europe naturally expected Hungary to act as a bulwark against dangers from the East; but when for the time being the Czechs and Rumanians occupied the Hungarian frontier ranges, they considered it natural that Europe should protect them. *The difference between these two points of view entitles the Magyars to insist upon their being the nucleus of order and civilization in the Danube Valley.*

Beneš has already given proof of his power to harm Hungary. This is undeniable. But he has yet to prove to history that he can be of any use either to his own people or to Europe. The London banquet again witnesses to the fact that European civilization has no greater enemy than the type of adventurer who is out to make a profit from human suffering and the death of millions.

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BIRTH OF ALEXANDER PETÖFI — 120 YEARS AGO

BY

MICHAEL DARABOS

The Hungarian nation has recalled with affectionate reverence the fact that on New Year's Day, 120 years ago, — during an unusually bitter-cold night, while travelling by cart from one village to another — the wife of a poor butcher gave birth to that marvellous genius whose death was as mystical as his birth had been. This child was Alexander Petöfi, most aptly characterized perhaps in the words of the great French poet, Francois Coppée, who declared — an opinion not inspired by the natural prepossession of Petöfi's own people, but by the objective appreciation of a fellow-poet: — *"Petöfi ranks among the ten greatest poets in the world"*. And it would indeed be difficult to determine which of the ten immortals may claim to rank first and which must rank tenth; for they are all peers — all of equal rank. There can be no doubt, however, that *among the greatest poets in the world not one has voiced a love of liberty and independence, a yearning for the advancement of the lower classes of his countrymen and a fanatical devotion to his race, in more fervent strains of lyrical enthusiasm than the wonderful Hungarian poet who was ready to die for the ideas he professed and died on the field of battle* fighting in defence of the liberty of his nation in that struggle for independence (in 1848—49) in which the Hungarian National Defence soldiers humiliated one of the greatest Powers in the world — the Austrian Empire — so utterly that that Empire was compelled to plead for the aid of another Great Power (Russia) to overthrow the small but heroic Hungarian people.

Alexander Petöfi was born in the Great Hungarian Lowlands and met his death in that part of Transylvania which today is not under Hungarian rule, — thus bridging

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over the distance separating the mother country and the "lesser homeland". He was a son of the people, and amid the roar of cannon and the clash of steel was buried in a common grave with his Hungarian brethren, — as in one of his poems he had desired and foreseen. But the vista of time has not dimmed the brightness of his figure; and he is still the most living and the youngest of Hungarian poets.

His genius broke through the narrow limits prescribed by his mother tongue, forcing its way over frontiers of countries and continents; *today he is being read in twenty different languages, and foreign countries have accorded him a place among the small number of the titans of world literature.* Bronze statues have been raised to his memory, streets and *public squares, parks and a literary society have been named after him;* and *his statue stands in Buffalo, in the United States of North America.* He was only twenty-six when he died; but he has risen to the stratosphere of world-fame. We Hungarians, when we mourn his premature loss, *wonder to what heights he might have risen, had he attained the age of a literary patriarch, — if he had not been pierced to the death, in the battle of Segesvár, by a Cossack lance.*

Not his poetic genius alone, — other spiritual forces too helped to spread the all-conquering spell of his name over the whole world. His life was a poet's dream come true. The young hero who sword and lyre in hand served the cause of liberty and in the flower of his youth was swept into the dark mouth of Hades, in his career shows a moving resemblance to the tragic fate of the young heroes of ancient poetry, — of *Adonis and Achilles and Siegfried,* who would seem to symbolize the nostalgia of mankind for eternal youth and a never-fading spring. Petőfi's fate has touched the deepest and most sensitive chords of the folk-soul; and that is why his inspiring force still lives and radiates its influence.

Petőfi was a man of moderation and of the strictest probity, — a man of a proud, strong and pure character who took himself and his fellow-men seriously. The revolutionary restlessness of his age swept him too off his feet; but he held himself far aloof from its Bohemian superficiality

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and shallowness. He showed a touching tenderness in his love of and provision for his parents; he repeatedly wrote of them in his poetry, speaking of his "old folks" with the same cordial affection as Burns of his father: while he wove round the brow of his wife a starry diadem composed of the most beautiful love-poems in world-literature. Hungarian literature he enriched with the gift of a peerless collection of songs in celebration of married love. The simplicity and grandeur of his personality is revealed by his relations with his fellow-poets. He greeted John *Arany's* great epic, "Toldi", with estatic delight; Maurice *Jókai*, the novelist, he regarded as his brother; — while for Michael *Tompa*, a poet much younger than himself, he showed a loving appreciation.

His incredibly sensitive soul — a characteristically lyrical soul — echoed the currents of thought of his age as sea-shells echo the murmur of the waves. In his soul love of his country and a yearning for liberty blared and thundered. His patriotism was no mere rhetorical theme; nor was his art a game being played about his own person: both were life in deadly earnest. He loved his nation; and to him that meant feeling responsible for everything happening in the country. *He was one of those March youths who in a spirit of revolution started the Hungarian movement for liberty; and the poem written by him at the time became the battle-song of that movement.* Petőfi in himself always identified poet and man. He was ready to answer for every word he had ever written either in verse or in prose; — and he always answered as a man of honour answers for his word.

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KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA (V.)

BY

ZSOMBOR DE SZASZ

V. THE PEACE[1]

In the previous article it was briefly mentioned that Field-Marshal Mackensen, dissatisfied with the Rumanian attitude and the endless delaying of the peace negotiations denounced the armistice. This led to the fall of the war Cabinet of J. Brătianu, who had been the soul and moving spirit of the war against the Central Powers and of the dilatory policy in regard to the peace negotiations. The king entrusted General Averescu with the formation of a peace Cabinet, and the latter chose for his Ministers men who had not served in any previous Administration and who had no pronounced leanings towards any Party. He offered a seat to M. M. Manoilescu, who refused it on the plea that he was a Francophile. "This, — "commented General Averescu in his Memoirs," — may be an aspect of partiotism, but I confess I do not understand it. To view the interests of one's country from the point of view of one's personal sympathies and relationships is a thing that passes my comprehension." The General shut his eyes to the fact that the reason why the victors refused to have any dealings with Brătianu, and why at first the Germans had refused to have dealings with the king, was because they nourished "personal sympathies" towards the British and the French and were held responsible for the war. Averescu himself owed his appointment to the circumstance that he was regarded as being sufficiently neutral towards both sides. His all too simple policy was "to start negotiations but not to conclude peace at any price." This was a lofty axiom, but somewhat difficult to

[1] See previous articles in the August, October and December 1942 issues and January 1943 issue of this review.

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realise, since the Central Powers wanted peace at any price — the price, of course, to be paid by the vanquished.

Averescu's first act, as was told in the previous article, was to ask for a prolongation of the armistice and for a personal interview with Mackensen for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of peace.

The prolongation of the armistice for another 20 days, until the 22nd of February, was granted without any difficulty, and the meeting between the two soldiers took place in Buftea, at the country house of Prince Stirbey, on the 18th.

The discussion was conducted in a friendly spirit. Averescu's impression was that the peace conditions would not be hard. The army would not be subjected to any humiliating proceedings, and might even remain mobilised in order, possibly, to be used against the Bolsheviks. A part of the Dobrudja would have to be ceded to the Bulgarians, but the frontier rectification on the Hungarian side would be a small matter.

The difficulty was the dynastic question. Mackensen represented the original German standpoint that the reigning House must be removed. He was probably unaware that the Austro-Hungarian statesmen had no desire for a change of dynasty. He returned to the subject as they were sitting at dinner.

"It is wrong," he said, "not to profit by this occasion to get rid of the dynasty; everyone in Bucharest has assured me that the present dynasty is a catastrophe for the country which should not be allowed to continue."

The Prime Minister could not say much in favour of the king, but he had such faith in his own powers of persuasion that he begged the Field Marshal to procure him an audience with the German Emperor. This the latter promised.

All this was most hopeful; Mackensen, says Averescu in his Memoirs, proved himself a real well-wisher of Rumania. The only drawback was, that these negotiations were of a "private" character; Mackensen had no power either to negotiate or to conclude peace. That was the domain of the diplomats, and their time was at hand, for the negotiations

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at Brest-Litovsk had just been broken off and they had been set free. On February 23 Count Czernin and Kühlmann arrived in Bucharest. Thenceforth matters took a different course.

On the day after their arrival the two Ministers had a conversation with the Prime Minister. The discussion was confined to the question of the Dobrudja, which formed the crucial point of the peace negotiations. The Bulgarians were threatening to desert the alliance in case they did not obtain the Dobrudja, so the two Ministers had to be intransigent on this subject. Averescu suddenly found himself "in an entirely new situation." Czernin, to save that situation, proposed that Averescu should obtain an audience for him from King Ferdinand. "My idea, was," — writes Count Czernin, — "to explain to the King that he could now make peace, with some small territorial losses, it is true, but retaining his crown; whereas, if he continued the war, he could not count on our forbearance."

The meeting between King Ferdinand and Count Czernin took place on February 27 at Răcăciuni. Count Czernin has told the story of the meeting.

"We arrived at midday in Focşani and went on by car to the Rumanian lines, where I was received by a few Rumanian officers. We passed the lines in cars placed at our disposal by the Germans and drove to the railway station of Padureni. Here a special train awaited me in which we continued the journey to Răcăciuni, arriving a little after five o'clock.

"The King's train arrived a few minutes later and I immediately went round to his carriage. Our talk lasted about twenty minutes.

"As the King showed no disposition to begin the conversation, I took the initiative and said that I had not come to sue for peace, but solely as a messenger of the Emperor Charles, who notwithstanding Rumania's treachery was disposed to act with leniency and forbearance if King Ferdinand would consent to conclude peace *immediately* on the terms fixed by the four Allied Powers, to communicate which was the purpose of my present visit.

"Should the King refuse to accept these terms, the war

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would inevitably be continued and this would mean the end of Rumania and of the dynasty. Our military superiority was already considerable, and now that our forces had been liberated from the Baltic to the Black Sea, it would be an easy matter for us to increase this superiority within the shortest possible time. We knew that Russia would soon be without ammunition, and if hostilities were to be resumed. the kingdom and the dynasty would have ceased to exist within six weeks at most.

"The King did not contradict me, but he complained that the conditions were terribly hard. Without the Dobrudja Rumania would be suffocated. The most that could be envisaged, if the worse came to the worst, was the restoration of the old Dobrudja.

"I said, if he thought our terms hard, I should ask him what would have been his if his troops had entered Budapest. For the rest I was prepared to guarantee that Rumania would not be cut off from the sea, but would be granted a free outlet towards Constanza.

"The King reiterated his complants as to the severity of our conditions and assured me that he would never be able to find a Cabinet that would accept them.

"I observed that the formation of a government was Rumania's internal affair, but that in my personal opinion a Cabinet with Marghiloman at its head would accept the conditions in order to save the country. I could only repeat that the peace terms of the Four Powers were unalterable. If the King refused them, we should obtain four weeks hence a peace much more favourable to ourselves than the one which we now proposed and which Rumania should be happy to accept. I told him, "continued Czernin," that we were willing to lend our diplomatic assistance towards the acquisition of Bessarabia, so that Rumania would gain more than she lost.

"The King replied that he cared nothing for Bessarabia, which was 'polluted with Bolshevism' and that the Dobrudja could never be given up. For the rest it had needed the strongest pressure to make him declare war on the Central Powers. Then he returned to remove in his eyes some of the obstacles to the cession.

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"We descended to details, and . . . I finally asked him to give me a definite answer within forty-eight hours, whether or not he was willing to negotiate with us on the basis of our proposals."

It may not be without interest to set beside this recital Queen Marie's description of Rumania's "Ordeal":

"It was awful, in every way awful . . . Czernin gave Nando no hope at all; the peace conditions are absolutely inacceptable, but if we do not agree to them we are, according to them, to be swept off the face of the earth. The country is to disappear, to be divided up amongst Austria, Bulgaria, Germany and Turkey. If Nando does not want to accept peace now and on the terms they dictate, then the two Emperors wish him to know that they will pursue him with relentless resentment and never more lift a hand to protect him or any member of his family."

"The result," — concludes Count Czernin in his War Memoirs, "was the appointment of a Marghiloman Cabinet and the continuation of the negotiations."

But the road to a Marghiloman Cabinet was not so simple.

On March 2 a Crown Council was held, at which Take Ionescu and Brătianu maintained their previous standpoint; the former advocating resistance *à l'outrance*, the latter urging delay and a cunningly organised drawing out of the proceedings, with the added advice that in case the government chose to conclude peace and the Central Powers insisted on the surrender of the Dobrudja, all the conditions should be accepted *en bloc*, without discussion, in order to demonstrate that the peace was not a negotiated peace but one accepted under duress. Such an attitude would, in his opinion, make a great moral impression on the world.

The Prime Minister adhered to his own standpoint; he was against further resistance. The Council dispersed without anything conclusive having been settled.

Next day, on the 3rd of March, another Crown Council was held. In the midst of it a Note was handed to the Prime Minister in which the Central Prowers denounced the armistice, demanded the immediate demobilisation of eight

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divisions, free transport for their troops to Ukraine, the removal of the foreign military missions, etc.

This, said General Averescu, was the result of the "Balkan policy of tergiversation."

But the tergiversation continued: again no decision was taken. The Prime Minister had a consultation with the army leaders, and from them gathered the impression that resistance was possible but not for long.

On the 5th a third Crown Council was held.

The king spoke first and, nearly weeping, announced that the government had decided to accept the conditions of the enemy and to appoint a peace delegation that same day. The present sacrifices, he added, would be compensated for in the future.

The Prime Minister gave it as his opinion that there was no other way of saving the dynasty.

Brătianu and Take Ionescu reiterated their conviction as to the advisability of resistance, and found an unexpected support in the young Crown Prince Carol, who not only on his own account but also "in the name of the Queen and all Rumanian women" declared that they wished to go on fighting to the finish. "It is our hope," he concluded dramatically — "that there will be found a man patriotic enough to keep the King from signing so ignominious a peace". As a matter of fact, there was such a man — Take Ionescu; but he was not the man to lead the country in times such as those which Rumania was then encountering.

After the conclusion of the Council Averescu saw the king and told him that in view of the Crown Prince's speech the Cabinet, impaled between two conflicting policies, did not feel itself entitled to remain in office.

The king exclaimed: "You, too, want to forsake me and make me bear the entire responsibility alone!"

"Sire, "— replied Averescu, —" we do not forsake you, but we do not like to be regarded as unpatriotic when we give proof of the highest patriotism and the most unlimited self-denial."

"The ebullition of youth..." murmured the king soothingly.

Meanwhile the preliminary peace negotiations (of which

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more later on), had commenced and were advancing satisfactorily. Nevertheless a few days later Averescu was once again assailed by a doubt as to whether or not he possessed his sovereign's confidence. The king had expressed a wish to see Marghiloman, which could not but be regarded as a suspicious sign. Averescu pointed out that as things stood it would be a mistake for the king to see so decided a Germanophile as Marghiloman. But the king reassured him that his wish had nothing to do with politics, and there was nothing left for Averescu but to arrange the audience.

On March 12 Averescu again saw the king. The impression, he said, was universally gaining ground that his administration did not possess His Majesty's confidence. "I am used to that, "— he said bluntly, —" but my colleagues are not... In the present crisis perfect confidence is indispensable."

The king hesitated, but finally confessed with some reluctance that he wished for a change of administration. Thereupon Averescu resigned, and a few days later, on March 19, Marghiloman formed a new government.

It had not been difficult to foresee that Averescu's term of office would be brief. He never had been *persona grata* with the king, and had possessed no clear-cut policy of his own. He was popular with the soldiers and with the great masses, but far from popular in the political circles of Yassi and Bucharest. More important than this, he enjoyed no favour with the victors.

"The present Government, "— said Kühlmann to Marghiloman, —" with its constant tacking, must be handled with great caution. But how can we get rid of these men? We cannot hope to achieve anything serious so long as they are there to make mischief."

The king was perfectly aware that the man with whom the Central Powers wished to deal was Marghiloman. The latter had already had a conversation with Czernin and they had come to an agreement. Czernin had offered to make certain concessions and had declared that they would be made to none but an administration presided over by Marghiloman.

Czernin writes in his Memoirs:

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"Before Marghiloman made up his mind to form a government, he entered into negotiations with me in order to learn the precise conditions of peace.

"The first and most onerous condition, the surrender of the Dobrudja, he accepted because he understood that in view of our binding obligation towards Bulgaria there was no getting out of it. As regarded our territorial demands, I explained to Marghiloman that my chief concern was to have permanently friendly relations with Rumania after the war, and that I consequently wished to reduce these demands to a measure which would not seem to her intolerable. On the other hand he, Marghiloman, must understand that I was bound up to a certain point to content Hungarian aspirations: and Marghiloman, as an old and experienced parliamentarian, saw clearly enough how I was placed. In the end we agreed that there should be no talk of the transfer of populous towns such as Turnu-Severin and Okna, and that in a general way our original demands should be reduced by about half. Marghiloman declared himself ready to accept this compromise."

While this ministerial crisis was going on, the peace negotiations were making good progress. On March 5 the armistice was prolonged, and on the same day a peace delegation which had been appointed two days before under the leadership of C. Argetoianu, settled the preliminary conditions of peace. The armistice was to last fourteen days, and under the preliminary settlement the final treaty was to be concluded within this period. The peace conditions were the following: 1. Rumania was to surrender the Dobrudja up to the line of the Danube; 2. the Central Powers must guarantee her an outlet towards the Black Sea; 3. Rumania must accept in principle such frontier rectifications as would be demanded by Hungary; 4. she must likewise accept such economic demands as might be made; 5. eight Rumanian divisions must be demobilised immediately, and the rest of the army as soon as peace was reestablished between Rumania and Russia; 6. the Rumanian troops must at once evacuate the occupied Austro-Hungarian territories; 7. the Rumanian Government must facilitate the transport of the troops of the Central Powers across Moldavia and

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Bessarabia; 8. Rumania must dismiss all foreign military missions.

Thus the foundations of the peace were laid by the time Marghiloman came to form his Cabinet.

Negotiations were resumed on March 22, this time in the royal palace of Cotroceni, in the very same room in which, in 1916, there had been held the memorable Crown Council which had decided Rumania's entry into the war.

The leaders of the delegations were, for Germany, R. Kühlmann, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; for Austro-Hungary, Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister; for Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Prime Minister Radoslavof, for Turkey, the Grand Vizier Talaat Pasha, and for Rumania, the Prime Minister A. Marghiloman.

The negotiations went smoothly on the whole. The representatives of the Central Powers were bent on hastening them, and the only question which caused any difficulty was that of the Dobrudja; but the Bulgarians insisted on its surrender.

Late in the night of March 25 the preliminary protocols were signed, and the leaders of the foreign delegations left Rumania, not to return until the signature of the definitive treaty would require their presence.

Although full agreement had been reached in principle in regard to fundamental matters, more than a month passed before the treaty was actually signed. In the middle of April Count Czernin resigned as a result of the Sixtus Letter, and it was Baron Burian, his sucessor as Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, who, with the other representatives of the allied Four Powers, signed the Treaty of Bucharest on May 7.

The provisions of the treaty were practically identical with those of the preliminary agreements.

That part of the Dobrudja which Bulgaria had lost in 1913 was returned to her; the rest was left as a *condominium* to the victorious Powers, who secured to Rumania an outlet to the Black Sea by way of Constanza.

Practically all the Hungarian demands had been renounced by Czernin. Hungary's sole territorial gain was a narrow strip of country along the frontier, mostly uninha-

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bited and wooded mountain regions, with not one single town.

War indemnities were not exacted.

The rest of the clauses were of an economic and military nature and have no interest for us here, seeing that the treaty never came into force.

The losses entailed on Rumania by the Treaty were made good by the fact that the Central Powers agreed to, and indeed assisted in, the reannexation of Bessarabia, lost to Rumania in the course of the nineteenth century.

The Bucharest Treaty was, and is still, described by the Rumanians and their friends as a humiliating, harsh and draconic instrument, a "peace of coercion". The victors, on the other hand, among them Baron Burian, regarded it as moderate and just. Count Czernin writes:

"In Versailles as in St. Germain the representatives of the Central Powers would have been very well satisfied had they been treated in the same manner as the Marghiloman Ministry.

"The Rumanians lost the Dobrudja, but they obtained a safe outlet to the sea; they lost a strip of almost uninhabited hill country and obtained through us Bessarabia. They gained much more than they lost."

When, in the course of the peace negotiations, the Rumanians complained of the harshness of the conditions imposed on them, their opponents were wont to answer: "We should like to see what would be your conditions if you were dictating the peace in Berlin or Budapest!"

That opportunity was vouchsafed them when the Paris treaties came to be concluded. Rumania was not one of the victors; she had not won a single decisive battle during the whole of the war; but she had the good fortune to be on the side of the victors, and she used this favourable situation to plunder all her neighbours. She annexed the Bukovina from Austria, Bessarabia from Russia, and the whole of the Dobrudja from Bulgaria.

As for Hungary: the Treaty of Bucharest would have joined 3,772 square kilometers of Rumanian soil with 22,915 inhabitants to Hungary; the Treaty of Trianon gave to Rumania 103,003 square kilometers of Hungarian land with more than *4 million inhabitants,* including 1.661,467 Magyars.

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NEWS FROM CROATIA

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

Months ago the centre of gravity of the Serb insurrection moved from Serbia to the areas of the independent Croat State. Of late the situation there has become particularly serious, because the Serb rebels have been joined by dissatisfied and rebellious Croat elements who, together with their Serb comrades-in-arms, have found refuge chiefly in Bosnia and Hercegovina, but also in the forests and mountains of Lika, Dalmatia and the regions between the Save and the Drave, which they use as operational bases. The extent of the havoc and destruction wrought by these wild and well-organized bands of rebels may be gathered inter alia from the fact that more than *2000 refugees, many of them orphan children, from the burnt out village of Stolać in Hercegovina and the ravaged surrounding district alone have had to be settled in the little town of Hrvatska Dubica on the river Save and the neighbouring villages, where after their terrible sufferings they have at last found homes and means of support.* (Croat newspapers and *"Délvidéki Magyarság"*, Dec. 17.)

The Croat Government is naturally straining every nerve te free the country as radically and quickly as possible of the murderous and predatory bands that are a constant menace to the lives and security of the population and threaten the very foundations of the political, social and economic order of the new State. A great mopping-up campaign has been planned, and will probably be launched in the spring. From the preparations on foot it may be expected to be thorough and final. To ensure its success

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the training and equipping of the army and the Ustasha militia, which is no organic part of the former, is being carried through with increased energy. *Parallel with this, volunteer legions to combat Bolshevism are being organized, and some of them have been fighting bravely against the Russians for more than a year.* On New Year's Day the head of the Croat State, M. Pavelič, reviewed in Zagreb one of these volunteer legions that had just returned from the Russian front. In his speech to this regiment the Poglavnik told the volunteers that "never in the past had the Croat soldier fought for so great and sacred a Cause as now in this greatest and most terrible war. You are fighting for humanity, for civilization and the rights of man, but you are also fighting for your own nation, for the future and security of the independent Croat State... Now that you have returned "— continued the Poglavnik —" you will — if you must — fight against the enemies of the State who threaten its vital interests within its borders." (*"Donau-zeitung"*, Jan. 5.)

Mention was made of these domestic enemies, the Serb and Croat so-called "partisans", by Dr. Anthony Nikšič, Minister for Home Affairs, at a mass meeting of the Ustasha organizations held at Vukovár. "Let no one imagine" — he said in a speech offering reconciliation and promising an amnesty to the repentants —" that old conditions will ever return again. *Do not believe those who say that Croatia may one day again be member of a State similar to Yugoslavia. We have paid dearly for experience; and no lie, however* wily, will ever again be able to delude the Croat nation and its leaders. To those who have fled to the forests to fight for a Bolshevist State I say: 'Return to your homes and all will be forgiven; but do not bring your leaders with you, for this promise does not apply to them'. We can now look forward to the future of the Croat State and the Croat nation

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with confidence. We have an excellent army that has acquitted itself well on the Eastern front and will defeat our enemies at home too." (Croat newspapers and "*Délvidéki Magyarság*" Dec. 24.)

M. Nikšič's speech is also interesting because in it he rejects the idea of a new Yugoslavia. Another interesting fact is that almost simultaneously the Serb Premier, Neditch, also warned the Serb people against trying to resurrect Yugoslavia, which political formation — he said — had ruined and beggared the Serb nation. *This abhorrence of a Yugoslav solution obviously has its roots on the one hand in pan-Croat and on the other in pan-Serb aspirations.*

The irreconcilable nature of the antagonism between Serbs and Croats, now more acute than ever, is clearly mirrored in the comments of the Croat Press on the news of the formation in London of a Serb "refugee" Government. Croat opinion was most pithily expressed in an article in "Hrvatski Nord", where, amongst other things, we read:— "As we see, with the approval of King Peter Karageorgevitch a Government whose aims are *wholly pan-Serb* has been formed. These berren aims of the new puppet "Yugoslav" Government are no less pan-Serb because it contains two Croats, Krayevič and Shutei. These men, who have sold themselves to the Serbs, cannot be considered ans Croatians. The nature of this Government is clearly shown by the fact that they hastened to send greetings to Drasha Mihailovitch, the leader of the Serb insurgents, assuring him of their complete confidence in him and their appreciation of his work. On the subject of what Mihailovitch's bands have been doing the London Serb Government is discreetly silent. *The sorely tried Croats of the towns and villages laid waste by those wild bands, — of Foca, Rogatica, Jajce, Stolac, Prjedor and many, many other Croat villages of Bosnia, Hercegovina Lika, etc., — could tell the tale of their deeds.*"

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Among the news of a political nature mention must be made of the Poglavnik's speech on 28th December before the *Sabor*, in which he announced that the mandate of the Sabor convened by himself expired at the end of the year. The Sabor had done its duty despite the fact that its work of legislation had been greatly hampered by present conditions. Today the main tasks were to defend the country and supply it with food. Croatia was part of the front that stretched from the Baltic to Africa, and the Croat nation was unshaken in its confidence that Europe would win. Enemy propaganda was powerless to undermine the confidence of a single Croat. The centuries-old traditional martial and heroic spirit of the Croat people was alive in the Croat army today. *To reassure public opinion the Poglavnik added that the soil of Croatia was able to produce enough food for the entire population of the country. In 1942 not only had 30% more land been cultivated than in the previous year, but even 15% more than in the last 10 years of peace.*

As these few extracts show, despite war conditions and the terrible havoc wrought by the insurgents inspired by an implacable hatred of the Croats, Government circles are very hopeful. With a firm belief in the future of the Croat nation and with unflagging zeal they continue to work on the reconstruction of the country and on the organization of its military, economic and cultural resources.

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SLOVAKIA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

BY

LOUIS KARPATHY

Quite recently the *Pozsony* Chamber of Industry (Western Slovakia) and the *Eperjes* Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Eastern Slovakia) held their annual general meetings. At both reports on Slovak industry and commerce were submitted. In these reports the developments in Slovakia's industry and commerce in the economic year 1942 are faithfully mirrored; and we give below a brief summary of those results.

In the part of the report dealing with mining submitted to the *Pozsony* Chamber it was stated that *in the economic year under review the difficulties of transport and the higher freight tariffs had been sorely felt.* In the iron industry, as regards supplies of raw materials and half-finished goods, the same difficulties had obtained as in the previous economic year. In this branch of industry the demand for certain articles was so great that it was scarcely possible to satisfy it. It is interesting to note that the amount of labour available in this branch of industry was extremely variable. According to the Slovak report this fluctuation was due to the difficulties attending the procural of food supplies. When the workers see that their food supplies are not assured in a given factory, they are forced to look for a job elsewhere. In consequence certain factories find themselves constantly short of skilled labour. Circumstances in the timber trade were more favourable, so that Slovakia's industrial needs were supplied. *There was also a great demand for Slovak wood in the foreign markets;* but there were difficulties as regards payment in the trade with Germany and the Czech Protectorate. There is a great future before the manufacture of cellulose in Slovakia; but these prospects cannot be exploited until there is a better supply of the raw materials required. The cellulose factories expect the competent

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authorities to take radical measures to overcome these difficulties, for only thus can any improvement be hoped for. Another interesting part of the report is the passage informing us that the paper mills complained that they were last year badly provided with wood. The brick kilns were also poorly supplied with auxiliary raw materials, and had difficulty in obtaining sufficient labour. The same applies to the stone quarries, which could not be fully exploited because of a dearth of labour. The most serious complaint made by the cement industry was the lack of covered trucks and also of labour. No change had taken place in the chemical industry since the previous year, although the shortage of raw and auxiliary materials is beginning to show an increasing tendency. Improvement in the textile trade is expected to result from the introduction in Slovakia of the cultivation of the necessary raw materials.

The report submitted to the *Eperjes* Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Eastern Slovakia) presents a similar picture. It states that as from 1938 the number of persons employed in the mines of Eastern Slovakia shows a gradual increase. Less iron ore was produced in Eastern Slovakia in 1942 that in 1941. One mine produced more and one less manganite than in the previous economic year. The Batya Works at Batiszfalva, which are now engaged exclusively in producing substitute materials, are working to the limit of their capacity and are exporting increasing quantities of those materials to foreign countries. The cotton mills at Késmárk suffered from a lack of raw materials. *The Hámori Ironworks at Kassa were not able to procure an adequate quantity of scrap-iron.* Because of this it was impossible to exploit their capacity of production to the full. The iron-sheeting and tin factories in Eastern Slovakia worked at only 50% of their capacity. Chemical works and artificial manure factories could not work at more than 40% of their capacity, because of the shortage of raw materials. The chicory factory at Eperjes, on the other hand, achieved satisfactory results. The timber industry in Eastern Slovakia is growing satisfactorily, but there are still difficulties in connection with the payment of foreign orders.

Commerce and handicrafts suffered from a general lack

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of raw materials. In this respect the retailers of colonial goods had the greatest cause for complaint. *The manufacturers of iron goods also complained that they could not execute their orders for lack of raw materials.* Sweet shops do not get enough goods either; and the report says that they are kept going merely by the hope that conditions will improve. Butchers' profits are stated to be minimum. Business in the leather trade is limited to the quota allowed by the authorities. Work in the bakers' shops is also practically at a minimum, and in consequence millers are also working at a greatly reduced capacity.

Slovakia is straining every nerve to improve the situation. She is doing all she can to extend the framework of her economic or commercial treaties with her neighbours, in the first place with Hungary. In the course of recent commercial negotiations *Hungary agreed to raise the quota of the value of the goods to be exchanged between the two countries by 100 million Slovak crowns. Therewith Hungary will have largely contributed towards helping Slovakia to solve the problems caused by the effects of the war on her economy and to consolidate her domestic economic situation.*

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POLITICAL MOSAIC

MADAME DE HORTHY'S RADIO APPEAL

On New Year's Eve Madame Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya, consort of the Hungarian Regent, broadcast an urgent appeal to the people of Hungary, asking their help for the families of those who, thousands of miles away, are bravely defending their country. This appeal was read at 6.35 p. m. on New Year's Eve by the President of the *Hungarian Radio*, General *vitéz Anthony Náray* (retired), and was repeated again at midnight. It ran as follows:

"It is my duty and my right to call upon all true Hungarians to make fresh sacrifices.

"We are in the fourth year of a war that is raging all over the world; and it is the second year that our own country, strong in the belief that despite all trials and sufferings this nation will live for ever, is taking an active part in the struggle that is to decide the fate of the peoples. Thanks to Providence, we have so far been able to view the war from a safe distance; but it affects our lives, ruthlessly claiming its victims from among those who are nearest and dearest to us. *Many mothers know — as I know — how heavy is the cross we have to bear: the hand of God has been laid upon us, and, united by suffering we know best what it means to be Hungarians.*

"From 17th January to 7th February a collection more widespread than any organized hitherto will be made for the benefit of the families of soldiers at the front. This time it is money we want, thousands or hundreds from the well-to-do, pennies from the poor, but something from everybody.

"There are many tears to be wiped away and a flood of cares to be stemmed; so we ask all alike to strain their financial resources to the utmost. Let us remember that thousands and thousands of Hungarian families are silently and uncomplainingly eating smaller slices of bread, struggling with anxieties and giving up something daily, because their menfolk are fighting for our safety. *Let us remember our soldiers, whose arms will be steeled, and their courage and fortitude reinforced, by the knowledge that their families are being well cared for at home.*

"This collection is more than a mere contribution to charity, more than a sign of human sympathy. It will be a test of how every class of society, every section of the population, feels towards that great family of which we all are members and together with which we shall live or die.

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"Give! Let the people of Hungary make of this opportunity a great national demonstration of their self sacrifice. Give, that the sheltering arms of everlasting Hungaria may be able to press to her bosom the children of those who are sacrificing their all for her! Give, that generations to come may bless those who live today and have proved able to mobilize the forces of lovingkindness and charity!"

VITÉZ NICHOLAS HORTHY JUN.'S BROADCAST TO MAGYARS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

In the first minutes of the New Year *vitéz* Nicholas *Horthy* de Nagybánya jun. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, broadcast a speech at the request of the Magyar World Alliance to Magyars all over the world. The speech, which was broadcast on a short wave length, ran as follows:

"Magyar Brethren, another grain of sand, to which the finite human mind gives the name of year, has passed through the hour-glass of infinite time. A new year has dawned upon the whole world and upon all the Magyars scattered abroad in it. It is the fourth year of war for the greater part of humanity; and in these fateful days the veiled features of life or death loom up before us. In this time of tribulation I wish to convey to all the Magyars in the world the New Year greetings of the whole Magyar nation, its sympathy and affection, that now, when the whirlwind of events has swept away all channels of communication, we should for a moment at least feel closer to one another.

"On the last day of the year the Magyar World Alliance broadcasts a message to the Magyars scattered abroad all over the world. *The old country, our Alma Mater, sends a loving message to those of her children who are living beyond her frontiers and who, in other countries, amidst other nations, have created an existence for themselves and by their valuable work and abilities have done credit to their Magyar origin.*

"I am sure you would all like to know something about the prospects of your relatives at home. I can assure you that care is being taken that every member of the nation should bear an equal share of the burden of sacrifice and that *everything is being done to ensure that the country should come through the war unscathed and attain a peace which, with God's help, would signify the free and independent Hungary for which we have striven for centuries.*

"Compared with that of the rest of the European nations the lot of the Magyars is reassuring and satisfactory. The chief aim of the administration is, on the one hand, to see that as far as possible nobody should suffer want, and, on the other,

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to raise the standard of life and alleviate worries by the establishment of social and cultural institutions.

"But the leaders of the nation are not concerned solely with the lot of the people under their care; they also think with attachment and affection of those to whom it was not given to make their homes in this country and who are forced to live in a strange land. We are fully conscious of the value of our brethren abroad. In view of the virtues inherent in the race, the abilities of the Magyars, their love of Hungary and in particular their honesty of character, the Magyars scattered abroad throughout the world will be needed by the Hungary of the future. And they will also be needed, not only by Hungary, but also by the whole world, as factors of peaceful co-operation.

"On behalf of the Magyar World Alliance, which takes such loving interest in the affairs of the Magyars scattered abroad, I hope that the New Year will bring the fulfilment of all your wishes, not only for yourselves, but also for your relatives here at home of whom in far-off countries you think with anxiety."

DEPUTY-SPEAKER OF THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT WARMLY WELCOMED IN HUNGARY

On 14th January the famous university professor, M. Edwin Linkomies, who is also Deputy-Speaker of the Finnish Parliament, arrived in Budapest for an eight days' stay. The illustrious visitor was given a formal reception at the railway station. His visit was welcomed by Hungarian official circles and by the people as *an opportunity of showing the sympathy felt for a nation, highly civilized, brave, and rich in excellent qualities, with which the Magyars are proud to own kindredship,* and whose character, destiny and fate are so like their own. Both nations are freedom-loving, independent-minded, peaceable, but also brave, and both — although neither of them ever longed for conquests — have been singled out by Providence *to keep on shedding their blood for their liberty, their independence, their territorial integrity, their imprescriptible rights and in defence of European Christian civilization.* The welcome accorded to Professor Linkomies by the Magyars was an expression of their admiration for their Finnish brethren, fighting with legendary heroism and self-sacrificing valour.

Professor Linkomies paid visits to several prominent persons in Hungarian public life. In the Foreign Ministry he saw M. Eugene *Ghyczy,* Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary, the Foreign Minister's permanent deputy, and also spent some time with M. Anthony *Ullein-Reviczky,* Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary, Press Chief. Later on he visited the Speaker,

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M. Andrew *Nagy de Tasnád* in Parliament, after which he called on M. Eugene *Szinyei-Merse*, Minister of Public Education. He also paid a visit to Professor Louis *Bakay*, Rector Magnificus of the Peter Pázmány University and M. Leopold *Baranyai*, President of the National Bank. At noon he was entertained to lunch by M. Ullein *Reviczky*, Press Chief.

Professor Linkomies also delivered a lecture at the request of the Magyar-Finnish Society. The Chairman of the Society, M. Emil *Nagy*, addressed a welcoming speech to this distinguished representative of Finnish public life. In his introductory remarks Professor Linkomies spoke of the brotherly links existing between the Magyars and the Finns. Passing on to the war with Russia in the winter of 1939, he pointed out that after the peace forced on Finland following the war of aggression launched by the Soviet against Finland, a temporary lull had ensued, though his country had always considered itself at war with Russia. The Russians had demanded territories that had belonged to the Finns since times immemorial. Finland had defended herself, though when the Russian armies took the field in Europe it was said in many countries that resistance was in vain. But the Finnish people acted on the opinion that *a nation which is unwilling to die for its independence does not deserve to be free.*

"The Finnish people" — continued Professor Linkomies — "wished to show the world that they deserve their independence. The greatest result achieved was that they vindicated their honour, which would have been lost had they submitted to violence without resistance. Until the winter campaign began Finland did not seriously believe that the Soviet Union would attack. In that winter campaign the Finnish people paid with their lives for their unpreparedness. Now the opinion in Finland is that *the security of the frontiers is more important than daily bread.* In that winter campaign the Finnish army killed 200.000 Bolshevist soldiers and wounded many thousands more. The Finnish losses in dead and wounded amounted to 23.000. War has had a decisive effect on the life of the Finnish nation, and has welded the people into one united whole."

Professor Linkomies then went on to say that *the Magyars and the Finns have again written their names with blood in the book of history.* In the present war the Finns have not only retaken the alienated areas, but have also occupied territories that have not been under Finnish sovereignty for a long time, but in which Finns live. To a man the whole nation is behind their symbol of liberty, General Mannerheim. In conclusion Professor Linkomies stated that Finnish unity was perfect in the spheres of politics, economy and social life, and declared that the Finnish people had absolute faith in ethnical forces.

The lecture was warmly applauded. Then M. Andrew *Nagy*

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de Tasnád, Speaker of the Lower House, gave an afternoon tea in honour of the Finnish guest, at which representatives of Hungarian public life and the diplomacy were present.

On 17th January Professor Linkomies visited Kolozsvár. At the railway station he was met by the leaders of the county and the town as well as the Senate of the Francis Joseph University of Sciences. The Finnish savant was the guest of the county. In an arresting lecture the Professor described the heroic struggles of the Finn, after which he saw a performance in the National Theatre, attended a dinner given in his honour, and then returned to Budapest.

Premier *Kállay* also saw Dr. Linkomies, after which he entertained him to lunch. At this lunch the Minister of Public Education, M. *Szinyei-Merse*, in his toast amongst other things said: —

"Although Suomi is several thousand kilometres away from Hungary, the two countries were never closer in spirit than now. The two nations, which have suffered so much, are linked together, not only by the strong ties of blood and a common origin, but also by the common destiny of the two countries, and the similar character of the two peoples. *For centuries our country, like Suomi, shed its blood for the West and resisted all aggression.* Our people and your people have always declared that *without freedom and independence life on earth would be meaningless.* In the war raging in the East our aims are identical."

In his reply to the Minister of Education's toast Professor Linkomies said: —

"There is a great similarity in the ways of thinking of our two peoples. *Hungary has always been an example to us when we have had to fight for liberty and independence.* The friendship is mutual and is manifest in the sympathy we feel for each other in trouble. *Finland mourned for Hungary after Trianon and rejoiced with her when the fetters of the Peace Treaties fell from her hands.* We shall never forget how at the time of our first winter campaign with Russia *Hungarian volunteers hastened to help the Finnish army then fighting alone.* Words of friendship are fine, but deeds of friendship are better. Among his Magyar brethren no Finn can ever feel a stranger. When I say this I do so not merely as a matter of courtesy, but because I feel it in my heart."

WHY THERE ARE NO RUMANIAN DEPUTIES IN THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

Between the autumn of 1938 and the spring of 1941 Hungary regained possession of certain parts of her ancient territories. In the North, North-East, East and South. Territory

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aggregating a total area of some 77.000 sq. kilometres came once more under the sovereignty of the Crown of St. Stephen, — that being roughly 40% of the area (189.000 sq. kilometres) wrested from Hungary in 1920. Shortly after the restoration of the re-incorporated territories the Hungarian Government invited as Members of the Hungarian Parliament those male inhabitants of the restored territories who had figured also in the parliaments of the Successor States. Adequate representation was ensured the citizens of the several nationalities living in the re-incorporated northern territories. Magyar, Slovak and Ruthenian senators and deputies respectively who in 1938 had still been Members of the Prague Czecho-Slovak Parliament were enabled to transfer the scene of their political activity to the Gothic Houses of Parliament standing on the shore of the Danube. A similar procedure was adopted by the Hungarian Government after the restoration of the territories of North Transylvania re-incorporated by the Second Vienna Award, when those former deputies and senators respectively who had figured on the Magyar Party list and had been elected at the most recent Rumanian general elections in the winter of 1937, were invited to become Members of the Hungarian Parliament as Deputies or Upper House Members respectively. No elections were held either in Upper Hungary or in Transylvania; for the war tension then prevailing made the atmosphere unsuitable for the purpose. Hungarian political life and Hungarian public opinion was surprised to learn that, though the late Count Paul Teleki as Prime Minister of Hungary had announced to the House that *a large number of persons of Rumanian nationality were to be invited to take their seats in the Hungarian Parliament as Deputies and Upper House Members respectively, that promise had not been realized.* Last year a further number of Transylvanian Deputies and Upper House Members respectively were invited to take their seats in the Hungarian Parliament, and the observers of the developments in political life of the country were once more impelled to express surprise that the list of the most recently invited Members did not include any Rumanian names. This development appears inexplicable in the eyes of all who are familiar with the spirit of Hungarian internal policy, seeing that it was the desire of the Government not to exclude from the legislature any of the non-Magyar nationalities of Hungary — least of all the Rumanians, a minority numbering more than 1.000.000 souls. And if representation in the Houses of Parliament had been ensured the numerically less important minorities (Germans, Ruthenians, Slovaks and Serbs), there was just as much to be said for allotting the Rumanians too — a minority numbering over 1.000.000 — adequate representation.

Now at last the background of this anomaly has been

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fully explained; and all those who watch developments in the internal political life of Hungary are able to their complete satisfaction to establish that the responsibility for this development does not rest with the Hungarian factors; for, when, on December 17th. last, the representative body of Szolnok-Doboka held its ordinary annual general assembly (on which occasion the Members of the Upper House representing the County should have been elected) prior to the election the Lord Lieutenant, Count Béla *Bethlen,* read a declaration which caused general surprise and which ran as follows:

"Today's general assembly acquires particular significance from the fact that you, Gentlemen, are to elect the men who will be called upon to represent the County in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament. I am well aware that this election has for weeks past given rise to a state of general excitement; I have nevertheless so far considered it superfluous to make any statement in the matter. Now, however, I regard it as imperatively necessary to explain the attitude taken up by the Government in the matter, *which must under all circumstances be to the effect that our non-Magyar nationalities should without fail take their places beside us in the House of Deputies and the Upper House respectively.*

"Every one will understand that in the eyes of those who suffered from the humiliations imposed by the régime that is now a thing of the past, this idea cannot be particularly sympathetic; for the days of humiliation are still too near to us. Hungarian policy is not however a conjunctural policy; it is marked by continuity and consistency, and for that very reason the late Count Paul Teleki, in his capacity as Prime Minister, immediately after the happy liberation of our country adopted the attitude that the Rumanians of Hungary must be allotted a place in the House of Deputies. *In addition to the seats allotted to the Deputies already invited to enter Parliament a certain number of seats have been reserved for the Rumanians; and it depends primarily upon their conduct when the psychological moment ensues for them to be invited too.*

"In respect of the Upper House this is the first time since the liberation of our country that occasion has arisen for a change in or rather addition to the number of Members; the Hungarian Government therefore once more desires to embrace the opportunity to allot our Rumanians representation in this field too. For that reason I was called upon to submit a motion in the matter and to take the measures which appear necessary for the purpose. Consequently I explained the attitude of the Government in a proper and courteous manner to the Rumanian who enjoys the reputation of being the most worthy representative of his nationality, who has never allowed himself to be involved in party conflicts and who during the period

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of Rumanian rule now a thing of the past for years filled every high office, having indeed been responsible for the administration of the County. Indeed, he was responsible for the carrying into effect in our County of the law which from the Rumanian point of view produced the greatest results and was most far-reaching in its effects — the Rumanian Land Reform. We were therefore fully entitled to presume and have every reason to affirm that he would have been the person best qualified, possessing as he does, and as he deserves to do, the general confidence of the Rumanians of our County, to represent most worthily and most adequately the ethnic group to which he belongs. I requested him to kindly agree to his nomination for one of the two seats in the Upper House allotted to the Rumanians and begged him to weigh the matter well and, if he considered such a step necessary, to talk the matter over with his fellow-Rumanians too. A week later he sent me his answer in writing; in his letter he states that — though sincerely grateful for the confidence shown in him — *he cannot accept the nomination.* I for my part also wrote him informing him that — though with regret — I took cognizance of his attitude; and I immediately brought this latest development to the knowledge of the Prime Minister, who also expressed regret at this attitude of aloofness, but at the same time relieved me of the task of attempting to persuade in succession the other Rumanian gentlemen of distinction whose names had been mentioned as those of likely candidates. Thus, for no fault of ours and without our having been guilty of any omission, it may easily happen that our County will on the present occasion be unable to send to the Upper House representatives of this ethnic group."

We believe that all comment is superfluous.

RECENT AMENDMENTS OF RUMANIAN PENAL CODE

The latest amendments of the Rumanian Penal Code were published in the Rumanian Official Gazette (Monitorul Oficial) Nos. 248 of 23rd October 1942 (Law No. 785) and 282 of 1st December (Law No. 877).

Law No. 785 amends §. 251 of the Rumanian Penal Code, and provides for the organisation of a special procedure to deal with cases of bribery and corruption *("Organizarea unei proceder speciale pentru judecarea in materia de mita").* According to the rider to this Law, *"Offences of this nature occur in the highest circles;* and for this reason, in order to strengthen the new order in the State, they shall from now on cease to be regarded as misdemeanours and shall be regarded as criminal acts punishable by imprisonment. "In another place it says:-" *... and yet there are scoundrels who make a profit for themselves from the sacrifices*

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of good people, who pay bribes or accept their share of bribes, and who, abusing their position as public officials, are guilty of a gross breach of their duty. ("... s' au găsit totuşi netrebnici care să pângărească jert celor mai buni dintre noi şi să primească mită, pentru a nu-şi face datoria sau speculând calitatea şi drepturile incredinţate.") "Because of these evildoers" — continues the rider —" it has been considered necessary to apply to these crimes severer sanctions, even a death penalty, and, in order that punishment should be effective and exemplary, rules of procedure ensuring a quick examination, sentence and execution have been drafted."

Law No. 785 contains the following measures: —

1. *Bribery and corruption.* Any public official who in the discharge of his official duties acts contrary to his instructions, who directly or indirectly accepts money, property, valuables, commission or profits to which he is not legally entitled, or who does not refuse offers of that nature, may be sentenced to imprisonment for a term of 7 to lo years (§ 251).

2. The sentence may be from 5 to 25 years of penal servitude if the offender is a judge of the court, an army officer, or a public official entrusted with the making of contracts, the taking over, handing over or supervising of public work and public supplies, the adjudging of rights relating to State property, the control of the enforcement of the special laws dealing with illegitimate speculation and economic sabotage or with the administration or assesment of the State revenues accruing from dues, stamps and taxes. Should any of the above-mentioned be found guilty of eccepting a bribe to act in an illegal manner, he may be sentenced to from 5 to 25 years' *penal servitude.*

3. If the person accepting a bribe actually commits an illegal act, the punishment in the case of those mentioned in § 1 will be from 5 to years' *penal servitude,* for those mentioned in § 2 it will be *death.* A death sentence will be imposed even if the offence was committed on the basis of an agreement arrived at previously or at the time between two or more public officials. provided the offence be an illegal act falling under the heading of bribery. In every case of bribery the money or property or its value will be confiscated and handed over to the penalty fund administered by the Ministry of Justice.

The Law stipulates that offenders must be placed under arrest. The criminal charge will be brought by the King's Bench, and not more than three days are to be allowed the defence to collect evidence. The sentence will be executed within three days of its becoming final.

Law 877 contains amendments of, *§§ 242 and 243, which in their present form are insufficient to deal with all the criminal acts committed by public officials.* This circumstance — says the rider — is calculated to discredit the State and is also a handicap to

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the public services. In terms of Law 877 public officials who fail to do the work entrusted to them, or are tardy in attending to it, may be sentenced to from 6 months' to one year's imprisonment, a fine of from 2000 to 5000 lei, and the loss of their posts.

Mention should also be made of Law 848, made public in the Official Gazette (Monitorul Official) No. 275 of 23rd November 1942, which deals with the State's right of option to purchase real estate owned by foreigners and Jews. In the rider it is stated that this Law was necessary because clauses were being inserted in deeds of Sale that in practice made it impossible for the State (or the bank nominated by the State) to take the place of the original buyer, — in other words, that made it impossible for the State to exercise its right to forestall.

THE HUNGARIAN PARTY OF SLOVAKIA
ECONOMIC DEPARTMENT

To make its work for the Magyars more efficient the Hungarian Party of Slovakia is divided into separate departments. Matters of an economic nature are being dealt with by the economic section. This again is divided into three sub-sections, one of which, that dealing with commerce and industry, has now been functioning for two years. The financial sub-section is to be organized in the near future, and the third, the agricultural sub-section, was formed this autumn. In describing its own activities the economic department declares that the professional organizations of the different nationalities must seek a common path and the possibility of honest co-operation. The economic department did not begin to function until its foundations were so sure that it could expect to be able to perform the tasks facing it. From now on its efficiency does not depend on its organizers but on its members.

The first and most important task of the economic department is considered to be to promote the welfare of the most neglected section of the Magyar population, the smallholders. Here the main stress is laid on technical education. As there is no Hungarian agricultural school in Slovakia, and the farmers have therefore no means of acquiring a specialized knowledge of agricultural science, the first thing to be done is to make up this deficiency. In the winter months — from November to March — three weeks' courses will be held in the Magyar villages. These courses will be open, not only to young people, but also to grown-up and independent farmers. The economic department has a staff of teachers ready, and the curriculum has been drawn up.

When these courses have been inaugurated, the next step will be *to provide youths of the farming class with a thorough training of a theoretical and practical nature by courses lasting*

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two or three months. It is proposed to hold these courses in centrally situated towns or villages, and they are to be of the same type as the so-called peasant university courses. The economic department wishes to solve the problem of technical training in co-operation with the Sz. M. K. E. (Magyar Smallholders) organization.

In the summer months the department's most important work will be to send agricultural experts to the Magyar villages to give advice and discuss local problems. Besides this, the organ of the Hungarian Party, the "Magyar Peasants' Journal", will devote its columns to spreading information of a useful character.

One of the most important tasks of the agricultural subsection of the economic department will be *to organize the agricultural strata of the population and to take stock of all the material and financial resources at the disposal of the Magyars.*

The work to be done in the interests of shopkeepers, craftsmen and manufacturers is of quite another type. Here, as regards technical knowledge and skill, there is nothing left to be desired. In their case the task is to ensure them the possibility of exploiting their capabilities, and the work of this sub-section will consist primarily of seeing that the central organizations dealing with distribution should perform their duties without respect of nationality or political points of view.

These are the immediate aims, most of which are determined by the present situation. But the economic department has also more remote aims, which are identical with those of the Sz. M. K. E. The first of these is to improve health and housing conditions in the Magyar villages. Advice as regards the proper building of houses would be important. Besides all this, there is much other work to be done, which, however, must be left till later.

INTERNAL CRISIS IN SERBIA

Official statements have already on several occasions informed us that in the territory of Serbia the authorities have succeeded in restoring order and in putting an end to the horrors of civil war. The factors of government have again had to take measures to consolidate order; on December 18th. last, for instance, an ordinance appeared in the official gazette pensioning off 34 of the professors of the University of *Belgrade.* This was the second "purge" in the only university in the country, whose staff of professors has for years included a comparatively large number of Extreme Left politicians (and indeed some of decidedly communistic leanings), the result being that the professors played a significant part in bringing

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the university students more and more effectually under the spell of Bolshevik ideas and Bolshevik propaganda. *As a consequence of this measure all lectures will be suspended at Belgrade University until the appointment of the new pro-professors.*

Considerable interest attaches to the latest broadcast of General *Neditch*, Serbian Prime Minister; we herewith give some passages from this broadcast (delivered on December 20th. last) for the information of our readers.

"I have no good news to tell you", were the opening words of the broadcast: *"for those traitors who today are living in London are continuing their endeavour to plunge the Serbian people into war. Great Britain's henchmen have been completely blinded with gold; and a certain Papitch — an alleged journalist who was previously a clerk in the Belgrade British consulate — has used the London radio for the purpose of trying to encourage the people of Serbia to sacrifice itself for the future generation."*

Further on General Neditch cited a speech made recently by Mr. Amery, British Minister for the Colonies, in which the British Minister also strove to incite the Serbians to civil war. "They desire" — continued the Prime Minister — "to make the Serbian people bleed a third time for the imperialistic interests of the British lords. *I know, however, that time is on our side.* I only succeeded in saving the Serb people from annihilation and Communism because it listened to me and believed me... Great Britain still adheres to the principle that others must be sacrificed if necessary to save the British Empire. But sacrifices made by the Serbian people cannot save the British, — still less the Serbs themselves. *Mr. Amery jun., the son of the British Secretary for the Colonies, speaking in the Berlin radio, declared that a fresh insurrection in Serbia would be nothing more than a new link in the chain of the European war.* And for that reason he advised the Serbian people to refrain from interfering in the conflict of the Great Powers and to save their own children."

In his broadcast General Neditch dealt also with the role played by Drasha Mihaylovitch, the leader of the Serbian insurgents, calling him "Enemy No. I." of the Serbian people, because he had resumed his work of butchery and issuing orders and having all those massacred who refused to obey those orders. "In Serbia blood is again being shed wholesale" — said Neditch — "but punishment and retaliation will follow. Again innocent men are falling victims — merely because certain persons obey the commands of London and Moscow. Drasha Mihaylovitch is responsible for Serbia being converted into a cemetery, of which he is the grave-digger; he is the greatest criminal working against the Serbian people and is inciting

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that people to fresh insurrection. Are you prepared to once more see your villages and towns set on fire? Are you ready to listen to those henchmen who are serving London? Are you prepared to give your lives to enable a few hundred refugees to live in luxury in the British Capital? These men treat you as Kaffirs; are you prepared to tolerate that? ... My message to the Serbian people is that no one should mistrust our determination. *We shall ruthlessly annihilate our enemies. We are not in favour of half-measures.* The salvation of our country and our people is the supreme law; and I shall carry that law into effect at all costs. I would therefore ask you: do you want peace or a civil war, a secure future or annihilation? What I want is that the Serbian people shall live in peace. Just look at Belgrade. Everywhere in this town the Serbian colours are flying; and on those colours you will see inscribed the words — "Serbia first and above all". So follow me in the path I have chosen; for that is the path of redemption. *Do not attempt to raise anything from the past, — least of all Yugoslavia, which ruined us and beggared us". ("Délvidéki Magyarság"*, December 22nd., 1942, and *"Donauzeitung"*, December 23rd.).

We see, then, that Premier Neditch, undoubtedly the most competent factor, views and judges the actual situation as showing that the ravages of the insurgents have not yet come to an end and that the authorities have not yet succeeded in completely ridding the country of Mihaylovitch's bands and of the savage hordes of Communists.

On the occasion of the Serbian Christmas holidays (January 5th—7th.) Premier Neditch addressed a speech to the Serbian people in which *inter alia* he made the following statements: — "The Serbian people is also a chosen people", he said. "It has passed through so many sufferings, made so many sacrifices and shed so much blood that the sacrifices made will surely be pledges of a better future for the Serbs and the peoples of the Balkans". He then declared that "this year's Christmas is being celebrated by the Serbian people under better auspices than last year, when bitter war was being waged throughout the country ... The Serb people has written one of the most tragical chapters in its history with its own blood".

The present situation of the Serbian people was the subject of an article written for the daily, *"Novo Vreme"*, by Atansije *Dinitch*, colonel of the General Staff (retired), who is Serbian Minister for the Interior and whose name because current some time ago in connection with a frustrated attempt on M. Stoyadinovitch, former Prime Minister. *In his article Dinitch bitterly attacks Mihaylovitch, the leader of the insurgents, of whom inter alia he writes as follows: "How can we describe the role played by Drasha Mihaylovitch, who*

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is doing everything in his power to disturbe peace and order in Serbia and who is plotting against the lives of the best of the Serbians, setting fire to the villages and resorting to attempts to incite his adherents against the occupying troops? He is still in the service of those who cajoled Yugoslavia into entering a disastrous war. London, Washington and Red Moscow are still inciting to destruction and to war. Last year Mihaylovitch joined hands with the Communists to decimate the ranks of the Serbian people. . . . What Mihaylovitch is engaged in is not Serbian nationalism, but typical internationalism." *("Délvidéki Magyarság", January 10th.).*

As may be seen also from these excerpts conditions in Serbia are not judged in the same light by all the factors competent to judge. *For our part, in the interests of the good neighbourly relations to be developed in the future we sincerely trust that the people of Serbia may, after so much upheaval, such a loss of blood and so many blows of Fate, eventually find the path leading to peaceful work and undisturbed prosperity.*

FIRST YEAR'S WORK OF THE HUNGARIAN STATE CO-EDUCATIONAL SERB GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN UJVIDÉK

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, the Hungarian Government made provision that the Serb children of Ujvidék, a Hungarian town called by the Serbs the "Serb Athens", should be educated in their own mother-tongue. For this purpose a State grammar school of the co-educational type in which the language of tuition is Serb was established at Ujvidék.

But great difficulties had to be overcome before it could be opened, for in the days of Yugoslavia's collapse *the Serbs stole everything they could from the building, leaving nothing behind them but the benches and the teachers' desks.* Even some of the benches were burned, to say nothing of the archives and inventories. What could not be carried away was smashed. It was in this condition that the Hungarian State took over the school-building.

Then began the work of restoring it. About six or seven hundred window-panes had to be renewed that had been fired at. The door knobs and locks were broken, cupboards had been broken open and their contents — books and documents — torn to pieces. When the building had been more or less repaired teaching immediately began.

The number of pupils registered in the Hungarian State co-educational Serb grammar school in Ujvidék for the school-year 1941—1942 was 363. ("Stud", Dec. 19.

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BOOKS

What the Kállay Government Has Done and is Planning to do?

Thr programme of Premier Kállay and his Government has been one of deeds, not words. Therefore the publication entitled "Deeds and Plans", which contains an account of the Kállay Government's achievements in the past six months, is useful and intresting reading. *"In the midst of war"* — as the introduction says — *"the work of internal regeneration has not ceased.* In every phase the greatest energy." More than 70 pages of the paper entitled "Deeds and Plans" are devoted to the work done and the results achieved; the second, smaller, part contains the programme for the future, — plans that, however, are more than remote, vague ideas.

The first part of this publication deals in succession with the various phases of political life and then gives a summarized account of the results achieved in the sphere of political economy. In a lengthy chapter entitled "For Magyar Economy and Agriculture" we read that, for instance, *"in the current year 5097 house-sites were distributed in 63 villages, while in the Southern areas 6500 new sites are being maked out."*

In many cases considerable sacrifices had to be made in order to keep down the inland price level; but it was worth while making them. In the struggle against the "black" markets and profiteers an efficient system of price control has been evolved.

The Government has taken advantage of every means at its disposal to ensure supplies of raw materials. Thanks to this effort, while in other countries certain branches of industry have been compelled to stop work either partially or wholly, *Hungarian industry has been in a position to export. The number of new post offices in the country is 85.* Carriages, trucks and engines (150) have been added to the rolling-stock of the Hungarian State Railways. Last year the Government spent 7.500.000 pengö on roadbuilding, *the length of highroads in the country having in consequence increased to 8760 kilometers.* In industry undisturbed continuity of production may be regarded as assured.

In the near future the problem of higher education for the lower classes will be solved. *The Ministry of National Protection has been successful in stamping out Grub Street literature.* New laws to protect the purity of public life have been framed, *and*

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a Bill dealing with incompatibility is being drafted. An organization is being created to deal with disputes between employers and employed. *In civil lawsuits the procedure has been simplified and made quicker and cheaper.*

The most important item in the national defence programme is a steady endeavour to perfect the equipment of the national army. *The soldiers' pay has been raised and their winter equipment is being improved.* The higher scale of relief for soldiers families agreed upon will come into operation immediately, and the sums paid to them will be gradually standardized.

In the sphere of public supplies it is hoped that the measures taken will overcome the difficulties, and that *it will be possible to ensure an adequate supply of bread cereals to last till the end of the economic year.* Deficiencies in fats will be made by an increased cultivation of oil-bearing plants. As regards industrial supplies the Government's chief endeavour is to see that *utility articles are produced rather than luxuries.* The fundamental principle on which the organization of public supplies is based will be *decentralization.* Departments and offices that adversely affect economic life by retarding a speedy settlement of the problems arising, are to be done away with.

The measures introduced in the spheres of commerce, transport and industry, besides aiming at maintaining the continuity of production, are also *destined to ensure and improve the social welfare of the employed.* Great achievements in the field of social welfare have been attained by the internal administration. Here it may be of interest to quote some figures, especially those relating to child welfare. Last year, for instance, the *'Save the Children' League and the Municipality of Budapest, assisted by the State, sent 15.900 and 8600 children respectively for summer holidays.* In Budapest and in country places 1450 day nurseries were established in which 112.000 children were placed. *At the 'Green Cross' soup-kitchens 45.000 children were fed. The 'Green 'Cross' also distributed 720 tons of sugar free of charge and received 1.840.000 pengő from the Government for its free milk scheme. The benefits of that sugar and milk were enjoyed by 28.000 mothers, 97.000 children under and 97.000 over the age of six.* Free soap was distributed for 36.000 babies, 53.000 pieces in all. These figures, taken at random, are eloquent proof of *the important rôle played in the Hungarian Government's social policy by child and family welfare.*

The Government's cultural policy has also been productive of splendid results.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY

CROATIA

CROATIA'S BUDGET FOR 1943

In his speech delivered at the end of December last Dr Vladimir Koshak, Croat Minister of Finance, made public Croatia's Budget for 1943, the total of which is 16.000.000.000 kunas. This Budget exceeds last year's by 30 per cent, *or somewhat more than 5.000.000.000 kunas.* The Minister emphasized the point that requirements had to be diminished to within the limits of the nation's capacity to pay, except the requirements of the army and the departments responsible for order and public security. For these — he said — no sacrifice was too great.

The Poglavnik and his court get 0.51 per cent of the sums estimated, the Prime Ministry 2.15 per cent, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1.25 per cent, the Ministry of National Defence 20.05 per cent, the Ustasha army 12.93 per cent, the Ministry of the Interior 25.11 per cent, the Ministry of Justice 3.48 per cent, the Ministry of Public Education 10.52 per cent, and the Ministry of Economy 6.47 per cent. The budget for the Ministry of Communications is very small, only 0.05 per cent of the whole, and in it only the administrative expenses of the railways are included.

Speaking of the salaries of civil servants the Minister said that *on the whole the State employees had behaved with understanding in these difficult times and had not forgotten what was due to their dignity,* but it had happened that certain of them, unable to make both ends meet, had sold their furniture or other valuables. To prevent this occurring in the future the Croat Government had decided *to give civil servants a substantial rise. Some of them would get a rise of 50 per cent of their net salaries.* In the new year the number of people employed in the State administration would be less by 15.000. Most of these people, however, had already left the civil service.

Speaking of State revenues, M. Koshak said that 38.23 per cent of the whole Budget was covered by direct taxation, 28.86 by indirect taxation and 26.69 per cent by inland revenues (Croat newspapers and „Délvidéki Magyarság". Jan. 3.)

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HUNGARY

HUNGARY'S JOINT STOCK CAPITAL

At the end of July last there were 3025 joint stock companies on the register, representing a total capital of 1.609.547.000 pengő. A large number of these companies — 1352, with an aggregate capital of 898.824.000 pengő — were industrial concerns. The commercial group consisted of 686 companies with an aggregate capital of 121.003.000 pengő, while banks were 549 in number, with an aggregate capital of 305.041.000. Agriculture was represented by 71 companies with an aggregate joint stock capital of 20.808.000 pengő, mining and smelting by only 35, with an aggregate capital of 168.432.000. Then there were 19 transport companies representing 23.182.000 pengő. The remaining 313 joint stock companies were grouped together under the heading "Others". Their total capital was 72.430.000 pengő.

At the end of July the average capital falling to each company was 532.135 pengő; but taken as groups there was a great difference between them. By far the richest in capital was the mining and smelting group, whose members on an average owned each 4.812.342 pengő. The average for the commercial group, on the other hand, was only 176.389. Besides the average for the mining and smelting companies, that for industrial (664.810) and banking companies (559.612) was higher than the average for all the joint stock companies.

In August four joint stock companies were wound up; but their aggregate capital was only 163.000 pengő, so that their average capital was less than one-tenth of the average for all the joint stock companies. The one with the biggest capital — 100.000 pengő — was the "Nagyatád People's Savingsbank" With these liquidations the number of Hungarian joint stock companies fell to 3021, their aggregate capital to 1.609.547.000 pengő. Capital reduction was also very slight, no more than 90.000 pengő. The four companies involved had an aggregate capital of 190.000 pengő, which shrank to 100.000. Besides this, one company's manipulations resulted in a loss of capital, but only of 1400 pengő. This was the "Agronomia", which first reduced its capital from 71.400 to 22.600 pengő and then raised it to 70.000. This brought the total joint stock company capital down to 1.609.455.600 pengő.

In August, however, three new joint stock companies were formed, with an aggregate capital of 5.650.000 pengő. These new companies are: the "Pusztavám Coalmine" with 5.000.000, the "Hungarian Minerals and Metal Marketing Co." with 500.000 and the "Foundry-fuel and Timber Co." with 150.000 pengő.

Including these new companies the number of joint stock

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companies in Hungary rose to *3024, with an aggregate capital of 1.615.106.000 pengō. In August seven companies found it necessary to raise their share capital. Originally these seven companies had an aggregate capital of 2.906.500 pengō, which they raised by 2.991.200 to more than double their initial capital.* Two of these companies each raised its capital by more than one million: the "Borsod Coalmine Co." raised its capital from 1.600.000 to 3.200.000 pengō and the "Salgótarján Glassworks" from 1.000.000 to 2.000.000 pengō. Including this increase of capital the aggregate capital owned by Hungarian joint stock companies is now 1.618.097.000 pengō.

In August, as we have seen, the number of joint stock companies in Hungary decreased by one to 3021. The number of industrial companies fell from 1352 to 1350, that of banks from 549 to 548, but the number of mining and smelting companies rose from 35 to 36 and that of commercial companies from 686 to 687.

Of the 8.375.000 pengō increase 6.600.000 fell to mining and smelting companies, 900.000 to commerce. *In consequence of this increase the average capital per company has risen by 3947 pengō to 535.082. In the aggregate the increase of capital in August was 0.52%, while the average for each company was 0.57%.*

SERBIA

RECONSTRUCTION IN SERBIA

The very foundations of economic life in Serbia have been shaken by the war, and one of the most important conditions upon which the re-establishment of order depends is that the civil war now raging for a year and a half must cease. The Government's efforts to accomplish this have not yet met with complete success, but, with the help of the German occupying army, the situation has been so far cleared up that *today there are no large bands of rebels in the country.* As regards the restoration of order, Serbia has made greater progress than Croatia, where peace and security are still threatened by larger or smaller bands of insurgents, chiefly Serbs.

Under German supervision *the Serb Government is dealing with the plundering revolutionary elements with ruthless severity that for a long time now has kept in check the strata of the population from which both the nationalist and communist insurgents were recruited. Recently, on 20th November, another 13 Serbs were executed in Belgrade. They were accused of aiding and abetting General Mihaylovitch's followers, and the sentence and a notice that it had been carried out were posted all over the city.* In any case, it is not probable that Mihaylo-

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vitch's bands will engage in any major action during the inclement winter months, so that the Government and the authorities will be able to devote more time and attention to the task of organizing economic life and developing industry, agriculture and commerce, now slowly recovering from the paralyzing effects of the past situation.

How much has been accomplished in the last few months may be seen from what follows.

In the field of industry the first Serb Government after the collapse of Yugoslavia set itself to the task of estimating, approximately at least, the damage done by the war, the capacity of the remaining industries and labour possibilities, and of instituting the measures necessary to a successful scheme of planned economy. Departments were created to deal with the iron, metal, textile, coal, chemical, und leather industries and so on. The consumption of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods was placed under Government control. The branches of industry that had absolutely no raw materials were encouraged to experiment with substitutees, with satisfactory results.

There are over 80 coal-mines in Serbia: 12 anthracite coal-mines, 14 brown coal-mines, 27 mines in which brown coal is mixed with lignite and about 30 lignite-mines. For some time now, especially since the rebellion has been partially quelled, work in these mines is progressing practically normally. A department has been set up to deal with the production and consumption of coal.

In the sphere of forestry the Government has had great difficulties to overcome. The total extent of forests in Serbia is only 1.183.000 hectares, or 20.9 per cent of its total area. *This gives 0.25 hectares per inhabitant*, and while the annual consumption in 6.400.000 cubic metres, only 3.670.000 are produced, which means that Serbia is unable to cover her own requirements by domestic production. Before the war, which she brought upon herself, she was able to supply her own needs from areas now belonging to other countries. The Government, however, has been successful in raising production to double its former volume, in point of fact five times as large a quantity of sleepers was delivered to the Serb railways as in the years before the war. Besides this 4000 cubic metres of mine-props were produced. Because more timber is being cut in the forests, the Government has elaborated a five years' plan for the afforestation of barren areas. The work is to begin in the spring of 1943.

The question of prices and wages, which together with the economic use of materials is one of the greatest problems that had to be solved by post-war Serbia, was relegated to a Government Commission created for the purpose, which, when initial

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difficulties had been overcome, managed to solve most of the problems tackled.

New working regulations have been issued to the banks and savings-banks, which are calculated, on the one hand, to increase the confidence of depositors and, on the other, to ensure the smooth and efficient functioning of the banks. Arrangements have also been made in connection with the debts of the peasants, who constitute about 80 per cent of Serbia's population and whose debts to the banks at present amount to nearly 619.000.000 dinars. If to that sum we add the 475.000.000 they owe to other creditors, we see that their total indebtedness is 1,094.000.000 dinars.

Finally, as regards agriculture: in the middle of November *M. Radoslav Veshelinovitch, Minister of Agriculture in the recently reconstructed Neditch Cabinet,* broadcast an appeal to the peasants of Serbia in the Belgrade radio, in which he outlined the Government's agricultural programme and the tasks awaiting agriculture.

At the beginning of his speech he laid emphasis on the fact that it was as an expert on these questions that he had taken over the Ministry of Agriculture and Public Supplies, and that as such it was his job to use every means to increase production, for Serbia's peasantry would have to produce enough to satisfy the needs of the population. In the interests of the Serb people he would do his very best, nor would he shrink from any steps likely to ensure success. But the success of his work depended on the collaboration of the peasantry and the support of the Press. Planned economy, which would have to be generally adopted, could not allow the old chaotic conditions to return. Nothing but planned economy would save Serbia and the Serb people. Every farmer must understand this, and must also understand that what the Government was doing was being done in the interest of the Serb farmers and the Serb people. Producers must grow what consumers and the country require. Serb agriculture would have to be thoroughly reorganized. The Serb Ministry of Agriculture attached great importance to the cultivation of industrial plants, for in this respect Serbia was very backward. Public supplies must be reorganized according to the spirit of the times and production must be reformed accordingly. Today maize was no longer a staple article of food.

Not one single rood of land should be left uncultivated. Experts from the Ministry of Agriculture would teach the village people how to increase production. All the measures instituted by the Ministry were calculated to promote the interests of the farmers. One of these was the closing down of the village public-houses. *If they were to improve their own economic situation, the farmers, instead of sitting in the inns,*

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would have to work harder and produce more. With the improvement of their financial position social development would follow. There would be no more ragged and dirty peasants in Serbia, objects of pity to all observers.

Besides getting the farmers to work harder, the Government was particularly anxious that their wives should be properly trained. The wives of the Serb farmers would have to learn to keep house efficiently, breed poultry and work with flax and hemp, in order that they should be able to hold their own in the circumstances imposed on everybody by the new European order.

The Minister then said that crops had not been heavy last year, but that *they had enough to feed the population.* The farmers, however, would have to send all their surpluses to the markets. This was of vital importance. In spring every rood of land must be cultivated if the future existence of the Serb people was to be assured.

After the war the whole of Serbia's agriculture would have to be reorganized. Farmers could not be allowed to produce so much of certain crops that they could not sell them and so little of others that it was not nearly enough for the country's needs.

In conclusion the Minister declared that through the co-operatives he wished to help the farmers who — as Premier Neditch had said — were the pillars of the State, while agriculture was its very foundation. (See the Belgrade newspapers, the "Reggeli Ujság", Délvidéki Ujság" and the "Donauzeitung".)

The Government measures briefly described above show that the reconstructed Neditch Cabinet is doing its best, with unflagging energy and incessant labour, to heal the wounds caused by the war, improve the economic situation of the country, and pilot the people of Serbia into a harbour of peaceful development and prosperity.

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