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# THE QUADRATURE OF THE CIRCLE

by

*Dr. Elemér de Balogh*

*Member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament*

1919 — at Versailles, at Saint Germain and in the Trianon Central Europe was subjected to a territorial re-distribution: and since then France and the Little Entente have watched over the new map of Central Europe armed and prepared for every emergency.

1936 — we find Heads of States and statesmen deliberating in London, Paris and Geneva; and in their statements to the press the persons taking part in those deliberations told the whole world that *they had been holding conferences at the bedside of a Europe sick to the death!*

What is one of the chief causes of Europe's sickness? The Treaties of Saint Germain and Trianon tore to pieces the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and shattered its ideal economic unity. The new treaties substituted for the 8000 kilometres of customs frontiers of pre-War days customs frontiers of the interminable length of 14,000 kilometres. Dismembered Hungary was placed within a ring of enemies armed to the teeth, she being at the same time rendered absolutely incapable of self-defence against attacks from without. *The treaty-makers believed they could fix the map of Central Europe for all time by the aid of military conventions.* The Succession States were not in the least concerned at having thereby surrounded themselves too with hostile neighbours.

The situation of *Czecho-Slovakia*, for instance, is by no means an enviable one, wedged in as she is between Germany, Poland, Austria and Hungary; particularly when we remember that the Slovak people — which is not even akin to the Czechs ethnically — has been ruined both economically and politically by this marriage. The value of the army of Czecho-Slovakia is practically nil, seeing that the Czechs — who constitute only a minority in their new country — would in the event of a war be quite unable to control even their own nationalities. This accounts for the restlessness of the Czechs. This is why Beneš leagued with the Russian Beelzebub. And this is why Milan Hodža is travelling from country to country to somehow ensure Czecho-Slovakia's existence and save the "blind gut of Europe" from having to be operated.

*Yugoslavia* is also surrounded by three disagreeable neighbours. She has also absorbed an

internal enemy in Croatia, a country which formerly enjoyed full autonomy as a part of the ancient Kingdom of Hungary. Today the best Croatians are pining in Serbian prisons or have taken refuge abroad. In order to ensure the supremacy of the Serbian minority Yugoslavia is employing a differentiated policy of taxation with a view to dispossessing the nationality minorities (i. e. 60% of the population).

The boundaries between *Rumania* and Russia, Bulgaria and Hungary respectively are under dispute. She proposes to "disarm" her strongest antagonist, the Russian Soviet, *by opening the gates of Europe to bolshevism.* She prefers to voluntarily beard the lion in his den rather than admit her mistakes.

*Austria* is also writhing helplessly in a dilemma between two extremes — "*Anschluss*" with Germany and a *restoration of the House of Habsburg.*

The Peace Edicts have raised insurmountable barriers between the countries of Central Europe; and the resulting isolation has driven the several nations to have recourse to self-supply. The agrarian countries possess large surpluses of agrarian products; but they have no markets to sell them in. The industrial States — Austria and Czecho-Slovakia have to contend with similar troubles; only here the surpluses are surpluses of industrial products. Their attempt to introduce agricultural autarchy *diverted the development of their economic life into an unnatural channel.* The cost of production in these countries has advanced; and their capacity to compete has declined. There has been a set-back in the standard of living of their inhabitants; and the capacity if the latter to consume has decreased. The optimism once prevailing there — without which there can be no progress and indeed no life — has been replaced by despondency. The peoples oppressed by Balkan methods are becoming impoverished or driven to emigrate. Yet the fate of 80 million human beings is at stake there. *Is that a matter of indifference to Europe?*

British public opinion has long realised that the economic disorganisation of Central Europe cannot possibly be eliminated until all the conditions indispensable to ensure a peaceful co-operation have been brought into being. That is the

attitude adopted by more than 200 Members of the British House of Commons. The people of Great Britain demand a peace based on international justice. In his speech in Geneva *Eden* declared that the chief object of the League of Nations was, not merely to ensure a respect for treaties, but also to prevent and eliminate the causes of war. The States of the Little Entente, on the contrary, do all in their power to create antagonisms and inspire hatred, thereby aggravating the feelings of bitterness, by refusing to respect even the slender obligations undertaken by them in the unjust Treaty of Trianon.

In an interview given to the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph*" *Charles, King of Rumania*, noted with a noble simplicity that "*I am well aware that there are Hungarians within the frontiers of Rumania. But there are also Rumanians beyond our frontiers in Hungary. We however, do not make any propaganda on that account.*" I wonder whether His Majesty would say the same if there were 1,353,675 Rumanians living in Hungary and only 16,221 Hungarians in Transylvania?

King Charles declared further that "*the rights of the minorities have to be respected*". It would certainly be an important step forward towards the consolidation of Central Europe if His Majesty were to make these statements, not to the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph*", but to his Foreign Minister and to the Rumanian Government and were to instruct the "*siguranca*" (police authorities) to that effect, — seeing that those authorities trample under foot the minimum rights guaranteed the minorities *which have been postulated in the treaty guaranteed by the Great Powers and the League of Nations*.

Then, by way of comment on the discussions carried on in Paris, His Majesty addressed words of warning to the Hungarian Group of British Members of Parliament. To the question of the Correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph*" as to how England could promote understanding in the Central Danubian Valley, he answered: "*By giving no encouragement to Hungary which can foster her belief that frontier revisions are possible*".

This peace has been in force already for seventeen years. If it were really as excellent as the Little Entente would have us believe, the conditions prevailing in Central Europe today would be veritably glorious. There would be no need for Heads of State and statesmen to hold conferences and to cudgle their brains to find some way of solving the crisis?

The King of Rumania says further that "*If we permit one breach of the treaties, then all the treaties will collapse, with disastrous consequences*".

Evidently His Majesty has failed to observe that his Governments and their minions every day commit breaches of the Treaty of Trianon, and that Germany has long ceased to observe the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. How much longer do her neighbours propose to keep Hungary in her present humiliating situation? Against whom are they arming? Against defenceless Hungary? No. Against their own nightmares and against

truth. Though against those forces arms are of no avail.

Premier Milan Hodža has revived Tardieu's peace-scheme No. 2 and would have the States of the Little Entente united with the States being signatories of the Rome Pact, — to the exclusion of Italy and Poland. He believes that in the event of this plan succeeding the new block would be able to make separate agreements with Italy, Germany and the Western industrial States to ensure the sale of the agrarian surpluses. Cutting the Gordian knot, with a vengeance! But the Germans were not slow in answering: they have no interest for any convention made without their co-operation.

We see therefore that Milan Hodža's scheme moves *in vacuo*. The London and Paris discussions were also an attempt to square the circle. So far science has failed to solve the problem; nor will those princes and statesmen be more successful.

In an address delivered by him the French publicist *Georges Roux* said: — "*I am ashamed to confess that the foreign policy of France is dictated by Beneš.*" And indeed, sad to say, it is true that the policy of the *grande nation* has become the train-bearer of the policy of Prague. *Europe is dominated by the Little Entente; and for the sake of the Little Entente the Great Powers actually tolerate the presence in the heart of Europe, in the district formerly known as Upper Hungary, of Soviet Russia, which is even allowed to establish air bases there.* The dangerous consequences latent in this circumstance are thrown into glaring relief by the Memorandum of the Slovak Council, which has created a natural stir and made a profound impression in Geneva. The only object of the peace policy of the Russian Soviet is to revolutionise all the countries of Europe. It has always chosen its allies to suit its world revolution schemes. *The Slovak people sees through the double game being played by the Soviet and protests against its territory being used as a springboard for the bolshevisation of Europe.*

Selfishness and mistrust are bad counsellors. Arbitrary conceits wreak their own vengeance. This policy must end in a ruthless disillusionment. *Bolshevism will not spare the fortunes or the lives of those Heads of State, politicians and classes of the population who are opening the gates of Europe to admit it.*

The preparations for the Great War were financed by France; the Great War itself was financed by the peoples of Europe and by America. All alike have lost their money. France is again acting likewise, — this time advancing the costs of maintaining by armed force the *status quo* of Central Europe; though the past should have taught her that she may give up as lost the sums she has been investing. War is a bad business; and what the war profiteers are doing today is to prepare the way for a new war. But the League of Nations will insist on playing the ostrich. It buries its head in the sand of "the sanctity of treaties". Yet we would ask whether the one-sided Edicts can be called "treaties"?

To all appearances Great Britain has taken over the control and is playing first fiddle. We

see the outlines of fresh aims, — *the pacification of Europe by eliminating the causes of war*. That is what Mussolini is preaching; and that is what Senator Borah emphasised long ago: and *it is the program adopted by Eden, the British Foreign Secretary and is fully in keeping with British traditions*.

*The only possible solution is to eliminate the causes of the crisis*. We must convene another peace conference, to the discussions of which Hungary and Austria must be invited on a basis of full equality. The most important task before this conference must be to replace the Peace Edicts of Trianon and Saint Germain by real Treaties of Peace to be drafted on the basis of equity by reciprocal goodwill and compliance. That is the *sine qua non* of an economic and political co-operation between the States of Central Europe and of disarmament too. Not Hungary, but the Little Entente, is the obstacle at present impeding peaceful co-operation. It is not Hungary that closes her frontiers against her neighbours; for she has nothing to fear: but it is the Little Entente States that keep aloof from Hungary. Yet economic co-operation without a personal and an

intellectual contact is mere bunkum. But the Little Entente States fight shy of such intercourse; while the Hungarians are quite ready to establish relations of the kind. Why, even the importation of those literary products of Hungary which have no connection with politics is prohibited. *This shows how utopian is the idea of having the chief stress on economic co-operation*. There can be no economic co-operation without a simultaneous co-operation in political matters too. *And the road to that co-operation lies through revision*.

*The pacification of Europe, her prosperity, her culture and her civilization depend upon whether France is able to come to terms with Germany and on the other side the Little Entente with Hungary, Austria and Poland*. There is no other conceivable or sound solution. *And this is the only means likely to save Europe from destruction*. The idea is a sublime one; and the statesmen of Europe should make it their sacred duty and their object to leave no stone unturned to further the creation of this harmony — to display untiring perseverance and a fanatical enthusiasm in bringing it into being —, *instead of setting bolshevism loose on the culture and civilisation of Europe*.

## THE STATEMENT OF KING CHARLES OF RUMANIA IN THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH"

by

*Elemér Szudy*

The public opinion of Hungary was very profoundly interested by the statement made in Paris to the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" by His Majesty, King Charles of Rumania. In that statement the King of Rumania made certain declarations respecting Hungary and the revision of the Treaty of Trianon; and, although we are at all times ready to receive with due respect statements made by the sovereigns of other States, on the present occasion we nevertheless consider it our duty to adduce our arguments and our own points of view as against the declarations contained in the statement in question.

At the very outset His Majesty declared — and we may regard his words as a declaration in principle — that Rumania could never consent to any changes whatsoever being made in the treaties of peace. The question of a re-adjustment of frontiers could not be discussed; and although admitting that there is no such thing as a perfect frontier, His Majesty said that Hungary must realise that this question is not one of today or tomorrow, but of the past. The Rumanian Government declares that the Hungarians living in Rumania are quite satisfied — unless incited to discontent by some political agitator. Further on the statement declares (and this would appear to be the chief argument) that both Hungary and Rumania have minorities of the same race as the

dominant nations of those countries living under foreign rule; this fact His Majesty would seem to regard as reassuring, for He is of opinion that these minorities "equipoise" one another. As against this statement we would point out before proceeding that, whereas the number of Rumanians living in the territory of Dismembered Hungary in 1930 was only 16,221, there are in reality more than 1,500,000 Hungarians living in Transylvania in spite of the results of the last Rumanian census, which by his well known methods reduced the number of Hungarians to 1,353,675. Truly there can not be any talk of "equipoise" when the number of Hungarian in Rumania is more than sixty times that of the Rumanians living in Dismembered Hungary.

At the end of his statement His Majesty, through the "Daily Telegraph", calls upon Great Britain not to continue to encourage Hungary to demand a re-adjustment of frontiers.

It is not our business to reply to this appeal to British public opinion; we are convinced that a sufficient decided answer will be forthcoming — in Great Britain. Indeed that answer has already been given — in the dignified debate in the British House of Lords in which certain Members of that House pleaded for the revision of the League of Nations Covenant desirable and necessary in order to facilitate a peaceful revision of the peace treaty provisions.

However, we cannot but think that the "Daily Telegraph" itself was by no means convinced that the contents of the statement made by the King of Rumania were in keeping with the spirit and postulates of abstract justice; for in the commentary accompanying the interview the Editor called upon Hungary to take her natural place in the Central European block, seeing that — the Editor says — it is indispensable and most decidedly desirable that Hungary should participate in the activity of the block. We ourselves fully endorse the correctness of this attitude. The prominent British daily — no doubt from a wish to temper the strikingly unfriendly tone of the King's interview — emphasises the need for Hungary to "temporarily" abandon her territorial claims.

We would ask for permission to answer both King Charles's statement and the latter suggestion of the "Daily Telegraph" by first of all enumerating cold facts to prove *how utterly impossible it is for Hungary to renounce stressing the justice of her claim to a revision or demanding the amendment of the Treaty of Trianon.*

As to whether the Hungarians of Rumania have any reason without the provocation of political agitators to be dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them by the Bucharest Government, may be seen from articles to be found in another column of this issue of our Review.

On the basis of the results of the Rumanian Census of 1930 Jonel Longinescu, professor in the University of Bucharest, calculating the nationality quotas of the total population from the nationality distribution of the children has shown that the number of Hungarians still living in the territory formerly belonging to Hungary which has been transferred to Rumania is only 1,370,000, whereas in 1910 the number of Hungarians (Magyars) domiciled in that territory was 1,660,000. That would mean that, whereas the total population of Transylvania shows an increase of 5.86% during the twenty years between 1910 and 1930, the quota of Hungarians in that province shows a decrease of 19.88%.

Had the conditions in force been normal and the number of Hungarians increased in a ratio to the total population similar to that originally prevailing, in 1930 they would have numbered 1,757,000 souls. The state of things shown by the Rumanian professor, however, represents a loss or decrease of almost half a million (487,300 souls). It is hardly credible that the Hungarian mothers have not borne any children since 1919; so it is difficult to account for the disappearance of this half million inhabitants. Consequently, something must have happened that very nearly concerns the existence and further increase of the Hungarians, — something which must very intensely interest all those who are responsible for the destinies of nations and peoples.

The Czecho-Slovak Government has officially published the results of the 1930 Census. The data of this Census are just as astounding and as incredible as those of the Rumanian Census. The number of Magyars living in 1910 in the pro-

vinces of Slovakia and Ruthenia severed from Hungary was 1,070,772 — a number representing 30.4% of the total population. The Census organised by the Czechs in 1921 still admits the presence of 738,517 Hungarians (Magyars); but by 1930 the number of persons belonging to that race had sunk to 681,460. Strangely enough, the natural increase of the Hungarians came to a standstill here too; and — even if we take into account the process of emigration and also the proportion of persons speaking Hungarian as their mother tongue who have voluntarily declared themselves to be of Jewish nationality — the number of Hungarians "spirited away" by the Czech statistics may be computed at ultimately some 126,758<sup>1</sup> — that being the difference between the number of Hungarians actually living in Slovakia and Ruthenia and that shown by the Czech statisticians.

This is a shocking outrage on the most elementary rights — even on the right to live — of a civilised European people leaving the Hungarians thus attacked no other means of defence against a campaign of extermination of the kind but the prime human right of appeal for protection and assistance to those great nations — first of all, naturally, to Great Britain — whose duty it is — and which have it in their power — to put an end to such intolerable conditions.

In view of the fact that the official statistics of Rumanian and Czecho-Slovakia have during the last ten years simply spirited away nearly 620,000 Hungarians (Yugoslavia has not even been mentioned in this connection), while the League of Nations has never passed beyond the merest formalities in the field of minority protection, Hungary cannot sit with folded arms; for a continuation of this state of things must — apart from leading to the inevitable destruction of the Hungarians severed from their mother country — involve the ruin also of the dismembered State brought into being by the Treaty of Trianon.

We would however beg the "Daily Telegraph" to allow us to call its attention to a very important bit of evidence of historical weight — viz. *the Covering Letter written by M. Millerand.* The King of Rumania too would appear to have completely forgotten the existence of this document.

There are many who regard this *Covering Letter* as a document that has been relegated to the upper shelves. Now Hungary can never accept that interpretation and *will always continue to refer to the Covering Letter as a legal authority.* She has every reason to do so, particularly seeing that there is no truth in the contention that the *Covering Letter* speaks only of insignificant frontier readjustments of a purely local character; for surely the *Covering Letter* signed by M. Millerand was not written merely for the purpose of reformulating the technical side of frontier readjustment. It was on the contrary written because the Great Powers themselves realised that the Treaty of Trianon contained injustices to Hungary unacceptable alike from the historical

<sup>1</sup> See "Danubian Review", Vol. I., No. 1—3, p. 11—12.

and economic and from the ethnographical point of view; and it desired to provide ways and means for the future rectification and redress of the great injuries and wrongs.

In any case we must point to the fundamental difference between the respective spheres of authority of the boundary commissions as defined in the treaty of peace and in the Covering Letter respectively. The decisions taken by the commissions spoken of in the treaty of peace are to be final and definitive, whereas the commissions to be delegated under the Covering Letter are only to express opinions which — even if only the opinion of minorities — are to be submitted for approval to the Council of the Great Powers or to the League of Nations respectively. It is therefore evident that the spirit and intention of the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand was quite different in character from the interpretation which the interested parties would now put upon it.

The frontiers of Hungary were not demarcated by judicial procedure with the consent of both parties. Hungary was never asked whether she approved of the frontiers forced upon her, or whether she regarded as just and equitable the boundary line fixed in the Treaty of Trianon? Injustices cannot therefore result from a true interpretation of the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand, particularly since it is well known that the general tenor of the treaties of peace is to emphasise the necessity of respecting the nationality blocks and the ethnographical boundaries, Hungary alone being in the unfortunate position of having almost four millions of Magyars severed from the mother country by the frontiers demarcated in the Treaty of Trianon, while the number of nationals of other tongues left within her present frontiers is an absolutely trifling one. Consequently, the work of the peace-makers

would certainly not fall to pieces in respect to either its spirit or its material provisions, if the Great Powers were to carry out the spirit of the Covering Letter and restore certain territories to Hungary; on the contrary, a measure of that kind would merely serve to strengthen the faith of the peoples in those high ideals which the Entente — and more particularly Great Britain — declared to be the fundamental principles underlying the whole structure of the peace treaties.

One more thing in conclusion. The whole world is becoming more and more sensible of the disastrous effects exercised by the Paris treaties of peace in both economic and political respects. That explains why in their endeavour to discover the sources of the troubles prevailing the fact that the principal cause of the crisis lies in the Peace Edicts has been realised also by those States which so far have simply refused to hear of any amendment of the peace treaties. The life of mankind finds expression in ever-changing external forms; and so far there has never been an instance of the world proving able for any length of time to force progressing life into obsolete forms. Though people are only just beginning to admit the fact, the consciousness of the truth is bound to become stronger and stronger, finally creating an atmosphere on which the elimination of the injustices and economically absurd provisions of the treaties will appear, not merely as a political and economic necessity, but also as a means of reassuring humanity's sense of justice. In this atmosphere with the aid of all available peaceful means, it will not be difficult matter to enlist the support of the public opinion of the world in carrying out certain changes in the present situation in a manner not calculated at all to involve any upheaval.

## THE SITUATION OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN RUMANIA

by

*Dr. Ladislas Fritz*

*Judge*

Rumanian statesmen deal with the minority question in two different ways; abroad, they treat foreign public opinion to declarations of humanitarian feelings for their minorities, while at home they do just the opposite. The minority programme of the present Premier, M. Tatarescu, is also that *Transylvania must be rumanianised at all costs*, the Premier endeavouring to make this programme appear to be the redress of some alleged historical injustice and declaring that the Rumanian inhabitants of Transylvania must at last be placed on a footing of equality with the Hungarians and Germans living there. In reality this "levelling" means dragging down the Hungarian and German minorities from

the position of superiority attained by the natural development of centuries and thus in practice leading to the greatest inequality.

As a consequence, in Rumania the principle of equal treatment can never be carried out in practice in respect of the minority question. Although their conduct and their activity as subjects of their new country is quite unexceptionable, the minorities are not granted by the Rumanian Government even the minimum human rights guaranteed in the minority treaty, the result being that the two minorities in Rumania which are strongest numerically — the Hungarian and the German — have both been impelled to establish the fact that they have reached the most in-

tolerable stage in their history as minorities and that the struggle carried on by them to obtain their minority rights has developed into a mere struggle for existence.

Apart from the fact that the Hungarian minority living in Rumania has been driven on more than one occasion to avail itself of the protection of the League of Nations against the infringement of its minority rights, the political body representing that minority — the National Magyar Party — has repeatedly pointed out, in the form of declarations made in the Rumanian Parliament, that Rumania refuses to fulfil her obligations towards the minorities stipulated in the minority treaty. At a meeting held on February 19th the Parliamentary Group of that Party once more with profound regret established the fact that during the recent parliamentary recess all classes of Hungarians had been driven to submit to the party executive a whole series of grave and important complaints. One of the dailies of the Germans of Rumania, the "Kronstädter Zeitung" — which is in its hundredth year — quite recently, in an article badly cut up by the Censor again complained that of *the rights and guarantees formerly enjoyed by the Saxons in Hungary in every field of State life, the only ones still left under Rumanian rule were church and school autonomy, though even these rights were not sufficiently respected by the Rumanian Government, which had instituted a whole series of dictatorial measures directed against the minorities.*

\*

The description of the situation of the minorities in Rumania summarises the results of the policy carried on by Government for the last sixteen years consistently and unceasingly against the minorities.

Although by signing the Paris Minority Treaty dated December 9th, 1919, she undertook to pass fundamental laws endorsing the provisions of the minority treaty, engaging thereby that there should not be any law passed or official measure taken in defiance of those provisions, *Rumania did not include in her new Constitution of 1923 the provisions of the Minority Treaty; indeed that Constitution actually fails to take cognizance of the existence of minorities.* Despite repeatedly being urged to do so by the representatives of the minorities, the Rumanian Government *has not yet drafted the Minority Act; indeed, the several Acts and legal regulations dealing with particular questions are actually contradictions of the provisions of the Minority Treaty, the manner in which the same are carried into effect being an enforcement of the principle of "inequal treatment".*

The methods adopted by Rumania to ensure the *lives and liberty of her minorities* (Article 2 of the Minority Treaty) are strikingly illustrated by the fact that labour and material assets of the inhabitants belonging to the Hungarian minority were for a considerable period commandeered by the Rumanian authorities under martial law. In Széklerland in many cases Hungarian labourers were forced to do lumbering work at their own

expense for 4—5 weeks at a stretch at places far from their homes. This system has been perpetuated in the villages by the gendarmerie in a disguised form; it is still in force, the gendarmerie levying contributions in kind and other imposts on the inhabitants of Hungarian villages. Even today, despite the direct veto contained in the law, *the gendarmerie are still compelling in particular the Hungarian inhabitants of villages in Széklerland to undertake public works — to build State roads and keep the parish roads in repair.* In the village of Uzon (Háromszék County), for instance, *arbitrary acts and atrocities committed by police and gendarmes are still everyday occurrences.* Quite recently the Hungarian press of Transylvania reported that *in Széklerland Hungarian farmers do not dare to return to their homes unless in possession of safe-conducts issued by the gendarme command, for otherwise the all-powerful sergeant of gendarmes would summon them every day to the gendarmerie station, where he would beat them black and blue.* Even today we find the minority press full of accounts of cases of *charges of irredentism* brought without the slightest ground ending in the acquittal of the accused, — the suspects being kept for months despite their innocence in confinement and compelled to bear considerable material expenditure (see "Danubian Review", Vol. I. No. 4, p. 5).

*The right of privacy at home* — the principle of "my house my castle" — was made illusory in the early years of the new rule by the *requisitioning of lodgings*, the majority of the inhabitants belonging to the minorities being compelled to sell their houses for a song to Rumanians. This procedure is a means serving to rumanianise the town inhabitants. During recent years *domiciliary visits* have also been everyday occurrences. Whole rows of houses inhabited by Hungarians have been repeatedly searched from top to bottom in quest of prayer books, breviaries etc. Last year a whole series of *domiciliary visits* were made to the houses of the leaders of the Hungarians in Szilágy County, the same treatment being meted out also to the monasteries and rectories in Arad and Arad County.

The pretext for all these restrictions of civil rights is furnished by the *martial law* still in force which was re-introduced on December 30th, 1933. The state of siege and the other prohibitions *seriously hamper the activity of the Hungarian associations and are an outrage on their freedom of movement*, in many cases actually resulting in the complete frustration of all cultural work. (See "Danubian Review", Vol. I, No. 4, p. 6). In Rumania *the right of assembly* is also illusory so far as the minorities are concerned. To mention only one or two of the most recent cases of restrictions of the kind, we would refer to the prohibition forbidding the literary, artistic and scientific lectures and addresses arranged by the Cultural Section of the Arad Magyar Party; as also to the embargo placed in December, 1935, on the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Magyar Party in Dicsőszentmárton.

The re-introduction of a state of siege in December, 1933, was accompanied by the institu-

tion of *preliminary censoring*. This measure also is felt most seriously in its effects by the minorities. The censorship which completely neutralises the liberty of the press weighs intolerably heavily on the minority organs. The red pencil of the Censor prevents the publication even of those events an account of which may be read by the inhabitants of the same community without let or hindrance in the columns of all the Rumanian papers. The Censor does not allow the use of the Hungarian names of towns, streets and squares; and indeed the word "ERDÉLY" (Transylvania) may only be written in its Rumanian form in the Hungarian newspapers.

We might cite a whole series of cases of *Hungarian daily papers being compelled to change their titles* as containing the old Hungarian name of some town, whereas in pre-War Hungary the Rumanian papers were allowed to freely use the Rumanian town-names in their titles. The excesses committed by the Censor include measures — already everyday occurrences — for *placing an embargo on numbers of Hungarian papers and confiscating those organs*. These measures are effected without any motive being given unless it is asserted that the cause is that the paper in question has failed to observe the regulations relating to the censorship. The *persecution of Hungarian journalists* forms a chapter of its own in the history of the liberty of the press as practised in Rumania. Some Hungarian journalists have by sentences of courts of law been forbidden to follow their profession for years. The propagation of numerous calendars has been prohibited on the ground that they are instruments of irredentism; indeed, measures were quite recently taken to prevent the propagation of an "Illustrated ABC and Reader" in Hungarian which had been approved and passed by the authorities, — because forsooth it contains stories from Hungarian history. *Foreign products of the press — in particular products of Hungarian origin — cannot be imported into Transylvania even today except after previous approval by the Censor and on the basis of special permits*. The enormous advance in the tariff of customs duties on books (from 6—9 lei to 150 lei per kilogramme) combined with the raising of the railway freight charges on foreign products of the press, is a further stage in the creation of that *intellectual closing of the frontier which is aimed primarily against the minorities*. Another typical case of infringement of the principle of equality of treatment is the anomaly that, while under the Theatres Act the theatres employing a minority language are required to surrender 26% of their receipts under the head of ticket-tax, the Rumanian theatres are granted considerable State subsidies.

The Rumanian Constitution simply ignores the right of the Hungarian minority in Rumania — guaranteed by § 4 of Article 8 of the Minority Treaty — to freely use its language while there is no special law regulating the free use of their languages by minorities. We find measures taken by the authorities, however, which not only restrict but actually prevent the free use by minor-

ities of their mother tongues. Quite recently the *Rumanian Minister of the Interior* addressed to the office of the mayors of the towns a *circular ordinance* forbidding the use of the original Hungarian names of villages and streets. According to the ordinance it is forbidden to use any inscription in Hungarian on shop-signs or on street-signs. The names of counties, towns and villages may only be written in Rumanian. The original Hungarian names of villages (towns) or streets may not be used in newspapers or any other printed matter even in brackets. The Rumanian Parliament is now discussing the *Public Administration Act*, which provides that membership of the town (parish) councils shall be open only to such persons as are able to speak and write Rumanian and forbids the use of any minority language in the parish councils. According to the amended text of the Direct Taxes Act those undertakings which keep their books in any other language but Rumanian shall pay a *special supplementary tax* equivalent in amount to 12% of the earnings tax (earned income tax). The system of promulgating and publishing laws and ordinances exclusively in the State language is still in force. Even the notices published in the counties and parishes (towns) with purely Hungarian populations appear in Rumanian only. The postal authorities have forbidden the addresses on postal consignments to be written in Hungarian; this applies also to street-names, which cannot be put on even in brackets, as otherwise the consignments will not be delivered. But the post sends back also those letters on which the whole address is not in Rumanian — e. g. if the addressee's Christian name is written in its Hungarian form. In Temesvár the telephone exchanges refuse to connect if the call is not given in Rumanian. Even the sporting clubs have been compelled to change their names and adopt Rumanian ones.

The administration of justice also uses exclusively Rumanian. The judges appointed to minority districts are such as do not know the language of the people. They refuse to accept applications written in Hungarian; and the findings of the courts are drafted exclusively in Rumanian. In the court of law at Sepsiszentgyörgy even the witnesses are forced to give their evidence in Rumanian. (See "Danubian Review", Vol. I, Nos. 1—3, p. 47 and Vol. I, No. 4, p. 6).

In this connection we would call our readers' attention to the methods employed by the Rumanian Government to remove from the public service the majority of the judges and other public servants whose native language was Hungarian.

In 1919 the Rumanian authorities anticipated history and, though not yet entitled to do so, demanded that the public employees should take the oath of allegiance, and in direct defiance of the Hague Convention and of the provisions of the Armistice dismissed them from their posts, suspended the payment of their emoluments and by this procedure plunged into social misery and indigence this most valuable section of Hungarian society. Indeed, the Rumanian Government did not stop there, but between 1919 and the end of



1924 expelled and removed from Rumania 197,000 Hungarians — mostly public servants — and their families. Those Hungarian public servants who were provisionally allowed to retain their posts have since been gradually replaced or dismissed from office respectively: this work, which has been in evidence for the past fifteen years, is still going on. One of the most effectual means to this end is the repeated language test — *the subjection to a series of "examinations" in Rumanian of the minority employees whose ranks have in any case been thinned and decimated, the employees then being dismissed without pensions or even compositions on the ground that they are not sufficiently versed in the State language of Rumania. The dismissal en masse of these public servants in this manner means plunging them into the greatest misery.* During the term of office of the present government (that of M. Tatarescu) the application of the catchphrase *numerus valachicus* has led to *the extension of the language tests to practically every branch of occupation, it having recently been proposed to subject the minority members of the legal profession also to a language test.* The lack of familiarity with the State language is already openly used as a pretext for throwing public servants who are Hungarians by origin on the streets.

Although *liberty of conscience* is expressly guaranteed by the Constitution, nevertheless official measures and the excesses committed by agents of the authorities make the free exercise of religion in practice extremely illusory. *Members of the clerical profession belonging to minorities are still being persecuted,* the treatment meted out to them by the organs of the State consisting of arrests, atrocities, domiciliary visits and heavy sentences. We would add that in many cases the gendarmes do not shrink even from desecrating the House of God. *The fact that a person belongs to a minority denomination is a disadvantage when applying for a post; indeed, it is apt to militate against an employee being able to keep his post.* Efforts are being made by the Rumanian cultural associations *to divest the Székler Hungarians of their religion* even in villages where there is not a single inhabitant belonging to the Orthodox Church. The "rerumanianisation" action is endeavouring — by blood test etc. — to prove the Rumanian origin of whole villages or of the Székely population of whole districts. The abundant data referring to this matter to be found in Vol. I. No. 4 (p. 7) of the "Danubian Review" and indeed in practically every issue of that periodical, make it superfluous to enumerate details here. We believe it necessary, however, to note that *in connection with the remittance of the grants (allowances) legally due to the clergy of the minority churches* we find the principle of inequality of treatment enforced in favour of the priests of the Greek Oriental (State) Church. The allowances remitted to minority clergymen are 60—70% less than those given to priests of the Orthodox Church.

The *denominational schools* in Transylvania are of very ancient origin. For until the end of

the eighteenth century education in that principal-ity was provided practically exclusively by the Churches in denominational schools, the system of State schools having been introduced only in 1873. The right of the denominations to maintain schools was regarded as supplementing liberty of conscience. The post-War Rumanian régime has never been — and is not today — in the least concerned with the historical past of the *denominational schools*; and, seeing that its chief concern is to *denationalise* the minority population, it keeps introducing innumerable measures with the object of throwing difficulties in the way of — or indeed *altogether preventing the maintenance of — denominational schools.* The establishment of colleges or teachers' training institutes using a minority language as the language of instruction is precluded by the provisions of the 1935 Private Education Act. *The State has sequestered the assets of school maintenance endowment funds* of the minority Churches, at the same time *refusing to support the denominational secondary schools* and indeed ordering many schools of the kind to be closed. The Private Education Act *has degraded the ancient denominational schools to the status of private schools and made them bilingual.* By the introduction of the matriculation (higher certificate) examinations the educational authorities have thrown fresh obstacles in the way of pupils belonging to the minorities, seeing that the percentage of candidates ploughed at those examinations is nearly 90%. Similar obstacles have also been introduced into the elementary schools by the 1924 Elementary Education Act. By way of illustration we would note that during the past seventeenth years *some 500 Hungarian denominational schools have been closed by order of the Government.* The Kolozsvár Hungarian Conservatoire — an institution 117 years old — was in 1935 also degraded to the status of a private school.

There is *no State college using Hungarian as the language of instruction; nor is there a single State teachers' training college with Hungarian as the language of instruction: indeed the State does not maintain any commercial, industrial or agricultural schools using Hungarian for teaching purposes. Instruction in dancing is also given exclusively in Rumanian. Only in two places — Arad and Nagyvárad — is there any instruction in Hungarian (in parallel classes) in State secondary schools.* However, the principle of inequality of treatment is most strikingly expressed in the field of *State elementary education.* The Elementary Education Act of 1924 makes the political parish authorities responsible for the establishment and maintenance of State elementary schools using Rumanian as the language of instruction — a measure involving most unjustifiable charges on the Hungarian parishes (villages) possessing ancient school buildings. Attendance in these schools — *the language of instruction* of which is *exclusively Rumanian* — is made compulsory for all children with names of non-Hungarian sound whose parents are however Hungarians in origin and probably do not know a single word of Rumanian, — this

being the application in practice of the „name analysis” methods.

A very remarkable provision of the Elementary Education Act is that which declares the nine counties to be a „culture zone”. In this area — which includes also the four Székely counties of Udvarhely, Háromszék, Csík and Maros-Torda — the teachers employed in the unnecessarily large number of State elementary schools — teachers recruited from Old Rumania most of whom do not speak Hungarian — are given special premiums to encourage them to de-nationalise the Hungarians and convert them into Rumanians. In the area of the „culture zone” the children of those public employees of Hungarian origin still retaining their posts are not allowed to enter any but Rumanian State schools using exclusively Rumanian as the language of instruction; they may not attend the Hungarian denominational schools using Hungarian for teaching purposes. Even the *infant schools* are recruited to assist in the work of rumanisation. The Elementary Education Act of 1924 provides that only Rumanian may be used for teaching in the infant schools. The Government has established a particularly large number of infant schools in the „culture zone” region. By way of illustration we would note that, whereas the increase in the number of infant schools in the most distinctively Rumanian counties in 1933 was 51%, that making 1 infant school for every 11,999 inhabitants, the increase in infant schools in the Székler counties was 186%, making 1 such school for every 3,945 inhabitants. There are 666 State infant schools today in Transylvania — all using Rumanian exclusively as the language of instruction.

Government is always telling foreign public opinion that *it maintains State schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction. As a matter of fact these alleged schools using Hungarian for teaching purposes are mere fictions.* For the State schools using Hungarian as the language of instruction previously existing in the Counties of Torda-Aranyos, Maros-Torda, Brassó and Udvarhely were closed last year. Nor must we forget to mention that the Rumanian State does not fulfil the obligation undertaken in the Minority Treaty (Article 10) to effect that *it will guarantee the minorities a „fair share”* of the usufruct or appropriation respectively of the amounts set aside for educational, religious or charitable purposes as charges on public assets in the budgets of the State, of local government bodies or of other bodies corporate. As things stand today, *the Rumanian State does not grant the Hungarian minority schools a single leu under the head of State subsidy.* Nor is any attempt being made to carry into effect the Act of 1930 which provides for 14% of the budgetary resources of parishes (villages) and towns being appropriated for the use of the minority schools. The principle of inequality of treatment is manifested also in the system of *school fines*. To give an instance of the working of this system, hundreds of Hungarian parents are fined

for the „truancy” of their children resulting from their having been registered as prescribed in denominational schools and being sent to school there.

We cannot close this — no doubt very deficient — enumeration of abuses without pointing out that *Rumania still refuses to put into force the religious and educational autonomy ensured the Széklers in Article 11 of the Minority Treaty.*

The liberty of the minority population in the *economic field* is just as little ensured by the Rumanian Government as is their liberty in the other matters already spoken of. First mention in this respect is due to the manner in which the Rumanian Government treated the Hungarian minority when carrying into effect the *agrarian reform*. This reform measure, which was carried out with unparalleled corruption and in a way furthering only the national interests of the Rumanians, sequestered 2.7 million cadastral yokes from the Hungarian minority, handing the land thus expropriated practically for nothing over to Rumanians. This agrarian reform — which we might rightly call a confiscation of property — did not spare even the property of the minority Churches, expropriating 84.5% of the land in their possession. A striking instance of the anti-minority measures connected with this reform scheme was the reduction to one-third of the landed property comprising some 48,000 cadastral yokes which belonged to the Hungarian settler families numbering altogether about 3000 souls. The League of Nations fixed only an insignificant sum — 700,000 gold francs — to be paid these families by way of compensation. In this connection we must refer also to the absolutely illegal confiscation by the Rumanian Government — as far back as 1923 — of the landed property of the area of 62,500 cadastral yokes and other assets belonging to the so-called „*Csiki Magánjavak*” („Csik County Private Property”). In 1932 the League of Nations decided that *the Rumanian State should be required to restore 11,659 cadastral yokes; but the Rumanian Government has so far failed to comply with the obligation then imposed upon it.* In 1931 the Rumanian State — acting on the precedent created in the above case — confiscated the „*Háromszékmegyei Tanalap*” (Háromszék County Educational Fund) which is in reality a Székely-Hungarian public endowment originally serving for the support of poor Székely pupils. We would refer also to the absolutely illegal expropriation of the Rumanian estates of the *Hungarian optants*, — a case so often submitted to the decision of the Council of the League of Nations and to the international tribunals; and to the *sequestration by force of the assets belonging to Hungarian associations and other social institutions.* That these cases were not the effects of the first years of intoxication, but have developed into a veritable system, is shown by the *confiscation in 1929 of the buildings and complete equipment of the Kolozsvár Elisabeth-Maria Sanatorium — an altruistic institution whose*

property thus confiscated was worth many millions. This institution, brought into being exclusively by the generosity of the Hungarian society of Transylvania, was transferred by a simple administrative act to the possession of the State to be used as a cancer research institute. And, *though the supreme administrative court by a finding valid in law required the Rumanian Government to restore the institution within fifteen days, so far nothing has been done to carry out the instructions.* Thus Government itself must be made responsible for introducing a system of lawlessness in that it has refused altogether to take any notice of the finding of its own court of law.

*In the economic field the principle of inequality of treatment is enforced everywhere against the minorities.* This principle is in evidence also in the refusal of the Rumanian National Bank and the Rumanian Industrial Credit Institute to support Hungarian undertakings by granting them loans. The same principle is manifested also in respect of the *re-discount credit* granted to minority banks by the Rumanian National Bank; as it is in the fact that the Hungarian Co-operative Societies (of which there are 299, with a total membership of 115,000) do not receive any State subsidies. And there is an Act passed in 1934 which requires undertakings to *take care that at least 80% of their employees shall be Rumanians.* In practice the *National Labour Protection Act* is applied in a manner depriving the workers belonging to the Hungarian minority of all earning possibilities. In respect of *taxation* too there are two different standards. Doctors, lawyers, merchants, craftsmen and manufacturers often pay many times the amount of taxes imposed on their Rumanian colleagues, though the latter enjoy every form of support from the State and are able to produce on easier terms. And matters in this respect are aggravated further by the ruthlessness of the methods adopted in the collection of taxes — in particular by the serious losses involved by the absolutely gratuitous removal of the goods seized by distraint being effected.

*Nor is there any trace in Rumania of the impartiality of judicial protection* postulated by the principle of civil equality. The minorities are not allowed an *equality of political rights either.* As a consequence of the so-called "premium" election system still in force in Rumania *the Hungarian minority has only half the number of representatives in the Chamber which its numerical strength would entitle it to have. These deputies are deprived even of the possibility of using their mother tongue in any form in the Rumanian Parliament.* In the public administration the Hungarian minority has been *deprived of its local government rights* by the systematic appointment of so-called „*interimar*” commissions to replace the county and municipal, town and parish councils. For the Members of these commissions are appointed officially; and in the pure Hungarian towns in most cases the control has for years been in the hands of "interimar" commissions not including among their members a single Hungarian. The new Public Administration Bill now under discussion will provide for the activity of "interimar" commissions in the future too in places in which there is no means of ensuring the rumanianisation of the administration. The National Magyar Party has pointed out that in the Hungarian (Magyar) and Székely districts of Transylvania it will be impossible to constitute any parish councils in the event of it being a *sine qua non* that the councillors should be able to write and speak Rumanian.

The development of the lot of the Hungarian minority living in Rumania — as the picture painted above shows — has reached its low point. We have seen that the Government displays — alike in cultural, political and economic matters — an attitude towards the Hungarian minority which veritably flouts and tramples under foot the minority rights postulated both in the Minority Treaty and in the Rumanian Constitution itself and makes it impossible for members of the Hungarian minority to enjoy even the most elementary human rights or to establish even a modest subsistence in the land of which they are the original inhabitants.

# COMPLAINTS OF UNITARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

by

*Dr. Gabriel Csiky*

*Unitarian Minister*

None of the Churches in Transylvania is being so ruthlessly treated by the Rumanian State as the Unitarian Church. In the south-eastern corner of Transylvania, which was detached from Hungary and given to Rumania by the peace treaties, this denomination has been for centuries the most easterly outpost of a branch of the Reformed Church which exists nowhere else but in the Anglo-Saxon world.

The reason for this ruthless treatment is simply that the adherents of this denomination are all Hungarians.

To begin with, the Rumanian State did its best to deprive the Unitarian Church of its material resources. Under the Land reform measures, 11,389 cadastral yokes (1 cadastral yoke = about 1½ English acres) of Unitarian Church property was confiscated. This land had been bequeathed to the Church by generous members thereof for cultural and charitable purposes. The value of the bonds given in exchange by the State was only 0.03% of the actual value of the land. Moses Berde, the founder of the Church, who by legendary thrift and self-sacrifice amassed a considerable fortune, left his extensive estate to the Unitarian Church with instructions that the income thereof was to be used to provide poor grammar-school children with a small loaf of bread three times a day. This was called "Berde Loaf". The estate has been expropriated and the bread taken out of our children's mouths. This is only one case to illustrate the situation.

Our Bishop was debarred from the Senate, although in terms of the principle of *de jure* and *de facto* equality laid down in the Paris Minority Treaty, he ought to have had the same place there as the bishops of other Churches. Article 76 of the Administration Act promulgated on August 3rd 1929 grants the Rumanian churches the right to representation on the town and municipal councils, but denies our churches that right. According to § 2 of Article 198 of the same Act all the Rumanian rural deans living in the county are entitled to sit on the county council. The same Act denies that right to our rural deans.

A striking distinction is made between the

different denominations in the grants paid out of the tax revenue. The Religion Act of 1928 makes the Greek Oriental faith the State religion, proclaims the Greek Catholic Church a primary religion and takes no account of the minority denominations. While, for instance, the Rumanian Orthodox, or Greek Catholic parish priest receives a monthly grant of 3,150 lei from the State, the Unitarian minister of the same village, a man of the same age, receives only 1250 lei. Until quite recently the difference had been more striking still. *It was only thanks to the intervention of the Unitarians in America that things improved to this extent.* Thanks to the same intervention a slight improvement is also noticeable in the lot of the clergy belonging to the other Hungarian — Reformed Church and Roman Catholic — denominations also previously treated unfairly by the Rumanian Government.

Various methods are employed to force the adherents of the Unitarian Church to become members of the Greek Orthodox Church. People them are told that they may keep their jobs, or that work will be found for them, if they adopt the Greek Orthodox faith. Misery and want induce a few to yield to the temptation. But after they have done so, it often happens that the promises are not kept, for the Act, in any case, does not admit of their returning to their old faith once more.

State schools force the children of Unitarian Hungarian families to attend Greek Orthodox services and take part in ceremonies contrary to their belief. Those refusing to comply are thrashed. The activity of Church societies is greatly curtailed. To hold a gathering or a general meeting, a permit from the authorities is required. Ignorant and high-handed gendarmes often paralyse the social side of Church life in a whole district.



Some years previous to the War our Church came to an agreement with the Hungarian State in terms of which the Church surrendered to the State the right of maintaining elementary schools in

several villages of Széklerland. Retaining its title, as registered in the Land Office, to the buildings, the Church handed over the school-houses to be used as State schools, with the stipulation that only Hungarian might be the medium of instruction. Furthermore, the State bound itself to appoint (by recommendation of the Church authorities) at least one Unitarian teacher in each school who would be able to fulfil the duties of precentor in the Unitarian parish in question. When Transylvania changed hands, the Rumanian Government claimed to be the legal successor of the Hungarian Government. But the Rumanian Government claimed rights only, and refused to undertake obligations. The Government took possession of the school-buildings, but would not hear of fulfilling the stipulation on which the Unitarian Church had handed them over to the Hungarian Government. Rumanian became the language of instruction in those schools. The Government sent Rumanian teachers from Old Rumania to purely Hungarian villages in Széklerland and these teachers could not speak a single word of the pupils' mother-tongue. The tiny elementary school pupils, again, could not understand their teachers. Teachers and pupils could not speak to one other. Under these circumstances it is but natural that the children leave school and play the truant, for which their parents are severely fined by the authorities.

Article 11 of the Paris Minority Treaty guarantees the Széklers religious and cultural autonomy under the protection of the League of Nations. In defiance of this provision the Rumanian Government has declared the part of Széklerland where the Unitarians live to be a "cultural zone". This, in plain language, means that teachers knowing no word of Hungarian are being sent there to root out that language and Hungarian civilization. They are rewarded for their labour with a 50% increase of their salaries and 10 yokes per head of land confiscated from the Hungarian landowners.

Our Church has attempted to do something against all this, but in vain. *At the cost of enormous financial sacrifices it has tried to establish Hungarian denominational schools in the endangered places. The Government, however, has refused to allow this; indeed, in many instances it has gradually withdrawn the licences of many of our existing schools and has closed several others on various flimsy pretexts.* Not long ago, for instance, it happened that on the school inspector's representations that the school-building did not come up to the prescribed standard, the Government withdrew the licence of the Székelykeresztur elementary school. The parish decided to make every effort to build a new one. The plans were laid before the school-inspector, and he was asked whether he would restore the licence if the parish erected a new school according to the plans submitted. The inspector declared himself completely satisfied with the plans, and the new school was built. In spite of this, however, and although he was repeatedly urged to restore the licence, he would not, and finally on a new and flimsy pretext refused the petition outright.

To give an idea of the situation, let it be said that there were 1,529 Hungarian State schools in Transylvania in 1918, whereas today there is not a single one. In 1918 there were 1,047 denominational schools there in which the language of instruction was Hungarian. By 1932 their number had sunk to 832. Since then several have been arbitrarily closed by the Rumanian Government. In the school-year 1932—33 only 76,000 of the 216,000 Hungarian children of schooling age were able to attend schools in which the language of instruction was their own mother-tongue. In other words, more than two-thirds of the Hungarian school children could not receive their schooling in their own language. Since then matters have grown even worse. The few denominational schools left to us do not receive any of the 14% school-rates so ruthlessly exacted from our congregations. That benefit is reserved for Rumanian denominational schools — for the schools of the Rumanians who are not nearly so hardly pressed to pay their school-rates as our people are. The Rumanian Government has ordered the erection of Rumanian State schools in many purely Székler villages, and has levied the sums required for that purpose from the members of our congregations in those places. Anybody who dares to complain is arrested by the authorities on the charge of agitating against the State.

It has been decided to build Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches in villages and towns where the only Rumanian elements are the gendarmes and a few officials. The members of our Church have been ordered out by the authorities for public labour and they are being forced to build churches for the Rumanians. Those who refuse are prosecuted by the authorities.

The Unitarians thus exploited by the authorities are incapable, try as they will, of fulfilling their obligations towards their own schools and churches. They are being forced to build churches and schools for the Rumanians, and meanwhile the walls of their own churches are crumbling and their schools are being closed by the authorities as too tumbledown for use. At the consecration of the Rumanian church in Okland (County of Udvarhely) M. Constantinescu, Minister of Education, amongst other things said: — "The problem of how to Rumanianize the Széklers has reached the stage of solution". This was said in a large village 99% of the inhabitants of which are Unitarian Széklers.

Even the text of our ancient Psalms has been censored, and in many cases they were not allowed to be printed in our new Hymn-book until they had been purged of their real meaning. Innumerable Hungarian children have no chance of learning to read and write in their mother-tongue. When they reach the age of confirmation they cannot read their Hungarian catechisms. With a view to overcoming this difficulty the Minerva Literary Co. Ltd. published an A. B. C. reader for Hungarian children, to enable their parents to teach them the elements of Hungarian reading and writing at home. The book was passed by the censor, as it contained nothing but reading matter

from school-books allowed by the Government. For a few days no hindrances were put in the way of its circulation. But at the beginning of 1936 the gendarmes confiscated the book wherever they found a copy, and brought a criminal charge against all clergymen and denominational schoolmasters who had been circulating it. Later on the police authorities (Siguranca) ordered the confiscation of the book.

In the few denominational schools maintained with great difficulty by the Unitarians the use of Hungarian is restricted within strictly narrow limits. The Hungarian Unitarian teachers must teach Rumanian literature, history, geography, and the principles of constitutional law in Rumanian to pupils whose mother-tongue is Hungarian. Hungarian may not even be used as an auxiliary language. At school festivals and concerts no speeches may be delivered except in Rumanian and the rest of the programme must be at least 50% Rumanian. Grammar-school leaving certificate matriculation examinations must be passed before a State committee of strangers. It is the usual custom to plough 70% or 80% of the candidates.

Extremely offensive to our Church is the Minister of Public Education's Ordinance No. 125.931 in 1934, in terms of which the school-inspectors have ordered that *religious instruction in the schools must be given in the presence of Rumanian controlling officials, and only in the Rumanian language, so that they may be able to understand what is said.* Teachers of religion must have a permit which only the Ministry can grant, but the Ministry refuses to pay them. *Only Rumanian teachers of religion receive payment from the Government.*

The press of all the world over has commented on the unscrupulous injustice known as "name-analysis". Hungarian children whose ancestors have all been Hungarians have been arbitrarily registered as Rumanians in spite of their parents' protests, merely because their surnames happen to sound foreign. On this pretext they have been forbidden to attend their own Hungarian denominational schools. *Parents protest in vain against their children being pronounced Greek Orthodox and forced to attend Rumanian State schools.* It happened that a relative of a former State Secretary in the Hungarian Ministry of Public Education, who bore the same old noble Hungarian name as the State Secretary, was ordered out of the Hungarian denominational school and forced to attend the Rumanian school on the pretext that he was of the Greek Orthodox faith and a Rumanian.

The falsification of the register of births is an everyday occurrence. In spite of their parents' protests many Hungarian babies are registered as belonging to the Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic Church. In many of the registers the word Unitarian is written in an abbreviated form: Unit. In such cases it is declared to mean "unitus", i. e. uniate, and the person in question is then declared to be Greek Catholic, a member of the Uniate Church, and therefore not Hungarian, but Rumanian.

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We must also touch briefly on the fact that the adherents of the Unitarian Church in Transylvanian are being subjected to persecution not only as Unitarians, but also as Hungarians, that being indirectly very detrimental to the Church. In what follows we publish a few data, merely to illustrate the heavy financial losses sustained under Rumanian rule by the Hungarian Unitarians in Transylvania.

Immediately after Rumania gained possession of Transylvania the Government drove thousands of Unitarians out of the country, families and all. With this our parishes in the towns lost the intelligentsia who had previously played a leading rôle in Church matters. Such Unitarian public employees as the Government could not immediately replace with Rumanian officials — in particular postal and railway employees — were allowed to retain their posts. But as soon it was considered possible to replace them with Rumanians, they were dismissed, very often without any pensions. To justify their dismissal a system of language tests was introduced, with the natural explanation that no one could be a public servant who did not speak the language of the State. But thousands of cases go to prove that this was merely an excuse. Hungarian officials who spoke Rumanian perfectly were ploughed at the examinations. For instance, in Székelyudvarhely, a purely Hungarian town, the municipal employees were ordered to take an examination in the August of 1935. The board of examiners issued a certificate to the effect that all had passed in every subject. Thereupon another committee ordered them to pass another examination, at which those who had been certified as proficient in Rumanian were ploughed and later on dismissed from their posts without pensions. There were cases where the Supreme Courts overruled this sentence, and gave a final decision that their dismissal was contrary to the law, and that their posts were to be restored to them. The decision of the Supreme Courts, however, has not yet been executed.

As things stand, in a town like Marosvásárhely, which even today is 90% Hungarian, a Unitarian, simply because he is a Hungarian, cannot hope for the job even of a crossing-sweeper. And it is the same throughout the whole of Transylvania. Recently a Law passed, as it was said, to protect national labour, which Law stipulated that 80% of the officials and workmen employed by all the industrial and commercial enterprises through the length and breadth of the country — even those established by Hungarians — must be people whose mother-tongue is Rumanian. This impossible stipulation applies even to the humble waiters in the Hungarian restaurants of purely Hungarian towns.

The Unitarian peasants have been brought to beggary with heavy taxes. Transylvania, where the minorities live, with its 4 million inhabitants bears the same burden of taxation as all the rest of Rumania with its 14 millions. While the people in the Rumanian parts of the country are made to pay only 15% of the taxes imposed, 90% is levied from the Unitarians in Széklerland. The

Unitarian landowners have been ruined by the Land Reform. 2,118,570 cadastral yokes of land have been taken from the Hungarian proprietors, for the most part without their receiving any equivalent value for it.

With these measures and others like them Rumania has brought the Hungarians in Transylvania to poverty, with a view to being able to more easily break their racial resistance. The impoverishment and destitution of our Unitarian adherents has been felt keenly by the Church. The dispoiled Unitarians cannot possibly lend financial support to the Church and its cultural institutions.

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About the middle of September, 1935, the Rev Alfred Hall, Unitarian clergyman and President of the Unitarian World Alliance, arrived at Bőllön (County of Háromszék) to visit his brethren there and their minister, who had been at Oxford University with him. The Unitarian inhabitants of the place, to show their brotherly love, decorated his car in the manse garden with flowers, among which there were also red and white ones and green leaves (red, white and green are the Hungarian colours). Immediately the Rumanian gendarmes appeared and ordered the flowers to be removed. Then, armed, they followed Mr. Hall into the church and asked for his papers.

Since the change of State foreign Unitarian brethren of ours have visited Transylvania more than once, and have reported what they saw and heard there to those who sent them, especially in England and America. Without being asked by any one of the Hungarian Unitarians to do so, and moved only by a love of justice, they have drawn the attention of foreign opinion to the miserable lot of the Hungarian denominations in Transylvania. To this the Rumanian authorities have always retorted with an assault on the Unitarian Church and its members. Many of the people who had intercourse with our foreign brethren were arrested and persecuted after the strangers had left.

The Bill of the new Rumanian Criminal Codex classifies as a criminal act the uttering of any statement that may throw an unfavorable light on the state of affairs in Rumania, even if in substance the statement is entirely in keeping with the truth.

It would be easy to enumerate *ad infinitum* the grave injustices with which the Rumanian Government, flouting the human rights guaranteed in the international treaties, creates a situation in Transylvania at once impossible and intolerable. If the Rumanian Government continues to pursue its present policy, and if the Great Powers do not make haste to enforce the minority rights guaranteed by themselves, an ancient outpost of western civilization will fall in ruins with the decay of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania.

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## NATIONALITY CONDITIONS IN RUMANIA

by

*Dr. Andrew R. Szeben*

Present-day Rumania has an area of 295,049 sq. kilometres and — according to the data of the 1930 Census — a population of 18,052,896. The country comprises nine historical provinces differing from one another very materially in respect of geographical position, history and the ethnical composition of their respective populations.

### I.

Geographically speaking, the orographic and hydrographic conditions are of decisive importance. The centre of the country is traversed by the high, wooded and uninhabited chains of the Carpathians running in a semi-circle, which completely separate Transylvania, which belongs to the Danube Basin system, and the former Hungarian Banat from the great Lowlands of Eastern Europe, from the table-land of Podolia and from the low-lying regions of the Lower Danube, which latter are not so much Balkan as East European steppe-regions in respect of their natural conditions. The crest of the Carpathians running in parallel curves at heights ranging from 1500 to 2500 metres a very decided dividing line in respect alike of natural

conditions and of economic and anthropological peculiarities and has at all times proved an efficient and stable political frontier. During the seventeen years of her conversion into a big Power Rumania has also failed utterly to put an end to the peculiar legal, administrative and economic systems characterising the several historical provinces; the result being that even today there are 5—6 different systems of law in force in Rumania the arbitrary unification of which could never be effected without great difficulties and enormous losses.

A peculiar point about the hydrography of Rumania is that the rivers radiate from the centre towards the periphery — a phenomenon which would only be a favourable one if the political, economic and population density nucleus were in the centre of the country too. However, seeing that the political centre (Bucharest) is situated at a point in the periphery, while the economic staples are scattered all over the territory of the country and happen to be entirely absent from centre and the population density nucleuses are also on the periphery, the centrifugal course of the rivers acts as a separating force upsetting the balance of a

country which is otherwise a perfect oval, and makes the spheres of gravitation of the several districts diverge in different directions.

It is due to these natural circumstances that the historical rôles and the historical lot of the nine provinces forming present-day Rumania have been entirely different in character. As a consequence the respective composition of the population is different in each case, — though the nationality statistics of today are not calculated to show these differences, which are often of a very fine nature. The area and population respectively of these nine provinces in 1930 was as follows (the names of the provinces are given in their Rumanian forms):

| Name of Province | Area (in sq. kilometres) | Number of Inhabitants in 1930 | Density of Population |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Banatul          | 18,715                   | 941,521                       | 50.3                  |
| Besarabia        | 44,422                   | 2,863,409                     | 64.5                  |
| Bucovina         | 10,442                   | 853,524                       | 81.7                  |
| Crisana-         |                          |                               |                       |
| Maramures        | 21,338                   | 1,390,243                     | 65.2                  |
| Dobrogea         | 23,262                   | 811,332                       | 34.9                  |
| Moldova          | 38,058                   | 2,427,498                     | 67.8                  |
| Muntenia         | 52,505                   | 4,028,303                     | 76.7                  |
| Oltenia          | 24,078                   | 1,519,389                     | 63.1                  |
| Transylvania     | 62,229                   | 3,217,677                     | 51.7                  |
| Rumania [total]  | 295,049                  | 18,052,896                    | 61.2                  |

*Muntenia* and *Moldova* are the ancient Rumanian provinces. Both became independent woywodeships about the middle of the fourteenth century; but that independence was not a political one. The woywodes of *Muntenia* were vassals of the King of Hungary until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Turks took possession of the province. *Moldova* did not become a Turkish fief until early in the sixteenth century; though until then it had acknowledged the suzerainty of either the Hungarian or the Polish king. When the European Empire of the Turks began to decline in power, a struggle for the overlordship of these territories began between that Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, until finally the two Rumanian principalities united; and they gradually (1862—78) succeeded in securing their independence.

The small Rumanian principality, which in 1881 was raised to the rank of a kingdom, comprised a third province too — that of *Oltenia* — in addition to *Muntenia* and *Moldova*. This province of *Oltenia*, situated in the angle enclosed by the Lower Danube, the Olt and the Southern Carpathians, was one of the strongest frontier provinces of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and was then known as the Szörény Banat. In the sixteenth century this province too was conquered by the Turks. After the expulsion of the Turks the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy maintained its claim to the province; and it was not until 1772 that it renounced that claim — in exchange for *Bucovina*. Until the Great War these three provinces and the *Dobrudja* region annexed to that country in 1878

constituted the Kingdom of Rumania — forming the territory which today is often spoken of as the "Regat" (Older Rumania).

## II.

If we wish to examine the population of Rumania and her several provinces from the point of view of the distribution of nationalities, we find ourselves confronted with the gravest difficulties. Seemingly that during the Great War the various provinces formed parts of five different countries, we have not at our disposal statistical data collected by the same methods at any given period prior to that War. Therefore, in respect of the pre-War figures we are dependent upon the data collected by the several countries at different periods and by different methods of grouping which can often be ascertained only by approximative estimates. The figures of pre-War days given below have been taken from the statistical works of Elemér *Jakabffy*<sup>1</sup> and Wilhelm *Winkler*.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately we are still entirely without any detailed data relating to post-War the distribution of the nationalities living in present-day Rumania. Since the creation of New Rumania there has only been one regular Census — that of 1930 — embracing the whole territory of the country. In 1920 a Census was so full of errors that its publication gave rise to a painful scandal. In 1927 a Census comprising the whole country was taken; but the results of this Census too were so full of errors that the idea of publishing them had to be abandoned. Only a few data taken at random were made public in various periodicals by leading officials of the Rumanian Statistical Bureau. (Rumania has indeed been unfortunate in her Censuses. The agricultural establishments Census of 1930 was also such a failure that the elaboration of the material had to be suspended owing to the evident and glaring "howlers" made when collecting the data).

Finally, in 1930, after a long period of preparation, Rumania's first really serious Census was taken; though seeing that, though the Census Directorate has since 1930 been working with a staff of 260 employees on the elaboration of the material, and though the American Rockefeller Foundation placed at the disposal of the Directorate 11 calculating machines, 7 perforating machines and an electric sorting and paging machine, all that had been published by the end of February, 1936, was a tiny "Indicator" relating to the results of the 1930 Census which however contains no information respecting the distribution of the population by nationalities or by denominations — there must be something wrong with the work of elaboration. All that is known to us of the nationality results of the 1930 Rumanian Census in the preliminary material published in

<sup>1</sup> *Jakabffy, Elemér*: "Erdély statisztikája" (Statistics of Transylvania), Lugos. 1923, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Winkler, Wilhelm*: "Statistisches Handbuch der europäischen Nationalitäten" (Statistical Handbook of the Nationalities of Europe), Vienna, 1931, p. 248.



a few articles<sup>3</sup> written and a few addresses given by the management of the Census Institute (dr. Manuila Sabin). We have used this material when giving the data for 1930.

The "Regat" comprises 46.7% of the whole territory of present-day Rumania, — that meaning that the peace treaties which ended the Great War more than doubled Rumania's area of territory. The population of Older Rumania (the "Regat") may be described as fairly homogeneous from the nationality point of view. The pre-War data were as follows:

| Nationality     | Number of Inhabitants | Quota of Total Number |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Rumanians       | 6,546,424             | 90.5%                 |
| Jews            | 241,088               | 3.3%                  |
| Magyars         | 147,429               | 2.0%                  |
| Germans         | 27,062                | 0.4%                  |
| Russians        | 42,293                | 0.6%                  |
| Bulgarians      | 60,212                | 0.8%                  |
| Turko-Tartars   | 42,248                | 0.6%                  |
| Gipsies         | 83,000                | 1.1%                  |
| Serbo-Croatians | 4,570                 | 0.1%                  |
| Others          | 40,594                | 0.6%                  |

We have no reliable "preliminary" data for 1930 either.

The nationality distribution of the population of the provinces annexed to Rumania after the Great War offers a much more variegated aspect. Of these provinces *Bucovina* formerly belonged to Austria. The Austrian statistics for 1910 give the following data relating to the nationality distribution of the inhabitants of that province:

| Nationality          | Number of Inhabitants | Quota of Total Number |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Rumanians            | 273,254               | 34.2%                 |
| Magyars              | 10,391                | 1.3%                  |
| Germans              | 68,075                | 8.5%                  |
| Jews                 | 88,666                | 11.0%                 |
| Russo-Ukrainians     | 305,101               | 38.1%                 |
| Poles                | 35,033                | 4.4%                  |
| Sundry Nationalities | 19,578                | 2.5%                  |
| Total Population     | 800,098               | 100.0%                |

We have no reliable data for 1930 in respect of *Bucovina* either.

*Bessarabia* was severed from Russia and annexed to Rumania, — before 1812, it is true, the greater part of this province formed part of the Principality of *Moldova*. According to the Russian

<sup>3</sup> Sabin, Manuila: "Les problèmes démographiques en Transylvanie" (in the "Revue de Transylvanie", 1934, No. 1.). — "România și revisionismul" (in "Archiva pentru Stilinto și Reforma Sociala", 1934, Nos. 1—2.). — Cf. Silviu, Dragomir: "La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques", Bucharest, 1934, o. 281.

pre-War statistics the nationality distribution of the population of *Bessarabia* 1910 was as follows:

| Nationality      | Number of Inhabitants | Quota of Total Number |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Rumanians        | 1,162,015             | 47.6%                 |
| Russo-Ukrainians | 678,655               | 27.8%                 |
| Jews             | 288,062               | 11.8%                 |
| Bulgarians       | 129,384               | 5.3%                  |
| Germans          | 75,677                | 3.1%                  |
| Others           | 107,413               | 4.4%                  |
| Total            | 2,441,206             | 100.0%                |

The distribution of nationalities in this province in 1930 is given by Manuila Sabin as follows:

|            |                   |
|------------|-------------------|
| Rumanians  | 57.8%             |
| Russians   | 22.2%             |
| Ukrainians | 10.3%             |
| Jews       | 7.6%              |
| Bulgarians | 6.0%              |
| Germans    | 2.8%              |
| Others     | 4.3% <sup>4</sup> |

*Dobruja* has been mentioned when speaking of the provinces of the "Regat", seeing that the greater part of this province was annexed to Rumania as far back as 1878; but, since certain other sections of this province were added to the territory of that country in the Balkan War and after the Great War, we offer a separate statement showing the distribution by nationalities of the population of this province.

In 1930 the Rumanian statisticians<sup>5</sup> gave the following figures relative to the distribution by nationalities of the population of *Dobruja*:

| Nationality       | Quota of Total Population |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| Rumanians         | 41.7%                     |
| Bulgarians        | 24.3%                     |
| Turks and Tartars | 20.8%                     |
| Russians          | 4.2%                      |
| Others            | 9.0%                      |

Besides the six provinces dealt with above in detail there are three other provinces — *Transylvania*, the *Körös—Mármaros District (Murmuresh)* and the *Banat* — which were severed from Hungary and annexed to Rumania after the Great War. Of these only *Transylvania* can be regarded as a separate province with characteristics of its own in respect both of its natural conditions and its history; whereas, *Marmuresh* and the *Banat* are

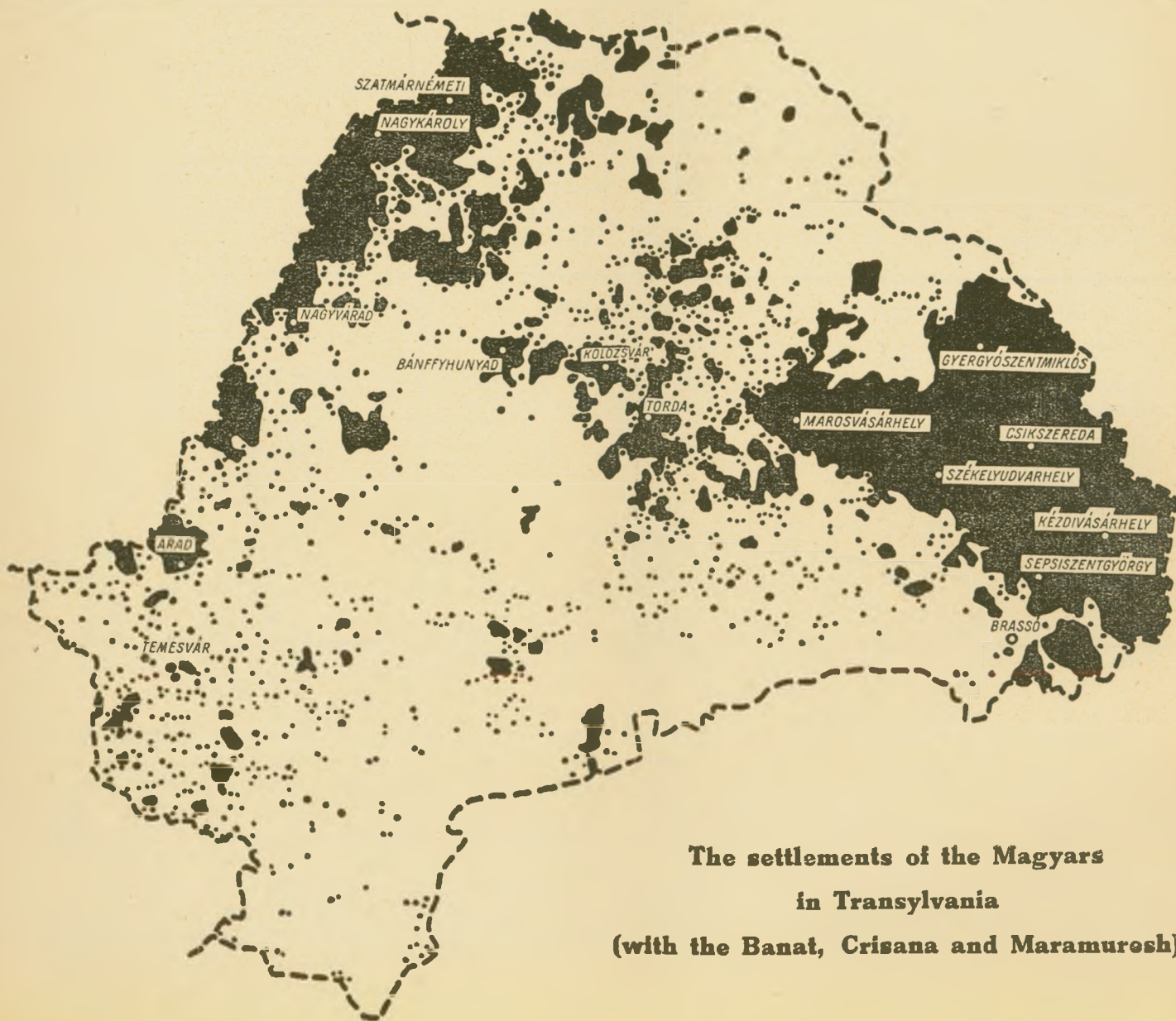
<sup>4</sup> "Archiva pentru Stilinta si Reforma Sociala", 1934, Nos. 1—2. p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 22.



Sketch of the provinces of Rumania

- |                               |                 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Oltenia or Little Walachia | 6. Bukovina     |
| 2. Muntenia or Great Walachia | 7. Transylvania |
| 3. Dobruja                    | 8. Banat        |
| 4. Moldavia                   | 9. Crisana      |
| 5. Bessarabia                 | 10. Maramuresh  |



The settlements of the Magyars in Transylvania (with the Banat, Crisana and Maramurosh)

only sections of the buffer territories between the Great Hungarian Lowlands and the mountain districts flanking those Lowlands. The fact that these territories are not regarded as possessing a uniform character or an independence of their own, is shown by their being also popularly spoken of as forming — together with the region properly known by that name — the province of Transylvania.

As concerns the history of the sections of territory severed from Hungary and annexed to Rumania, it will suffice to note briefly that they constituted organic parts of the Kingdom of Hungary from the tenth century down to the Great War. The only break in the unity of that Kingdom was that due to the Turkish occupation of a great part of Hungary for a century and a half. During this period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) Transylvania was an independent Hungarian principality, while the Marmuresh of today formed a buffer territory between that principality and the Turkish Empire and between the former and the Dismembered Hungary of those days. The region known today as the Banat was subjected to Ottoman rule and was one of the districts most completely devastated by the Turco-Tartar campaigns. Very much in the history and the present conditions of this region was and is the result of the devastation then wrought, for the original population was almost completely wiped out of existence, the bulk of the present population being descendants of settlers introduced there at different periods since the beginning of the eighteenth century. That is why the population of this region is so mixed and heterogeneous in respect of origin,

race, language, culture and customs. After being liberated from the Turkish yoke these territories were again united as organic parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, remaining in union with that country until the collapse which followed the Great War.

The picture presented by the distribution by nationalities of the populations of Transylvania, Marmuresh and the Banat is a rather variegated one. But, while the population of the Banate is absolutely mixed in character, in Transylvania and in the regions adjoining the Hungarian Lowlands we find areas which are predominantly (in fact almost exclusively) Magyar or Rumanian in respect of population. For instance, the flat districts and river valleys flanking the frontier of Dismembered Hungary we find the towns of Transylvania very pronouncedly Hungarian (Magyar) in character, the population of the so-called "Széklerland" being also purely Hungarian — this territory (15,000 sq. kilometres) occupying roughly 24% of the total area (62,000 sq. kilometres) of Transylvania. We find a predominantly Rumanian population in the hilly districts, in places suitable for deforestation and for sheepfarming. In Transylvania there are also strips of territory with predominantly German populations; and in a few towns also (Nagyszeben, Besztercze, Brassó, Temesvár) Germans constitute one of the leading elements.

The distribution by nationalities of the population of the former Hungarian territories now forming Rumanian provinces was as follows in 1910 and in 1930 respectively:

| Nationality          | No. of Inhabitants in 1910 | %      | No. of Inhabitants in 1930 | %      |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|
| Rumanians            | 2,819,405                  | 53.9   | 3,206,261                  | 57.8   |
| Hungarians (Magyars) | 1,663,576                  | 31.8   | 1,353,675                  | 24.4   |
| Germans              | 556,944                    | 10.6   | 543,622                    | 9.8    |
| Jews                 | .                          | .      | 178,421                    | 3.2    |
| Bulgarians           | .                          | .      | 11,380                     | 0.2    |
| Ruthenians           | 10,484                     | 0.2    | 38,576                     | 0.7    |
| Slovaks              | 31,629                     | 0.6    | 46,161                     | 0.8    |
| Serbians             | 56,131                     | 1.1    | 43,454                     | 0.8    |
| Croatians            | 1,979                      | 0.0    | .                          | .      |
| Gipsies              | .                          | .      | 107,749                    | 2.0    |
| Others               | 96,157                     | 1.8    | 15,951                     | 0.3    |
| Total                | 5,236,305                  | 100.00 | 5,543,250                  | 100.00 |

To sum up the nationality conditions prevailing today in Rumanian, we find that the Rumanians really form an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants only in the historical Rumanian provinces (Moldova and Muntenia) and in Oltenia, these being the only provinces from which the Rumanians could form a really "national" State. In the other provinces the number of Rumanians amounts to only about 50% of the total population; though the Rumanian Census of 1930 left no stone unturned to increase that quota at all costs. The other fact which strikes us when we investi-

gate the nationality conditions of Rumania is that the bulk of the non-Rumanian inhabitants living in Rumania are found as majorities in compact and coherent areas. Some of these compact and coherent non-Rumanian language areas are situated on the frontiers of Rumania. Indeed, present-day Rumania possesses only a single frontier line inhabited by a purely Rumanian population — that on the south flanking the Lower Danube. The western frontier of that country is flanked by large areas with a considerable majority of Hungarian inhabitants; while in

### Distribution of Nationalities in New Provinces of Rumania in 1910 and 1930.

| NATIONALITY             | In Territories Severed from Hungary |              |                  |              | In Other New Provinces |              |                  |              | Total for New Provinces |              |                   |              |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
|                         | 1910                                | %            | 1930             | %            | 1910                   | %            | 1930             | %            | 1910                    | %            | 1930              | %            |
| Rumanians               | 2,819,405                           | 53.9         | 3,206,261        | 57.8         | 1,442,162              | 41.2         | 2,391,121        | 52.8         | 4,261,567               | 48.8         | 5,597,382         | 55.5         |
| Hungarians<br>(Magyars) | 1,663,576                           | 31.8         | 1,353,675        | 24.4         | 10,454                 | 0.3          | 11,096           | 0.3          | 1,674,030               | 19.2         | 1,364,771         | 13.5         |
| Germans                 | 556,944                             | 10.6         | 543,622          | 9.8          | 144,375                | 4.1          | 151,869          | 3.4          | 701,319                 | 8.0          | 695,491           | 6.9          |
| Jews                    | .                                   | .            | 178,421          | 3.2          | 377,366                | 10.8         | 310,651          | 6.9          | 377,366                 | 4.3          | 489,072           | 4.9          |
| Ruthenians              | 10,484                              | 0.2          | 36,576           | 0.7          | 985,801                | 28.2         | 533,067          | 11.8         | 996,285                 | 11.4         | 569,643           | 5.7          |
| Russians                | .                                   | .            | .                | .            |                        |              | 354,778          | 7.8          |                         |              | 354,778           | 3.5          |
| Bulgarians              | .                                   | .            | 11,380           | 0.2          | 257,516                | 7.4          | 368,959          | 8.1          | 257,516                 | 2.9          | 380,339           | 3.8          |
| Turks and Tartars       | .                                   | .            | .                | .            | 180,127                | 5.1          | 168,757          | 3.7          | 180,127                 | 2.1          | 168,757           | 1.7          |
| Poles                   | .                                   | .            | .                | .            | 35,033                 | 1.0          | 36,701           | 0.8          | 35,033                  | 0.4          | 36,701            | 0.4          |
| Czechs and Slovaks      | 31,629                              | 0.6          | 46,161           | 0.8          | 1,005                  | 0.0          | 854              | 0.0          | 32,634                  | 0.4          | 47,015            | 0.5          |
| Serbians                | 46,131                              | 1.1          | 43,454           | 0.8          | 367                    | 0.0          | .                | .            | 58,447                  | 0.7          | 43,454            | 0.4          |
| Croatians               | 1,979                               | 0.0          | .                | .            |                        |              | .                | .            |                         |              | .                 |              |
| Gipsies                 | .                                   | .            | 107,749          | 2.0          | 11,026                 | 0.3          | 4,268            | 0.1          | 11,026                  | 0.1          | 112,017           | 1.1          |
| Others                  | 96,157                              | 1.8          | 15,951           | 0.3          | 56,540                 | 1.6          | 196,144          | 4.3          | 152,697                 | 1.7          | 212,095           | 2.1          |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>5,236,305</b>                    | <b>100.0</b> | <b>5,543,250</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>3,501,772</b>       | <b>100.0</b> | <b>4,528,265</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>8,738,077</b>        | <b>100.0</b> | <b>10,071,515</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

the south-west we find districts which are Hungarian, German and Serbian in nationality, Ruthenians and Ukrainians living in the north, Ukrainians and Ruthenians in the east; and in the south-east, just above the estuary of the Danube, the frontier is formed by large Russian, Turkish and German areas, while in Dobruja, below the mouth of Danube, we find majorities of Bulgarians and Turks.

The table annexed (see page 21) offers a summary survey of the general distribution of nationalities in the new provinces of Rumania in the years 1910 and 1930 respectively.

We have already shown the nationality conditions prevailing in the "Regat" in 1910; we cannot show those for the year 1930 — chiefly because the provincial data for 1930 made public by

the Rumanian statisticians do not comprise data relating to the whole country. For instance, their figures show that the new territories annexed to Rumania after the Great War contain altogether more Russians and Bulgarians than are to be found in the whole territory of Rumania, — though according to earlier statistical data there are some 40,000 Russians and some 60,000 Bulgarians living also in the "Regat". According to the said statistics there are 131,468 more Russians and 1,884 more Bulgarians living in the annexed territories than in the whole territory of the country.

The table given below shows the figures relating to the whole territory of present-day Rumania:

| Nationality          | No. of Inhabitants in 1910                            | %      | No. of Inhabitants in 1930 | %      |
|----------------------|---|--------|----------------------------|--------|
|                      | (referring to whole territory of present-day Rumania) |        |                            |        |
| Rumanians            | 10,807,991  | 67.6   | 13,196,667                 | 73.1   |
| Hungarians (Magyars) | 1,821,459   | 11.4   | 1,387,668                  | 7.7    |
| Germans              | 728,381   | 4.6    | 774,932                    | 4.3    |
| Jews                 | 618,454   | 3.9    | 828,997                    | 4.6    |
| Ruthenians           | 1,038,578   | 6.5    | 468,563                    | 2.6    |
| Russians             |   |        | 324,390                    | 1.8    |
| Bulgarians           | 317,728   | 2.0    | 378,455                    | 2.1    |
| Turks and Tartars    | 222,375   | 1.4    | 234,281                    | 1.3    |
| Gipsies              | 94,026  | 0.6    | 107,749                    | 0.6    |
| Serbians             | 63,047  | 0.4    | 43,454                     | 0.2    |
| Croats               |   |        | .                          | .      |
| Poles                | 35,033  | 0.2    | .                          | .      |
| Czechs and Slovaks   | 32,634  | 0.2    | 46,161                     | 0.3    |
| Others               | 193,291   | 1.2    | 261,579                    | 1.4    |
| Total                | 15,972,997  | 100.00 | 18,052,896                 | 100.00 |

In many cases there are striking divergences between the data for 1910 and those for 1930. In this connection we must not forget that the interval between the two points of time was not characterised by the normal development of population of a normal period of 20 years, for it was during these twenty years that the Great War was fought and the migrations *en masses* that followed took place. Yet even the intervention of these two important groups of events fails to account for the measure of the changes in evidence in many places; the only moments according some sort of explanation of this anomaly are the divergence of the systems of collecting the data and the strenuous efforts made by new Rumania to

leave no stone unturned to assume the appearance of a genuine "national" State brought into being on the basis of the so-called "nationality principle", — on paper at least, if not feasible in reality. However, these statistical tricks cannot alter the facts that 1. a large proportion (some third or fourth) of the population of Rumania is not Rumanian, — 2. the absolute number of the inhabitants belonging to the minority nationalities ranges between 5 and 6 millions, and 3. a large proportion of the national minorities are living as majorities in compact masses in territories of considerable size — in particular in the frontier districts.

# THE KINDRED CHARACTER OF BRITISH AND HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

by

*Andrew Bajcsy-Zsilinszky*  
*former Member of Parliament*

Nothing proves better how valueless in politics is the primitive conception of race than the fact that, in character and genius, the nation figuring in history by no means conforms to the theory of racial kinship. Were race the only factor, or even the only determining factor, in that greatest of human values which constitutes the independent genius of a historical nation, Hungarian state-building and civilization should have run parallel with the state-building and civilization of our Turkish kindred, instead of with those of the British nation, with which we cannot claim any racial ties.

Against this it might be urged that in 1000 A. D., and for decades after, St. Stephen, with fire and sword, compelled the Hungarians to adopt Christianity; that therefore he drew his people away from the world of their racial kin, and that he destroyed the ancient Turco-Hungarian civilization, raised the altars of the old faith, and subjected the Hungarians to the rule of medieval Roman Catholic civilization. This, however, is but partially true; for St. Stephen with consummate wisdom did not exterminate the ancient forms of Hungarian society or of the political and military organisations. He merely brought them into conformity with the institutions of the Christian countries of Western Europe. What he rooted out was paganism. But even this half-truth is sufficient to prove my thesis that in the development of the character and genius of a nation other factors besides race play an important, often even a more important, part — e. g. an increased exchange of intellectual values among the nations, the pressure of a stronger race, the effect and transforming influence of a more advanced civilization; the spread of the institutions created by a cultural epoch, which gain ground by their very universality; etc.

I have just been reading the volume on Hungary of a German work „*Das Deutschtum in Aus-land*“. The book does all in its power to prove that Hungary's evolution as a political State and as a European cultural area, was due mainly to

German intellectual influences. This is a classical illustration of how fanaticism can pervert facts and narrow down the horizon of historical survey. If those fanatics who are determined at all costs to annex Hungary as a German intellectual colony are right, how can we explain Hungary's entirely individual development within the framework of European Christian civilization, from the days of St. Stephen to the present? Were they right, Hungary should have imitated, in major and minor things, the institutions and forms of life of the German Empire, and the Hungarian Constitution should have been modelled on the organization of the German State. Instead, we see that, in a manner not to be explained by proximity or influences of contact, the Hungarian State and Hungarian national life have, from their very beginnings, run parallel with British institutions, not with German ones. This is that *spiritual kinship* which is too complex a phenomenon and too delicate a product of history, to be explicable by race alone, or by environment in the widest sense of the word.

The truth is that in the Middle Ages, as well as in modern times, the Hungarians had scarcely any direct friendly or hostile contacts with England calculated to exert a determining, or even a cardinal, influence on the course of their lives. And yet there exists a spiritual kinship. If we attempt to deny it, we find ourselves up against indelible historical facts and the concrete reality of institutions. We need not invoke far-fetched theories and lose ourselves in their intricacies. All that is necessary is to compare the most fundamental manifestations of the souls of the British and Hungarian nations — institutions and literature — to discover a similarity between them which is not confined to superficial externals, but wells up from the creative sources of the national ego.

This does not mean that in refuting the assertions made in the above-mentioned German work — assertions betraying a trend only too frequent and rapacious —, we must go to the

other extreme and deny that the German Empire, whether as a political power, or through its civilization and genius, ever exerted an influence on the development of Hungarian culture and Hungarian stasheship. For a thousand years the two countries have been neighbours (as a rule hostile neighbours). There always was a certain amount of emigration — sometimes more, sometimes less — from Germany to Hungary. During the four centuries of Habsburg rule the actual state of things in Hungary was seldom in keeping with the laws of the Hungarian Parliament, which practically from decade to decade had to guarantee a new Hungary's independence. In fact there were times during those four hundred years when we were near to being incorporated in the Habsburg Empire and swallowed up in the great ocean of the Germanic race. But against these facts we can array the even stronger facts of Hungarian history. We can show that the inherent resistance of the Hungarian nation to an alien rule, to a foreign genius and foreign institutions, though it may have flagged now and then, was never entirely broken, and that after grievous periods of exhaustion there always followed others of great enthusiasm, eras of mighty intellectual and military revival. These, even when doomed to failure, were productive of some results. They brought fresh guarantees and new inward reinforcements to the cause of national self-defence. Nothing proves more signally the intellectual virility of the Hungarian nation, its independent spirit, its indomitable and indestructible strength of character — all of which qualities should have secured it a far better fate than the present wretched conditions — than the fact that all along and just in the most fundamental things Hungary, without any immediate contacts, has stuck fast to the original Anglo-Hungarian parallel lines prescribed by our sharply defined historical individuality.

And if the West as represented by Germany with its oppressive and absolutistic tendencies showed its hatred and disparagement of the independent Hungarian institutions, of our despised "Constitution", there have also been representatives of the German intellectual world — chiefly among its shining lights — who could not withhold their appreciation and admiration from the intellectual independence of the Hungarians, from their matchless historical self-confidence and particularly from the monumental construction of their Constitution. Metternich, the great reactionary, the master-builder and moving spirit of the Holy Alliance, was one of the German admirers of the Hungarian powers of organization.

We in Hungary feel that we need not be ashamed because the spiritual kinship between the British and the Hungarian nations has found so little expression in the historical achievements of the two countries. Britain is today the mightiest Empire in the world, greater and more puissant than was the Roman Empire or the Empire of Ghengis Khan; and in its stability and human perfection immeasurably superior. In the four centuries during which the Island Kingdom, smaller to begin with than Hungary, became a world power, Hungary, on the other hand, fell

from the height of power of the Middle Ages, and today lives the dismal vegetative life of a minor Danubian State. But did not Sweden, the Netherlands, and Spain also descend from their heights of power in the course of history? And if we, ourselves, have been guilty of grave errors, primarily — in my opinion at least — in the last quarter of the nineteenth and in the pre-war years of the twentieth century, we may still say that we have made heavier sacrifices of life and effort for the great universal European interests than perhaps any other country in Europe. And even in our abandoned state it was only after heroic struggles that we were gradually forced to surrender the splendid, well-balanced, and expansive Kingdom of Matthias Hunyady (1458—1490).

Low though we have fallen from a political power, we have always endeavoured to preserve the proud stamp of our national individuality, our thousand-years-old traditions, our independent genius, and our unsundered, pre-eminent primacy in the Danube Valley.

At the beginning of this article I mentioned our Constitutional institutions and our literature as indisputable manifestations of the Hungarian genius and documentation of the spiritual links between Britain and Hungary.

I do not propose to linger over the Magna Charta of 1216 or the Golden Bull of 1222. Enough has been said about them by others. But I ask: If we received the fundamental institutions of our civilization from the Germans, where is the German Bull which we might have copied? For it is certain that for lack of mutual contacts we had no opportunity of copying the Magna Charta? Was there any other country in Europe outside England and Hungary where the nation, itself, had such a decisive voice in legislation and where the spirit of state-building still fettered by the primitive forms of feudal civil law made its appearance in a shape closely approaching the modern conception of public law? Or what is the explanation of that other interesting coincidence of dates and ideas, namely the fact that when in 1322, during the reign of Edward II, the English Constitution clearly and unambiguously pronounced the joint legislative rights of King and Parliament, in Hungary, about the same time (during the reign of Andrew III — 1290—1301) the division of the power of State between the King and the political nation was effected? In Hungary and England, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, a constitutional monarchy and a constitutionalism conforming more and more to the spirit of public law gradually developed, and the onward march of this process was unchecked in both countries except now and then by violence; and even then the next generation always restored the continuity of constitutionalism. Meanwhile, in Germany the indescribable chaos surrounding the rights and duties of the monarch and his subjects lasted for centuries, and in Austria, even as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, the hereditary Austrian provinces were governed in an absolutely patriarchal manner, as the family estates of the Habsburg Emperors.

Like the British, the Hungarian Constitution

is eloquent proof of a matchless capacity for political organization. This may be attributed to two outstanding national qualities. The one is the marked and free individualism shared alike by Britons and Hungarians which refuses to brook a yoke imposed from above, and is determined to carve its own destiny. The other is the way Britons and Hungarians, in spite of that individualism and though proud and jealous of their human dignity, fit into collective systems, into the greatest of human collective systems — the nation, or the State. The phenomena of particularism, of the tribal spirit, of oligarchy, have frequently raised their heads in the course of history in both countries, and have sometimes seized control to the detriment of the national and political community. But only for a time, only transitionally, and always as the symptoms of some internal weakness or disease. What in this respect has been an exception in the histories of England and Hungary may be considered to have been the rule in Germany down to the days of Bismarck.

This strong individuality of the British and the Hungarians, and its subordination to the conception of the State — the national collective system — whether that conception was formulated in words, or manifested as a living force, constitute the secret of the spiritual kinship between the two nations.

They are qualities which urge both nations towards the most nearly perfect forms of national autonomy, and are, at the same time the ramparts behind which, now as in the Middle Ages, the free citizens of both States may preserve intact their rights and liberties.

Nothing, with the exception of the decline in our international prestige and the shrinking of our political power, can be more painful to a Hungarian than the thought that since the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, we have not developed our historical Constitution (the only one in Europe which is not a mere copy of the British Constitution or of its popularized revolutionary edition as adopted by the French) at such a pace and to such a degree of perfection as would enable us to keep up with the triumphant march of the British Constitution.

Unfortunately the natural development of an inherent disposition has been checked by many mistakes and by even more misfortunes. If we turn from our history in general and examine that of our literature, we see that it has latent in it a strong and free sense of individuality, coupled with a high-minded readiness to conform to the collective spirit. It is the same happy mixture of an empiricism, at once courageous and cautious, which goads man on to further development, and a commonsense rationalism which usually allows itself to be ruled by experience. Perhaps we might say that the Hungarians are endowed with slightly larger proportion of the rationalist's search after principles than of the empiricist's patience. Here the Hungarian genius slightly inclines towards French tendencies. An examination of our fundamental institutions and literature, however, leaves us in no doubt that our Constitution, our independent genius, and the construction of our civilization were achieved primarily by instinctive historical methods, not by imitation and theorising. In our history imitation and theorising have always been expedients, as they have been, to an even greater extent, in Britain.

All this confronts us with a historical *imperativus categoricus* which can neither be ignored nor defied. We Hungarians must be the most conscious and at the same time the most instinctive and consequently the most competent and successful champions of national self-government, parliamentarism and democracy in that bitter struggle against what they stand for initiated with such *élan* in Central Europe, chiefly at the instigation of the German National Socialists.

Prior to the Great War Hungarian politics seriously bore in mind the ancient parallel between the Hungarian and the British Constitution and often — perhaps too often — invoked British parliamentary precedents. In my opinion, now when constitutionalism and the methods of parliamentarism are being ruthlessly attacked on all sides, it would behove us once more to watch with vigilance British parliamentary life and to restore the almost severed spiritual ties between the constitutional worlds of the two countries.



# EPISODE IN THE NATIONALITY HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA

(LETTERS PATENT ISSUED BY PRINCESS SUSAN LORÁNTFFY IN RE THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST RUMANIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL)

by

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In the Middle Ages Hungary played the role of a sanctuary. The first peaceful settlers to take refuge there were venerable priests and apostles of culture, who were followed in the course of centuries by a long succession of refugees who found life in their native lands intolerable. The Royal Court became the refuge of monarchs exiled from their dominions; a welcome was offered to the victims of deadly political feuds or great elemental disasters and to large masses of peoples (Petchenegs, Cumanians, Balkan peoples) fleeing from the pursuit of their enemies. Although they included also representatives of peoples of Asiatic origin, the majority of the settlers were Europeans, — prior to the Mongol invasion (according to a Papal deed) the noblest peoples of Europe, and after that disaster the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, constituting that majority. After the expulsion of the Turks in 1687 the plains that had been deprived of their Hungarian inhabitants were colonised by a mixed population of Western and Balkan peoples (in particular by Serbs and Rumanians). Seeing that during the whole course of history she had contained representatives of every race in Europe, Hungary was called "*Europe en miniature*" as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was owing to the mingling of races resulting from marriages with the most eminent representatives of various peoples that the nobility of Hungary acquired those qualities which travellers belonging to the noblest foreign peoples (Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Italians) recognised as being akin to the characteristic traits of their own races.

A respect for foreigners has always been a noteworthy feature of Hungarian history. This attitude is based upon the Instructions addressed to his son by St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary. St. Stephen, when enjoining his son to take all foreigners under his care, points out that every people has customs, weapons and a culture of its own. Variety and strength characterises those States which are inhabited by many races; while

that State is weak and sickly which has only one tongue!!

The teachings of St. Stephen were regarded by his successors on the Hungarian throne as an inviolable political testament and a sacred law. That is why they welcomed all strangers, granting them privileges which were calculated to ensure their material welfare and also to guarantee the maintenance of their ancient customs and their mother tongues. We have data to the effect that they actually and expressly commanded the settlers not to forget their native languages.<sup>1</sup> All they expected of them was that they should be loyal, diligent and useful citizens of the State.

The relation between Hungarians and foreigners is best illustrated by the fact that the latter were called *hospites*, — a term showing that they were placed under the protection of the usages of hospitality.

Nevertheless, there was one people which was not designated by the name *hospes*, probably because the persons belonging to that people filtered into the country as shepherds pasturing their flocks who avoided human habitations and made their way to the uninhabited forests of the hilly regions, and partly also because their low standard of culture did not entitle them to receive so dignified a name. It was not until they had increased in numbers as to dare to commit excesses and thereby give signs of life, that any notice was taken of them. We refer to the Rumanian people.

Their only claim to recognition was that their language resembled Italian. Andrew I. (1290—1301), the last king of the House of Arpád, who had been educated in Venice, when he was in Transylvania took pleasure in visiting the Rumanians and provided for their being assembled on one of the royal domains in Transylvania and

<sup>1</sup> Borchgrave: "*Essai historique sur les Colonies Belges qui s'établissent en Hongrie et en Transylvanie*", 1878.

settled there. The Angevin kings of Italian origin and the Italian nobles who were in their train and obtained princely fortunes in Hungary, deliberately settled these people from the Balkans on their estates, for they found it easier to understand their speech. However, the second generation grew tired of them owing to the fact that there was an end to all security of life and property in all parts where they increased in numbers. Louis the Great was of opinion that they should all be exterminated. But our ancestors were not prevented even by their sad experiences from offering a shelter to the Rumanians fleeing from the Turks; and when the Ottoman hordes decimated the Hungarian inhabitants of Transylvania, Rumanians were settled there in even larger numbers.

They became the objects of special care at the time of the Reformation, when the principles of humanism began to assert themselves in public life too. The Reformers of Transylvania were anxious to extend the benefits of enlightenment also to the uneducated Rumanian masses living in the grasp of dark superstitions. It was the endeavours to that end which brought into being the first books printed in Rumanian. Although the historians of the Rumanian people are fond of emphasizing the great cultural significance of these books, their influence was practically nil. After the failure of the efforts of the Reformers the matter was taken in hand by the zealous Protestant princes of Transylvania. As practical politicians they noticed that the illiteracy of the people and of the clergy was not the only obstacle, but that an equally formidable difficulty was due to the fact that the Rumanian used in ecclesiastical life was barely intelligible to the people at large. So they made a special effort to force the Rumanians to employ in their religious worship their own mother tongue and thereby to accelerate the advance of their national culture.

Prince Gabriel Bethlen (1613—29) appealed direct to their spiritual head, Cyril Patriarch of Constantinople. Unfortunately his letter has not been preserved; but we can gather information enough from the answer of the patriarch, which tells us that, apart from the people living the life of animals, their priests are also so illiterate as to be unable to read or understand or interpret the Scriptures (*"nec legere, multo minus sacra evangelia intelligere et docere valent"*). They were so steeped in superstition that they had no proper religion at all (*"kalugeros popasque valachorum nullam plane habere religionem"*).<sup>2</sup>

Bethlen endeavoured to introduce the Rumanian language into the Rumanian Church. He had religious books — catechisms and prayers — printed in Rumanian; and indeed had the Holy Bible translated into Rumanian. His example was followed by his successor, Prince George Rákóczy II. too, who established the first Rumanian printing press and gave strict orders that the Rumanian language should be used in the Rumanian

churches. Under an Edict issued by him the Rumanian priests had to preach in Rumanian four times a week and to pray in Rumanian every morning and every evening. He had supplications and psalms printed in Rumanian and also issued the Bible which Bethlen had given orders to translate. The intensive intellectual work which he insisted that the Rumanian priests should undertake in imitation of the Protestant Churches was not to the taste of the men accustomed to a life of idleness; and they were still less pleased when the Prince forbade them to practice extortion on the people and to abuse their ignorance. His efforts did not lead to any important results because, whereas Bethlen's endeavours had been watched with tacit goodwill by the enlightened Patriarch Cyril and by Bishop Gennadius, who later became Metropolitan. *But Theodosius, Metropolitan of Bucharest, defended Church Rumanian against Rákóczy's Edicts and strictly forbade the use of popular Rumanian in the liturgy.*<sup>3</sup>

Naturally the power of the Metropolitan was not strong enough to entirely frustrate the endeavours of the Prince, which were fully approved of by the more intelligent elements of the Rumanian population of Transylvania; nevertheless, it is of peculiar interest as illustrating conditions that the Hungarian Prince of Transylvania was compelled to fight with the Rumanian Metropolitan for the rights of the Rumanian tongue. This fact explains why the first records of the Rumanian language and of Rumanian culture are those originating from Transylvania and not those originating from Rumania proper.

That these first records are extremely modest in character, need not cause any surprise; for the backwardness and ignorance from which the Transylvanian princes were compelled veritably by force to deliver the Rumanians of Transylvania, is inconceivable. As late as the end of the rule of Rákóczy the first thing the church visitors had to do was to inquire how much the Rumanian priests knew about the Book of God, — *whether they could repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments and the rules of Church discipline?*

It was Susan Lorántffy, the zealous consort of Rákóczy I. (1630—48), who discovered that the only means to develop the culture of the Rumanian people and to train a more cultured middle class, was to establish a secondary school. She has in mind the foundation of a sort of College such as already existed in Hungary and Transylvania in large numbers through the generosity of zealous princes and magnates for the purpose of propagating Hungarian culture — such as that at Sárospatak of which the Princess herself was patroness and benefactor. When the idea was finally put into practice, the prince was dead; but his Consort enjoyed the jointure of the Fogaras domain, the inhabitants of which were mostly Rumanians. The Princess had the Rumanian school built next to the Fogaras Hungarian school.

<sup>2</sup> See *"Török-Magyar államokmánytár"* (Turkish-Hungarian State Documents), Vol. II., p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> See Pokoly, *"Az erdélyi református egyház története"* (History of the Reformed Church in Transylvania), Vol. II., p. 179.

We have still extant the Letters Patent of the Princess dated from her Castle at Fogaras on April 3rd., 1657, which will for all time be a most precious document of Hungarian history and a valuable record of the service rendered by the Hungarian princess to the cause of Rumanian culture and the Rumanian language, that service being far ahead in time and far in excess of those rendered in this field by the Waywodes of Moldavia and Wallachia.

It will be well to call public attention to the Letters Patent; for that will enable unbiassed foreigners to judge of the manner in which the Hungarian nation has fulfilled its cultural mission.

In illustration of the value of the Letters Patent it should be noted that, though she was absolute mistress of the Fogaras domain, the princess nevertheless communicated the terms of the Letters Patent in advance to the Rumanian *intelligentsia* of the district and did not issue the same until they had approved it.

We now proceed to give the most essential part of the Letters Patent — that containing the school statutes: partly by way of evidence and partly to satisfy the curiosity of persons interested in details:

### Bye-Laws and Status of the Rumanian School

#### I. Of the Site, Buildings and Immunity of the School

The Rumanian School shall stand immediately next the Hungarian school, for the useful purpose of making inspection easier, of teaching the Rumanian pupils Hungarian, of making easier the learning and understanding of Hungarian and Latin writing, and on the other hand of enabling such of the Hungarian pupils as shall be so inclined to learn Rumanian speech and writing.

The Rumanians shall have separate lodgings for masters and their assistants, as well as separate classrooms and courtyards, though there shall be connecting doors enabling them to communicate; they shall be in unity and agreement together, otherwise they shall be punished by their masters according to their conduct.

The Rumanian School shall have the same immunity (privileges) as the Hungarian School.

#### 'II. Of the Rumanian Master

1. He shall be able to write and speak Rumanian well, and shall be a man of real scholarship and recruited from the Hungarian Protestant School.

2. His office and board shall be provided by the lord and chief steward of Fogaras, from the Fogaras ministry or consistory. And he shall also be entirely dependent thereon.

3. He shall first teach the pupils of all ages the Rumanian alphabet in accordance with the letters, and to read true Rumanian writing and in particular the New Testament, Psalter and Catechism printed at Fejérvár. He shall then and meanwhile too teach them to say the *capita catechetica* in Rumanian — viz. the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and to take Baptisms and the Lord's Supper and to learn the rules of Church discipline. In addition he shall teach them to sing in Rumanian as in the churches of Karánsebes and Lugos (writing

the same down in Rumanian letters) the catechism and to write in true Rumanian. The *grammatici* and other *succrescentes* kept in the school in the hope of serving in the church shall be taught the manner of preaching also or more tenderly from the Catechism.

4. He shall teach in all lessons at least as efficiently as the Hungarian master.

5. He shall be on good terms with the Hungarian master, they being both men deserving of respect; and both masters shall maintain friendly relation with their pupils, so that the Rumanians shall not be annoyed or harassed by the Hungarians nor the Hungarians by the Rumanians. In the event of the masters failing to observe this rule, in keeping with the gravity of the offence they shall either be punished by the "magistratus" (board) or shall first be censured by the "consistorium".

6. He shall regularly attend the Rumanian church together with the whole school, in particular on Sundays and holidays, and shall go to funerals if so required, and shall insist on singing being done according to the music used in the churches at Karánsebes and Lugos, himself acting as prelector.

7. He shall translate into Rumanian as soon as possible the usual daily supplications (utilising therefore the assistance of those knowing Rumanian) and shall himself recite the same in the Rumanian church or at least until such time as the Rumanian priest officiating there shall have learned and be able to recite the same.

8. No master shall teach in Rumanian villages until he is able to read and write Rumanian easily and until he is able to sing well and knows the catechism; he shall have to give proof of his ability at the time of the ordinary examinations to the satisfaction of visitors and itinerant inspectors, under pain of a reduction of his salary by judgement of the "magistratus" or by resolution of the "consistorium".

#### III. Of the "Grammatici" and Other "Succrescentes"<sup>1</sup>

1. All the "grammatici" within the jurisdiction of Fogaras shall be required to come from all places to learn in the Fogaras Rumanian school, they being otherwise liable to degradation from their character of "grammatici" to the condition of serfs.

2. They shall above train themselves to the fear of God and shall usually pray privately every morning and evening, saying the supplications for pupils at the end of the Catechism in Rumanian.

3. They shall diligently learn and teach when any child is committed to their charge.

4. Without the leave of their master they shall not take any pupils to themselves.

5. Every evening they shall repeat an ordinary supplication in Rumanian in the school, as is the custom in the Hungarian school; those who fail to do so, shall in default of sufficient cause be fined one piece of money.

6. Those who miss lessons without the leave of their master shall each have a loaf taken from them.

7. Those who on Sundays fail to attend divine service shall be deprived of their allowances, which shall be given to others; those who are next on the list shall give one piece of money; those too who fail to be present at funerals.

8. At funerals the same fees shall be paid to the master and the "grammatici" as to the Hungarian master.

<sup>1</sup> ("Grammatici" = pupils generally; "succrescentes" = pupils preparing to take orders).

9. Any "grammaticus" preparing to take orders — as well as any other pupil — who does not learn in the Fogaras Rumanian school, or does not finish his schooling there, shall not be entitled to be a priest in Fogaras. Any vicar or villages receiving such shall be punished by the "magistratus". Any priest from outside shall also be made a serf; but if he comes immediately to the school to learn, he shall finish his studies there.

10. No priest or master from outside shall be allowed to come in so long as persons qualified for the work are to be found in the Fogaras Rumanian School. Should there be none such there, they shall take someone from the area of Fogaras to prevent any agitator from outside getting among the pupils. Should they act otherwise, the "magistratus" shall expel them and shall in other respects too punish them all — both vicars and villages.

11. The "grammatici" — who shall be well instructed while living in the school — shall be allowed (particularly on Sundays and holidays, though at other times too) to preach in the Fogaras Rumanian church and in the villages, for the sake of practica, though only by leave and agreement of the ordinary priest.

12. Those "grammatici" and other "succrescentes" who have rich parents shall not avail themselves of the benefits provided by the school, unless those parents should out of hatred for enlightenment and the training therein absolutely refuse to feed them, — though only if the pupils in question are of very good behaviour.

#### IV. Of the School Visitors

1. The School Visitors shall be primarily, the Fogaras ministers and 2—3 inspectors from the "consistorium" who know Latin and speak Rumanian well, together with two boyars of good sholarship and two Rumanian preachers.

2. It shall be the duty of these visitors to visit the school conscientiously at least once a month to see that all orders — masters and others — do their duty properly as also how the pupils are being educated in knowledge and how the law is being observed.

3. The said visitors shall also be required to institute two public examinations every year — in the spring two weeks before Easter and in autumn prior to the vintage, invitations to attend these examinations being sent by authority of the chief officers to the educated boyars and Rumanian priests and to other persons deserving of such invitation, that they may see the good education being carried on in the school.

4. Should any of the children or the "succrescentes" for the sake of improving their knowledge desire to be promoted to the Latin school, after having finished their studies in the Rumanian school, by leave and desire of the said visitors and by their decision such as are worthy shall be promoted.

#### V. Of the School-Master's Salary, and of the Sustenance of the "Succrescentes".

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| The school-master shall receive from us, |        |
| Forty Florins in money                   | F1 40  |
| Sixteen Cubic Fathoms of Wheat           | Cub 16 |
| Twenty-five Gallons of Wine              | 25     |
| Eighty Gallons of Beer                   | 80     |
| Two Calves                               | Nro 2  |
| Or in place thereof Four Florins         | F1 4   |
| Two Cheeses                              | Nro 2  |
| Twenty-five Cartloads of Wood            | Nro 25 |
| Payment in Money given by Boyars         | F1 50  |

One hen every year. Seeing that each boyar is to pay 50 pieces of money every year, the rest of the money and one hen each shall be allotted to "succrescentes" and poor children not having allowances.

School fees shall be paid by the children of the Rumanians and Greeks of Fogaras and by boyars from outside and of rich peasants, just as in the Hungarian school. No double fees shall be required either of persons outside or of others. The sons of poor people and the "succrescentes" living in the school shall not pay fees.

#### VI. Of the Sustenance of "Alumni"

1. Eight of the best-behaved of the poor "grammatici" living in the school shall annually receive each four loaves a day from our castle without deduction; and the same shall have a prior claim to office as masters and predicators (preachers) respectively.

2. The Rumanian priests shall also give for their sustenance twenty-five pieces of money each and one hen each while the villages in the area of Fogaras shall also give twenty-five pieces of money each.

3. These contributions collected from the boyars, Rumanian priests and villages the manorial justices shall be required to have faithfully administered twice a year — on the occasion of the public examinations referred to above *sub poena totidem summae ab eorundem salario defalcandae*, the chief officer being entitled to confiscate the said salary. In respect of any additional contributions required to make additions to or improvements in the existing buildings or to make changes we reserve to ourselves and to our successors and indeed to all future lords of the Fogaras domain belonging to the legitimate Reformed Church the right to decide.<sup>1</sup>



I here present a single document dating from the days when Transylvania was a Hungarian principality. All we have so far known of the intellectual history of Transylvania was that this province was the first of the States of Europe to incorporate in law the principle of liberty of conscience — a principle which it always observed. In the eighteenth century, during the bitter religious wars which devastated Europe, there were many villages here in Transylvania with inhabitants of various denominations which possessed only one church; and in that one church the clergymen belonging to the various denominations held services in succession according to a pre-arranged plan. From the document printed above we can see that in the principality of Transylvania there cannot have been any bitter racial antagonism either; the princes of that province showed the greatest benevolence in furthering the culture and the spiritual welfare also of the Rumanian newcomers.

And later on in history the goodwill of the Hungarians made it possible for thousands of Rumanian elementary schools and numerous Rumanian secondary schools in Transylvania to develop the racial culture of the Rumanian people, so that the Rumanians of Transylvania

<sup>1</sup> See "Magyar Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Adattár" (Records of History of Hungarian Protestant Church), Vol. VII, pp. 112—16.

were never justified in their complaints of oppression.

All unbiassed Rumanian historians admit that the Rumanian people owe the first beginnings of their national culture to the Hungarians; it is to the Hungarians that the Rumanian language owes its first monuments — the first books printed in Rumanian —, as also the liberation from Slav influences which must eventually have led to their utter slavisation; it is to the Hungarians that they owe both the first products of their vernacular literature and the preservation of their national existence.

In Transylvania today the Rumanian régime — after abolishing the Hungarian university in Kolozsvár and closing in succession a whole series of Hungarian secondary schools with a storied past — has reduced those schools which are still

in existence to a condition of utter incapacity owing to their being deprived of the endowments serving to support them. For the purpose of rumanising the Hungarian children the Rumanian State establishes Rumanian schools in villages inhabited only by Hungarians.

Yet the Hungarians were not under any special obligations; whereas Rumania was allotted Transylvania *on certain well-defined conditions*, such as the obligation to respect the rights of the minorities and to grant *Széklerland autonomy*.

We may safely say that during their rule of a thousand years the Hungarians did not subject the nationalities living under their control to anything like the sufferings and outrages which the Hungarian minority living in Rumania has had to suffer during the last fifteen years.

## P O L I T I C A L M O S A I C

### CONCERNING THE DANUBE VALLEY PROBLEM

The Governments of certain States are taking advantage of Italy being at present occupied with the Abyssinian campaign, to suggest a new solution of the Danube Valley problem without her co-operation, and to attempt to force Austria and Hungary into a political system which would best serve the interests of the Little Entente States. These endeavours were stated undisguisedly during the conversations begun in London after King George's funeral and continued, later on, in Paris.

In the course of these conversations M. Titulescu, Rumania's Foreign Minister, suggested that the much-discussed treaty which is to ensure Austria's independence should be guaranteed by Soviet Russia instead of Italy. This idea of the present controller of Rumania's foreign affairs is in a line with the pro-Soviet policy of which he has recently been an enthusiastic advocate, concerning the usefulness of which however an important section of Rumanian public opinion has its doubts. Were Rumania to become a thoroughfare for the Soviet and a gate for the Soviet's invasion of Europe, the danger of the red flood of Bolshevism overwhelming the whole social system of the country would be great. It is not without good reason that M. Bratianu and his *confrères* so strenuously oppose the conclusion of a treaty between Rumania and Soviet Russia, and that, as is said, King Carol's Russian policy is not in accord with that of his Foreign Minister.

Czecho-Slovakia supports M. Titulescu. Her Premier, M. Hodža, — whose excursions into foreign politics have not met with the approval of those Socialist Parties in the Prague Parliament which were formerly Dr. Beneš's vanguard — is said by unanimous press reports to have emphatically declared on the occasion of his recent visit to Paris, that Soviet Russia would have a great rôle to play in supporting the edifice of Central Europe.

Today, it is no secret that since concluding a treaty with the Soviet in the spring of last year, the Czechs, true to their old traditions, have thrown themselves again into the arms of Russia and of Pan Slavism.

They do not seem to mind that the new banner of Pan Slavism does not bear the double-eagle of the Czars, but the five-pointed star of the Soviet. As may be seen from the memorandum submitted to the League of Nations by the Slovak National Council, a report of the contents of which will be found in another column of this issue, Czecho-Slovakia takes the Soviet's military support so seriously that every preparation is being made to be ready to receive the Russian military planes.

It would be superfluous to explain what a dangerous game Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia are playing when they ally themselves with the Soviet, and think even of giving Russia a rôle in Central Europe as a suggested guarantor of Austria's independence. It is a dangerous game, not only because it may expose their peoples to the horrors of Bolshevism, but also, and to an even greater extent, because it would open the road for the Red Army to Warsaw, Berlin, Budapest, and Vienna. We must not forget that Vienna is only a few kilometres from Dévény — at present in Czech hands —, and if the Soviet aeroplanes and mounted troops reach that place, who is to assure Austria, Switzerland, Italy and even France, that the Russians will not wish to continue their march westwards?

In contrast to her two Little Entente allies Yugoslavia instinctively realizes the danger threatening European civilization from Russia. In the course of the Paris conversations Prince Paul, Regent of Yugoslavia, made a point of drawing the attention of the French statesmen to the risks entailed in Russia's guaranteeing Austria's independence. As the leading Orthodox Slav State now in Europe, Yugoslavia in many respects plays the same rôle in fostering Pravoslav traditions as did the Russia of the Czars, and apart from any reasons of foreign policy, she cannot be expected to move along the same lines as atheistic Moscow, the greatest enemy of the Pravoslav faith. It is not likely that M. Hodža will be able to bring the responsible factors in Yugoslavia to change their attitude in this delicate question.

But the Russian question is not the only one in which are latent seeds of discord between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania on the one hand, and Yugoslavia on the other. The attitude of the latter towards the problem of Habsburg restoration is widely different from that of her two allies. Yugoslavia's opposition to a restoration is certainly stronger than that of her allies, if only because of Croatia; for everybody knows by how many ties the Croatians, whose pacification Belgrade has not yet managed to accomplish, were linked to the Habsburg dynasty before the Great War. It would appear that Prince Paul's representations in London were not without their effect on the attitude of the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg.

According to this important member of the Austrian Government, Austria reserves her decision and her complete freedom of action in the question of the restoration, but has no intention of entering into an undertaking which would upset the peace of Europe. Austria refuses to give any statement renouncing a possible restoration of the monarchic form of government, a demand to all appearances formulated primarily by Yugoslavia; but she will not take any decisive steps without first consulting the European Powers. (This, as one of Prince Starhemberg's statements made to the leader of Austrian legitimists proves, by no means signifies that the consent of the Little Entente will be asked.) Prince Starhemberg has also repeatedly declared that it is premature to talk at present of a Habsburg restoration. All this, however, has not dispelled Yugoslavia's suspicions. By virtue of the ties which — in contrast particularly with Prague — bind Belgrade to Berlin, it cannot be questioned that Yugoslavia will weigh her relations, not only with Russia, but also with Austria, differently from the other two States of the Little Entente.

A recent report from the Belgrade correspondent of the "Times" states that Yugoslavia considers Italy Austria's protector, and sees no reason to follow the advice of the Powers who first wished Yugoslavia to seek a *rapprochement* with Italy, then later on expected her to join in applying sanctions against Italy, and now try to persuade her to offer economic advantages to an Austria who has not taken part in the application of sanctions; that having sacrificed her Italian markets, Yugoslavia cannot afford to lose her best customer, Germany; that unlike Great Britain, France has not compensated Yugoslavia for the losses caused by the sanctions; and, finally, that Belgrade was astonished to learn of the friendly reception accorded in London to the representatives of those Powers which had refused to apply the sanctions. Yugoslavia, therefore has many reasons to be dissatisfied, and, as the correspondent of the "Times" goes on to declare, M. Hodža's plan is in Belgrade considered a chimera.

Of what does this plan consist? The particulars are very vague. According to a statement of his in the "Petit Parisien", the Czecho-Slovak Prime Minister desires to bring about a *rapprochement* between the various States of the Danube Valley in the fields of both economy and politics, and in such a manner that in economic questions the Little Entente would approach the signatories of the Rome Pact (Italy, Austria and Hungary), while in the field of politics a whole series of agreements and treaties would regulate intercourse between the Danube States. According to information received by an important English newspaper, M. Hodža is anxious, in the first place, to establish a *rapprochement* between the Little Entente and Austria, but would leave the way open for Hungary and Bulgaria, even for Italy and Germany, to join in. So far as the concrete side of the plan is concerned, M.

Hodža ascribes an important rôle to a wheat-centre to be established in Vienna for the distribution of the surplus grain produced in the Danube States. Why does M. Hodža wish to establish this centre in Vienna, when the natural and economic centre of the Danube Valley is Budapest? Besides this plan, the Czecho-Slovak Premier, in complete agreement with M. Litvinov, would like to add a clause to Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations making the imposition of sanctions automatic; in which case a separate treaty guaranteeing Austria's independence would be unnecessary. No official reports are available; but the newspapers are correct saying that M. Hodža's conversations with the French Government did not go beyond an exposition of his plan, and that the Government listened to it without adopting any attitude in the matter, this would mean that the Quai d'Orsay does not regard it very optimistically.

The widely different opinions held by the several States of the Little Entente concerning this Czecho-Rumanian plan to side-track Italy while she is engaged in Abyssinia, and, in the interests of Prague and Bucharest, give a leading rôle to Russia in the adjustment of the Danube Valley, explain adequately why that plan suffered shipwreck before it was properly launched. Both in Paris and in London the importance of re-establishing the Stresa front is fully recognized.

Shrewd attempts have been made by certain Little Entente statesmen to create a rift between Austria and Italy and to explain the visit of Dr. Schuschnigg to Prague in January as the sign of a weakening of Austria's loyalty towards Italy. The best answer to this was the meeting that took place in Florence between Baron Berger-Waldenegg, Austrian Foreign Minister, and Signor Suvich, Italian Foreign Secretary. The meeting, at which the two statesmen discussed all the problems of the day common to the two countries, was conducted strictly in the spirit of the Rome Pact.

The problem of the Danube Valley is hardly to be solved without the co-operation of Germany, one of the greatest buyers from and sellers to that territory. Germany has already declared that she will never accept any preferential tariff treaties between the States of the Danube Valley concluded without her participation.

If after all this we examine Hungary's point of view, it is clear that General Gömbös, Prime Minister, hit the nail on the head when he said that until the Abyssinian question had been settled, it would be premature to talk of the adjustment of the economic difficulties in the Danube Valley. M. Kánya, quoted this statement of General Gömbös' when, on his way home from London through Paris and Vienna, related to Baron Berger-Waldenegg, Austrian Foreign Minister his impressions — another sign of the cordial relations between Austria and Hungary. M. Kánya also said that he was "willing to study with the greatest care and good-will, and in conjunction with all the interested parties, any acceptable plan for a Danube Pact". M. Kánya made a similar statement at a meeting of the Parliamentary Foreign Committee on February 13th. On this occasion he said that the Hungarian Government was "willing on the basis of equality to examine carefully any proposal reconcilable with Hungary's rightful interests which leaves open the possibilities of peaceful evolution, guarantees the protection of the minorities, and does not impose upon us obligations exceeding those contained in the peace treaties".

As Bulgaria is geographically also a Danube State, we must briefly mention that her neighbours consider

the time has arrived to try again to force this country into the Balkan Pact. After King Boris' conversations in London and Paris, however it is evident that Bul-

garia will not be willing in the future either to join that system.

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## SOME EXCERPTS FROM THE MEMORANDUM RECENTLY SUBMITTED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BY THE SLOVAK COUNCIL

*The Slovaks protest most indignantly against their native land being converted into a basis for the Soviet airmen and demand their re-incorporation in Hungary.*

On January 20th last, in behalf of the Slovak National Council, Professor Francis Jehlička, President, Victor Dvorčák, Vice-President, and Francis Unger, submitted to the League of Nations a Memorandum *in re bolshevism and the Slovak problem.*

From this Memorandum we have selected the excerpts given below:

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„A glance at the map of Europe suffices to enable us to understand the significance — from the strategic and the political point of view — of the admission into Slovakia of Soviet airmen.

The glorious scheme of converting Czecho-Slovakia into a basis for Soviet airmen determines in advance the role to be played by a country surrounded on all sides by Germans, Poles and Hungarians respectively.

Nor must we forget that the population of Czecho-Slovakia — 13.5 million souls — is so heterogeneous that it lacks all possibility of cohesion...

Czecho-Slovakia is showing an exceptional rapidity in making her preparations to serve as a basis for the Soviet airmen, — providing landing fields and underground hangars and oil reservoirs etc. The work is being done in forced shifts, particularly in the eastern part of the Republic, in Slovakia, which separates Hungary from post-War Poland. The construction of the principal aerodrome for the use of the Russian fliers at Užhorod (Ungvár) is finished; others are being built at Mukačevo (Munkács), Rahovô, Selo-Slotvina, Pistány (Pöstyén), Vajnory and Trencsén all places situated in Slovakia and Ruthenia.

A leading *motif* of Czech foreign policy is that the Czecho-Slovak State cannot subsist except as a continuation of the territory of Soviet Russia.

Seeing that Beneš's Republic is for the moment separated from Russia by Poland (East Galicia), Czecho-Slovakia has to content itself with maintaining an air connection with the Soviet. But — thanks to the help of Rumania — this connection has already been realised. That is a fact. Soviet Russia has military forces in the territory of Slovakia, whence that country can with the greatest ease reach Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest and Vienna.

There is no doubt that in the event of war the four countries most immediately threatened by the air forces of the Soviet would endeavour first of all to obtain possession of Slovakia. Thus Slovakia will be the first battlefield of the next war. And Slovakia thus becomes the key to the European problem.

The recent Czech manoeuvres, the object of which

was the defence of Slovakia, show beyond a doubt that the main object behind the strategic plans of the Czech general staff is to defend Slovakia to the neglect of Bohemia and Moravia.

Only — we must confess — this scheme has a slight hitch — viz, the supposition that the threatened States will remain indifferent in the event of its being effectuated by the Czechs."

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„And in this situation we can readily understand why the Slovak people, which was incorporated against its will in a hybrid State brought into being by the Great War and based upon the lie which was the cause of its establishment (the lie which informed the world that "the Slovaks were Czechs"), protests energetically against the bolshevist invasion. Nothing is more alien to our people than the bolshevist idea or a "Czecho-Slovak" national feeling.

The largest Slovak Party — the "Slovak People's Party" under the leadership of Monsignor Hlinka — has told President Beneš what it thinks of the admission of the Soviet into Slovakia. 'We have no liking for the hand' — so wrote the "Slovak" on December 15th, 1934 — "which had the presumption to erect a statue to the Judas Iscariot who betrayed Jesus Christ".

An in this connection we would refer to the evidence given by André Tardieu, who has proved that the Slovaks and the other peoples incorporated in this notorious Republic — which peoples by the way for a majority of the population — are subjects of that State against their will. Nothing proves that fact more clearly or strikingly than the words written by M. Tardieu in his book "La Paix" — "we had to choose between a plebiscite and the existence of Czecho-Slovakia".

At the Peace Conference we were however simply ignored and allotted to the Czechs "*sine nobis*" — it being only a question of the poor Slovaks whose existence was not even suspected by the treaty-makers. They believed Beneš, who simply denied our existence.

Now, however, it is no longer a question of the Slovaks only, but of the whole of Europe. And this Europe must surely take note of the dangers threatening, not only its economic system, but its very civilisation. And, should there be among the peoples of Europe sub-conscious sensitiveness or jealousy or demands, at the sight of the bolshevik danger those peoples must sink their jealousy and waive their demands — for that danger is no longer merely *ante portas*, but is already in the very heart of Europa."

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„Immediately after the Uruguay scandal the peace of Prague was seriously ruffled by the painful affair of the theft of documents from the Soviet Legation. On November 28th, 1935, the Soviet Legation in

Prague was the scene of a grave act of robbery. A bolshevik employee of the name of Kosimov stole the list of the agents of the Moscow Third International and sold that list and the Russian secret code key to Germany.

Between that date and January 8th, 1936, on the basis of the stolen list 500 bolshevik agents were arrested and imprisoned in Germany. The same list was used in Yugoslavia as pretext for the arrest of 50 persons who were all high functionaries familiar with the important secrets relative to the security of the Yugoslav State. These persons included Dr. Linicky, A. M. Komarovsky, A. Vinicky, Captain Petrov (Serbian), O. V. Dimitriev (diplomatic messenger), Pepeskál, Macherowskaja, and a well-known Belgrade doctor of the name of Hnilicky.

In connection with its report of these arrests the "Slovak" published a long article with the following characteristic title, — "Bolshevik Propaganda Forge Discovered in Prague".

"It is in Prague, not in Vienna, that the wires are concentrated which the Moscow Bolshevik International holds in its hands for the purpose of upsetting the balance of Europe", — so wrote the "Slovak" in its January 8th issue. "The main point is that it is through Prague that Moscow moves its pawns — its agents, as also that the list, of those agents was kept in the Soviet Delegation in Prague. Now, should the Moscow Government attempt to clear itself by arguing that these agents are not in its service, but in that of the Third International, — we would ask why this list was kept in that legation which represented the Soviet Government in Prague?"

And we would also ask why the Prague Government surrendered Kosimov — the man who stole the documents — to the Soviet Union despite the fact that there is no treaty of extradition in force between Czecho-Slovakia and that Union?

For us Slovaks there are only two possible alternatives. Either to accommodate ourselves to the policy dictated by Beneš and further the bolshevisation of Slovakia leading inevitably to the bolshevisation of the whole of Europe, or with might and main to resist the attempt being made upon ethics, civilisation and the peace of the world.

Yes, to resist the assault on the peace of the world; for it is only natural that the neighbouring States, not being willing to allow the intrusion of this Asiatic infection, will endeavour to rid the body of Europe of the noxious abscess festering there.

Or we might appeal to the expedient of insurrection. It is true that people who are weak must fain control themselves; and particularly those whose power of resistance has been already broken by seventeen years of Czech oppression. The apparent tranquillity reigning in Slovakia today was bought at the cost of ruthless reprisals. For we must tell you that the Czech gamekeepers in Slovakia were originally poachers; and the force employed by them is far more brutal than that of an old established police softened by routine. You ask why the Slovak people has tolerated all this without rising in revolt? The answer is given by the prisons crowded with Slovak patriots and by the tale of our political exiles.

It is impossible to shout for help. The press is shackled by the system of previous censoring. And, should an unfortunate editor allow himself to reveal the truth of the situation, he could not do so without being sentenced to a few months' imprisonment and having his paper placed under embargo. And the public prosecutor, who is censor too, always has the odds on his side.

Nevertheless, the Slovak people, though materially disarmed, is not morally disarmed too; it is only waiting for political complications in the international situation and for a general mobilisation to provide it with arms. According to a military expert who spent several years in Prague as the military attaché of a friendly Power, in the event of war the value of the Czecho-Slovak army is nil. Seeing that the Czechs constitute only 40% of the army, the said military expert is of opinion that they would not be strong enough even to keep in check the Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ruthenians and Poles constituting 60% of the Czecho-Slovak army.

The first solution is nothing for us; for we are not bolshevists and have no wish to further the bolshevisation of Europe. There remains the other solution, which when occasion offers will enable us to liberate ourselves from the yoke of our pro-bolshevik oppressors."

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"In the Memorandums submitted to the League of Nations the Slovak Council has repeatedly stated that geographically and historically Slovakia belongs to Hungary, from which country it was unjustly severed against its will and in defiance of its vital interests. The Treaty of Trianon treated us even more harshly than it treated the Hungarians themselves, seeing that it killed us, whereas it only dismembered their country.

The Slovak Council begs once more to appeal to the League of Nations and to call the attention of that body to the Covering Letter dated May 6th, 1920, and signed by M. Millerand, which declared that the decisions contained in the Treaty of Trianon were not final but were subject to revision the moment any occasion arose for such revision. The Slovak question is indubitably an occasion of the kind hinted at. It is the unjust and unnatural situation created by those very Paris treaties of peace that the Soviet would exploit in its struggle against the peace and intellectual life of Europe. I am in hurry to penetrate into Europe while Slovakia is still in the hands of the Czechs. Why wait any longer? When the Russian fliers leave Slovakia to drop their bombs in Warsaw, Vienna and Budapest, it will be too late. The catastrophe must be prevented.

The Czech-Russian corridor must be abolished; Slovakia must be separated from Bohemia. There must be no common frontier joining Bohemia to Russia such as is desired by both those countries. But there must be a common frontier joining Poland to Hungary!

Subject to a formal guarantee of the rights of the Slovak nationality Slovakia must be re-annexed to Hungary, — the country to which that province was united for a thousand years and to which it gravitates geographically too. The inhabitants of Slovakia are longing to belong to Hungary, — a spiritual necessity, which could easily be proved beyond a doubt by a plebiscite.

Seeing that we Slovaks, being a small people, cannot aspire to create an independent Slovak State, we must restore the connection with Hungary which united us with that country for a thousand years. The sad experiences of the oppressive and grasping system of the Czechs has taught us to realise that "*extra Hungariam non est vita*".

In thus desiring to ensure our life as a people, we believe we are doing a service to the whole of Europe and to the Christian civilisation which is threatened with extinction by a Red Pan-Slavism..."



## WHY DOES BULGARIA NOT JOIN THE BALKAN PACT?

After King George's funeral, King Boris of Bulgaria took advantage of his sojourn abroad to hold conversation in London, as well as in Paris, with leading circles and with statesmen of other countries present. In connection with this visit the question of Bulgaria's joining the Balkan Bloc has again been raised by the European press. Certain western countries are of the opinion that they are serving the cause of peace by advising Bulgaria to do so. King Boris had the opportunity of dissipating the anxiety concerning Bulgaria's attitude. It was easy for him to do so, for everybody knows that Bulgaria is disarmed, that her policy towards her neighbours is loyal and peaceful, and that she has not refused to conclude bilateral treaties of non-aggression. It is impossible, however, for her to join the Balkan Bloc; because the principle of equality was not applied to her when at the time of the conclusion of the Balkan Pact she

was not invited to join and furthermore to do so would mean a grave renunciation of her rights to a Bulgaria baldly crippled by the peace treaties.

Bulgaria would be very happy if her neighbours, in order to ensure co-operation, would show a better frame of mind, but until this happens, the only policy she can pursue is League policy. As far as the internal situation is concerned, events go to show that consolidation is on the best way towards realization. Damian Veltchev's trial is approaching its close. The reports circulated in the foreign press about the danger of Bolshevism lack all foundation. It is true that the Communists who have been declared lawless in Bulgaria, have attempted to exploit the troubled situation and to secure a better chance for their agitation, — however the authorities have strangled every movement of theirs right from the start.

## SIR ROBERT GOWER IN HUNGARY

On February 25th Sir Robert Gower, Chairman of the Hungarian Group of Members of the British Parliament, arrived in Budapest on a visit to his Budapest friends, the ultimate object of his trip being to study on the spot the further development of the Hungarian question. On his arrival he was met by a large number of his personal friends and admirers. On February 26th Sir Robert Gower went to the Foreign Ministry, where he was received by *Baron Gabriel Apor*, Permanent Under Secretary.

The guests at the lunch given in Sir Robert's honour in the *Gellért Hotel* by the "Hangya" Hungarian Co-operative Society included the following prominent members of Hungarian public life: *Archduke Joseph Francis*, *Stephen Winckler*, Minister of Commerce, *Count Maurice Esterházy*, former Prime Minister of Hungary, *Julius Kornis*, Vice-President of the House of Deputies, *Roland Hegedüs*, former Minister of Finance, *Prof. A. B. Yolland*. After toasting *King Edward VIII.* and the *Regent of Hungary, Dr. Elemér Balogh*, Member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament, welcomed *Sir Robert Gower* in a speech containing the following passages: — *Eden*, the British Foreign Secretary, in a speech delivered in *Geneva* had declared the primary object of British policy to be the prevention of all quarrels and contentions. And in his recent exposé he had spoken against the policy of a blockade, for the peoples longed for peace. *Without sincerity, justice and fairness there could not be any reconciliation* or a way out of the crisis. A pacification of Central Europe *without revision was out of the question*. This silver lining to the cloud had come from Britain. It was to the everlasting credit of Sir Robert that he had been one of the first to start the process; and the Hungarian nation would never forget what he had done. This movement on the part of Great Britain had decisively influenced the public opinion of the world too, for which reason, in the event of his efforts being crowned with success, the whole of Europe must be grateful to Sir Robert. For the cause at stake was not the cause of justice merely or that of Hungary in particular, but the cause of the peace, security, tranquillity and economic prosperity of Europe generally.

The words spoken by *Dr. Elemér Balogh* were

greeted with loud applause; and when Sir Robert rose to reply he was most cordially cheered. He assured his hearers that *the majority of the Members of the British House of Commons fully realised the gravity of the situation into which Hungary had been plunged and quite appreciated the difficulties which Hungary had to contend*. The British nation had always felt a sincere sympathy for Hungary, for it regards the Hungarians as its traditional friends. Sir Robert then dealt with the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, which he regarded as *merely provisional*. In this connection he referred to *the motion which he and his friends had submitted to the British House of Commons, which had it printed and placed on the Order of the Day*. That motion he and his friends were responsible for; and they were all of opinion that *the provisions which had so badly hit Hungary were unjust, oppressive and rigorous*. They believed that these provisions must be revised to enable Hungary to recover those territories of *Older Hungary which were essentially Hungarian*. Those responsible for the said Motion did not — Sir Robert continued — regard the question *from the Hungarian point of view*. In their opinion all existing injustices must be redressed. And they sincerely wished the relations between Hungary and the Little Entente States to be based on understanding and friendly feelings. However, a sine qua non of that was *the stability of peace*, in the real, not the restricted, sense of the word. Sir Robert then explained that in his humble opinion *the nations concerned must not exceed the limits of possibility*, but must negotiate in a spirit of amity, inspired by a fervent desire to do all in their power to solve the principal question. It was evidently just as eminently in the interest of the Little Entente States as it was in that of Hungary that the present situation should be replaced by co-operation. This solution could be realised by mutual goodwill. In conclusion Sir Robert Gower informed his hearers that the parliamentary group of which he was Chairman would do everything in its power to further an amicable agreement. *The unfortunate situation at present in force gravely affected the whole of Europe*. He felt convinced that Hungary would on her part too leave no stone unturned to achieve the object which he had referred to.

On February 29th Sir Robert Gower called on

Premier Julius Gömbös, with whom he spent a considerable time. His Hungarian friends did everything in their power to render the eminent British politician's stay in Hungary agreeable. Lunches in his honour were given by Archduke Joseph Francis, Sir

Geoffrey Knox, British Minister in Hungary, Dr. George Lukács, former Minister of Education, and Dr. Ottó Légrády, Editor-in-Chief of the "Pesti Hirlap"; and on Friday, the 28th, a dinner was given in his honour by Professor Arthur Yolland.

## THE NEW HUNGARIAN MINISTER IN LONDON

On the recommendation of the Hungarian Foreign Minister the Regent of Hungary has recalled Count Ladislas Széchenyi de Sárvár-felsővidék, Hungarian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, and has entrusted the charge of the Royal Hungarian Legation there to Dr. Constantin Masirevich, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, who as Minister will represent Hungary in

Great Britain. Dr. Masirevich, who for some time prior to the War was attached to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in London, is one of Hungary's most distinguished diplomats. In the capacity of Minister he has hitherto represented Hungary in three important capitals, Vienna, Prague and Berlin.

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## CROATS OF AMERICA SUPPORT CROATIA'S NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

With unflagging ardour the Croats continue to fight for their national rights, and they do so, not only within the confines of Yugoslavia, but also in foreign lands. Recently the Croats living in America sent a memorandum signed by their President, Mr. Persić, and Mr. Dosem, Secretary-General, to the various governments, as well as to various scientific institutes and cultural organizations. In the memorandum, amongst other things, they pointed out that Croatia, in consequence of a manifest misapplication of the Wilsonian principles lost her thousand-years-old independence after the War, and that ever since the chief aim of the Belgrade Government has been to

suppress the national feelings of the Croats. At a congress recently held in Chicago the supporters in America of Croatian independence protested against the attempt of the Serbs to deprive Croatia of her right. They also appealed through the League of Nations to the conscience of the world. The national cause of the Croats and their struggles to uphold it are just and right. Therefore they demand the withdrawal of the Serb troops from Croatian soil and, simultaneously, the establishment of a free and independent Croatian State.

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## A SERBIAN DIPLOMAT'S BRAVE STAND IN THE MATTER OF MINORITIES AND REVISION

The bed-rock of Little Entente policy is an unconditional adherence to the treaties guaranteeing the *status quo*. It was only Dr. Masaryk who sometimes deviated from this rigid attitude of rejecting a *limine* every solution by way of compromise. He did so in some of his unofficial statements, which, however, were immediately disavowed by the Czecho-Slovak Government. Now it is from Yugoslavia that the voice of understanding is heard.

"Every Yugoslav Government" — writes M. Ivan Yovanovitch — "must scrupulously fulfil the minority commitments given to the Great Powers. *No Yugoslav Government must allow the rights of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia to be less than the rights of the national minorities in Hungary.* Neither of the Governments ought to stand on the principle of reciprocity. International obligations should be strictly observed, even in the case of the minorities, and exceptional measures are right only when the minorities in question do not behave loyally towards the State whose citizens they are..."

"As regards the future, the following conclusions may be drawn. *The question of the minorities must sooner or later come up before the Great Powers. The peace treaties are faulty even from an ethnographic point of view. Ignorance, political interests mixed*

*with historical traditions, and the emotions aroused by the war-trumpets and the devastation of the battle-fields, left their mark on the peace concluded in Paris.* But peace treaties are not eternal. A peace treaty at the time of its conclusion is the best solution possible for one party and the very worst possible for the other. It was like that before Versailles, and it was like that in 1919 and 1920. It would be difficult to find a single important peace treaty from the eighteenth century to the present day in which the ethnographic boundaries have been rightly drawn, or with which both belligerent parties were completely satisfied. There have always been some who were not satisfied, and as a rule the treaties were modified after a certain lapse of time. Hitherto, unfortunately, it has always been war that modified them. *Let us hope, however, that in the future their revision will be achievable in a peaceful way, by means of compromise and negotiation.* It the League of Nations puts the crowning touch to its past endeavours by preventing the provocation of a war, the future will be brighter.

"Then the Democracies dominating the League will be able to apply their democratic principles and methods to international relations in the interests of a brighter future for the peoples of Europe and the progress of civilization. By doing so they will be

stronger and surer guarantees of world peace than dictatorships are."

M. Yovanovitch's statements are certainly evidence of a much more enlightened attitude than that of his compatriots, and they deserve to be unanimously applauded as the expressions of a sincere desire for reconciliation. They deserve this all the more, because hitherto there has not been a single Yugoslav politician daring enough to approach the problems in question with such exemplary unbiassedness and manly frankness. With unshakeable confidence M. Yovanovitch looks to real Democracy to provide a solution of all the problems the insoluble nature of which threatens the peace both of Europe and of the whole world and is a stumbling-block in the path of consolidation. Yes, but where does real Democracy begin and of what does it consist? So far all we have seen is that it was just the so-called democratic States that fabricated the arbitrary Paris peace treaties and have since most rigidly opposed any revision of those treaties in keeping with justice — that is to say, with the principle of self-determination preached during the war by the Entente, and with the vital demands of the down-trodden nations. And it is just those democratic States that have brought the League pro-

tection of the minorities to the very verge of failure. Even the Yugoslav Democracy mentioned by M. Yovanovitch has done no better. It was Yugoslav Democracy that made pariahs of the national minorities by depriving them of their civil rights; that, in flagrant violation of the minority treaties, dispossessed them of their private schools by confiscating their funds; that drove the minority public officials and employees out of their posts, and that, by a system of unparalleled over-taxation, ruined the former prosperity of the minorities. Then as regards the insoluble nature of the Croatian problem; it was the same Serb Democracy that casting aside the Protich-Stoyan Autonomist Constitution Bill, used terror and corruption to carry through the centralistic Vidovdan Constitution in 1921, and with the assassination of Stephen Raditch in the Skupstina on June 20th 1928 wrecked every chance of an honest Serbo-Croatian compromise. This sort of Democracy is not the real thing; it is not the panacea that M. Yovanovitch and millions of the oppressed are seeking as a cure for the ills that have accumulated, nor will it redress the grave wrongs, errors and injustices that have been committed.

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## HOW MINORITIES LIVE

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### HUNGARIAN COMPOSERS CONCERT CANCELLED

The business people in the village of Kéménd arranged a public evening party on February 1-st, and invited M. József Cselényi, the well-known composer of Hungarian songs from Budapest to give them a performance of his songs. The composer actually arrived in Kéménd and the public was looking forward to his appearance with great expectation, the more so as the concert had been previously authorized by the District authorities in Párkány. It was only shortly before the opening that the public was informed of the fact that M. Cselényi would not appear, as the District authorities had suddenly withdrawn their permission. The writ issued by the District chief ordered M. Cselényi to be arrested in the event of his making an attempt to appear after all. Arriving at the last moment, this order caused much excitement and ill feeling among the audience. After the remarkably fine-sounding statements made at the recent election of the new President, such regulations are not very easy to understand.

Another composer of Hungarian songs, himself a Czecho-Slovak subject, has received the same treatment. The Sporting Club of Vágsellye asked Dr. George Mihola, the well known composer of Hungarian songs, to produce some of his own songs and tangos in a programme connected with dancing. The appearance of Dr. Mihola was awaited with great interest by the guests of the evening, many of whom had to come from the neighbouring districts to hear him. It is easy to understand therefore the painful sensation caused by the decision of the District Chief, M. Cernánsky, which was handed to the committee shortly before the ball was due to start. Referring to certain

administrative causes for the prohibition of Dr. Mihola's appearance, the District Office declared that the entertainment was to be considered as a dance and not a cabaret performance, so that Dr. Mihola's appearance was not desirable.

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#### HUNGARIAN PUPILS MUST ADDRESS THEIR HEADMASTERS IN "CZECHO-SLOVAK"

Great surprise was caused among the Hungarian population of the town Somorja by the unusual conduct of M. Kelemen Blahó, the newly appointed headmaster of the municipal school. As soon as the new headmaster entered his office he ordered the pupils of the Hungarian section of his school to greet him henceforth in "Czecho-Slovak", and to use Czecho-Slovak in their official intercourse with the school authorities. The municipal authorities have decided to take steps against this violation of the free use of Hungarian. ("Prágai Magyar Hirlap", February 12th.)

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#### MORE ARRESTS IN CZECH-TESCHEN

In Czech Silesia, not far from the village of Louk, during the night of October 27th unknown persons broke the windows of a number of Czech schools; in some places they even set fire to the buildings. The Czech authorities have so far arrested eleven persons in connection with this affair; in the course of further official investigations a map was discovered in the "Polonia" Hotel in Teschen showing the town as lying within the boundaries of Poland. Thereupon the authorities arrested the hotel-keeper, two servants, and the sheriff of a village inhabited by Poles.

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## RUMANIA

## NEW RESTRICTION IN THE USE OF HUNGARIAN

By Art. 8, § 3. of the Minority Pact, signed in Paris on December 9th, 1919, Rumanian pledged herself to allow every Rumanian subject to use any language he may choose and to grant him full liberty to give a free expression of his personal opinion in print. The following order issued in January, will serve as an illustration of Rumania's willingness to observe her obligations. An edict issued by the Ministry of the Interior sub No. 116464/1936, orders all those minority publications, daily or weekly papers, and periodicals, which bear Hungarian geographical names (i. e. the names of towns, counties, rivers, etc.) hitherto choose a new name or bake the corresponding Rumanian geographical names. Accordingly, the "Mármaros", a very old Hungarian weekly paper (first published 71 years ago, in 1865) has had to change its name to "Iza" (a small tributary of the Tisza) and to appear under that name since February 9th, 1936. The Hungarian papers published in Nagyvárad have also been obliged to take new titles. The official organ of the Hungarian Party in the District of Nagyvárad, the "Szilágy megyei Ujság" ("Szilágy County Journal") has had to change its name to "Kisebbségi Ujság" ("Minority Journal"). The "Szatmár megyei Közlöny" ("Szatmár County Journal") is now called "Közlöny" ("Gazette"), while the "Nagyvárad és Vidéke" ("Nagyvárad and District Journal") will continue under the title "Szabad Szó" ("Free Word"). ("Erdélyi Néplap", January 23rd, 1936). — The burgomaster of Szatmár (Satumare) ordered houseowners (sub No. 17.245) to remove all Hungarian inscriptions from the walls of their houses within three days. This order was delivered, also to those houseowners whose houses bore historic memorial tablets with inscriptions, such as the tablet referring to the conclusion of the Peace of Szatmár (in 1711), and the tablet placed in memory of Sándor Petőfi, the great Hungarian poet. ("Ujság", January 19th, 1936).

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## EDUCATIONAL METHODS

Certain cases recently described by the Hungarian papers in Transylvania throw a new light upon the impossibility of the educational methods applied by a number of those Rumanian teachers who are employed in Hungarian villages. Thus, for instance, the Rumanian teacher in the village of Farkaslaka hung a few schoolboys up by their legs because they could not read their Rumanian lessons. The Rumanian schoolmaster of the village of Czikmádefalva applies the most cruel methods of bodily punishment, caning and even lashing his pupils ("Népujság", No. 16, January 17th, 1936). — The Rumanian schoolmaster of the village of Rákos goes so far in his brutality that the parents are afraid to send their children to school. ("Székely Nép", Jan. 26th, 1936).

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## YUGOSLAVIA

## HUNGARIANS PASSED OVER IN APPOINTING MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

The law referring to the restitution of municipal autonomy was promulgated on July 25th, 1934, yet the municipal councils are still being appointed officially to the almost complete exclusion of Hungarians. Thus recently, not more than 17 Hungarian members (instead of 31—32) were appointed to the town council (34 members) of *Magyarkanizsa*, a town whose population is 94% Hungarian, and whose name has just recently been changed to Pavlovgrad. In the town of Szabadka (Subotica) the Hungarians have only received 6 seats in the council (72 members) instead of 30, the number to which their percentage (41.7%) would have entitled them.

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## QUOTATIONS FROM HUNGARIAN CLASSICS FORBIDDEN

In its first numbers the Hungarian paper "A Nép" edited by Dr. Ivan Nagy, a Hungarian lawyer, published a special column under the title: "Gems of our Literature", in which he gave accounts of the poems of Hungarian classics. However, the appearance of this purely literary and non-political column has been prohibited by the Serb censor.

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## NEW GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN THE VOIVODINA

Several geographical names in the Voivodina (formerly a part of Hungary) were replaced by Slav names immediately after the change of régime. Since then it has been forbidden to use the original Hungarian and German names even in brackets, either in the papers of the minorities or in trade relations, or in the addresses of private letters. The Yugoslav authorities, however, have gone a step farther. In the autumn of 1935 the towns and parishes were ordered to change their names for a second time. As the names used since 1919 were, generally speaking, simply translations of the Hungarian or German names, the new names had to be selected so as to exclude even the possibility of tracing the Hungarian or German origin of the various towns and villages: even the historical fact that they had been founded during Hungarian rule had to be effaced by these new names. Many towns and villages naturally had to obey these orders; thus, for instance, the city of Ór or Magyar Kanizsa (with a population 94% Hungarian) whose name had been translated as Stara Kaniza, had to change its name to Pavlograd, in pursuance of the resolution carried by the Municipal Council whose members had been appointed by the authorities. The changing of names is not founded on any principle or system, the names being mostly chosen at random and without any apparent reason. Thus, for instance, the name of *Tizzaszentmiklós* (a village in the Banate) which had first been changed to *Maliszentmiklós* and then to *Potiskisvetinikola*, has finally received the name of *Ostoič*. The majority of the towns and villages, however, have refused to change their names. The opinion of the Marica Srpska, a Serbian cultural union with a past of hundred years (published in its periodical called "Glas Matice

Srpske", in December) shows the ridiculousness of the arbitrary methods adopted by the Ban. "The enforcement of the changing of geographical names", — says the article —, "will by no means serve the national ideal; it is not easy to see why it should be necessary to change, again, the names of towns and villages which were changed seventeen years ago, especially those that are not of Hungarian or German origin. There is absolutely no need for such a change, the more so as the Yugoslav books dealing with political, cultural, and literary history, as well as all the encyclopaedias, refer to places in the Voivodina under their old names: moreover, the Hungarians themselves had no objection — in former days — against the use of names of Slav origin."

The Minority Congress held in Geneva in the autumn of last year, also discussed this arbitrary change of geographical names. The Congress passed a resolution, afterwards put before the League of Nations, in which it was declared that "the names of geographical places, districts, regions, and the parts thereof such as mountains, rivers, forests, etc., which a nation has formed according to its national spirit and history, and its social, economic, and cultural development, in correspondence with the rules of its own language, even if those names have been taken from other languages and transformed accordingly, form an inalienable property of the language of that nation. If, therefore, a nation is hindered or not allowed to use the names in speaking, writing, or printing in its own language, it is a sin against the most vital function of its national existence, both for the community and for the individual, namely its mother tongue, which is a sin that must be condemned both from a moral and from a political point of view. In those States, moreover, in which the rights of the minorities, especially in point of language, have been guaranteed by international treaties, such procedure means an open breach of these obligations. The Congress, therefore, resolves to raise a solemn protest against all such attempts and methods."

Furthermore, we would refer to the speech made by Mr. Emil Neugeboren, delegate of the Germans in Rumania, at the Minority Congress in Geneva. In his speech he noted that the Hungarian law referring to the use of geographical names (Act. IV. of 1898.) restricted the compulsory use of official names to official documents, official intercourse, the administ-

ration of public institutions and public works, and school books. *The Hungarian Government, however, has never attempted to prohibit the use of geographical names in the languages of the different nationalities together with the official names, or to print these, in brackets, even in those school books that have been published with the approval of the authorities. Nor is it possible to mention a single instance in which the Hungarian authorities have prevented the nationalities from using their own geographical nomenclature in their papers or in trade relations, or even (in brackets) in the addresses of private letters.* We must also bear in mind that there were no international guarantees in those days for the rights of the minorities such as we have now! We have got them now but apparently only on paper, and with no result, as we can see.

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## SERBS NOT ALLOWED TO APPEAR IN HUNGARIAN AMATEUR PERFORMANCES

The Assistant Notary of the village Bajmok (in the Bácska), M. Nešić, reported Dr. Milojevič, the village surgeon, to the authorities for appearing, as a Serb, at various Hungarian amateur dramatic performances and thus, in his opinion, forfeiting his right to hold office. The Attorney General thereupon accused Nešić of libelling against another civil servant, but the Court in Szabadka (Subotica) acquitted him.

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## SLOVAK COMPLAINT ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA'S MINORITY POLICY

The "Slovak", the mouthpiece of Hlinka's Automist People's Party, complains in its issue of January 12th that a Serb woman-teacher who cannot speak one word of Slovak has been appointed in the so-called "Slovak Section" of the elementary school at Endevik, a place in the Szerém district. All the petitions of the Slovaks of Endevik for a Slovak teacher, and all their delegations, have been of no avail.

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# THEATRE • LITERATURE • ART

## BERNARD SHAW\*

by

*Francis Herczeg*

There is a degree of shrewdness of observation, of a propensity to moral indignation and of genius which precludes political caution or acumen. Persons possessing those qualities in such a degree possess one faculty to the exclusion of all others — that of appreciating, appraising and noting what others do.

If the above words of a great French thinker are

\* The above article written by the Hungarian author appears on the occasion of the re-playing of Bernard Shaw's "Saint Johanna".

true, we need not rack our brains for the reason why there is such a wide gulf fixed between the cultural aims of mankind and the wretched reality. The reason is that, while culture is the work of geniuses whose intellectual and moral being makes them shrink from political leadership, the fate of the peoples is in the hands of men who carry little ballast beyond their "political caution and acumen". The eternal ideal of these men has always been the diplomatic horse-dealer who is able to cheat all his customers.

We must not forget that the whole cultural

system of the white races has been produced by the many, — far from royal palaces and houses of parliament, in *scriptoria* and laboratories and studios and garrets, in backwaters far removed from the rushing stream of politics and often in defiance of the political world. The fundamental principles of that culture are in irreconcilable opposition to the barbarian spirit which is the motor force of politics.

At times we cannot escape the impression that the destinies of the nations are being controlled by unscrupulous narrowmindedness, and that the diplomacy of today still adheres to the moral principles developed in the days when Grand Viziers and kaimakams held sway on the shores of the Bosphorus. We may be told that this is an exaggeration; but it is quite evident that, while uttering fulsome protestations of its love of peace, the political world goes on making preparations on a huge scale to bring about fresh bloody catastrophes, — catastrophes the destructive effects of which are just as incalculable and uncontrollable as those of the whirlwind and which in the past, while failing to solve any political problems, merely fresh complications for those which had previously existed.

The real geniuses of mankind have always been bitterly opposed to the whole system of masked barbarism responsible for bringing into being this political spirit — or rather want of spirit. One dons the prophet's mantle — while another maybe puts on cap and bells — to be able to openly tell humanity the awful truth. But Bernard Shaw's withering satire is based upon a magnificent idealism; as Tolstoy's fanaticism is rooted in a fervent love of humanity.

The ideas here propounded seem to be particularly in place just now in connection with the revival — by the Belvárosi Theatre, that refined home of histrionic art of which any great city might well be proud — of Shaw's "Saint Johanna". This wonderful creation, with its bewitching profundity of perspective, its dazzling audacity of dialectic and its enchanting wealth of poetic colour, has been produced by Director Arthur Bárdos in a manner which would surely be a source of infinite pleasure to its world-famed

author himself.

We cannot believe there is any other city in Europe in which Shaw has found so appreciative and so receptive a public as that of Budapest, the very atmosphere of which is in any case saturated with strongly satirical elements. It is true, indeed, that in Hungary so far that public has consisted far more of readers than of theatre-goers; but we are convinced that the complete understanding and the bewildering intensity of the performance of Shaw's masterpiece in the Belvárosi Theatre will result in the enthusiastic reception accorded to "Saint Johanna" in the art centres of Europe which has long been overdue in Budapest too will cast a halo of glory over the head of the dramatist too.

There was a time when we Hungarians could not pronounce the name of the poet now being celebrated here without feelings of bitterness in our hearts; for in a letter addressed to the Czech writer Karel Capek in 1928 which was published in the Prague papers, Shaw unjustly and without reason offended the Hungarian nation. The feelings aroused in us by that letter were not those of anger; but far more a sort of pained disappointment. Misfortune makes peoples doubly sensitive.

Since then Bernard Shaw has made many statements allowing of our concluding that he has revised or maybe only tempered his original attitude, which must have been the consequence of onesided and biased information.

His genius must disarm all petty implacability. But, since we are one of the brilliant paladins of Justice, we cannot help fervently desiring that Bernard Shaw may find ways and means to ascertain the truth in the Danube question by information obtained at first hand. We do not ask him to believe either Karel Capek or us — for both of us are interested parties and may therefore be biased; we ask him to trust solely to his brilliant power of observation and to his keen judgment; and then we know full well which side will secure the sympathy of the man who all his life has been the enemy of every form of oppression and political hypocrisy.

## THE 100 YEARS JUBILEE OF THE KISFALUDY SOCIETY

by

*Charles Sebestyén*

In a splendid monograph, planned with great care and executed with masterly skill, Professor Louis Kéký, Secretary-general of the Kisfaludy Society, has written the history of the Society for the past hundred years. The data in this article have been taken from his book.

The inspiring genius of the Society, which was formed in 1836, was Charles Kisfaludy, whose progressive spirit had sought contacts in form, material, and ideas with the intellectual world of the West, but who, nevertheless, had clung fast to national traditions, and had not scorned to make use of even popular themes. Vörösmarty, Petöfi, and Arany had listened to his teachings, and following in his footsteps, brought Hungarian poetry to its full unfolding. After his death the desire grew and grew to create a society which in his spirit would foster national culture, combine the scattered forces, and organize intellectual work. After many struggles and difficulties, after many obstacles had been overcome, the "Society of Belles-Lettres" which later bore Kisfaludy's name came into being. At the cradle of the new-born stood no lesser men than Vörösmarty, prince of poetry;

Bajza, the first Hungarian critic in a European sense of the word, who later became the director of the National Theatre; and the tranquil Francis Toldy, the "father of the history of literature in Hungary", with his fervent passion for the beautiful. Among the names on the list of its first members we find Gregor Czuczor, the impassioned lyric poet; Andrew Fáy, the novelist, Baron Nicolas Jósika, and Francis Kölcsey, the classical poet, orator, aesthete, and first-rate citizen. The first members of the Society were imbued with two emotions — reverence for Kisfaludy and a hunger for progress.

At the very outset the Society set itself two tasks; the furtherance of Hungarian literature and the establishment of contacts with the world of foreign literature. It was decided to publish a series of foreign works of fiction. Among the first twelve volumes to appear, were works by Bulwer Lytton, Balzac, Dickens, Victor Hugo, Cervantes and Boccaccio translated by eminent authors and so were made available for Hungarian readers. Parallel with this undertaking ran that of the National Library, which contained selected works from the Hungarian literature of the XVIII and

XIX centuries. The Society rendered special service to literature by awarding prizes in competitions intended to spur the younger generation to creative effort. The result of a competition of this kind was the discovery of the till then wholly unknown genius, John Arany. The poet was at that time a petty clerk in the notary's office of his native place, the small town of Szalonta. From there he sent in his satirical epic poem "The lost constitution" to compete for the prize offered by the Kisfaludy Society. His hopes of success were but few, and probably no one could have been more surprised than himself to learn that he had won the prize. His name was so wholly unknown that when the envelope containing it was opened, everybody thought it was a *nom-de-plume*. Application was made to the authorities in Szalonta to inquire whether a man of that name really lived there. In 1847 John Arany won the Kisfaludy Society's prize with his now classical work "Toldi". It was only then that the name of the poet became widely known, and simultaneously achieved fame. When his epic was published Petöfi wrote a poem greeting him cordially. It is interesting to note that Petöfi himself was never member of the Kisfaludy Society, nor did he ever become a member of the Academy of Sciences. This was through no fault of the Society. At the beginning of 1846 he was asked to apply for election, but definitely refused. On the other hand Arany's election could not have been an unmixed joy for himself, for there were many fault-finders, who reproached the Society for admitting men like Arany to membership.

The violent emotions and disastrous events of 1848—1849 had a dire effect on the Society. Even in the first years of the Absolutism it scarcely dared to stir. But its enthusiastic members never lost hope that out of the ruins of the immediate past there would spring a new, budding life which would have its effect on the spirit of the people. But it was not until the year 1860 that a new era dawned for the Society. At that time Baron Eötvös was still Chairman; the Vice-Chairman was Francis Toldy and the manager John Arany. This post enabled the great poet to leave Nagyköros, where he had been teaching in a grammar-school and come to the Capital. Two of the greatest achievements accomplished by the Society during the hundred years of its existence date from this period — viz. the publication of a complete edition of Shakespeare's works in Hungarian and the

translation of all Molière's plays into that language. Our greatest poets took part in the work. Even before the publication of a complete edition of Shakespeare's works was contemplated, Petöfi had translated Coriolanus, and Vörösmarty, King Lear and Julius Caesar. The third prince of poets, Arany, made his contribution to the great collective work with his brilliant translations of Hamlet, King John, and Midsummer Night's Dream.

From the very first the Kisfaludy Society considered that its chief task was to collect and sift Hungarian popular poetry, and present it with the assistance of competent collaborators to the public. A new era of development and inflorescence set in for the Society with the election of the gifted poet and great aesthete, Paul Gyulai as Chairman. In 1908, however, he was obliged to resign for political reasons. Then Zsolt Beöthy was unanimously elected. For twenty-two years that great aesthete and stylist managed the affairs of the Society. In his person he was the embodiment of the ideal which he had always urged upon his own people. Namely, he was both European and Hungarian. His art was a harmonious and organic link between western culture and Hungarian individuality, a tributary to the living stream of world literature; but it was characterized by an unswerving loyalty to the individuality and traditions of the Hungarian world of letters.

Since the death of Beöthy in 1922 to the present day Albert de Berzeviczy has been the Chairman of the Kisfaludy Society. His versatile and profound erudition, the richness of his professional knowledge in the sphere of Art Philosophy, his unflinching tact, and, last but not least, his energy have for nearly a quarter of a century ensured to the Society a period of tranquil creation, undisturbed development, and fruitful activity. In spite of his advanced years, he still stands erect at its head, with an unflagging zeal and an undiminished capacity for work. And if there have been misunderstandings, jealousies, and, now and then, even bitter strife in the camp of Hungarian literature, the waves of passion have always been stilled by the dignity of his *Quos ego!* In the eyes of public opinion he and the Kisfaludy Society appear as closely connected, it might almost be said, identical terms. Terms of authority and of loyalty to national ideas and to European culture.

## FIRST PERFORMANCE IN VIENNA OF EUGENE HUBAY'S "ANNA KARENINA"

On February 9th, M. Eugene Hubay's opera „Anna Karenina" was performed for the first time in the Vienna State Operahouse, which is one of the best in Europe. Its original performance took place in Budapest on November 10th, 1932, and since then it has been produced in Nürnberg, Bochum, Duisburg, etc. The tremendous success of the opera in Budapest was repeated everywhere, indeed the *première* in Nürnberg was a veritable triumph for Hungarian music. Without exception, all the newspapers in South Germany were loud in expressing their delight in Hubay's music. The "Münchener Neueste Nachrichten", for instance, said that "The born musician Hubay has composed a work such as would, were there five more like it, insure German operahouses against a crisis in opera".

Hubay's music on the one hand gives dramatic colour to Tolstoy's moving book of the same name;

but, on the other hand, it soars high above the theme in broadly rolling orchestral effects. Although the plot is rich and multiplex, the composer has not allowed himself to be deflected from the main theme of the drama, the essence of which he has interpreted to the full in terms of music. This opera was composed prior to the War, before Stravinsky's pagan war-cries and Skriabin's fourth harmonies were known, yet, in spite of this, the opera sounds fresh and forcible; for the great inventiveness and wealth of melody which characterize Hubay's compositions are to be found both in the orchestral themes and in the solos.

The music, in keeping with the Russian setting, is partly ethnographic in nature (like Bizet's "Carmen"), partly thoroughly modern opera music in which the use of "Leitmotifs" to indicate the different characters is most effectively employed. All in all it is music that carries us away with it,

It is an infallible sign of a great opera that the *libretto* and the music blend, as they do in Wagner's works. Hubay's opera is a classical instance of the case in point. Everybody is acquainted with Tolstoy's book and its dramatized form, and for that very reason we have an objective standard to judge by. And we see that Hubay's music gives a new force to the well-known contents, indeed it introduces entirely new elements, so that we may safely say that through the music the contents take on an even more profound meaning.

Herr Weingartner conducted with spirit and brought out every minute detail. He also took great care that the whole work should unfold itself in its entirety, and his efforts were so successful that the intense interest of the audience never flagged for an instant.

Mme. Maria Németh was Anna. More than once she was heard to say how happy she had been to accept the rôle. Her performance was proof that she had really entered heart and soul into the character of Anna, and that it was a great experience for her. Her rendering was an event; the dramatic power of her acting and her sublime voice were coupled with the natural freedom of the great artist. With convincing force she portrayed every phase of a passion-racked woman's soul, and the style and *technique* of her singing were perfect and entralling.

As Count Wronsky Herr Kehlenberg's singing and acting were perfection itself. The best singers of the Vienna Operahouse took the minor parts. The staging and the scenery of all the four acts so charmed the audience that Dr. Wallerstein, chief stage-manager, was called before the curtain and warmly applauded. The ballet in the first act was a spectacle worth remembering, while the racing-course scene in the second act was the *non plus ultra* of stage-management. The orchestra and chorus surpassed themselves.

The vast auditorium of the Operahouse was packed with a most brilliant audience. President Miklas and the Austrian Government were there, along with many distinguished figures in Viennese social life. As the opera proceeded the enthusiasm of the audience grew, and after the last chords had died away, a storm of applause broke out which did not cease until M. Hubay repeatedly came out on to the stage, which was covered with masses of laurel wreaths and flowers.

After the performance Herr Pertner, State Secretary, gave a reception in the Marble Hall of the Operahouse, where M. Hubay was again warmly feted. This *première* in Vienna was a great triumph for Hungarian music, and the Austrian press published long enthusiastic articles in praise of the performance.

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## BÉLA BARTÓK ON FERENC LISZT

On February 3rd, Béla Bartók, the world famous Hungarian composer, gave his inaugural address on Ferenc Liszt. He examined the problem from four different points of view and declared that the public was still incapable of a just appreciation of Liszt's most important works. It prefers the less important compositions, such as the Rhapsodies. The reason for this, he said, was that the public could not see the real value of the other works, being mostly influenced by superficial impressions. As for the development of musical style, the work of Liszt is more significant, he said, than that of Wagner. Wagner not only discovered but actually realized and developed all the possibilities of his style himself. Liszt, on the other hand, has many initiating ideas and motives which have not been developed by himself but by his

followers.

Speaking of Liszt's book on "Gipsy Music in Hungary", Bartók finds the explanation of Liszt's statements and mistakes in the conditions of the nineteenth century; the rudimentary principles of musical folklore were not yet sufficiently defined, and there was a general desire for Romantic opulence, bombast, and pathos; moreover, our forefathers, did not think of directing Liszt's attention to the Hungarian village.

What right have we to call Liszt a Hungarian? Liszt himself really said the last word in this matter, when he repeatedly called himself a Hungarian. Surely, the whole world must respect Liszt's will sufficiently to accept it without any contradiction.

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## A HUNGARIAN EVENING AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

An excellent Hungarian evening was arranged in the first half of February on the stage of Columbia University, New York. When Professor *John Dyneley-Prince*, head of the Eastern-European Department in the Institute of Arts and Sciences, appeared in the limelight, the hall was filled with crowd of about two thousand people. He introduced the honorary guests of the evening, first of all *Prof. C. A. Manning*, who gave a hearty welcome to all the guests. After him *M. George Ghika* the Hungarian Consul General rose to address the audience and thank the University authorities and Prof. Dyneley-Prince for the arrangement of this evening. Prof. Dyneley-Prince was American Minister in Belgrade when he first came in touch with Hungary; he came to spend a certain length of time with us, he learned our language and became fond of our people; ultimately he came to be the herald of our culture and arts, and the champion of our rights.

The next speaker was *Prof. Herman A. Heydt*; he gave a lecture with the title: „Hungary and Ideals”, founded on profound study and inspired by genuine love. It was perhaps the first time a large American audience listened with great interest to a lecture like this, so full of facts and yet so vivid, on the history and importance of Hungary and her present deplorable condition. The lecturer also informed his listeners of the excellence of our national art and of the high place it fills in the civilization of the world. The amusing anecdotes told here and there in the course of his lecture gave a special charm to his style. Prof. Heydt then informed his audience that on the initiative of Colonel *Boross*, who was also present, there will be a monument erected in Budapest to the memory of General *Bandholz*, as a symbol of American-Hungarian friendship.

After an interval there came a highly interesting programme in which Prof. Heydt's lecture was illust-



rated by the performance of excellent musicians, dancers, and actors. The audience was given a selection of gipsy music and folk songs, and an exhibition of national costumes. The recital of the works of Dohnányi, Bartók, Liszt, and Hubay was received with loud applause. After this followed a talking film of the finest parts and beauties of Hungary. Finally, Dr. Géza Takaró, a Reformed Minister, leader of the

Hungarian class in Columbia University, thanked all those who had helped to arrange the Hungarian evening.

In this connection we are pleased to report that Prof. Herman A. Heydt, of Columbia University, New York, has received from the Regent of Hungary the Commander's Cross of Hungarian Order of Merit.

## B O O K S

„Hungary” by C. A. Macartney. With a foreward by H. A. Z. Fisher P. C. D. C. L. London. Ernest Benn Limited 1934.

Mr. C. A. Macartney, the eminent British *savant*, has written a book on Hungary.

Macartney is quite right in establishing the fact that *Hungary's position in the centre of Europe is that of a keystone*, the consequence being that, while that country is of vital importance to its surroundings, Europe generally cannot be indifferent to the fate of a country situated in its very heart. Macartney is quite right also when he establishes the fact that for a thousand years the political frontiers of the Hungarian State almost exactly coincided with the natural boundaries of the Middle Danube Valley. It is this valley that was split into five parts by Trianon, the result being that the Hungary of today is merely a limbless trunk in the centre of the valley of the Danube. Now, pre-War Hungary was not only a historical unit, but also an economic and geographical unit of unequalled perfection. Mountain districts and plains were superbly inter-complementary, the hilly regions supplying with raw materials the lowlands engaged in industrial production, and the plains providing the food required by the mountainous districts. The dismemberment of the country has proved injurious to all classes of the population alike. And Macartney is only voicing a truth when he shows that the present-day map of the Middle Danube Valley is — both geographically and economically — a monstrosity.

One of the explanation given by the writer for this treatment of Hungary is that the statesmen of the Allied Powers were both plaintiffs and judges. They listened only to the arguments of their friends and allies and were not concerned to bring into being a just peace, but merely to strengthen their friends.

So far Mr. Macartney is entirely right. But he is not unprejudiced when he goes on to say that the aristocratic régime in Hungary before 1918 gave the nationalities the chance to clothe their own cause in the guise of liberty, democracy and enlightenment. According to the author it did much harm to Hungary that after the Bolshevism a régime was restored which made little or no allowances for the spirit of the times. To this Mr. Macartney attributes the fact that much bitterness was felt towards Hungary, as a result of which the nationality principle was applied only where it was detrimental to Hungary; where it would have been to her advantage, other principles, of strategy, communication, security, etc. were applied, and of those, such as were unfavourable for Hungary. To Mr. Macartney's opinion as outlined above we must reply that it may have been that the pre-war Hungarian régime was to a certain extent anti-démocratic, but if

this was true, it was the spirit of the age, and the régime was as anti-démocratic towards all classes of Hungarians as towards the nationalities. It is, however, an entirely erroneous statement to say that the system in force in Hungary previous to the war was so anti-démocratic that it was well-calculated (even without the misrepresentations of the Czech, Serb, and Rumanian departments) to stir up the nationalities. And it is a greater mistake still to make it appear as though the national régime which was restored after the collapse of Bolshevism was so much at variance with the spirit of the post-war days that the victors were justified in punishing so sorely a country entirely innocent of any responsibility for the war. The fact that on re-gaining the upper hand the national régime, for a time, replied to the Bolshevist terror with a counter-terror, was so natural a reaction to the Bolshevist atrocities that it must be regarded as something so human as to be inevitable.

In the historical part of his work Mr. Macartney gives a faithful picture of the Hungarian Constitution and the evolution of Hungarian political life. He says that the Hungarian Constitution, like the British, is not a codified Constitution, but one drawn from life, and that the Hungarians jealously preserve their ancient Constitution, mould and modify it, but never take away from it.

In the territory now forming their home the Hungarians (Magyars) on their entry did not find any consolidated State; merely a country thinly populated by Slavs, Avars and Bulgarians. The latter they absorbed. The Slavs whom the Magyars found there were the ancestors of the Slovaks living today in the Highlands. The Rumanians claim that when the Romans withdrew their legions from Dacia, there was left behind in Transylvania a certain latinised rustic population which was the source of the Rumanian people of today. This is denied by the Hungarians, who show scientifically that it was only from the twelfth century that the Rumanians began to filter into Transylvania.

In this connection we cannot help remarking — as against what Macartney has to say — that the question as to whether the Rumanians of Transylvania are autochthonous or not is no longer a moot point. It was solved long ago — negatively — by science. In Roman days there was not the slightest trace of Rumanians (Wallachs) in Transylvania. And even if during their stay in that province the Roman legionaries did actually intermarry with the Dacians, the result being the coming into being of latinised Dacian families, in no case did the Rumanians derive from the Romans (nor indeed did they even indirectly, by the intermingling of races acquire any Roman blood), seeing that the Wallachs (Rumanians) did not begin to filter into Transylvania until about the twelfth century, some eight hundred years after the departure

of the Roman legions from Dacia; and at that time there were no more traces of any Dacians or latinised Dacians either.

As Macartney tells us at length, right down to the sixteenth century the population of Hungary consisted predominantly of Magyars. Four-fifths of the inhabitants were Magyars. But the originally pure Magyar population (or at least the bulk of that population) was destroyed by the Mongol invasion and later by the Turkish wars and the civil and religious conflicts. The shortage of inhabitants was made up for by the importation of settlers of Germanic, Jewish, Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Italian, Serbian, Rumanian, Greek, French and Turkish nationality or race respectively. The policy of the Habsburgs greatly encouraged the immigration of foreigners, the object of that policy being to weaken the position of the liberty-loving Hungarians. The Habsburgs took a particular delight in encouraging the immigration of Germans and Serbs. In the meantime Rumanians too were continually swarming into the country and increased in number without let or hindrance. According to Macartney the Hungarian People has not changed in character since the days of Árpád's warriors. The elements absorbed by the Magyars have also acquired the Hungarian character and attitude of that people — in other words have become Magyars. The national character is so completely conservative that the elements absorbed by the ruling classes have always taken over unchanged the ideals and spirit of their forbears. Centuries of history have made no change in the political and social structure of Hungary. Today the Hungarians (Magyars) are what they have always been. — a nation of chivalrous, romantic, vehement and oligarchically-inclined soldiers, their virtues and their troubles making them alike a problem to Europe. Today the Hungarian problem is still the problem of the whole Danube Valley.

Here we are impelled once more to offer an objection. Macartney is still subconsciously under the influence of the partial statements of Czech and Rumanian works, which insist in attempting to prove that Hungary is still an oligarchy. And also that Hungary is ultra-conservative. The latter adjective must be softened to "conservative"; while the term "oligarchy" is not at all applicable to the Hungary of today. Since we liberated our feudal vassals in 1848, the term "oligarchy" is not at all applicable to the Hungary of today; when the principle of civil equality was introduced into our Constitution, there has never been any question here of an "oligarchy" in the genuine sense of the term. At that period the prerogatives of the nobility were abolished, a mere remnant of the same surviving today in the right reserved to the feudal aristocracy to delegate a certain limited number of Members to sit in the Upper House. And the feudal institution of "entail" is just about to be very considerably curtailed.

Now, as concerns the question of national minorities, Macartney very sagely points out that the Hungarian Nationality Act of 1868 was far more liberal in its treatment of the non-Magyar nationalities than the Minority Treaties concluded after the end of the Great War. However, according to Macartney the trouble about pre-War Hungary was that the Hungarian Nationality Act remained a dead letter. It is certainly true that the Hungarians made full use of the non-Magyar elements which became assimilated and never threw their origin in their teeth, so that the less hardly non-Magyar nationalities were absorbed without any resistance by the Hungarians, though those with more backbone offered a resistance merely

accentuated by the pressure brought to bear upon them by the Hungarians.

Here we must pause for a moment. In the first place, to be quite exact, the fact must be established that the treatment meted out to the non-Magyar nationalities in Greater (Pre-War) Hungary was nothing when compared with the oppression ruthlessly applied in the Succession States against the Hungarian minorities. And even if in the Hungary of pre-War days the non-Magyar nationalities had been oppressed as ruthlessly as the minorities in the Succession States today, that would be no excuse whatsoever for the treatment now shown by those States.

But the behaviour of the Succession States towards the Hungarian minorities is particularly reprehensible, if for no other reason than that the Hungarian are the autochthonous inhabitants of the wrested territories, and would therefore be entitled to expect added consideration and not the opposite. Ethically speaking, it is most revolting to see the stranger who has enjoyed the hospitality of his host driving the latter out of house and home.

Mr. Macartney describes the Hungarians as even today an isolated race surrounded by alien, hostile races of much greater numerical strength. For this very reason, he says, Hungary cannot expect to appeal with any results against the oppression to which the millions of Hungarians in the Succession States are being subjected unless her own treatment of the minorities in Hungary is approachable. This is requisite also from the point of view of revision. The restoration to Hungary of a part of her lost territories cannot be effected without a certain number of non-Magyars being restored with the Hungarians. The possibility of such a change depends to a great extent on the way Hungary treats her present minorities.

In this our opinion entirely agrees with that of Mr. Macartney. Proof thereof is the policy pursued by Hungary where the Germans, the only important nationality in the dismembered country, are concerned; viz. the last educational decree issued by the Government, which has been highly commended by those in authority in Germany.

Even if there is much to be said in criticism of Mr. Macartney's book, we must be ready to admit that it is the result of scrupulously careful research, and the closing pages are balm to our souls. For if he is not prejudiced in our favour — and that indeed he is not! — still he has faith in us, in our energy, and he believes that now, as so often in the course of history, we shall be victorious. Victorious through the power of our civilization.

*George Lukács.*

*"Crisis in Europe" by George Slocombe,  
London, Selwyn Blount Ltd. 10s 6d net*

This book deals with the economic and political problems of the Europe of to-day. It acquaints us with events beginning with the peace conferences of the World War, giving us a survey of the different treaties also. It says of the Treaty of Trianon that, instead of purifying the atmosphere, it really created worse conditions in Central Europe. It writes, „The claims

of race and nationality have merely been enhanced in this region by the Peace Treaties. The unstable Austro-Hungarian monarchy itself did not harbour so many problems of suppressed minorities as were created by the diplomatists and statesmen in Paris in 1919." Then it goes on to acquaint us with the plans and conferences with which the Great Powers tried to improve what they spoiled at the time of the Peace Treaties. They had to admit, says Slocombe, that the political as well as the economic effects of the Peace Treaties were directly catastrophic, for, instead of eliminating the damaging effects of the Great War, they stabilized the troubles which arose from it. He makes known the systems of alliance which developed in the new Europe. He does not consider the Little Entente to be an enduring and solid formation, for the interests of its members cross each other. The opinion of the author is that in case of serious trouble the members of the Little Entente will desert each other, because the whole formation was created by the impending danger of the Anschluss, the Hungarian revision endeavours and the Habsburg restoration.

The author then gives us a thorough insight into the interests both common and contrary which decisively influence the reciprocal relations of Powers as well as into the problems which await solution for the promotion of peace and development. Among these he devotes a separate chapter to the Hungarian question. He considers the partition of Hungary to be a most grievous fault for it "created one of the gravest of the economic problems which have afflicted Europe, since the peace and the present condition of these minorities, as has been seen from the previous chapter, threatens to destroy even the political reasons for detaching them from Hungary." "He finds it entirely incomprehensible why three and a half million Hungarians should have been detached from their mother-country. Nothing can justify this except „cynical expediency". This, as well as the ex-

cessive bestowing of territory at Hungary's expense from purely strategic points-of-view, created "a vast new irredentist problem" in the heart of Europe. This is only natural, for "three and a half million members of a proud, sensitive and warlike race were handed over to the tender mercies of nations (in the case of Rumania and Yugoslavia) still only in the Balkan stage of national development, culturally and politically their inferiors". The author considers the Treaty of Trianon injurious, not only from a political, but also from an economic standpoint. "Pre-war Hungary was a more than selfsupporting economic unit — one of the few existing in Europe... The economic disturbance caused by the Trianon Treaty has not, however, affected Hungary alone. It has spread to all the States in the valley of the Danube, the spoliators suffering almost equally with the despoiled. The peace conference did not take into consideration the ethnographic boundaries, because" for strategic, as well as for economic, reasons, the boundary of Czecho-Slovakia was drawn by the Trianon Treaty to pass by Szob on the Danube, although both banks of the Danube at that point are inhabited by Magyars. In Slocombe's opinion — who as an English man, views the events impartially — the Magyars have always availed themselves of peaceful means when they called the attention of the friendly States to the unjust decrees of the Trianon Treaty. He comes to the conclusion that a „revision of the treaties is inevitable if war is to be avoided... Sooner or later, and sooner if the war is to be avoided, a European Conference to revise the Treaties of Peace must be convened... This, according to the author, is vitally important.

Though a few of its events are in the shade of the past already, this book is extremely up-to-date and instructive, because it contains thoughts, suggestions and solutions which are the only means of insuring the peace of Europe and the creating of a pacific collaboration.

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## P O L I T I C A L      E C O N O M Y

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### RENEWED ADVANCE IN NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED

According to the preliminary report of the Labour Exchanges the number of registered unemployed at the end of February was 860,390 — an increase as compared with the number 850,010 recorded in the statement form the previous month. This means that in the course of a month the number of unemployed increased by 10,380.

The increase in the number of unemployed in evidence during the past month fell almost entirely to Slovakia, where statistics show 131,864 workless at the end of January and 141,300 by the end of February. The organ of Hlinka's Autonomist Slovak People's Party, the "Slovak", makes the following comment on the latest unemployment statistics: "Poverty is on the increase in Slovakia. We must keep these figures in mind when we read of negotiations in the course of which leading Czecho-Slovak statesmen urge a speedy solution of the Danube Valley problem.

If there exists a State in the Danube Valley whose economic conditions make the cessation of the conditions at present prevailing therein imperative, that State is Czecho-Slovakia, whose responsible statesmen seventeen years ago so unscrupulously broke up the economic unity of the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy, thereby causing great material losses to their own country."

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#### TRADE BALANCE: 34½ MILLION CROWNS LOSS

Official reports give the total of Czechoslovakia's imports in January as 530.6 million Crowns, against the total of her export amounting to the value of 495.9 million Crowns. In the same period of last year Czechoslovakia had a total import to the value of 414.9 million Crowns, against 476.3 million Crowns of export. The trade balance of Czecho-Slovakia in January shows a loss of 34.65 million Crowns. In January 1935 it showed a profit of 61.3 million Crowns.

## THE CENTRE OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK TEXTILE INDUSTRIES IS THE BURIAL PLACE OF INDUSTRY"

Highly interesting economic statements of eminent importance were made at the last meeting of the Municipal Council in Brünn. Dealing with the subject of the labour programme, the Burgomaster of Brünn quoted a number of interesting figures to illustrate the economic condition of the Moravian capital. Being the centre of the Czecho-Slovak textile industries, the economic condition of Brünn must be looked upon as a standard in examining the development of this most important branch of Czecho-Slovak industry.

In 1928 Brünn could give work to 16,800 textile labourers; in 1931 this figure dwindled to 8000. The value of import of meat to Brünn was 1.35 million Crowns less last year than before. On the other hand, there is an increase of 100% in the prosperity of horse butchery. The Burgomaster then declared that the discussion was to be treated as an open debate, and he requested the members of the council to express their views and submit their proposals.

Subsequent speeches gave a similarly vivid illustration of the economic condition of the second largest city in the Republic. One of the speakers, a Socialist member, recalled the fact that the city stood first on the unemployment list. Besides the remarkable increase of horse butchery, he said, it is amazing to think of the huge quantities of *dog's and cat's meat* sold in Brünn. The consumption of milk, on the other hand, decreased by 2.3 liters in 1935. "In spite of its excellent geographical and technical situation, the Moravian Manchester is now the great burial place of industry" —, said the Vice-Burgomaster. ("Práží Magyar Hírlap", February 13th, 1936).

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## PROBLEM OF WHEAT SURPLUS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA ?

As a result of Czecho-Slovakia's unreasonable agrarian policy, which has also upset the economic balance of the Danube Valley, this mainly industrial country is now faced with the problem of overproduction of wheat; consequently while not obliged to import wheat from other countries, she is unable for the same reasons to place its industrial products in the neighbouring agrarian States.

The price of wheat in Czecho-Slovakia is so much above the average international price that it is impossible to think of export. Following the suggestion of the Agricultural Association the Government has issued an ordinance to limit the area of arable land employed for the purpose of wheatgrowing. Under the ordinance farmers are not allowed to increase the production of the total area of corn production, while the wheat-growing area has to be reduced by 8%.

Reports published in the Prague press say that this ordinance has been defied by farmers in Slovakia and Ruthenia, i. e. in the territories taken from Hungary. On the other hand, the "česke Slovo" refers to the fact that Slovakia is by nature a wheatgrowing country, so that the improvement of the productivity of arable land was less intensive there than in the historic provinces. And if the methods of improvement have been followed in Slovakia, too, it was only because it was originally intended to make Slovakia the granary of the Republic. The rate of improvement was lowest in Slovakia, and the farmers in the historic provinces have done much more in that way. Between 1927 and 1931, the average wheat-growing area in

the Republic was 791,818 hectares, while in 1935 that area advanced to 965,829 hectares, that being an increase of 20%. The advance was not uniform in all parts of the country. Official records show that the rate of increase in Bohemia was 25%, and that in Moravia and Silesia 30%, while in Slovakia the wheat area was only increased by 15%, and in Ruthenia by 10%. The paper then declares that the expectations of an 8% reduction attached to the ordinance have not been fulfilled; for, taking the total area of the Republic, the area of land sown with autumn wheat has only been reduced by 1.7%, and there is very little hope that it will be possible to reach the 8% reduction in the area of spring wheat.

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## REDUCTION OF THE RATES OF INTEREST AND THE FARMERS' BANK

The Cabinet Council has passed the drafts of Orders in Council prescribing a reduction in the rates of interest on the internal state loan and in the rates of interest in general. Both orders come into force on January 1. In terms of the order decreeing a reduction in the bank rates, the rate of interest on deposits will be something like  $\frac{3}{4}\%$ , and that on credits about  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ , lower than at present. Closely allied with the question of lower rates of interest is the problem of how to adjust farmers debts. In this matter the Government has so far come to no decision, but it is probable that the Bill for the establishment of a Farmers' Bank (Selská Banka) for the purpose of effecting an adjustment of the farmers' debts will be debated at latest early in January. The task of the Farmers' Bank will be to buy agricultural land and other land which although not agricultural in character the Bank may consider it desirable to acquire.

The Bill invests the Bank with the privilege of expropriation. Expropriation is to be resorted to when the Bank requires the agricultural land in question in order to be able to fulfill the tasks devolving upon it in terms of the said Bill. The Bill also invests the Bank with the right to foreclose, when agricultural or any other (non-agricultural) land is for sale. The Farmers' Bank will be entitled to do so even should any other party have an option on the land for sale entered in the Land Register. In terms of the Bill, the Bank must be notified of every proposed transfer of real estate; the name of the intending purchaser and the price offered must be reported; and the real estate in question offered first to the Bank. Should the owner of the real estate for sale neglect to offer it to the Farmers' Bank, or sell it at a lower price than that demanded from the Bank, he will be obliged to pay the Bank compensation. In such cases the Farmers' Bank will be entitled to repurchase the real estate in question from its new owner. According to the Bill all the persons involved in the illegal sale of an estate — even lawyers and notaries public — will be punishable by law. The capital of the Bank is to be 100 million Czech crowns, that amount to be obtained by the issue of non-amortisable, non-negotiable bonds bearing fiscal rate of interest; the State to guarantee the interest and any eventual redemptions. In minority circles it is feared that the Farmers' Bank will serve primarily to further a settlement policy; that it will continue the action so widely inaugurated when the Land Reform was being carried into effect, the object of which was to cut up and denationalise the purely Hungarian and German settlement areas by flooding them with Czech and other Slav elements.

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## TOBACCO RÉGIE RECEIPTS 160 MILLION CZECH CROWNS SHORT OF BUDGETARY ESTIMATES

The "Slovák" of January 10 announces that the tobacco régie receipts in 1935 were 1648 million Czech crowns, as against 1727 millions in 1934. Of that sum 1160 millions were paid into the Treasury (in 1934, 1275 millions), whereas according to the Budgetary Estimates 1320 millions should have been handed over.

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## HUNGARY

### BUDAPEST: THE ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL CENTRE OF THE DANUBE BASIN

General interest has been aroused by a statement recently made by Dr. Hodža, the Czech Premier; dealing with the distribution of cereals in the Danube States, he proposed the establishment of a Danubian Corn Centre, or a similar institution, for this purpose. The headquarters of this institution, he thinks, should be in Vienna.

The general attitude of Hungarian economic circles towards Dr. Hodža's proposal may be outlined as follows:

Owing to its peculiar geographical situation Budapest may be considered as the natural centre of the Danube Valley; there are, moreover, a number of other economic moments ensuring a leading position to the Hungarian Capital.

A corn centre of the type described by Dr. Hodža cannot be realized without the cooperation of Hungary, Austria, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The natural and geographical centre of these six countries is Budapest, where the various institutions for the purpose of distribution are all available.

In the first place we have the Free Port of Budapest, which was built a few years ago with a view to facilitate trade relations between the Danube States. Even in the present economic situation of mutual reserve the Free Port has shows a remarkable development, and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to develop very favourably in the future.

Besides this, the leading position of Budapest is ensured by certain other points not to be found in any of other Danube States. Of all the produce exchanges of the Danube States, that in Budapest is the only one where there is still a "futures" market calculated to have an equalizing influence and to considerably facilitate the work of distribution and selling, on the basis of proper statutes.

Another point is the dominating position of Hungarian mill industry in the Danube States. Of all the Danube States the mill industry of Hungary has attained the highest stage of development, and if it is now faced with difficulties that is due to the inadequacy of employment and to difficulties of exports, in consequence of which its full capacity is not used.

Hungarian corn traders and corn exporters believe that the present proposal will not be practicable unless the corn exporting states, (Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria) come to a mutual agreement among themselves with regard to the corn supply of the two industrial states, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

The incompatibility of economic interests is another great handicap impending the realisation of this scheme: the exporting States endeavour, of course, to sell at a high price, while the importing States would like to buy at the lowest possible prices. These differences, as we have seen in a few cases in the past, may be overcome and completely eliminated; but we cannot possibly, for the time being, ignore the leading position of Budapest in the corn trade of the Danube States; and serious consideration and the realities of Nature will soon make it evident that, whether it is a question of the establishment of a corn centre of the Danube States or of the system of corn distribution, the work can only be directed from Budapest.

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### IMPROVEMENT IN HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

According to the "Report on the Economic Situation" issued by the "Hungarian Institute of Economic Research", *agricultural conditions show a slight improvement as compared with those of last year.* Taking the prices quoted at the end of October as a standard, *the value of the crops grown on the arable land was about 15—18% more this year than last.* From the point of view of *agricultural income*, however, all that counts is the *value of the marketable quantities.* And here the improvement was not so great as in the amount produced. For the fact that considerably larger quantities of grain, especially wheat, were available for selling was set off by *the necessity of importing corn, particularly maize for cattle.* *The slight improvement in evidence in the purchasing power of agriculture was therefore mainly due to the prices obtained for cattle, especially for pigs, and to the higher prices of certain dairy products.*

*Industrial production shows a marked improvement.* The index number for the third quarter of 1935 was 20% above that for the same period last year. *The number of workmen employed by industry has also risen by 11%.* Business in the heavy and building industries in particular has improved notably. Against this, the increase in production attained by the consumption good industries is only 2% in excess of last year's figures; but it is also true that *the present is the highest level attained so far.* There were several reasons why the improvement was so great in the industries first mentioned: briskness in the building trade, public investment, and the so-called "supplementary investments" made by private industrial enterprise and agriculture, which had been postponed for years. Another factor largely contributing was a *brisker trade in industrial exports.*

Hungary's *foreign trade balance* for the third quarter of 1935, which aggregated 201 million pengő, closed with an excess of exports of 13 million pengő, as against a favourable balance of 12 millions in 1934. The value of imports rose by 10 million pengő to 94 millions. *This was due solely to the large quantities of corn imported for cattle.* The value of exports, chiefly industrial exports, rose by 11 million pengő to 107 millions.

The rise in the wholesale price level which had set in in September 1933, *continued with increasing rapidity* in the past few months. By the end of October the price level *had risen 30% above its low point.* In the course of the last *four months* the rise was 13%. *The most important rise was in the price index number for agricultural produce and live stock* (51 and 20 per cent respectively), and in the price index number for imported raw materials and colonial goods

(29 and 10 per cent. respectively). It should be noted that the rise in the prices of agricultural products, as well as of imported articles, which has taken place within the past months, was chiefly due to the *higher prices obtaining in the world markets. The index number of finished and half-finished goods fell between 1933 and the May of 1935, but between then and the end of October it rose 9%. The discrepancy between agricultural and industrial prices has been decreased during recent months. In September, 1933, the discrepancy was 30%, in June 1935, 23% and by the end of October only 14%.*

In the *money market* the improved conditions in industrial production were reflected primarily in a *very much brisker turn-over in cheques.* But during recent months the *circulation of banknotes* has also slightly increased. Since the rate of interest was lowered on August 20th, the money market rates of interest have also declined by  $\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{2}$ %, and business in that market is a *shade livelier.* The boom in shares which set in in the close of 1934 reached its high point in May, with a 60% rise. By the end of August the prices of shares had dropped by about 10% and since then, apart from minor fluctuations, have been practically unchanged.

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### HUNGARIAN EXPORT: 18.5 MILLION PENGOES INCREASE IN JANUARY

Official records on Hungarian export in January show that after a continual export surplus for some months, the balance of January has a surplus of import.

The considerable rise of *import* (13.4 million Pengö more than in January last year) is due, in the first place, to the losses suffered from the drought and other havoc last year. As an example it is enough to mention that last year Hungary had almost no import of *maize*, while this year we had to spend nearly 7 and a half million Pengö for this purpose, in the interest of our cattle breeding. Another important factor was the increase of our *oil import*, where we see a difference of one million Pengö (plus) against January of last year. — At the same we are pleased to report the increase of our export by more than  $\frac{1}{6}$  (i. e. 5.1 million Pengö) in January, parallel with the rise of our import. With this, the total of our export trade shows an increase of 18.5 million Pengö, i. e. nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$ , against last years.

The total value of our import in January amounted to 40.6 million Pengö (against 27.2 million P. in January last year), while the export amounted to a total of 34.9 Pengö (29.8 mill. P. last year). The export balance of January, then, shows a loss of 5.7 million Pengö (against a profit of 2.6 million P. in January last year).

### HUNDRED CAR-LOADS OF HUNGARIAN FAT TO ENGLAND

Following the decisions arrived at in the debate on Sanctions at Geneva, the British Government afforded remarkable preferences to Yugoslav poultry export, which meant a fatal blow to the poultry-ex-

port of Hungary. Asking for the withdrawal of these orders from the British Government, the Hungarian authorities were informed that these measures were not intended to offend the interests of Hungary but to serve those of Yugoslavia, and that England will take advantage upon the first opportunity to make good the losses which Hungary may have incurred in consequence of the diminution of her poultry export. This promise has now been fulfilled. Following the negotiations conducted by the Hungarian Foreign Trade Corporation Ltd., England has ordered about a million kilograms of fat within the last few weeks; it has been agreed that England will increase this amount in the next few weeks and months, and if the quality in bulk conforms with the quality of the samples sent to England and guaranteed by the Trade Corporation, Hungary will be invited to be a permanent exporter of considerable quantities of fat to England in the future.

### DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH-HUNGARIAN TRADE

Hungary was represented at the British Fair by fifty-three commercial experts. The leader of the Hungarian delegation, Mr. Leo Dán, took steps to discuss with the head of the foreign department of the Board of Trade the possibilities of British export to Hungary. He suggested that Hungary should be allowed to pay in agricultural products, in which case Hungary could offer an excellent market for the sale of British industrial products. It is understood that negotiations to ensure the development of trade between the two countries will soon be opened.

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### NEW COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN HUNGARY AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Following an exchange of notes between the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Czecho-Slovak Legation in Budapest, a commercial agreement was concluded between the two countries on January 1-st. This agreement allows Hungary to export to Czecho-Slovakia, in the course of the year 1936, 30,000 fattened pigs, 516 wagon-loads of lard and bacon, 9500 sheep, 1250 horses, 150 wagon-loads of wine; pulse, butter and eggs, of the value of 900 million Czech crowns, and, lastly, industrial products of the value of 22 million Czech crowns. Certain changes have been introduced in regard to the regulation of the mode of payment. The system of compensations hitherto followed will remain valid in the case of Hungarian agricultural products and Czecho-Slovak coke, coal, and charcoal. On the other hand, the equivalent of Hungarian goods of the value of about 6 million Czech crowns will serve to cover the expenses of Hungarian visitors to Czecho-Slovakia, and to pay Hungarian debts in that country. Another

new feature is the new way of settling accounts for the remainder of the goods exported: the parties concerned will not have to negotiate individually, as they have done in the past, because the Hungarian Trading Co. Ltd. (under the control of the Hungarian Foreign Corporation Ltd.) will be authorised by the National Bank to effect all payments. The Hungarian exporters will receive a uniform export premium of 40%, while the amount of Czecho-Slovak crowns needed for the payment of imported goods will be remitted to the importers, within the limits of the sums available, at a premium of 40%.

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### FINANCIAL POSITION OF GENERAL SOCIAL INSURANCE INSTITUTE

According to the figures published in the "*Statisztikai Tudósító*" (Statistical Gazette) the General Social Insurance Institute, known as the OTI, is one of the biggest accumulators and distributors of capital in Hungary. Its revenue from premiums gives it control of a capital so large that the Institute is able, to play an important rôle in Hungary's economic life.

About one million people in Hungary are insured against sickness, and about two-thirds of that number are members of the OTI.

Insurance premiums constitute the Institute's principal assets. In 1934 the premiums paid in the four branches of insurance were as follows:

|                                   |                  |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| Sickness insurance:               |                  |
| a) General branch                 | 34 million pengő |
| b) Servants' insurance            | 5 million pengő  |
| Old Age and Disablement insurance | 14 million pengő |
| Accident insurance                | 9 million pengő  |
| Miners' Pension insurance         | 3 million pengő  |
| total                             | 65 million pengő |

In addition to the 65 million pengő paid as premiums in 1934 the Institute enjoyed State contribution and other items of revenue accruing from interest on money, rents, etc. Of course, in accordance with the aims of the Institute, the greater part of these additional amounts was paid out again in various insurance services and for organisation expenses. The accumulation of capital goes on chiefly in the branches of old-age and invalid insurance and miners' pension insurance.

The assets of the four branches of insurance are estimated at over 200 million pengő; and even after deducting the various liabilities the Institute still controls a very considerable capital.

The capital invested in the reserve funds of the old-age and invalid insurance already amounts to about 11 million pengő. In addition, the assets of the sickness insurance branch — equipment, buildings, offices etc. — are very considerable, and even the

assets of the accident and miners' pension insurance may also be described as important. The various assets of the sickness insurance branch, such as buildings, arrears of premiums, institutions, dispensaries etc. are valued at 71 million pengő.

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## RUMANIA

### RUMANIAN WRITER ON 26 YEARS OF RUMANIA'S ECONOMIC LIFE

M. Andrei Serbulescu, sub-editor of the Bucharest paper "Cuvantul Liber", has just published a paper on "The Economic Situation in Rumania", in which he gives a summary of Rumania's economic life in the last twentysix years. We thought it advisable to inform our readers of this paper, because it is written by an authority belonging to the ruling majority, so that this opinion may be considered as perfectly unbiassed. M. Serbulescu makes the following remarkable statements:

"Great (or United) Rumania is composed of heterogeneous parts. Transylvania, the Old Kingdom, and Bessarabia are so different from one another economically, that their union demanded an increase of expenses and a capital such as Rumania had never possessed and does not possess even today. In want of capital the Greater Rumanian régime made use of the dangerous instrument of land reform, because it was feared that Rumania would come under the influence of the then new revolution in Russia. The distribution of land naturally resulted in a decline of the productivity of land, as the new landowners only received land without the necessary implements of cultivation. Thus it is easy to understand why the 1911—15 average of 12.2 quintals per hectare fell to 9.8 quintals per hectare. Besides having a detrimental influence on the trade balance of the country, the decrease of productivity affected the Budget too very unfavourably. Before 1929 the contribution of the agricultural population towards the total revenue of the State amounted to 8—10%, in 1930—34 it sank to 4.6%. The Bratianu Cabinet (Liberal) endeavoured to counterbalance this by the protection of industry, but even in this point it allowed itself to be led exclusively by party interests. It carried out the nationalization of industrial undertakings, but it exploited that measure for the profit of liberal banks; owing to the influence of the Banca Nationala, the State Bank granted no credit except to its own undertakings. The National Peasant Party, which then took the place of the Liberals, endeavoured to counterbalance this and to change the situation, yet the methods it applied were purely illusory. It started the work with a sum of 20 milliard Lei (1 milliard = 1000 millions), which it raised by farming out all the most important Government monopolies, such as the manufacture of matches, the telephone service, the

ammunition industry, etc. Thus the 200 milliards were soon spent without any apparent result.

"The present economic situation of Rumania may be illustrated by two symptoms in particular: on the one hand we have the domination of "trusts" over 60% of the industry, while on the other hand we see the utmost misery of the peasantry, which is too poor to be considered as a class of consumers. In 1924, shortly after the land reform, Rumanian boasted that she had only 400,000 landless farming people living within her frontiers. But in 1930 the number of landless agrarians rose to 700,000, while in 1935 it was estimated at 1,200,000; at the same time Rumania had about 400,000 agricultural inhabitants who were compelled to leave their homes in the country and move to the adjacent cities, because they had lost their holdings.

The temporary prosperity of her home industry does not contribute towards the improvement of Rumania's finances, because the country has almost nothing to export except wood, oil, and a small quantity of agricultural products.

Yet even these few articles are bought by those countries who pay them in their own weak currencies, (Italy, Austria, Hungary, Germany, etc.) while Rumania is obliged to pay her creditors in French francs, or pounds sterling, so that the State is actually faced with serious difficulties in meeting its own financial obligations abroad. The only way to secure good currencies seems the restriction of imports. This, however, will scarcely prove a satisfactory method, because the number of Rumania's purchasers is becoming more and more limited to countries with weak currencies: in 1934, 39% of Rumanian's exports were dispatched to countries with blocked currencies, while in 1935 this percentage rose to 67%.

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### RUMANIA'S EXPORTS IN 1935.

Great surprise has been caused in economic circles by the fact that the Rumanian Ministry of Finance, whose reports on export had previously been published every month, has stopped the publication of these reports since October 1935, so that the only records of Rumanian exports have been those published in the press. The reason why the Ministry has discontinued the publication of export reports is that the records have to be revised, because the export balance of the second half last year was founded on incorrect facts. The result of this revision, it is expected, will be that the excess of exports will be much less than 500 millions (as was incorrectly reported last year), probably not more than 200 million Lei.

In default of official records we must rely on the report submitted by the exporting organisations to the Exporters' Congress held in Bucharest in December, 1935. According to these records the total value of Rumania's exports in the first ten months of the year

1935 amounted to 12,730,598,000 Lei. If we compare this with the records of the last four years (1932: 16,721,593,000 Lei; 1933: 14,470,828,000 Lei; 1934: 13,655,734,000 Lei) we notice a considerable decrease in spite of the fact that prices have generally risen; as a matter of fact, Rumania's total exports were 3,000 million Lei less in 1935 than in 1932. The fall in exports of cereals is most disastrous, because in the last three years it has declined from 5,730 to 2,284 million Lei, a most unfortunate occurrence in the case of a distinctively agricultural country.

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### DECREASE OF EXPORT IN JANUARY

In December 1935 Rumania's exports amounted to 1,551 million Lei. In January 1936, however, their value was not more than 1,063 millions. ("Curentul", Febr. 10).

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### "THE INCREASE OF INLAND REVENUE IS DUE TO THE WILDEST FISCAL TERROR"

According to a report of the Ministry of Finance, published in "Patria", the mouthpiece of the Rumanian Peasant Party in Transylvania, the total amount of inland revenue in January 1936 shows an increase of 272 millions as against January 1935. These 272 millions, the paper says, are due to "the wildest fiscal terror". Tax collectors and gendarmes broke into the houses of tax payers, terrorising children and widows, to carry off the last *pillow and very often the only cow* that gave nourishment to 7 or 8 members of a hungry family. *The newly appointed tax collectors sometimes went so far as to sell peoples houses for small arrears.*

### CREAT LOSSES OF RUMANIAN PETROLEUM COMPANIES

The sixteen most important Rumanian petroleum companies, possessing a capital of 9,000 million lei and thus representing more than 80% of the total amount of capital invested in the Rumanian petroleum industry, in their accounts for 1934 show a deficit of 79,500,000 lei, as against profits of 244 million lei for the year 1936 and of 5786 million lei for the year 1929. Since the latter year the output has advanced by 75%. The unfavourable results shown in the balance-sheets are due primarily to the set-back ensuing in the first eight months of 1934 in the prices of most export products, and in particular of petrol. As against the increase in the volume of exports (from 5,883,659 tons to 6,545,866 tons) in evidence in 1934 as compared the state of things in 1933, we find that the value of the yield of the export trade declined from 7,879,000 to 7,212,000 lei.



## SUSPENSION OF ANGLO-RUMANIAN ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS

Owing to the incompatibility of the interests of the two countries, the Anglo-Rumanian commercial negotiations have been broken off. The British delegates declared that Rumania must make a definite promise to pay her previous debts and appropriate 25% of her exports to this purpose. The Rumanian Government, on the other hand, desired the inclusion of these debts in the export payments, but is not willing to appropriate more than 10% of the total value of exports for this purpose.

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## GERMAN ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN RUMANIA AT CZECHO-SLOVAKIA'S EXPENSE

According to data published in the *Národný Listy*, trade between Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia looks less and less promising for Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia's exports to Rumanian show a declining tendency, while Germany's exports to that country are on the rise. The volume of commodities to Rumania by Germany this year is 17% in excess of that for the same period of last year.

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## THE FIRST COMMERCIAL AND CLEARING AGREEMENTS BETWEEN ROUMANIA AND THE SOVIET

The first *commercial agreement* between Rumania and the Soviet has recently been signed by *M. Ostrowski*, the Soviet Minister in Bucharest and *M. Costinescu*, the Rumanian Minister of Commerce. At the same time the two Ministers have signed a *clearing agreement* between the two countries, based on the principle of mutual goods exchange, on equal terms. The sums (in Lei) paid for the articles exported from Rumania to Soviet Russia, will be deposited at the Rumanian National Bank for the payment of goods imported from Russia to Rumania.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### PROTEST IN SKUPSTINA, AGAINST UNJUST SYSTEM OF TAXATION

The new session of the Skupstina (Yugoslav Parliament) was opened in the last week of January, with a heavy attack from the opposition directed mainly against *M. Stevan Čirič*, President of the National Assembly, who had gone over to the Government Party after his election as an opposition member. This attack did not cease before the chair was taken by *M. Franja Martić*, Vice-President of the Skupstina.

The most remarkable speech in the new session was that made by *M. Voislav Dosen*, a member for the Voivodina, in support of his bill proposing a new and more adequate determination of the cadastral net revenue necessitated by the abnormally unequal system of taxation now prevailing in the country. He quoted the relevant official reports showing the various categories of land tax: while in the Danube Banate (the greater part of which, the Voivodina, was formerly Hungarian territory) the land tax, is 150 Dinars per yoke, that of the Save Banate (formerly Croatia) not more than 35 Dinars, that in the Drave Banate (Slovenia) and the Drina Banate 21 Dinars, that in the Morava Banate 20 Dinars, and that in the Littoral Banate only 6 Dinars. He also mentioned that the excise authorities in the Voivodina collect more taxes than those levied on the population of that territory. Thus last year the taxes collected in the District of Dárda (County of Baranya) were 39% in excess of the original assessment, the excess in the District of Bácskapalánk being 3%, that in the Ruma District (Province of Sylvania) 2%, that in the Szabadka (Subotica) District 12%, and that in the Zombor District 4%. The taxes collected illegally (by mistake) were not returned to the taxpayers, who were thus made to pay an involuntary contribution to the excise authorities.

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### WHY IS YUGOSLAVIA UNABLE TO MEET THE OBLIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY HER AT THE POSTAL CONGRESS OF 1927?

At a recent meeting the Yugoslav Cabinet discussed the question of the modernization necessitated by the fact that the International Postal Congress of 1927 decided to put Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria under the obligation to double the number of their cables connecting with the Yugoslav frontier. Hungary and Austria have already fulfilled their obligations, but Yugoslavia has not done so as yet. Several States are now demanding that Yugoslavia should urgently increase her 11 telephone lines by another 14 new lines to the frontier, otherwise they would have to direct the transit service (from the West to the East) through Rumania and avoid Yugoslavia. It is not easy to see why Yugoslavia is so slow in fulfilling her obligations, the more so as the extension of the telephonic service would mean a surplus revenue of 14 million dinars a year to the State, so that the amount of investments (roughly 190 million dinars altogether) could be paid back out of this surplus alone within not more than 14 years.

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### YUGOSLAVIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN 1935.

According to the statistics of the Customs Department of the Finance Ministry, the total value of Yugoslavia's foreign trade in 1935 was 7,730,100,000 dinars,

as compared with 7,451,500,000 dinars in 1934, which means an increase of 3.74%. The value of exports last year was 4,300,300,000 dinars, or 3.92% more than the previous years' total of 3,878,200,000 dinars. The value of imports was 3,699,800,000 dinars as compared with 3,773,300,000 dinars in the previous year, an increase of 3.54%. The foreign trade balance for 1935 closed with an excess of exports of 330,600,000 dinars, an improvement of 25,700,000 dinars compared with the previous year's profit of 304,900,000 dinars. Germany holds the first place in exports and imports both in value and volume. The various States participate in Yugoslavia's import trade in the following ratio: Germany 16.17%, Czecho-Slovakia 13.97%, Austria 11.92%, Great Britain 10.09% and Italy 10.02%. These five countries supply Yugoslavia with 62.17% of her imports. To a smaller extent she imports from the United States (6.19%), France (4.35%), Hungary (2.91%), British India (2.59%) and Switzerland (2.42%). Exports are directed chiefly towards Germany (18.65%), Italy (16.68%), Austria (14.32%) and Czecho-Slovakia (13.40%). These four countries absorb 63.05% of Yugoslavia's exports. The countries absorbing over 2% are the United States (5.58%), Great Britain (5.27%), Hungary (4.98%), Greece (3.64%), Belgium (3.38%), and Switzerland (2.42%). It is significant that *the surrounding Balkan States participate to such a negligible extent in Yugoslavia's foreign trade. Together they scarcely do as much trade with her as Hungary alone.* (Jugoslovenski Lloyd I/28 and I/31.)

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### POST OFFICE SAVINGS-BANK DEPOSITS USED TO SECURE BURGETORS DEFICITS

In its endeavour to create new sources of revenue the Savings-Bank. Dictatorship has had recourse to the Post Office Savings-Bank. First the Bank was made to buy State bonds, then when in 1931 and 1932 the value of these bonds fell so low and the Post Office Savings-Bank had suffered great losses, the Government imposed all sorts of dues and charges on cheques. With the sums thus obtained the losses were paid off and a reserve fund created to balance any contingent losses in the future. The Bank's balance for 1935 shows a profit of 56,900,000 dinars in which the above-mentioned dues and charges figure at 22 millions. The Bank, as we see, could afford to dispense with the revenues accruing from them, but then the share of the profits falling to the State — 36,600,000 dinars — would be considerably less. The way the financial resources of the State Banks are being made use of to balance State expenditure is even more clearly visible in the credit policy of the Post Office Savings-bank. In 1931, 1934, and 1935 respectively the Bank supplied the following credits in million dinars: —

|                       | 1931 | 1934 | 1935 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|
| Loans to the Treasury | 379  | 926  | 1071 |
| Loans to Banks        | 238  | 189  | 172  |
| Loans on Securities   | 134  | 65   | 47   |

During the same period the value of the State bonds held by the Post Office Savings-Bank rose from 160 to 336 millions. Deposits increased in those five years from 1134 to 2030 millions. During those years the Bank therefore handed over to the State its newly acquired foreign capital of 896 million dinars almost as soon as it was deposited. The service of private credits, on the other hand, was considerably curtailed, so that loans to banks and on securities decreased from 372 to 219 million dinars. (Jugoslovenski Lloyd February 5.)

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### CRISIS IN YUGOSLAV MILLING INDUSTRY

The figures showing the flour exports for the last sixteen years clearly demonstrate the injurious consequences of an economic system trying to achieve self-sufficiency, one of the characteristic symptoms of which is the crisis in the Yugoslav milling industry: —

(in Dinars)

|       |              |       |             |
|-------|--------------|-------|-------------|
| 1920. | 96.8 million | 1928. | 8.0 million |
| 1921. | 127.0 "      | 1929. | 35.2 "      |
| 1922. | 142.0 "      | 1930. | 28.0 "      |
| 1923. | 239.0 "      | 1931. | 8.8 "       |
| 1924. | 348.0 "      | 1932. | 7.8 "       |
| 1925. | 201.0 "      | 1933. | 4.0 "       |
| 1926. | 163.7 "      | 1934. | 3.9 "       |
| 1927. | 61.8 "       | 1935. | 3.6 "       |

*Flour exports had by 1934 dropped to less than 1% of the highest value recorded (in 1924).* The best markets for Yugoslav flour were Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Italy. In 1924 the value of flour exported to Austria 172,500,000 dinars, while in 1934 it was only 3,500,000. Exports of flour to Czecho-Slovakia, the value of which in 1924 totalled 120,000,000 dinars, and those to Italy which in 1923 were valued at 30,600,000 dinars, had entirely ceased by 1934—1935. The statistics relating to bran exports show a more favourable aspect, but naturally the recent exportation of bran to the value of 20,800,000 dinars cannot make up for the great decline in flour exports.

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# S P O R T S

## FOURTH WINTER OLYMPIAD

From February 6th for ten days the eyes of the whole world of sports were directed towards Garmisch-Partenkirchen, where the competitors in the fourth winter Olympiad fought their battles for the first places and the glory of their national colours. The countries of the Danube Valley sent their representatives to this great international meeting, and relatively speaking made a pretty good display. Not all of them, however, had equal chances. The reason lies in the geographical position and other natural causes. We must remember that training in winter sports depends primarily upon cold weather and snow. Now in the capricious and changeable climate of the Danube Valley we cannot count with any certainty on suitable conditions, except where the hills are high enough to ensure the devotees of winter sports an unbroken training of at least two months. Among the countries of the Danube Valley Hungary is decidedly flat in character, the highest hill being scarcely 3500 feet, while the altitude of the rest varies between 500 and 600 metres. In these circumstances the chances of training in winter sports are at the mercy of the weather, and only about 15 or 20 opportunities of sport present themselves in a year. The alternative, training abroad, is out of the question because of the economic crisis.

The rest of the Danube countries are in a much more favourable position. Austria had always her high mountains. With the acquisition of the Hungarian territories, Slovakia and Ruthenia, Transylvania, and Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia respectively obtained excellent new possibilities for winter sports.

It is therefore all the more surprising that Austria alone was able to take a higher place than Hungary on the lists of the final results, besides these two countries, Czecho-Slovakia was the only one of the Danube States to appear on the final lists of points, and she came after Hungary. The comparatively good work of the Hungarian competitors, especially the fine play exhibited by the ice-hockey team against France, which was commented on by the press of other countries, allows us to hope that Hungary will do better still at the next international meeting.

The order of priority of the nations which competed in the final ties of the Fourth winter Olympiad is as follows:

- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Norway        | 9. Canada              |
| 2. Germany       | 10. Hungary            |
| 3. Sweden        | 11. Czecho-Slovakia    |
| 4. Finland       | 12. Belgium            |
| 5. U. S. A.      | 13. Holland and France |
| 6. Austria       | 14. Japan and Italy    |
| 7. Great Britain | 15. Poland             |
| 8. Switzerland   |                        |

## SWIMMING

Ernest Hoffmann, one of the best theoretical and practical authorities on German swimming, every year compiles and publishes in the periodical "Swimmer" a list of the world's best swimmers in order of rank. He has just done so now, and the Hungarian swimmers occupy a prominent place on his list.

Among the world's ten best swimmers Francis Csik holds the third place in 100 metre races with 57.8 seconds. Fick and Yusa alone precede him with 56.6 and 57.2 seconds respectively.

Csik is eighth and Lengyel ninth in the 200 m. races with 2mins. 14.4 secs and 2 mins. 14.6 secs. respectively. Four American and three Japanese swimmers head them. Medica leads with a world record of 2 mins. 07.2 secs. which he established in a 25 yard swimming-pool. The Hungarians follow the next European on the list, Heibl (2 mins. 14.7 secs.).

In the 400 m. races Lengyel's record did not reach the standard. In the 1500 m. race Lengyel was given the ninth place with 20 mins. 28 secs. and Taris only comes after him with 20 mins 28.2 secs.

Hungary appears only once in other than free-style swimming: Csik's record of 1 min. 14 secs in the 100 m. breast-stroke race secures him the seventh place among the world's best swimmers.

If we take only the European results we see that Hungary occupies a leading place almost everywhere.

In the 100 m. races Csik is first, in 200 m. races he is first and Lengyel second, while in the 400 m. races Lengyel is second and Gróf eighth (5 mins. 02.4 secs.).

Lengyel is first in the 1500 m. race and Csik fourth in the 100 m. breast-stroke. The 1935 Hungarian record for 100 m. back-stroke and 400 m. breast-stroke swimming is the fourteenth best result.

## FENCING

The great meeting between the Italian and the Hungarian fencers took place in San Remo. The tournament ended this time in a victory for the Italians, who beat the Hungarian team by 2:1. The two nations are constantly competing with one other for the hegemony, and as a rule the Hungarians win, as their series of Olympic victories show. This time, however, they were beaten in San Remo.

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