

# DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

VOL. IV., No 6.  
B U D A P E S T  
NOVEMBER 1936

PUBLISHED BY THE HUNGARIAN FRONTIER  
READJUSTMENT LEAGUE

SINGLE COPY 50 FILL.  
SUBSCRIPTION:  
ONE YEAR 6 PENGÓ

## C O N T E N T S

- The Balkan Origin of the Rumanian People  
and the Problem of its Settlement in  
Transylvania . . . . . *Dr. Lajos Tamás*
- What an Englishman Observed in the Hungary  
of the "Age of Reform" . . . . . *Dr. Alexander Fest*
- Political Mosaic . . . . .
- How Minorities Live . . . . .
- Political Economy . . . . .
- Sports . . . . .

# THE BALKAN ORIGIN OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS SETTLEMENT IN TRANSYLVANIA

by

*Professor Dr. Lajos Tamás*

In the following pages we would briefly outline the much-disputed question of the origin of the Rumanians, giving a summary of the results arrived at after many years of study the detailed documentation of which will be found together with the corresponding scientific apparatus in my book entitled „*Romans, Romance Peoples and Rumanians*”.<sup>1</sup>

As is well known, the Rumanians endeavoured to justify their territorial claims on the basis of historical rights, employing all the available means of propaganda to engraft on the public opinion of the world the fable of the Rumanians being the autochthonous inhabitants of Transylvania — a fable without the remotest foundation in history. According to the so-called “Daco-Roman Theory” the aboriginal inhabitants of Transylvania were the Rumanians, who were subdued and deprived of their rights by the Hungarians (Magyars) when occupying Hungary in the ninth century. The Rumanians people itself — so that theory would have us believe — originated from an intermingling of the Dacians and the Romans that took place in Dacia Trajana during the century and a half of Roman occupation, that people having ever since (we are told) continuously lived in the territory of the said province — though, as is well known, until the coming of the Magyars no people succeeded in effecting more than a temporary settlement there.

That the Rumanians cannot possibly be a people originating from an intermingling of Dacians and Romans, has recently been admitted by Rumanian scholars too; but the Rumanian politicians are not so ready to acknowledge the fact. Pârvan, the Rumanian antiquary who died a few years ago, — who was in other respects a champion of Rumanian continuity —, when speaking of the possibility of Daco-Roman con-

nections, says: — “The Dacians, as a nation, never accepted Roman rule: those who had not fallen in the two great wars withdrew sullenly into Northern Dacia, a land untouched by Roman conquest, and from there either by themselves or in company with migrating bodies of Germans, made continual raids upon the province, as “free Dacians”.<sup>2</sup> Under such circumstances there can therefore not be any talk of a welding of the two divergent ethnic elements. It should be noted, further, that the Dacian inscriptions contain hardly any Dacian proper names; while we do not find mention of any Dacian gods on tombstones; and among the auxiliary troops of the legions the multifarious collection of conquered races only here and there includes small formations consisting of a few Dacians there for show.

But what about that Daco-Romanism itself? The prophets of continuity would fain make us believe that the inhabitants of Dacia were colonists of unadulterated Italian origin, — a malicious exploitation of the ignorance of this question which we must naturally expect in all but authorities. The truth is, however, that Italic elements were not to be found in any considerable number except among the officers of the legions and among the members of the State administration, colonists having been brought from divers provinces (according to Eutropius “*ex toto orbe Romano*”) to people the new province conquered by Trajan, — colonists who after settling in Dacia naturally continued to speak their native languages and to worship their own gods and were therefore not so well fitted to actively serve the cause of Latinisation as Italic colonists would have been. The fact should be stressed that these colonists included a particularly large proportion of persons origina-

<sup>1</sup> This book of ours has appeared also in French in Vols. I. and II. (1935/36) of the periodical “*Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis*” devoted to the study of the scientific problems of Central and Eastern Europe. Parts 3—4 of Vol. II. — containing the concluding part of our work — is in the press.

<sup>2</sup> “*Dacia: an Outline of Early Civilisation of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries*” (Cambridge: 1928), pp. 189—190. Cf. with reference to this work the *critique* of R. Syme, who says: — “We notice an exaggeration of the Romanisation of the Danube lands, based at times on a disquieting lightheadedness in the use of evidence”. (“*The Journal of Roman Studies*”, 1929 — Vol. XIX. —, pp. 102—103.)



ting from Asia Minor and the Balkan provinces, — a circumstance allowing of our concluding that their knowledge of Latin was merely occasional and exceedingly primitive. For in the East Rome never troubled to Latinise so thoroughly as she did in the West. At the time of the conquest of Dacia the reserve of Italian emigrants was well-nigh exhausted; the imperialistic policy of the Empire had enticed so many inhabitants to leave the peninsula for the new provinces which had previously too shown a constant tendency to augment their territories, that after the days of Caesar *emigration from Italy was constantly being restricted or prohibited*: and we know that *Trajan himself issued prohibitive decrees of the kind*. We cannot be surprised, therefore, that the inscriptions should show that, apart from a mere sprinkling of Italian elements, the population of Dacia Trajana was recruited mostly from the following provinces, — Dalmatia, Greece, Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, Cappadocia, Galatia, Caria, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Syria, Asia (provincia), Commağene, Pontus, Spain, Africa.<sup>3</sup> There was a considerable obstacle to the Latinisation of the province, — the continuous assaults made on Dacia by the "free Dacians", Quadi, Marcomanni, Sarmatians and Carpi and later by the Goths. We know that Hadrian himself in the first half of the second century already contemplated the evacuation of Dacia and a withdrawal to the Danube *limes*.

All these facts show us that there was practically no trace in Dacia of the conditions indispensable for the coming into being of a mixed Daco-Roman people. But even if there had been any such people, it would never have remained in the eccentrically situated province, the defence of which proved a most difficult task for the two legions stationed there. The elements which preferred greater security of life escaped to the provinces stretching south of the Danube before Dacia was evacuated; and we have a historical datum proving that the Emperor Galerius's mother was herself a refugee from Dacia.

About 270 A. D. the Emperor Aurelianus decided on the final evacuation of Dacia, withdrawing before the pressure of the Goths to the mighty natural frontier of the Danube — a line strategically much easier to defend.<sup>4</sup> He naturally took with him, not only the legions and the surviving urban populations, but also the agricultural elements, whom he settled for the most part in Illyria and Moesia. The point must be stressed that the evacuation of Dacia was the deliberate and conscious act of a Great Empire at the height of its power, not a process of collapse such as was the disintegration of the West Roman Empire when it fell to pieces and yielded helplessly to the attacks of the Germanic peoples. That this was so, is proved beyond a doubt by the completeness of

evacuation; it was after a victorious campaign in which he had broken the power of the Goths that the Emperor Aurelianus arranged *with the utmost calmness and deliberateness* — and not in the hurry of a headlong flight — for the assembling of the surviving representatives of Dacian Latinism, whom he brought to safety beyond the new frontier. After the completion of the evacuation the attitude of the Empire now stationed on the Danube line was one of active offence against the barbarians; and in 311 A. D. the Emperor Galerius was by his own desire interred at *Romulianum on the Lower Danube*. And we need only think of the brilliant and consolidated age that followed early in the fourth century — the reign of Constantine the Great (323—53). We see then that there was full security of life and property within the new *limes*; so that the argument of the apostles of the theory of continuity to the effect that he reason why numbers of Romans remained in Dacia was that they could not have been in greater security even south of the Danube, shows either ignorance or tendentious perversion.

Nor are the champions of the theory of continuity very prone to air the fact that *Transylvania was at all times the chief gateway for the passage of the peoples migrating westward*, which poured in successive waves from Asia into Europe. As is well known, the Hungarians (Magyars) themselves — the first people since the days of Roman occupation which proved able to establish a properly organised and ordered State life of a permanent character in the Danube Basin and consequently in Transylvania too — suffered enormously even after their definitive settlement from the marauding inroads of Cumanians and Petchenegs and Tartars (Mongols); and it is probable that unless they had embraced the Christianity of the West the Hungarians too would have met the fate of the peoples of the great migration period already in the Middle Ages. Even more violent and destructive than the Mongols were the peoples that followed the invasion of the Goths which caused the loss of Dacia — the Vandals, Gepidae, Tadjals, Huns, and later on the Avars. These peoples in succession drove one another further west out of Transylvania (the Vandals, for instance, did not stop until they reached Africa), that province being constantly a battle-field and likely to encourage anything rather than the survival of a considerable body of Latins.

From what follows it will be seen even more clearly how absurd is the story of the Dacian Latins having remained in that province. For the position of Romanism in the East European provinces was quite different from that in the West. In the West, though the conquering barbarians proved victorious, they in time became completely absorbed in the Italian, Gallic and Pyrenean Romanism which represented a higher culture; and it is to this Germano-Roman synthesis that the French, Italian and Spanish nations ultimately owed their origin. We cannot even conceive of such a Roman-Barbarian synthesis in the territories of the East Roman Empire, for there Latin culture did not work with the intensity sufficient to Latinise the Slavs and the Germanic peoples of the Bal-

<sup>3</sup> See in this connection Philippide, "*Originea Romilor*" (Origin of the Rumanians), Vol. I, pp. 335 seq. This Rumanian scholar says also that the number of Italic elements in the population and in the army alike was a *minimum* one. *Op. cit.*, p. 857.

<sup>4</sup> These questions have been dealt with in detail by Professor A. Alföldi, the eminent Hungarian contributor to the "*Cambridge Ancient History*".



kans. If we glance at the map of present-day Europe, we find *neo-Latin* States existing in the areas of the Western provinces of yore, while on the other hand in the Balkans we find *Slavs* wherever in ancient times Latin was spoken. It is a remarkable fact, again, that the Greater Rumania of today lies, not south of the Danube, where down to the sixth and seventh centuries (on the Dalmatian seaboard indeed down to the beginning of the modern age) there were autochthonous Romanised inhabitants, but north of that river, where the Latin-speaking population had disappeared already at the end of the third century. The explanation of this strange fact is as follows: —

When we investigate the possibility of a survival of Balkan Romanism according to *domicile and occupation*, we find that occupations postulating permanent residence involved the danger of an inevitable Slavisation or Grecianisation respectively. Consequently, it was the inhabitants of the towns that had to become absorbed, — a fact proved most strikingly by the Slavisation of the towns on the Dalmatian seaboard. And even those Romanised urban elements which succeeded for a time in surviving in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula were still more effectually driven by their isolation to become Slavised. Nor could the fate of the Romanised agricultural islands — with inhabitants also plying an occupation requiring permanent residence in the same spot — be other; for these islands usually came into contact with the Serb and Bulgar conquerors who had also become agriculturists and also forgot their own language. Consequently, if the Balkans had contained only ethnic elements plying occupations postulating permanent residence in the same spot, *there could not be today in Eastern Europe any people speaking a language at all akin to the neo-Latin languages of the West.*

We cannot explain the interesting fact of the survival of the Rumanian (Vlach) language unless we take into account the *nomad* manner of life of the early Rumanians. For, as is well known, the nomadic state is the best means to enable peoples of the kind to permanently retain their languages. This statement — which hardly needs particular proof — may be supported by many examples. The few elements *linguistically and racially akin* to the Rumanians of Greater Rumania still to be found *sporadically in the Balkans and in the Istrian Peninsula* are bound to become absorbed by the peoples surrounding them, because they have either entirely or at least in part abandoned their occupation as nomad shepherds. In Istria today there are *scarcely* any persons speaking Rumanian, for the Croat-Slovene surroundings have almost completely absorbed the originally considerable Rumanian linguistic enclaves or islands once existing there. Having exchanged their original occupation for agriculture the Rumanians of Meglen started to become *completely* Bulgarised, while the last survivors have been transferred to Rumania. Having entered the commercial profession the Aurumuns very shortly became *completely* Grecianised; while those of them who have become agriculturists are becoming Grecianised practically before

our eyes. Only those Aurumuns may hope to preserve for any length of time their language *who have clung to their life as nomad pastors.* The same process may be observed in the history of other nomad peoples too. It is when they abandon the breeding of reindeer, changing their domicile and learning the Norwegian or Swedish language spoken by their surroundings, that the Lapps abandon also the language of their forefathers. The same process may be seen in the case of the gipsies too. Permanent settlement in any country in the case of gipsies too involves the loss of their mother-tongue, while those gipsies who cling to the older nomadic manner of life continue to speak Romany.

So the reason why the Rumanians were able to preserve their language through the blood-tempest of the migration of the peoples, was that they followed a nomadic life. In our book we explain in detail that *their ancestors were the Illyric-Thracian shepherd peoples* of the Balkan Peninsula which lived in the Latin-speaking provinces during the *six centuries* of Roman rule and eventually were Latinised themselves. In the Balkans too, of course, it was the people of the towns who were first Romanised, the inhabitants of the villages following; but *later on* the nomad pastor elements were Latinised too. In Dacia the Roman rule of roughly 150 years was not sufficient to Latinise the pastor elements; for in that province there was not time enough even for the assimilation of town and village colonists of very mixed languages and races. From what has been said it will be seen that the fable respecting the continuity of the Rumanian inhabitants of Dacia with permanent domicile is a veritable insult to history, seeing that *it is impossible to conceive of Rumanians with a permanent domicile, not only in Dacia, but even in the Balkan Peninsula itself.*

Indisputable linguistic arguments can be adduced to prove that until the tenth or eleventh century the range of the nomad life of the original Rumanian shepherds did not pass beyond the frontiers of the Balkan Peninsula. In the Rumanian (Vlach) language (alike in the dialects of Greater Rumania, of Istria, of Meglen and of Macedonia, all of which derive from a *common original Rumanian language*) there are numerous peculiarities which we cannot understand unless we take into account the other Balkan languages (Albanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek) and which are entirely absent from the Romance languages of

---

All classes of Hungarian society sympathise deeply and sincerely with Sir Robert Gower on the occasion of the tragic death of Lady Gower.

At the funeral, which took place at St. James's, Tunbridge Wells, the Hungarian Government was represented by Dr. Constantine Masirevics, Hungarian Minister in London, who laid a beautiful wreath on Lady Gower's bier. The Revision League's wreath was laid by the League's London representative, Dr. Béla Póka-Pivny; that of Dr. Otto Légrády, Editor-in-Chief of the "Pesti Hírlap" — a wreath of red and white chrysanthemums and green laurels — by Dr. Louis Léderer, London correspondent of the "Pesti Hírlap".

— y —



the West. There are words in the vocabulary of the occupation of shepherding (the so-called "Balkan Words" or "Balkanwörter") not to be explained by any existing language; and we are therefore entitled to presume that they are remnants of the language of Thracian-Illyrian forefathers of the Rumanians. The Rumanian language contains, besides, lexical and grammatical peculiarities of *Albanian origin* which denote far-reaching connections, not with the Geg dialect of the North, but with *the Tosk dialect of the South*. Our readers may well ask how Albanian influences can have found their way into the language of the Rumanians, though today these two peoples are separated by an extensive Slav language area? The answer is quite simple. It all took place in the days of *Albano-Rumanian symbiosis*, when the ancestors of the two peoples lived as pastors in the same territory and were for centuries in the closest connection with one another. Nor must we forget to note that of the four Rumanian languages (dialects) the one nearest to Albanian is not either of the three Balkan varieties, but that spoken today north of the Danube.<sup>5</sup> In view of the very numerous similarities between Albanian and Rumanian, we are entitled to presume that the "article postposé" (article placed at the end of a word) unknown in the Western Romance languages also originated from the language of the common Illyrian-Thracian ancestors. In this connection it may be noted that neither the French nor the Italians can possibly be *linguistically related to the Rumanians*, the peoples most akin to them linguistically being *above all the Albanians and the Slavs*, who have also exercised a very considerable linguistic influence on the Rumanians. The Rumanians found north of the Danube absorbed also a large number of *Petchenegs and Cumanians*; and it should be noted that it is the Rumanians that find least difficulty in absorbing gipsies.

The Slav linguistic influence of most importance is that of *Bulgarian*, this influence showing the same characteristic in the case of all four branches of the Rumanian people alike and being therefore of Balkan origin. But what is perhaps of even greater importance is that the whole culture of the Rumanian right down to the eighteenth century was in absolute dependence upon *Bulgar-Byzantine culture*, — except of course in the case of the Rumanians who had in the meantime migrated to Transylvania, who had from the days of the Reformation — through the mediation of the Hungarians — had free access to the culture of the West. A record of this dependence upon *Bulgar-Byzantine culture* is still in evidence in the fact that the Rumanians in general still belong to the *Greek Oriental (Orthodox) Church*. Ever since the Rumanians have been known to history, they have always been under the suzerainty of some Orthodox Balkan patriarch; and even the Wallachian waywodes enjoying Hungarian feudal rights of property in Transylvania dedicated their monasteries to the *Patriarch of Constanti-*

*nople*. In the Wallachian and Moldavian principalities (waywodeships) established at the end of the fourteenth century Bulgarian became the official language of the chancellery and the Church, — that being equivalent to isolation from the culture of the Latin-speaking West. It is a characteristic fact that, whereas in the waywodeship the use of *cyrillic letters* was not abolished until about the *middle of last century*, the "oppressed" Rumanians of Transylvania wrote with Latin characters as early as the sixteenth century, using the same letters to print their Bibles. Those who take all these facts to mean that the Rumanians were in Transylvania during the whole of the Middle Ages, may be good patriots, but — would be ploughed in history.

May I be allowed to call the attention of the apostles of continuity also to the circumstance that the language of the Rumanians north of the Danube *could not possibly be identical in character* with those of the Rumanians of Istria, Meglen and Macedonia, unless the Rumanians living north of the Danube had also originally been settled in the Balkan Peninsula. We can quite understand why this *linguistic unity* is not stressed when writing for foreign countries; for that would involve supposing willy-nilly the existence of an original Rumanian mother country confined within narrow boundaries in which the original Rumanian language was formed and from which the "Daco-Romans" migrated northwards, the Istrians westwards and the ancestors of the Rumanians of Arumun and Meglen southwards.

We have also indirect proofs to show that the the Rumanians cannot be the autochthonous or aboriginal inhabitants of Transylvania. For, had they lived in Transylvania continuously ever since the days of Roman rule, we should find place-names remaining from Roman days north of the Danube, — and that in forms found also in the development of the Latin words of the Rumanian language. Such place-names as *Mediolanum = Milano, Lugdunum = Lyon, Colonia = Köln* are *not found at all* in Dacia; and in the Balkans only the *Slavs* — and not the Rumanians — have preserved a few. Indeed, the Rumanians could not have preserved such names; for, as already explained, they and their Albanian racial kin were pastors.

After the Great War the professors of the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) wrested from Hungary made special efforts to save the theory of continuity by other means. They started from the supposition — correct enough in itself — that the territory of Dacia was inhabited for periods of varying length by Germanic tribes (Goths, Vandals, and Gepidae, the latter remaining longer than the others) which are said to have lived for centuries in peaceful communion with the Roman colonists alleged to have remained in that province. However, if Latin-speaking elements had really remained north of the Danube and we were entitled to identify those colonists with the ancestors of the Rumanians, there ought to be a *host* of words of Old Germanic origin in the Rumanian language. But those who are familiar with the Western Romance languages and with

<sup>5</sup> See the book of the Rumanian scholar Philippide „*Originea Romnilor*”, Vol. II, pp. 629 and 761.



Rumanian, are at once struck by the fact that words like "guerra—guerre" ("war": in Rumanian "războiu"), "guadagnar" — "gagner" (in Rumanian "a câștiga"), "guardar — garder" (in Rumanian "a păzi", "a păstra"), etc. are not be found at all in the Rumanian of today. Of a number of words it has naturally been asserted that they are of Old Germanic origin; but of these words — to echo the verdict of a famous Yugoslav *savant* — we may say that "bad etymology is no proof". Our book shows in particular that our opinion respecting the futility of the hunt after Old Germanic words is shared also by several Rumanian *savants*; so we shall not deal with the question here in detail.

The theory of continuity is refuted also by the circumstance that there are *no* Rumanian words in the Hungarian or Ruthenian languages taken over prior to the twelfth or thirteenth century, a circumstance which — if there had really been Rumanians in Transylvania during the whole of the Middle Ages — would be just as incomprehensible as is the lack of Germanic words in Rumanian. However, seeing that that was not the case, the circumstance is quite comprehensible and natural.

Consequently, we have a whole series of positive and negative arguments constituting a coherent and irrefutable network of proofs of uniform tendency which reflect the original history of the Rumanians in its natural reality without any artificial moment.

Those who reflect on the arguments adduced above, which are fully substantiated in our book, will not be surprised to learn that historical records do *not* even mention Rumanians in Transylvania *until about 1210*; and as they only gradually penetrated northwards, the first records refer to the *southern* regions of Transylvania, viz. to the districts of Szeben and Fogaras. In the days prior to the Mongol invasion (1241) our records do not even mention Rumanians in any other part of Transylvania. This fact certain Rumanian scholars would like to explain as being due to the records having been destroyed by the Mongol invasion. The effect of this — at first sight specious — argument is however spoiled by the circumstance that, whereas we have only four records mentioning *only Rumanians*, we have no fewer than *seventy-eight* documents dealing with the Saxons which date prior to 1241. And we surely are not entitled to charge the Mongols with partiality or with Rumanophobia! It would seem, however, that even after the departure of the Mongols there was no great change in the number of documents mentioning Rumanians; for even between 1241 and 1300 we have *only nine* records dealing with Rumanians, while the number of documents dealing with Saxons during the same period is 285!! We would commend these data to the attention of all those are eager to obtain a correct idea of the historical truth. A circumstance of great importance is that these data referring to Rumanians do not speak of a people definitively settled or living in villages, but refer in general to the forest or the land of Rumanians (*terra, silva Blacorum*) or preserve a record of the earliest

attempts at settlement of this originally nomad people. In 1292 Andrew III., for instance, gave permission to a Hungarian nobleman to settle Rumanians in the villages of Elye, Szád a. d. Fenes (*olacos possit aggregare ac aggregatos retinere*). In this connection it should be emphasised that the names of all three villages are Hungarian; and these settlers were probably introduced to replace the Hungarian inhabitants who had perished during the Mongol invasion. Even more instructive is the deed issued by Andrew III. in 1293 which ordained that *all* the Rumanian (Vlach) vassals (serfs) who might be found settled on non-royal domains should be re-settled on the royal domain called Székes. The only exception made by the king was in favour of the Gyulafehérvár chapter, which he allowed to retain sixty domestic Rumanian vassals in service on its estates with Hungarian names (!) at Fülesd and Enyed. Therefore, if it was possible for the king at the end of the thirteenth century to assemble in a single royal domain all the Rumanians who had entered Transylvania and had received employment from the Hungarian landowners, their number must have been *exceedingly small*. No wonder that Rumanian science refrains from taking cognizance of this deed as a record of settlement and passes over it in silence.

The immigration of Rumanians on a large scale began in later centuries, assuming exceptionally formidable proportions in the age of the Phanariot hospodars of Wallachia. The fact that these Rumanians were settled in Transylvania in such large numbers, was due primarily to economic reasons. For the lack of vassals (serfs) in evidence on both secular and ecclesiastical estates was supplied both in Serbia and in Transylvania by recruits from the ranks of the Wallachian immigrants, that enabling the owners of the estates to secure the earning capacity of the forests, pastures and lands that had been made suitable for cultivation.

From what has been said above our readers will be able to guess that there is something seriously wrong about the Rumanian priority in Transylvania constantly stressed for the purpose of proving the historical rights of the Rumanians. The only unexceptionable way to decide the question of these alleged rights is to find out and ascertain definitively whether the Rumanians were aboriginal settlers in Transylvania who proved able to establish permanently any State or provincial organisation? Our answer to this question must be decidedly in the negative. When in the reign of St. Stephen a beginning was made with the Church and State organisation of Transylvania, there were as yet *no Rumanian settlers* there, — as indeed there were none in the Balkans either, seeing that in the eleventh century the Rumanians were still exclusively nomad pastors whose nomadic manner of life itself precluded the possibility of the establishment of any lasting or independent political formations in closed territories. In the twelfth century, indeed, the Chronicle of Anonymus notes that the Hungarian (Magyar) conquerors slew a certain Rumanian chieftain (*quidam Blacus*) of the name of *Gelou* in the neighbourhood of the brook Kapus; however, in the



same chronicle we find the *Cumanians* also figuring among the peoples encountered by the Hungarian conquerors, whereas according to the testimony of authentic sources the Cumanians too were late comers, as were the Rumanians. Anonymus *reflects the conditions of his own time in the mirror of an earlier age*, thereby doing what most medieval chroniclers did; and it is a characteristic fact that he drafts the text of the *Blood Compact*, for instance, — the Agreement concluded between the Magyar chieftains acting under Árpád —, under the influence of the legal conceptions and style in use in the contemporary chancelleries. Authentic records inform us, further, that the supreme control in Transylvania in the period of the Magyar Conquest was in the hands of the "reeves" of Oldamur, Czar of the Bulgars, and not in those of the legendary "Gelou", who is unknown to any Hungarian or other Western or even Byzantine chronicler but Anonymus. So the only possible conclusion to be drawn from Anonymus's Chronicle — if any conclusion may be drawn at all on this point — is that in the second half of the twelfth century or early in the thirteenth there were Rumanians already in Transylvania; and that would tally also with the date of the oldest record of Rumanians in that province dating from 1210.

The Székely people too entered Transylvania long before the settlement of the Rumanians there; chauvinistic Rumanian historians would fain suggest with the aid of forged arguments that the Székely people were in reality Magyarised Rumanians, the object of this endeavour being to palliate their efforts to Rumanise by force by the use of a historical "beauty spot". The proclaimers of this dilettantish theory leave out of account entirely the circumstance that the historical records most decidedly differentiate between these two peoples (e. g. under date 1256: "*ex parte Siculorum et Olacorum*"; 1262: "*ab Olachis et Siculis*"; and so on); a circumstance which in itself is sufficient refutation of the theory advanced by men suffering from a pitiable lack of historical training. These men are evidently unfamiliar with the ancient clan and family organisations of the Székely people on the basis of which serious historical science finds that people to be of *Turkish* origin. And indeed there is not a single Rumanian scholar living today who possesses the turcological knowledge without which it is impossible to deal with this problem; it is therefore only natural that the public opinion of Rumania should accept this forgery in its entirety just as it does the stabilised fable respecting the "Rumanian continuity". Under such circumstance we believe it is quite superfluous to inquire into the sources from which Rumanian politicians derive their views respecting the Székely question.

Nor do people in Rumania make any mention of the *attitude of rejection* adopted by *Gaston Paris*, the world-famed Romance scholar, in respect of the theory of "Rumanian continuity in Transylvania". Yet *Gaston Paris* did believe it possible that certain *nomad* Wallachian pastors may have appeared occasionally in Transylvania even prior

to the Magyar Conquest in the ninth century. He naturally adds that this *purely theoretical* possibility cannot be made into a historical authority or source; for — as is well known — *nomad* Wallachian pastors penetrated some time or other as far north as Poland, as far west as Istria, as far east as the Caucasus (passing through Southern Russia) and as far south as the very heart of Greece. In these territories, however, the Rumanians never became permanent settlers, only passing through them. And the moments in the development of the Rumanian language and the Rumanian people explained in our summary treatment of the question show beyond a doubt that the ancestors of the Rumanians living today north of the Danube formed a territorial unit in the Balkans right down to the late tenth or early eleventh century, their dispersion having begun only in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages and having carried them to all quarters of the world — to Transylvania too. Seeing that Transylvania also shared in this process of dispersion only as did the territories of many Balkan countries and South Russia and indeed other territories too, the "historical" claim put forward by the Rumanians should entitle them to claim the whole of Eastern Europe, the whole Balkan Peninsula and even a bit of Asia too. What would happen if the peoples of Europe were all to claim "*by historical right*" all the territories *through* which their ancestors happen some time or other to have *passed*!?! And if the Rumanians lay no claim to South Russia, to the southern regions of Poland, to Istria, to Greece and above all to Yugoslavia, — which latter country has within its frontiers the scene of the actual development of the Rumanian language and the Rumanian people —, we cannot understand why they confine their "historical" claims to Transylvania. We must in this connection emphatically stress the fact that it was *not until the fourteenth century* that the Rumanians proved able to bring into being *independent* and *permanent* political organisations; the result being that there cannot be any conceivable legal basis for claims of the Rumanians dating from earlier times.

In conclusion we must not forget to note that the theory of a Rumanian continuity in Transylvania is regarded as a fable, not only by Hungarian scholars (as the Rumanian propaganda which falsifies the facts never tires of proclaiming before the public opinion of the world), but by a whole list of foreign (and indeed — *horribile dictu!* — of *Rumanian*) *savants* too. The formidable list of non-Magyar scholars who have taken this view includes, among others, the following names: Sulzer, Engel, Kopitar, Miklosich, Roessler, Tomaschek, Drinov, Fisher, Jireček, Miletič, Peisker, Kadlec, C. de la Berge, Gaston Paris, G. Meyer, Weigand, etc.; that of the Rumanian *savants* including the following names: — Eudoxie Hurmuzaki, H. Tiktin, M. Gaster, and A. Philipide, who *devotes two ponderous volumes to an exhaustive treatment of the subject*. The answer

given by official Rumanian science to the arguments contained in these works consists generally — in default of better arguments — of derisive *jeering and leering and sneering* and of simply refusing to take cognizance of the facts, while at

the same time continuing to proclaim its fallacies. The question as to how far such an attitude is in keeping with the postulates of international scientific etiquette, we leave to our readers to decide.

## WHAT AN ENGLISHMAN OBSERVED IN THE HUNGARY OF THE "AGE OF REFORM"

by

*Dr. Alexander Fest*

*Reader in Budapest University*

(Continued.)

The second part of Paget's book deals chiefly with Transylvania, — with that wonderful little Transylvania of which many Englishmen had probably never heard even the name, although it had once been the ally of the King of England (James I.), — with that country so richly endowed with divine blessings which in the extreme east of Europe — at a point where Western civilisation ended — had for ages possessed institutions, constitutional and religious liberties and political rights which might well excite the envy of the great nations of Western Europe. At every step was to be seen a wealth of scenic beauty and an endless variety of landscapes and of popular life. Our English traveller takes us everywhere, — from the wretched Rumanian cottage to the splendid life in the aristocratic mansions of Kolozsvár. "Kolozsvár!", he cries in ecstasy; people accustomed to the rigid manners of England cannot conceive the character of the reception accorded in the houses of the educated inhabitants of Kolozsvár. Yet it should not be forgotten that this high standard of culture was not a recent development: of the golden days of this principal-ity something was known in England too. And, though people in England might have forgotten the ancient ties between the two countries, the memory of those ties still lived in the hearts of the grateful Transylvanians. At Enyed, Professor Szász, the eminent *savant* whose name was known far and wide, had told Paget that on one occasion, when it had proved almost impossible to maintain the famous old College there, a deputation had been sent to England to arrange for a collection to be made among the co-religionists in that country. A large sum had been raised; and the Bank of England still sent them every year L 1000 as interest on the capital collected for the purpose. About this Paget says as follows:

"During a period of temporary distress — I forget the exact time — when the college was in danger of perishing from the want of funds, a deputation was sent over by the Protestants of Transylvania, to request pecuniary aid from their brethren in England. The call was generously

answered, and a fund was formed, which is still deposited in the Bank of England, and from which the college of Enyed receives an annual revenue of 1,000 L. It is wonderful what a feeling of friendship, what a sentiment of brotherhood with England, this gift, though now completely forgotten among us, still maintains among the Transylvanian Protestants. The revenue derived from this source has been expended for some years past on the erection of a range of new buildings for the residence of the students, which, when finished, will make a very respectable appearance." (Vol. II. p. 308.)

Paget was interested in the lower classes too, in particular in the Székler and the Rumanian lower classes. Both were poor; only the Székler had something in him that reminded Paget of the Scotch, — the same industry and perseverance and the same enterprise as was to be found in Scotland. The Széklers he found well educated, their schools being on a surprisingly high level. There were hardly any Széklers unable to read and write. The Rumanian, on the other hand, was lazy and inclined to indulge too much in drink. As Paget tells us, when the harvest work was at its height, the Rumanian might be seen sleeping in the sun, — a proceeding which pleased him particularly, seeing that he knew he ought really to be working. He actually kept putting off reaping even his own corn, which he very often left rotting on the ground, though he knew he would have to face the want and privations of winter. He speaks rather commiseratingly of their backwardness and their poverty. To give his own words: —

"That the Wallack is idle and drunken it would be very difficult to deny. Even in the midst of harvest you will see him lying in the sun sleeping all the more comfortably because he knows he ought to be working. His corn is always the last cut, and it is very often left to shell on the ground for want of timely gathering; yet scarcely a winter passes that he is not starving with hunger. If he has a waggon to drive, he is generally found asleep at the bottom of it; if he has a message to carry, ten to one but he gets drunk on the way,



and sleeps over the time in which it should be executed." (Vol. II. p. 138.)

He treated the Rumanian question in the light of the opinion then prevailing. He felt certain misgivings when he reflected that his religion made the Rumanian regard the Head of the Russian Empire and the Archbishop of Moscow as his superiors. To him the Rumanian priests were also merely agents and spies of the Russian Court. And this Russian danger was particularly great in view of the fact that the Austrian Cabinet — to quote Paget's words — had shamelessly thrown itself into the luring arms of the Russian camarilla. This Russian danger had been foreshadowed by a keen-eyed compatriot of his, Urquhart, who had warned his Government: and that this Englishman's judgment was right, was proved clearly enough by subsequent developments. Fourteen years later the Austrian Cabinet left Hungary at the mercy of the "terrible shadows of the North". Paget's meditation on these melancholy prospects could not fail to throw a shadow of gloom over even his brightest pictures of Transylvania. Our English traveller was accompanied wherever he went by forebodings which he was unable to disguise. And anxiety and emotion breathes from every line which Paget writes when after a long and often very tiring journey he bids farewell to the hills of lovely Transylvania with their wondrous beauty, — to the rocky crests and the precipices, to the romantic ruins and the smiling valleys and plains.

From Transylvania Paget travelled via Nagyvárad to Pest, and then to Trans-Danubia. He gives us a few cameos, — a few pictures of the life in the Lowlands, of the Pest Carnival, of the romance of the Bakony, of the highwayman Joe Sobri and his fellow outlaws (Roberts men). The last pleasant episode in his journey through Hungary was his short sojourn at Nagykanizsa — a sojourn made memorable by a splendid dinner. The Englishman who was Paget's companion speaks with rapture of the Hungarian cooking. He would defy anyone who presumed to declare that Hungary was not on an exceptionally high level of civilisation. We quote on this his own words, which run as follows:

"Well' if any one ventures to tell me, after this, that Hungary is not a very civilized country, I shall beg to differ from him. I should be glad to know where else such a dinner as this, and a good bottle of wine to it, could be had for twenty-pence, — I am sure not in England!" (Vol. II. p. 501.)

It was with pleasant memories of Hungarian hospitality that the small English party — there

were altogether three, including Paget himself — bade farewell to our country; though their gratitude was accompanied by the conviction that they had been the guests of a nation with a great past which was struggling manfully against terrible obstacles and odds.

In the closing chapter of his book our English traveller makes a suggestion which sounds very like his saying "au revoir!". He speaks — fairly exhaustively — of the possibilities of establishing connections between England and the Hungary which displays so profound a sympathy for her. What he has in mind are commercial connections. Though English traders were not quite unfamiliar figures at the Pest fairs, so far there had not been any economic connections worth speaking of. Yet the exceptional wealth of the country's resources — the fertility of the Lowlands and the rich mines and forests of Upper Hungary and of Transylvania — might supply England with much that she wanted. A reciprocal trade between the two countries would be to the advantage of both. The present was very suitable for the establishment of economic connections, seeing that everything in Hungary — taste, interest and sympathy — was distinctly favourable to the interests of English commerce. It was also in England's interest to cultivate the friendship of Hungary, and to import from and assist that country, not Russia, which would in time very probably become the enemy — and a very dangerous enemy — of Great Britain. It was really the political duty of Great Britain to strengthen the ally of one of her oldest and firmest allies.

We have above given a very short outline of the impressions and opinion of the Hungary of those days of an Englishman who visited our country a hundred years ago. But today, when we revive his memory, we do so not only out of gratitude for his having endeavoured to enlist the sympathy of a great nation in the Hungarian cause and for having secured sincere friends in England in the days before the War of Independence of 1848, but also because he was one of those Englishmen who — in addition to showing a personal sympathy for Hungary — a century ago clearly visualised the European mission of our country and anxiously watched the approach of the clouds of danger threatening to envelop a country with a great past. We should not forget those Englishmen; nor should we forget that somewhere, in some distant Transylvanian cemetery, an English heart once fired with loyal friendship for our country is mouldering to dust.

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

## MESSRS. EDEN AND NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN FAVOUR REVISION ARTICLE

At the meeting of the British House of Commons held on November 5th. Mr. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, pointed out the importance of Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. According to the "Times" of November 6th. his words were: —

"The charge against the League was that it was devoted solely to the maintenance of the status quo. The Covenant itself realized, by Article XIX. the impracticability of the rigid maintenance for all time of the status quo."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Neville Chamberlain on November 19th. addressed a mass meeting in Leeds Town Hall, where, in reference to the

foreign situation he pointed out that Great Britain's strongest interest is the preservation of peace and the strengthening of the League of Nation on which her policy is founded. To achieve this:

*"We (Great Britain) ought to try to make it easier for them (the great Nations standing outside the League) to come back by showing them that the League is not just a clamp to hold down everything as it is to the end of time, but that it does contain within itself means by which legitimate grievances arising out of the existing situation can be ventilated, discussed, and if possible removed by peaceful means. If these grievances exist, and cannot be removed by peaceful means, then we must expect that they will be removed by force."*

— y —

## MR. GARVIN REGARDS REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES OF HUNGARIAN AS MOST URGENT EUROPEAN PROBLEM

Mr. Garvin, the eminent British publicist, whose opinion on political questions is usually followed with the greatest attention by official factors too, in the November 22nd. issue of the "Observer", the leading political organ of which he is Editor, published an article which has become quite a sensation respecting the situation created by the 1919/20 treaties of peace. In this article Mr. Garvin adduces weighty arguments also in favour of a solution of the Hungarian problem. We therefore consider it necessary that we should quote the full text of the article as published in the "Observer":

"Now, as a generation ago, the Anglo-German schism is at the back of the whole world's unrest and dangers. Communism, stimulated by Moscow, has turned Spain into a hell and would do the same in Britain itself or in any other Western country if the chance offered. Yet the whole present policy of Moscow is built upon the presumption of favoured relations with Britain as against Germany. And especially upon our expected connivance in the Soviet Pacts concluded with France and Czecho-Slovakia.

To what would this lead? Germany and Italy have agreed to recognise General Franco and to resist at all costs the spread of Bolshevik revolution. In the same spirit they are entering into collateral arrangements with Japan. With Austria and Hungary they are determined to drive out of Eastern Europe the Russian influence asserted by the Soviet Pacts.

The worst heritage of the "Peace Treaties".

*We are suffering chiefly, not from the War, but from "the Peace".* The peace which passeth understanding, as some called it; the peace with a vengeance, as others called it; the peace with dragon's teeth, as it was described by this journal. Devastating as was the War, its worst consequences would have been repaired long ago had a saner constructive spirit prevailed after the victory. Instead, the complex of punitive and rapacious treaties bequeathed dire legacies of confusion, bitterness, and revolt.

Bad enough was the Versailles Treaty proper, with its crazy finance and political blunders. *Much worse, and as much harder to remedy by peaceable means, was the Treaty of Trianon.* This instrument dealt chiefly with the redistribution of the peoples and territories formerly belonging to a shattered empire — the old Double Monarchy of the Hapsburgs. The populations to be parcelled out again numbered no fewer than about 50,000,000 souls altogether; the territories, a good deal larger than those of all Germany, covered a total area of about 240,000 square miles.

Austria-Hungary was a medley of jarring races. On the one hand, in its old form, it had become a political impossibility. On the other hand, it was in many ways an invaluable economic combination for the development and progress of all the Danubian lands which a long and a strange history had brought under one sceptre. The system no doubt required complete *reconstruction* on lines which would have made it a magnificent federation with nearly the whole of the great Danube river for its central artery. *To break it to pieces instead — to create in the process some more intolerable grievances and more virulent antagonisms than had existed before — this was the tragedy of Trianon. It was amongst the hugest errors of its kind in human annals.*

Where Austro-Hungary was — an untenable map.

As a result the map of Eastern Europe, and especially its Danube region, *is not only a geographical monstrosity*, as has been so often said; *it is a monstrosity from every other point of view, racial, political, economic. Unless it can be effectually altered in several features by peaceable means, it will become the sure cause of war within the next few years — probably within the next two years.* This question is the real crux of our foreign policy, for it is especially vital to the issue of whether there is to be another Anglo-German War or not.

To examine all the principal aspects of this new Eastern Question would require a volume. Here we



must confine ourselves to *the two factors which are notoriously the most dangerous. One is the crying case of Hungary, now steadily working up to an explosion, which, as we said, is pretty certain to occur within the next two years, unless some large measure of redress by consent can be secured in time. The neighbouring case is that of Czecho-Slovakia, which is not only asked to give up a considerable body of the dismembered Magyar race, but is involved in perilous complications of other kinds; partly through the inherent difficulties of its mixed composition, partly through the almost suicidal faults of its own policy.*

#### The dismemberment of a race.

Including several races now separated, the old Hungarian Kingdom was a wide and valiant realm which played a famous part for centuries. Destroyed, like the other half of the Dual Monarchy, it never can be restored in its former extent and variety. We speak here of the fate which befell its long-dominant people, the Magyars, whose claims to redress are the most urgent single problem in the whole of Europe. Head for head, they are as proud and gifted a race as any living. *After the War they were treated as mercilessly as Napoleon dealt with Prussia after Jena. The spirit of the partition of Poland was not more ruthless.*

There were then about 10,000,000 Magyars (there are more now). *Nearly a third of these, over 3,000,000 of them, were torn from the living body of their race and allotted, like cattle, to the favoured States created around them. For the sake of these other nationalities, Magyar nationality was denied and outraged to an extent seldom matched in the most barbarous times. For the rapacious benefit of Czechs, Serbs and Rumanians, the Hungarians proper were vivisected and dismembered.*

But the gradual years have made a vast change. Hungary to-day has powerful friends in Germany and Italy, as well as a firm comrade in Austria. The Magyars, following the German and Austrian example, will assert in the near future, and undoubtedly they will obtain, equal freedom to arm. *After that, they will claim some such reasonable revision of their boundaries as shall restore those of their race now dwelling just beyond the punitive frontiers imposed by the Treaty of Trianon.*

#### How Czecho-Slovakia overdid it.

This brings us straight to the crucial case of Czecho-Slovakia. From that Succession State the Magyars claim — and it is the most pressing of their revisionary points — a historic portion of their territory and about a million of their people. *Never should that territory and its people have been seized. It was an act of indisputable iniquity.*

The Czechs themselves are a tough and able people with whom we must all have as much sympathy as can be given to them within the limits of sense. But when they had their chance after the War they expanded their ambitions beyond all reason. They overdid it right and left. They have continued to overdo it in the desperate attempt to preserve a superiority which it will be impossible to maintain.

Czecho-Slovakia was an entirely new State. *It was a diplomatic creation with no sufficient natural basis either in geography or race. Stretching, sausage-shaped, for nearly six hundred miles from the heart of Europe to the confines of Russia, it is the most artificial both in form and mixture of all the new European structures. Of its population of 15,000,000 the Czechs proper are less than half. To make up the extent of the State they hazardously aspired to dominate other elements. At one end of the sausage-shaped contrivance they*

took in the Slovaks — a related but *distinct race*, who now claim autonomy. At the other end they kept in the Sudetan Germans, now numbering about three millions and a half, who repudiate Czech control and will shake it off, either by autonomy or separation. We cannot glance here at some smaller pieces in *this curious mosaic. We have spoken of that vital portion of Magyar territory and population which was seized in a predatory manner for "strategical reasons" and will have to be restored to Hungary.*

#### The Plague-carrier of European politics.

Can there be any doubt as to the moral? *Britain will not stand for the ill-starred cause of enforcing the worst and most stupid of the war-treaties. She cannot engage either to maintain the present partition of the Magyar people on the one hand, or to uphold on the other hand the present extent of Czech domination over other races. If with our whole strength we have to fight again for some things, we shall not fight for these things.*

Yet we must now see how these issues have come to be the very crux of the European question. Look back to first principles. When the disastrous nature of the whole system of the post-war Treaties was known, this journal began to point out, week after week, year after year, from 1919, that vast wrongs had been done and that much of it would have to be undone. That the choice would come to lie soon enough between *Revision and War. That timely Revision would have to be the very soul of the League if it were to succeed.*

Dr. Benesh, who conducts the affairs of Czecho-Slovakia, made himself the ceaseless and able antagonist of Revision. Round Austria and Hungary, while they were weak and unsupported, he formed the alliance of the Little Entente to resist and suppress Revision. And when it became clear that the Little Entente might not be enough to uphold Czecho-Slovakia and keep down Hungary, he went further. He concluded the pact between Prague and Moscow which is necessarily directed against Germany and Hungary alike, with whom Italy is now identified on the foremost matters at issue, though not on all the ultimate matters.

This Czecho-Soviet Pact is the very plague-carrier of European politics. The new Franco-Russian alliance, however lamentably mistaken and miscalculated, could not have worked by itself. The frontiers of the Reich and the Soviet Union would have remained widely divided by intervening countries. The Teutonic Titan and the apparent Slav Colossus (whatever its feet are made of) could not get at each other.

#### One Serajevo was enough — the Anglo-German Solution.

*The suicidal statecraft of Dr. Benesh changed all that. Prague became the door-opener for Moscow. Czecho-Slovakia, whose sausage-shaped extension we have described, became a corridor nearly six hundred miles long, through which Russian air-power in case of war is expected to strike straight into the Reich. Now, before that could occur, if matters came nearer the pinch, there would be no Czecho-Slovakia. Whatever else happened, it would be wiped out by internal as well as external forces. No more infatuated policy could be imagined than this anti-German plan on the part of the Czech State which has three and a half millions of protesting Germans among its own subjects; and has a resurgent Hungary on its flank.*

*Nothing, then, can now keep unchanged the map of Eastern Europe as it is or preserve the political monstrosity that it represents. Our duty is to keep out of the whole of that business and not to allow it,*

so far as in us lies, to become the cause of war in Western Europe. We must not countenance either of the Soviet alliances — not the Paris Pact, much less the Prague Pact designed to carry Russian air-power into Germany's vitals. We will not be responsible in any way for the consequences of these instruments; or for the enforcement of the status quo anywhere in Eastern Europe.

*Nothing on earth will induce the British people to mobilise against Germany in that cause.* We say with certainty, nothing on earth. This country returning to its old capable sagacity through centuries has to restore its power and limit its risks. Our plain and sane policy in this world about us is one of maximum armaments and minimum commitments. *We should not go beyond our pledges to defend France and Belgium from unprovoked aggression, using the qualifying adjective in a strict sense. We should shun*

every entanglement in Eastern Europe. In that quarter our meddling means muddling. *We are not going to make another Armageddon to hold down the Magyars in the miserable name of Trianon any more than to hold down the Germans in the dead name of Versailles.*

It is no part of our proper affair to block Germany in the East. If we refuse to mix the two problems there will be a lasting peace in Western Europe; but not otherwise. Another Anglo-German war from any cause would be a dark catastrophe. An unnecessary Anglo-German war made by Britain for the sake of the Soviet Pacts and Eastern Europe, would be a blunder and a crime past example. Never again in that way. Engagements and circumstances together were too strong for all the European Powers in 1914. Not so now. To-day we are bound by no such fate and must not incur it. One Serajevo was enough."

## PROGRAMME OF THE HUNGARIAN REVISION LEAGUE

In connection with Mussolini's Milan speech Prague and Bucharest are spreading the report that the aim of the Hungarian revision movement is to restore at any price the old 1918 frontiers. In this way they try to prove that the Hungarian revisionist demands are "impossible to fulfil". It seems necessary, in view of this, to cite certain passages from Mr. Francis Herczeg's article in the "Pesti Hirlap" of October 25th which, as we see, was written before Mussolini's speech. In that article the famous Hungarian author, who is president of the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League and as such is competent to speak „ex cathedra" about the programme of the Hungarian revision movement, says:

"The programme of the Hungarian Revisionist League, which represents the unanimous opinion of the Hungarian nation, aims at realizing the Revision of the territorial measures of the Treaty of Trianon through the application of the well-known Wilsonian principles. These principles were accepted at the time by the Allied and Associated Powers as the ultimate aims for which they had been fighting. Later, however, they dropped these principles equally to the detriment of victor and of vanquished.

"The Revisionist Movement takes up its stand on the principle of the Right of Self-determination of the Peoples and on the Nationalities Principle, as laid down by Wilson. From practical conclusions drawn from these principles, it has formulated the

following two claims: firstly, according to the Principle of Nationalities, all those territories which lie immediately over the border of present-day Hungary, the population of which is predominantly Hungarian, shall be unconditionally re-attached to Hungary. Secondly, according to the Principle of the Right of Self-determination of the Peoples, the populations of the other territories of pre-war Hungary shall decide, by means of a Plebiscite, the country to which they wish to belong.

"So much, no more and no less, is what the Hungarian Revisionist Movement claims. The man who denies the moral justification of these claims, denies all ethical justification in the life of the peoples and wishes to perpetuate the rule of the mailed fist. And he who asserts that this programme imperils the peace of Europe, is trying to blackmail Europe by raising the bogey of war."

\*

We read with satisfaction that the "Petit Parisien" of November 2nd concludes it will be easier to reach an agreement now that the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League has renounced all claim (or rather, it never put forward any claim) to Croatia. The Hungarian revision movement never did demand anything that, commonsense, or the interests of Europe, or even the well-understood interests of the Little Entente, could have found "impossible to fulfil".

—y—

## MUSSOLINI'S MESSAGE TO THE "GREAT DISMEMBERED"

In his great speech delivered at Milan on November 1st. the Prime Minister of Italy said:

"Until Hungary is accorded justice, there can be no definitive settlement of interests in the Danube Valley. Hungary is indeed the Great Dismembered: four million Hungarians are living

beyond her present frontiers. In their endeavour to conform with the demands of an excessively abstract justice those responsible are guilty of what is perhaps an even greater injustice. The feelings of Italy for the Hungarian people and for the military qualities, courage and self-sacrificing spirit of that



people, are inspired by sincere appreciation, which is reciprocal. May be that before long there will be opportunity to solemnly and publicly manifest the warmth and cordiality of those feelings."

Mussolini's speech was received with sympathy in Yugoslavia. But in Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania the part about Hungary gave rise to a general protest, even — especially in the latter country — to an explosion of rage in the nationalist camp.

### Czecho-Slovakia

The official arguments were set forth in the "Prager Presse" of November 4th. According to them, there are not four million Hungarians in the Succession States, as Mussolini said, but at most two and a half million, and even so, a considerable proportion of them live in regions not connected ethnically with Hungary. Any revision, however slight, would increase the number of non-Hungarians in Hungary. The situation of the minorities there is not such, either from a political or an ethical point of view, as to make an increase in the number of foreign nationals in Hungary desirable. The moment the frontiers were altered all the nationality questions in Central Europe would come to the surface, and the "Prager Presse" is doubtful whether, in that case, it would be possible to solve the problem of the national minorities in present-day Italy, which, in spite of all efforts on the part of the Italian Government, is still a serious one. This is merely an attempt to divert Mussolini's attention from the incomparably more important problem of the Hungarians in the Little Entente countries by pointing to Italy's insignificant ethnical minorities.

Although the "Prager Presse's" allegation that the number of Hungarians in the Succession States is about two and a half million, is enough in itself to prove beyond dispute how justified the Hungarian endeavours to obtain revision are, — for to force that number of people under alien rule is diametrically opposed to the principles of justice and the dictates of common sense — yet, in order to clear up the facts of the case, we would draw our readers' attention to the following data.

According to the 1910 Census the total number of Hungarians in the territories wrested from Hungary was 3,322,620. If we reckon an average increase of only 8% in a decade, then in the 26 years that have elapsed since 1910 the number of Hungarians in those territories must have risen to 3,987,000, i. e. approximately four millions. We regret not being able to give the exact nationality statistics of the three Little Entente countries; first because Rumania has not yet officially made public the results of the first Rumanian Census, taken in 1930, and secondly, because the nationality statistics of the two other States are utterly unreliable. In support of this statement we refer our readers to "*Der Kampf zwischen Tschechen und Deutschen*" by Professor Emmanuel Radl of the Prague (Charles) University, in which that eminent Czech scholar says that he cannot consider the figures of the Czecho-Slovak Census of 1921 reliable. According to those figures, in 1921 there were 738,517 Czecho-Slovak subjects (not inhabitants!) in the territories taken from Hungary and attached to the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The Czecho-Slovak Census of 1930, on the other hand, puts their number at 681,460, — as though Hungarian women had ceased to bear in the years between the two censuses. How, in these circumstances, can we be expected to place any reliance on the data published by the Czecho-Slovak Statistical Office, or indeed in the figures contained in the "Prager Presse"?

By far the greater part of the Hungarians in

Czecho-Slovakia are living along the frontier of post-War Hungary, and only the smaller part of them live in language enclaves. Even according to the 1930 Czecho-Slovak Census returns the number of Hungarian subjects (not inhabitants!) in the frontier districts where the majority live was 448,357, or about two-thirds of the total number. This one item alone shows how unreliable are the data published in the "Prager Presse". Seeing that there are also Slovaks scattered here and there in the Hungarian-inhabited frontier regions, who, like the Czechs to be found there, were brought to those districts after 1918 either by the Land Reform or as civil servants, the restoration of these parts to Hungary would place a small fraction of Slovaks under Hungarian rule. But as these regions are almost purely Hungarian in character, their re-attachment to Hungary would, instead of increasing the numerical proportion of the national minorities in Hungary, lower it. And again, who would venture to assert that it is just and right for the percentage of non-Czechs in Czecho-Slovakia to be 49.6% (even according to the official figures; in reality it is considerably larger) and unjust and wrong if the percentage of national minorities in Hungary (7.9%) is slightly increased.

— y —

### Rumania

The first repercussions in the Rumanian press to Mussolini's speech were outcries of disappointment, dismay, alarm and rage. The organ of the National Peasants' Party, the "Patria", simply described the speech as a menace to the Rumanian nation, and did not shrink from calling its tone brutal.

Several leading Rumanian politicians have voiced their opinions of the Milan speech, but strikingly enough M. Tatarsescu, Prime Minister, has preserved silence on the subject; nor did King Carol's speech from the throne contain the slightest reference to it. Among those to express their views M. Maniu, quondam Premier and present leader of the National Peasants' Party, said that Hungary had not been mutilated at all, for the Hungarian nation remained within its old ethnical boundaries, and only certain ethnic enclaves, systematically created by means of artificial infiltration by a political power hostile to and oppressing the non-Hungarian races, had been detached from Hungary. A similar opinion was expressed at the Bucharest congress of the National Christian Party by M. Octavian Goga. Besides this, M. Maniu, in a statement to the "Dimineata", asserted that Mussolini had repeated his manifestations of two years ago in a more categorical form. M. Maniu carefully avoided mentioning that the number of Szeklers living in solid blocks in the "enclaves" — for instance, in the counties of Csík, Háromszék, Udvarhely and Marostorda — exceeded 500,000 in 1910, as the Census returns show. The Hungarians along the western frontier of Rumania — about 600,000 souls — also live almost in one single block. They have been cut off from the purely Hungarian ethnical territory next to them by the frontier drawn in Trianon. Around Kolozsvár the 40,000 Hungarians of Kalotaszeg and Aranyosszék form another Hungarian enclave.

In his broadcast speech M. Jorga, a former Rumanian Premier, superciliously attempted to teach Mussolini that the autochthonous population of Transylvania was Rumanian. In a lecture delivered in Bucharest University he said that Rumania had never been in such danger as now. In the same lecture he held forth on the theory of "Dacian continuity", that is, on the theory that the Rumanians were the autochthonous population of Transylvania, the erroneous nature of which theory is exposed on another page of



this issue by the well-known authority on matters Rumanian, M. Louis Tamás.

At the Bucharest congress of the National Christian League Professor Cuza said straight out that Daco-Rumania had managed to exist for two thousand years without Rome(??) and that the Rumanians would continue to do so in spite of Rome.

M. Vaida-Voivod, another ex-Premier, speaking at a meeting in Kolozsvár of the "Rumanian Front", an organization of the Extreme Right, said that "what Rumania acquired in 1918 was not merely her legitimate right, but was also a glorious heritage won back by the self-sacrifice of the Rumanian army". He forgot to mention the sacrifices made by the victorious Entente Powers to save Rumania when the Rumanian army was driven back into a corner of the old Kingdom by the Central Powers.

At Nagyvárad M. Dinu Bratianu, President of the Liberal Government Party, repudiated the possibility of any revision, or that the Treaty of Trianon was anything but just. According to his statements only 19% of the population of Transylvania was Hungarian in 1918 and only 11% were villagers. This statement is contradicted by the fact that the Rumanian Census of 1930 — according to private Rumanian reports — found a 24.4% Hungarian population in Transylvania.

The 1910 Census showed even 31.7% with a rural Hungarian population of about 1,200,000 (28.6%).

— y —

At an anti-revision meeting in Nagyvárad M. Inculet, Deputy Premier, said that not Hungary was the "Great Mutilated", but Rumania, from whose body Transylvania had been lopped off in bygone days. This statement of the Deputy Premier's, which was made in the irresponsible atmosphere of a mass meeting, is a distortion of the most elementary facts of history; for Transylvania always belonged to Hungary, whereas Rumania had no existence as a State until the 19th century.

At the same meeting M. Lapedatu, Minister without Portfolio, made a disclosure revealing that Rumania had had visions of a larger conquest; for he said that the Rumanian Government had asked the Peace Conference for all the territory up to the banks of the Tisza and that M. Bratianu left the Conference because that demand was not granted. M. Lapedatu had the temerity to assert that the town of Debrecen was Rumanian in type — Debrecen with a Hungarian Population of 116,426 souls and only 30 Rumanian inhabitants!

— y —

## COUNT AND COUNTESS CIANO IN BUDAPEST

Nothing could have shown better the gratitude felt by the Hungarians for Mussolini's Milan speech than the enthusiastic and hearty welcome extended, not only by Government, but also by the Hungarian nation as a whole, to Mussolini's son-in-law and his wife, the Count and Countess Ciano, when they arrived in Budapest on their way home from Vienna, where the signatories of the Rome Pact had been in conference.

Detailed descriptions of the Budapest programme of festivities were published by the international press, so we shall confine ourselves to a brief summary of the more important events.

A crowd of two thousand people gathered at Hegveshalom, the Hungarian frontier station, to greet the Count and Countess Ciano. M. Ladislas Radocsay, Lord Lieutenant of the County, welcomed them on behalf of Government. In reply to his address the Italian Foreign Minister delivered Mussolini's message of friendship to Hungary. At Győr the Mayor welcomed the distinguished visitors at the railway station.

Meanwhile Budapest was waiting — every house gay with flags. A multitude of people thronged the railway station and lined the streets. In the state waiting-room of the Eastern terminus a large group of Hungarian notabilities, headed by M. Darányi, Prime Minister and M. Kánya, Foreign Minister, had gathered.

The train rolled in. The guests alighted. Greetings over, Count Ciano, with M. Darányi by his side, made his way towards the exit through the ranks of a regiment of honour of regular soldiers and ex-servicemen and the members of the Italian Fascio in Budapest. The band played, first the Giovinezza, and then the Hungarian national anthem. From thousands of throats came the cry of "Evviva Italia", "Evviva Mussolini!", "Evviva Ciano" and the Hungarian "Éljen!". From the station to the Dunapalota Hotel, where a suite of rooms had been engaged for them, the car of the Count and Countess Ciano passed through streets lined on either side with masses of eager spectators, while the surroundings of the hotel itself were literally black with people.

The programme of festivities opened with a lunch in honour of the distinguished visitors. It was given in the National Casino by M. Kánya, Hungary's Foreign Minister. A visit to Parliament, which was in session, followed. When Count and Countess Ciano arrived, the Speaker, M. Sztranyavszky, interrupted proceedings to welcome them with assurances of the great esteem, respect and gratitude felt by the Hungarian nation towards its powerful friend, the Kingdom of Imperial Italy, whose leader, Mussolini, had but lately evidenced his sympathy with Hungary and the Hungarian cause. M. Sztranyavszky laid stress on the two main characteristics of the Hungarian people, honesty and loyalty, — no mean assets in a friend. "We have — he said — survived a thousand years of vicissitudes, and we bear all the injustice and wretchedness of the present with the consciousness that justice is on our side and that, when the mists of falsehood have been cleared away by common sense, justice will shine forth victoriously."

Irrespective of party, all members of the Hungarian Parliament loudly cheered Count and Countess Ciano. They were then shown over the Parliament buildings by M. Darányi, Prime Minister, and M. Kánya, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and shown all the objects of interest in it.

In the evening M. and Mme Darányi gave a dinner party in their honour, to which the Austrian Minister in Budapest was also invited. A toast in Italian was proposed by Premier Darányi, who raised his glass to Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia, to Mussolini, and to Count and Countess Ciano.

On the second day of his sojourn here the Italian Foreign Minister laid a wreath on the tomb of the Italian soldiers buried in Budapest and then did homage before the Hungarian Cenotaph. After this he had a private audience with the Regent, Admiral Horthy, which was followed by a lunch given by the Regent in honour of the Count and Countess Ciano.

Later on in the day, Count Ciano was received with ovations at the headquarters of the Italian Fascio in Budapest and in the Italian Cultural Institute. On



behalf of the Hungarian Government, Dr. Valentine Hóman, Minister of Education, presented the Institute with a bust of Mussolini. In his reply to Dr. Hóman's speech Count Ciano emphasised the indestructible nature of the friendship between the two nations.

In the evening Prince Colonna, Italian Minister, and the Princess gave a dinner in honour of Count and Countess Ciano, at which Herr Mackensen, Germany's Minister to Hungary, was present.

Count and Countess Ciano spent the third day at a shoot in Gödöllő as the guests of the Regent. In the evening there was a gala performance in the Operahouse. When Count and Countess Ciano made their appearance in the beflagged box of the Premier, a roar of applause went up from all sides of the crowded house. The programme consisted of selections from Verdi's "Fancy Dress Ball" and two pictures from the ballet, "Hungarian Fantasies", composed by Márkus from Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies. After the gala performance M. Kánya gave a reception in honour of

the Italian guests in the state room of the Ministry of the Interior.

The fourth day was occupied in visiting the Italian school and the Hungarian National Defence Army's school of riding and driving at the camp in Örkény. In the evening they left for Rome. Premier Darányi, with M. Kánya and many other Hungarian notabilities, was at the station to see them off. After taking the salute of a regiment of honour Count and Countess Ciano were cheered, long and enthusiastically, by the huge crowds collected in front of the station.

According to the official reports issued in the course of the conversations between Count Ciano on the one hand and the Hungarian Premier and M. Kánya, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the other, all matters touching the common interests of the two countries were discussed. The tenor of the conversations was extremely cordial throughout and the views of both parties on those questions were found to agree.

— y —

## RUMANIAN ATTACKS ON YUGOSLAV MINORITY POLITICS

The "Curentul" of Bucharest (November 7, 1936) gives a prominent place to a letter written by a Rumanian teacher living in the Yugoslav Banate. In it we are told that the Rumanians living under Yugoslav rule feel benumbed, and the writer asks whether their benumbed condition is not a prelude to death — to rapid denationalization. *For Yugoslav policy is more oppressive than any other weighing on the Rumanian minority.* Neither in Greece nor in Bulgaria is the Rumanian minority oppressed in the same measure as in the country of the Serbs. The reason why no complaints are heard is that the political power forces the Rumanians to stifle them. In other countries the Rumanians have schools, at least on

paper, but Yugoslavia refuses all offers of negotiation on a reciprocal basis.

✱

The educational agreement concluded between Rumania and Yugoslavia on March 10th 1933 grants various advantages and privileges to the Rumanian minority in Yugoslavia, as compared with the rest of the minorities. The "Curentul" of November 8th attacks Yugoslavia, because the educational authorities there do not carry out the provisions of the agreement in the way the Rumanians are entitled to expect. The "Curentul" says that the situation of the Rumanians in Yugoslavia is in anything but satisfactory.

— y —

## BULGARIAN PRESS COMMENTS ON M. STOYADINOVITCH'S TRIP TO ANGORA AND S. MUSSOLINI'S MILAN SPEECH

The elaborate welcome accorded to M. Stoyadinovitch in Angora was a further proof of Yugoslav-Turkish *rapprochement*. Toasts and official reports gave voice to the desire of both countries to safeguard the peace of the Balkans within the limits of the Balkan Bloc, to cherish and develop friendly relations with their neighbours, and extend the Balkan Bloc by getting Bulgaria to join it. Although M. Stoyadinovitch's visit was followed with keen interest in Bulgaria, no special importance was attached to it. The "Mir" alone commented favourably on it. The peace of the Balkans — said this paper — was not endangered by Bulgaria. If the wish that Bulgaria should join the Balkan Bloc was sincere, justice must first be done

to Bulgaria. If the Balkan problems were discussed in Angora with a real desire for peace, then M. Stoyadinovitch's visit would prove profitable not only for the countries of the Balkan Bloc, but also for Bulgaria. — M. Mussolini's Milan speech was very warmly received in Bulgaria as a sign that the resistance to a change of the *status quo* was growing much less stubborn. According to the Bulgarian press, the present dangerous situation has been caused by the efforts of antirevisionists. All true friends of peace must realize the necessity of revision and must endeavour to bring it about.

— y —

# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

### M. GÉZA SZÜLLŐ ON SITUATION OF HUNGARIANS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

At a meeting of the Budget Committee in the Prague Parliament on November 11th, M. Géza Szüllő, President of the United Hungarian Party's Club, made a striking speech in which, amongst other things, he said:

"It is no use insisting abroad that in this Republic the minorities enjoy the fullest minority rights and that their rights here are wider than in any other country. In full consciousness of my responsibility, I declare, here and now, that this is not the case. It is true that of late the Government has begun to rouse itself and is seeking by double-dealing to come to terms both with the Germans and with the Hungarians. We who were subjects of a thousand-years-old imperium know how to distinguish between rights and alms. We refuse to accept alms and secret support, and insist on the Hungarians living here being given their full rights. The Minister of Foreign Affairs should be aware and take cognizance of the fact that both the Hungarians and the Germans are dissatisfied. The reason of our dissatisfaction is that the Government would like to prevent the cultural progress of the Hungarians exceeding the intellectual level of the peasant. We have scarcely any grammar-schools and no universities. In the sphere of economy all our institutions, all our banks and savings-banks have been absorbed. In that of politics, we are being subjected to a ruthless process of assimilation..."

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs is an historian and must know that *historia est magistra vitae*. The case of Austria might be a lesson to us, for the spirit of our present Government is nothing but a perpetuation of the policy followed by pre-war Austria."

— y —

### HUNGARIAN VICE-BURGOMASTER OF KASSA SENTENCED UNDER DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC ACT TO ONE MONTH'S IMPRISONMENT

Kassa is the second largest town of Slovakia. At a meeting of its town council held on February 27th last at which the question whether the contract for the erection of an elementary school should be given to a Czech architect named Brepta or not, M. Ladislav Tost, the Hungarian Vice-Burgomaster of the town, voted against the motion with the words „No, No, Never!“. For this he was sentenced to a week's imprisonment and a fine of 2000 crowns. He appealed, and the Provincial Office remitted the sentence of imprisonment, but ordered the fine to be paid. Parallel with these proceedings separate criminal proceedings were instituted against M. Tost under the Defence of the Republic Act. At his trial, which was held in Kassa before the District Court on November 2nd, the accused declared that what he had said was „No, no, never to Brepta!“ and that what he meant by it was that Brepta could not possibly get the contract, seeing that the town had had a lot of trouble with him already. Although M. Maxon, the Burgomaster appointed

by the Government, as witness stated that M. Tost did not want to agitate against the State, and although his statement was supported by another witness, M. Herha, who said that M. Tost had used the expression in a joking manner, the Court sentenced this prominent member of the Hungarian minority to a month's imprisonment.

— y —

### HOW HUNGARIANS SUFFER FOR LACK OF HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS

The Hungarian school in the district of Körösmező, which had existed for 170 years, was confiscated after the change of rule, and a Ruthenian elementary school opened in the building. For nine years the Hungarian school had no premises. Then teaching in Hungarian began again. But the Treasury of the State Forests, under whose patronage the school stood, and which therefore was legally bound to support it, refused, giving various excuses, to pay the teacher. On 26th November 1934 the Provincial Office in Ungvár closed the school, declaring that it had no teacher whose qualifications complied with the requirements of the law. The parish vestry appealed against this decision to the Supreme Court of Administration under the Act of 1926 which says that persons with a matriculation certificate are qualified to teach in elementary schools. The teacher at Körösmező possessed this certificate and had several years' experience as a teacher, so that there was no reason to close the school. That act left 77 Hungarian children without schooling. To crown all, the School Inspector's Office in Rahó made the District Office fine parents whose children did not attend school. Thirty-five heads of families had to pay altogether 333 Czech crowns and to sit in jail for 319 days. The rest, in order to escape being sentenced, sent their children to Ruthenian and Czech schools. The Hungarian children who attend those schools must learn even their Bible lessons in Ruthenian or Czech, which is particularly hard on them.

— y —

### THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR A SLOVAK REVISIONIST

The November 3rd issue of the "Lidové Noviny", a newspaper in close touch with the Hradžín, reports that the District Court in Pozsony (Bratislava) has sentenced Francis Uherik, an inhabitant of Magasfalu, to three years' imprisonment. He was charged with having been in correspondence with the Slovak exiles in Vienna and with Louis Koren, the founder of the American Slovak Revision League. The accused was also charged with propagating the creation of a Slovak Revision League in Czecho-Slovakia and with circulating in Slovakia an anti-Czech periodical called "Slovenská Revizia".

— y —

### PAMPHLET CONCERNING PÖSTYÉN CONGRESS OF SLOVAK PEOPLE'S PARTY CONFISCATED

A pamphlet relating to the Seventh Congress of the Slovak People's Party held in Pöstyén, a detailed report of which appeared recently in this paper, was



on November 12th confiscated in the St. Andrew Printing Office by order of the Public Prosecutor of Pozsony (Bratislava).

— y —

## COMPARISON BETWEEN PRAGUE AND BUDAPEST

In an article in the "Prager Tageblatt" of 1st November we read that a non-political visit to Budapest would do much to open the eyes of the Prague traveller. On one of the busiest motor-bus lines (that from Vörösmarty-tér to Castle Hill in Buda) a little badge on the Hungarian conductor's breast says that he speaks German, Czech and Rumanian. According to the "Prager Tageblatt" this must not be regarded merely as a clever way of attracting tourists, but even if it were, "Prague might be ashamed of itself, for it is inconceivable that anyone there would ever parade his knowledge of German, far less that of Hungarian."

— y —

## NEW CZECH ATTACK ON POLISH MINORITY IN SILESIA

Reports from Warsaw (published in the Polish papers on October 1) describe how a Polish boy was shot by a Czech customs officer because he was caught bringing some meat with him from Polish territory home to Silesia. Seeing the meat was not enough to authorize him to use his rifle, the customs officer cycled to the nearest city where he bought ten pounds of meat which he put beside the dead body. Subsequently it turned out that he had been transferred from Ruthenia to Silesia for similar abuses.

We have no reason to doubt the trustworthiness of the Polish papers. This is merely one of the many examples to show how quick the Czech customs officers are in using their arms against the defenceless population on the borders, whenever these poor people are driven by their misery to buy cheap food in the border land of the neighbouring States. It also shows that the Czech authorities punish the customs officers for their illegal actions by transferring them from one minority district to another, encouraging them to continue their abuses at the expense of another minority.

In conclusion we would note that M. Leo Wolf, a Polish member of the Prague Parliament, has appealed to the Government against the atrocities of the Czech authorities committed against the Polish Party at the recent elections in Silesia.

— y —

## RUMANIA

### A St. BARTHOLEMW'S NIGHT PROMISED TO THE HUNGARIANS

The November 12th issue of the "*Glas Romanesca*" of Székelyudvarhely has threatened the Hungarians of Transylvania with a "St. Bartholemew's night". The Presidential Council and Central Executive Board of the General Hungarian Party of Rumania on November 14th held a meeting at which the deep indignation caused by the atrocious threat, which was printed under the protection of the censor, was voiced. The meeting resolved to carry this unparalleled case of agitation before Parliament, — if necessary, before the

international tribunals. The Hungarian Party established the fact that although the inflammatory articles against the Hungarians appearing for years in the Rumanian press were flagrant examples of agitation against a nationality, not only were they passed by the censor, but the authorities even neglected to take criminal proceedings against their authors. The effect of these incendiary articles, published with impunity was to create an atmosphere of hostility which in many places made itself felt in an intolerable treatment of the Hungarians ("Keleti Ujság", November 16).

— y —

### HUNGARIAN AUTHOR BANISHED FROM RUMANIA AND ESCORTED OVER THE FRONTIER

Three years ago the foreign press also published reports on the case of the engineer Dr. Gustavus Kövér, vice-president of the County Bihar branch of the General Hungarian Party of Rumania, who was deprived overnight of his Rumanian citizenship. A similar event has taken place now in Nagyvárad, where a Hungarian author, Louis Papp, was served with a writ of expulsion and escorted over the frontier at a few hours' notice. Louis Papp settled in Nagyvárad in 1918 and soon made a name for himself with his writings, which foreign magazines gladly published. In 1926 he opted and became a Rumanian citizen. The reason why he has been banished is that he was president of the "Bihar Tourists' Club", a minority society against which the Rumanian newspapers trumped up charges of irredentism. The charges were not proved, but Louis Papp was ordered to leave the country at once. He was forced to go, leaving his family and his property behind him ("Keleti Ujság", Oct. 31).

— y —

### HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS CONFISCATED AND SUPPRESSED

The Prefect of the county of Háromszék has caused the "Székely Nép" of Sepsiszentgyörgy to be confiscated, because the editor refused to publish one of his speeches ("Keleti Ujság", October 26). The "Brassói Lapok", a daily appearing in Brassó, has been suppressed for an indefinite period by the Minister of the Interior. No reason was stated. Even the Rumanian press is up in arms against the new Press Bill. The minority press has even greater reason to dread it. A natural anxiety has been aroused, for instance, by the measure refusing to permit any but "Rumanians" editing political papers. The Minister of the Interior will be invested with the right of suppressing any newspaper financed, directly or indirectly, by other nationals and of instituting proceedings for placing the assets of the owners of such papers under control. This will prove a great stimulus to denunciations. Only Rumanians may sell newspapers. The Bill enumerates the organizations officially recognized as representing the journalists of Rumania, but omits to include in the list the "Organization of Racial Minority Journalists of Rumania", which since 1921 has the rights of a fictitious person. The Bill also invests the Chief Press Council, to be formed hereafter, with the right to demand a preliminary examination from prospective journalists. The question is: will not the minority journalists be placed in that category?

— y —



## FRESH ATTACKS ON HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE

*Merchants and tradesmen must do their book-keeping in Rumanian.* If they do it in another language they will have to pay a sur-tax. In terms of § 30 of the law promulgated on 1st April 1935, the Rumanian Minister of Finance has fixed the sur-tax at 12% of the ordinary taxes. *The Supreme Bank Council has ordered the banks not to use any but Rumanian place-names in their superscriptions* ("Siebenbürgisches Deutsches Tageblatt" Oct. 18). *The measures prohibiting the use of any language but Rumanian on the cinema screen have now come into force* ("Keleti Ujság" Oct. 31). In Marosvásárhely John Gálffy, a fifteen-years-old barber's apprentice, had his ears boxed 15 or 20 times by Vasile Macavei, headmaster of the apprentices' school, for asking the loan of a pencil from a friend in Hungarian ("Reggeli Ujság" Oct. 26). The schoolmaster of the State elementary school in Kéziszentkereszt knocks the children about if they venture to speak to each other in their Hungarian mother-tongue while at play during the intervals ("Magyar Ujság" Nov. 5). All this is diametrically opposed to the provision of § 3 of Article 8 of the Minority Treaties.

— y —

## PARENTS PUNISHED FOR ENTERING THEIR CHILDREN IN DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

Twelve Hungarian miners have been transferred from Felsőbánya to Nagyág as a punishment for not entering their children in the State school but in the Hungarian denominational one ("Magyar Ujság", Oct. 18). *One after another the Hungarian Sections of the State elementary schools are being closed.* At the beginning of the present school-year the third and fourth classes of the Hungarian section of the elementary State schools at Ótorda and Újtorda were closed. The same thing has happened at Adámos ("Keleti Ujság", Oct. 28 and Nov. 2). In the village of Mezőkapus 41 Hungarian pupils have been forced to attend the Rumanian section, because the Hungarian section has been closed ("Ellenzék", Oct. 7). In Temesvár, after the Hungarian and German sections had been closed, 170 Hungarian children were transferred to the Rumanian section.

— y —

## MINORITY NUMERUS CLAUSUS IN RUMANIAN UNIVERSITIES

The result of the entrance examinations of the faculties of medicine and law in Kolozsvár University is that only 9 of the 125 applicants registered as first-year medical students and 16 of the 114 registered as law students are Hungarians ("Brassói Lapok", Oct. 30).

— y —

## ITEMS FROM COMPLAINT BOOK OF LUTHERAN CHURCH

Article 22 of the Rumanian Constitution provides that the State shall guarantee equal liberty to all the religious denominations. How this equality works

out in practice may be gathered from the "Siebenbürgisches Deutsches Tageblatt" of Oct. 24. (This newspaper is the daily organ of the Transylvanian Germans which has the widest circulation.) From it we learn that a Royal Decree, No. 1.550 of 1st July 1936, authorized the Ministry of Finance to take upon itself, up to the sum of 230.000.000 lei, *the losses sustained through conversion* by the religious and cultural organizations in Transylvania and the Banate. But seeing that the Ministry has only asked the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic denominations to state their claims for compensation, it is obvious that *only those two Churches are going to receive support.* The above-mentioned German daily protests indignantly against this outrage on the Lutheran Church, because "the Germans contribute at least as largely to State revenues as the rest of the population". The same paper on November 3rd stated that by order of the Prefect of the County the village authorities had begun to take an inventory of all the property of the Lutheran Church in Bessarabia (schools, teachers' houses, and other valuable real estate belonging to the Church) with a view to confiscating it. It is a question of over 150 schools and other buildings valued at about 150.000.000 lei. Herr Hans Otto Roth, German M. P., protested, first in a memorandum and then at the head of a delegation, against this high-handed behaviour and cited the bravery shown by the Germans of Bessarabia at the time of the Tatarbuniar Bolshevik attack.

— y —

## EMBEZZLING METROPOLITAN AND GANGSTER POLICE SUPERINTENDENT

Curie, the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiselev, embezzled — so say the Rumanian newspapers — about 12 million lei belonging to church funds. He was asked to resign, but refused. Thereupon M. Jambandi, Minister of Education, brought a charge of embezzlement against him, and his private property was attached ("Reggeli Ujság" Oct. 24). According to the "Deutsche Tageszeitung" of 4th November the police superintendent of Strehia and Turn and Severin was arrested on the charge of being the leader of a gang of thieves who have committed numerous burglaries and robberies.

— y —

## EDUCATIONAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN RUMANIA AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The recently signed educational agreement requires each of these countries to permit the language of the other to be the medium of instruction in State elementary schools in places where there are at least 30 Rumanian or Czech or Slovak pupils respectively. In the October of the present year 10 Slovak schools were opened in the Counties of Bihar and Szilágy. The Hungarian minority in Rumania would be happy to see the Rumanian Government fulfilling its obligation, undertaken in the Constitution, to allow the Hungarian elementary schools of their own, for today, as things stand, the few Hungarian sections still in existence are being closed one after the other and, beginning with infant schools, Hungarian children are compelled to study in Rumanian in all the State schools. The "Kronstädter Zeitung" of October 28th (an



important daily of the Transylvanian Germans) states that the 90.000 Germans in Bukovina do not enjoy the right guaranteed by law of instruction in their own mother-tongue in the elementary schools.

— y —

## YUGOSLAVIA

### YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT IS READY TO GRANT LEGITIMATE DEMANDS OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

October 23 and 24 will be memorable dates for the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia. On those days the Prime Minister and three other members of the Cabinet gave, at last, an audience to the delegates of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia. This is the first time since the proclamation of the Dictatorship nearly eight years ago (on 6th January 1929) and since the formation of the Stoyadinovitch Cabinet 16 months back that the real leaders of the Hungarian minority have had a chance of personally submitting the legitimate demands, major complaints, and burning wrongs of the Hungarians to the Premier and the Ministers concerned. That this is so, is sufficient to cast light upon the singularly difficult position in which the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia has been languishing for eight years. If Premier Stoyadinovitch is, at last, going to abandon the policy of treating the minorities as mercifully tolerated pariahs, this change of tactics must not be *ab ovo* disparaged, even if the Government's decision was influenced either entirely, or to a great extent, by political and party interests, in view of the parish elections to be held on December 6th in the Danube Banate, i. e. in the district where the bulk of the Hungarian and German minorities and a considerable proportion of the Rumanian settlers are domiciled. After all, it was also political points of view that induced the 11 delegates of the Hungarian minority to discard their enforced passivity of the past eight years and appear before M. Svetozar Stankovitch, Minister of Agriculture, who has been entrusted with the organisation of the Government Party in the Danube Banate, M. Stoshovitch, Minister of Public Education, M. Koroshetz, Minister of the Interior, and Premier Stoyadinovitch, and, in the name of the Hungarian minority, announce a willingness to lend their honest support to the Government's work, if the Government, in return, is ready to fulfil, to begin with, at least a few urgent demands of the Hungarians and redress certain of their most galling grievances. Amongst other things they asked the Government to open Class I of the so-called Hungarian section of the Belgrade State Teacher's Training College; appoint Hungarian teachers in places that have been vacant for years; re-open the Hungarian minority schools which for lack of teachers of Hungarian nationality, or teachers qualified to teach in Hungarian, have been closed; re-appoint in the so-called Hungarian departments of the elementary schools in the Voivodina, the teachers of Hungarian nationality who on pretext of their having to learn the language of the State have been transferred to other Banates; carry out fully the provisions of § 45 of the Elementary Education Act relating to the minority departments of education; cancel wholly the system still in force of name analysis; and give the People's Circle of Szabadka (Subotica) and the Hungarian Cultural Society of Beckserek (Petrovgrad) permission to operate again.

A glance over the grievances enumerated above will show that all the demands made merely urge a realization of the most elementary minority rights as guaranteed in the Minority Treaties, the Yugoslav Constitution and the Elementary Education Act of 1929; and the memorandum, running to several pages, on the political and financial grievances of the Hungarians which was submitted to the Premier, was probably of the same character. It was officially reported that the Ministers listened to the wishes of the Hungarians with "benevolent understanding" and promised to grant their requests. Premier Stoyadinovitch even announced that "so far as the minority question is concerned the Government wishes to enforce in full the principles of democracy. We therefore disapprove of endeavours to make Slavs of the Hungarians. The Government will fulfil those desires of the Hungarian minority which are found to be justified, and do so of its own just judgment and not because M. Darányi, Premier of Hungary, has promised to protect the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States".

The reference to the Hungarian Prime Minister's speech in Parliament on October 21st, suggesting that "*qui s'excuse, s'accuse*", was *malapropos*, for M. Darányi, speaking in general of the policy of oppression and repression of the Hungarian minorities pursued by the Succession States from the outset, merely said that "the Hungarian Government will never cease to do all in its power, through the League and with all the legitimate means at its disposal, to effect an amelioration of the lot of the Hungarian minorities". And the Hungarian Government is strictly within its rights in doing so, if only on the strength of Article 11 of the Covenant. In fact, it is not a question of right, but of duty. And when the semi-official "*Vreme*" (October 23) argues that, not only no other Government, but not even the League of Nations has the right to interfere with the manner the Succession States treat their minorities, it must be pointed out that this is a regrettable lapse, an open denial of the obligations undertaken in §§ 2—9 of the Treaty of St. Germain — well-nigh to flouting repudiation of the whole institution of minority protection.

The only practical result so far of the negotiations between the leaders of the Hungarian minority, on the one hand, and Premier Stoyadinovitch and the three Ministers, on the other, is that the new rules of the Cultural Society of Beckserek — dissolved without any legal grounds, after 60 years of splendid work, in April, 1934 — which had been submitted for approval no fewer than three times, have been approved and permission to begin work granted (No. 1749 ex 1936). It would seem, however, as if the Government's liberality had stopped short after the first step. It should be known that one of the new rules restricts the scope of activity of the Society to the town of Beckserek (Petrovgrad). This means that the Cultural Society, which formerly was the central cultural organization of the Hungarians in Yugoslavia, may not form branches in any other town or village. Thus the Hungarian minority has been denied the right to form a central organization, after the pattern of the "Swäbisch-Deutsches Kulturbund" permitted to the German minority, the vocation of which would be to unite and direct all the Hungarian cultural societies in the country.

One result of the Hungarian minority delegates' Belgrade negotiations is that, for the time being at least, the authorities have begun to allow amateur performances arranged by Hungarian cultural societies to be held in Zombor (Sombor), Nagybeckserek (Petrovgrad) and Szabadka (Subotica), where for three years no Hungarian concerts or amateur theatricals were permitted.

— y —



## HUNGARIAN COMPLAINTS JUSTIFIED BY SERB UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

Mention has repeatedly been made in the columns of this paper of the grievance consisting in the fact that Hungarian students are being debarred from entering the civil service and that scarcely any Hungarian public and civil servants are to be found now in Yugoslavia. This state of affairs was condemned as wrong by Dr. Laza Kostitch, a Serb university professor, at the General Meeting of the Town Council of Szabadka (Subotica) held on November 9th. In order to redress, to a certain extent at least, this grievance, Dr. Kostitch urged that in future when vacancies occurred a proportional number of properly qualified Hungarians should be appointed by the town.

— y —

## MASTERPIECE OF KODÁLY'S BANNED

In the well-nigh purely Hungarian borough of Temerin, a place with 8000 inhabitants, Hungarian amateurs were making preparations to give a performance of the world-famed Hungarian composer, M. Zoltán Kodály's "John Hány". The authorities, however, refused permission. This was announced in the Hungarian newspapers, but in view of the rigorosity of the censorship, the usual cliché that the company was obliged to waive its intention to give a performance of Kodály's masterpiece "for reasons over which the company had no control" was the formula used to convey the information.

— y —

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

## THE LITTLE ENTENTE IN PRACTICE

On October 17th the "Die Wirtschaft", an economic periodical published in Prague, wrote as follows:

"Beautiful speeches were made some time ago in Bucharest regarding the wonderful improvement achieved within the limits of the Economic Little Entente. It was also rumoured not long ago that the Presidents of the Rumanian and Yugoslav National Banks would visit Prague to hold a "friendly discussion". This conference, however, never came off, in consequence of the intervening devaluation of the Czechoslovak currency.

If, however, we wish to see the actual economic relations between the States of the Little Entente, we need only bear in mind the attitude of the Yugoslav National Bank which, without any legal justification, is not inclined to recognize the clearing payments for the delivery of Yugoslav goods, effected as far back as September. The same is the attitude of the Yugoslav National Bank towards Yugoslav importers: it allows them to pay only half of the import value on the old basis of exchange, while the other half must be paid on the new basis; thus the importers are, without any legal justification, condemned to lose a considerable part of their profits in consequence of the devaluation of the Czech crown.

The Yugoslav National Bank did not send any preliminary notification to this effect to the Czechoslovak National Bank; its attitude was only seen from the information of Czechoslovak exporters and from the fact that the liquidation of accounts between the Yugoslav National Bank and the Bank of Bohemia, — which is entrusted with the clearing transactions —, was suddenly stopped. The Czechoslovak National Bank has, therefore, delegated Dr. Sourek, its representative just returned from Greece, to Belgrade to ask further information respecting this utterly unjustifiable course of action."

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

### CZECHO-SLOVAK FINANCES

In the middle of October the Czechoslovak Government presented the 1937 Estimates to Parliament. For four years the revenue has been calculated at a maximum, the Budget having in consequence shown an excess of revenue of 1.5 million Czech crowns.

There is nothing, new about the Czechoslovak Government submitting, well-balanced estimates on paper. This time Dr. Kaufuss, the Czech Minister of Finance, bases his optimism on the devaluation of the Czech crown, effected in October. It was with this optimistic view that he recommended the acceptance of his Estimates and of the Finance Bill.

This optimism, however, is by no means shared by M. Remes, the rapporteur on the Budget; no member of the Opposition could criticize the Government more severely for its system of introducing absolutely imaginary sources of income (State revenue), the uncertainty of which must be quite clear to Government, too. With regard to the expenditure of the State, on the other hand, the Government omits to mention those millions which are spent, directly or indirectly, on armaments and war material. This may be clearly seen from the fact that the liabilities of the State rose by 5850 millions in one single year (1926), as the Minister of Finance himself stated in his Budget speech. Next year the 1937 part of the State Defence Loan (400 millions), which was issued recently, will also appear under the head of State debts.

Two points of the Estimates deserve particularly severe criticism: in the first place, the Estimates include only a comparatively small part of the amount appropriated for the purposes of National Defence; in the second place, the Estimates presuppose a remarkable prosperity in economic life in the near future, and the figures are calculated on that assumption. The taxes in the Estimates of the last three years have been calculated as follows:

1937,	1936,	1935,
6,660.653	6,307.890	5,455.160

— y —

This shows a rise of 1200 millions within three years.



Dr. Remes, when introducing the Budget, commented with some anxiety upon the fact that, while the development of the war industry and the devaluation have undoubtedly improved the situation to some extent, yet the revenue — as compared with the Estimates — shows a deficit of 826 million crowns for the first nine months; the expenditure of the State, on the other hand, exceeds the Estimates by 734 millions; this amounts to a deficit of 1500 million crowns in nine months compared to the estimates of the Budget. This circumstance, however, has not prevented the Czechoslovak Government from including considerably higher figures in next year's Estimates.

The purely fictitious character of the Government's financial policy may be clearly seen from the final accounts for 1935 published recently, which show a deficit of 1576 millions. The Estimates for 1935 also showed a surplus of 2 millions, while the actual result was a deficit of more than 1500 millions. The result seems even more unfavourable when we examine more closely the final accounts published by Government. For, if we exclude recent credit operations and consider that the actual expenses amounted to 8504 million crowns, to which amount must be added 1593 millions under the head of "unforeseen expenses", we see that — as compared with a total revenue of 7054 millions — the deficit for 1935 amounts actually to 3044 million crowns. A similar examination of the final accounts for the year 1934 shows the deficit to have been 1389 million crowns, a sum which the Czechoslovak Government managed to double in the course of one year.

In order to get a complete idea of Czechoslovakia's financial situation, we must consider that in addition to the 46.78 million State debts included in the Budget, the State has a floating debt in the form of Treasury notes to the amount of more than 8000 millions; to this we must add the liabilities of the State due to public contractors, amounting to 1200 millions in the form of cheques. Moreover, the unsettled liabilities of the towns, parishes, and provinces are officially stated to amount to 12.000 millions. These sums are so fantastically high that it is quite impossible to cover them out of the national revenue of Czechoslovakia.

— y —

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO RAISE A LOAN IN PARIS

It is reported by the "*Wirtschaft*", the outstanding economic-journal in Czechoslovakia, that Dr. Brabaneč, Departmental Chief in the Czech Ministry of Finance, has gone to Paris to discuss the possibility of raising the loan of 600 million francs which France granted to Czechoslovakia on very unfavourable terms some time ago. As a security the Czechs had to mortgage the Czechoslovak tobacco régime receipts, and they were obliged not to raise any more foreign loans, unless they pay the 600 millions in question out of the new loan.

Negotiations began favourably, but they were foiled by the devaluation of the Czech crown. The Devaluation Act in France obliges those debtors whose debts are in French francs to repay them on the basis of the original rate of exchange. In this way the 600 million franc loan would mean a loss of 180 million francs to Czechoslovakia. The negotiations, it is understood, were for the purpose of raising a credit for 600 million francs.

— y —

### PRAGUE DISSATISFIED WITH CZECHO-FRENCH TRADE RELATIONS

In the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Czech Parliament, M. Zilka, Member of Parliament and Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, severely indicted the attitude of the French Government, whose trade relations with Czechoslovakia, he said, were not all that might be expected of an allied country. The trade balance of the two countries, since the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic, shows a difference of 6000 millions to the debit of Czechoslovakia; this difference at present amounts to about 500 millions a year. Prague is greatly displeased at this state of affairs, the more so as it is a well known fact that France shows the most complaisant attitude to every other country, and that she is always ready to renounce her profits in favour of another country; Czechoslovakia being the only country for which she has no understanding whatsoever.

Dr. Krofta, Minister of Foreign Affairs, confessed that he felt obliged to endorse these complaints; he hoped, however, that the Blum Cabinet would very soon show more understanding towards Czechoslovakia.

The "*České Slovo*", whose relations with President Beneš are generally known, demands a more energetic policy on the part of Czechoslovakia.

— y —

### RISE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN SLOVAKIA

The figures of unemployment in Czechoslovakia show a decrease of 8.3% (from 479.268 to 439.332) in October. This record refers to the whole of the Republic. In Slovakia, the number of unemployed continued to show a steady rise in October, as it had in September. At the 75 Employment Offices in Slovakia 57.193 unemployed entered their names in October, that being an increase of 7.439 since September. The actual number of unemployed, however, is much higher than this, because the records from the villages are deficient. Pozsony (Bratislava) shows the highest figures of unemployment (7222), while the figures of the other towns are the following: Zsolna (Žilina) 2254; Komárom (Komarno) 2062; Losonc (Lucenec) 2359; Csaca (Cadca) 1791.

— y —

### UNEMPLOYMENT IN SUDETA-GERMAN AREA

The following records have been published by the "*Mitteilungen des Hauptverbandes der deutschen Industrie*":

At the end of September, 32.4 out of every 1000 were unemployed in the whole of the Czechoslovak Republic; in the German areas, however, the corresponding figure was 70.2, while in the Czech areas it was not more than 22.6. — Out of 1000 breadwinners 73.1 were without any income in the whole of the Czechoslovak Republic; in the German areas the corresponding figure was 138.4, while in the Czech areas it was 52.9. — For every 100 unemployed in the Czech areas there were 303 in the German areas in July; in August and September 310 and 311 respectively. Although unemployment shows a general decrease in the Republic, it has increased in the German areas as well as in Slovakia.

— y —



## RUMANIA

### THE DEVALUATION OF LEI

The recent financial transaction of the Rumanian Government has secured a remarkable profit for the Treasury at the National Bank, and it has also led to the stabilization and legalization of the price at which the State has, in the last five months, bought the gold produced in the country. The value of the gold agio has been raised by Order in Council by 38%, which corresponds to the sum that has hitherto been paid by the State as a premium on the purchase price of gold. This 38% difference will be paid in cash by the National Bank to the State, which will use it for armament purposes. The communication issued by the Government points out that the above financial transaction in no way affects the currency of the lei; far from being a devaluation of the lei, it is merely a legalization of the present condition.

Whatever the *communiqué* of the Government may say, the truth is that this is really a devaluation of the lei. It is a well known fact that, owing to the economic crisis, the lei has lost much of its stabilization rate, and those rates of exchange which have been fixed against the gold parity of the lei since the stabilization were merely fictitious figures; in reality all foreign currencies stood higher than the official quotations. Thus, for instance, the official rate of exchange — the stabilization price — of the pound sterling was quoted as 500 lei; in reality its price today is about 965—975 lei; the dollar costs 195—198 lei, and not 100 lei; and so on. Ultimately the National Bank was obliged to follow the actual market prices; accordingly, it has paid a premium of 38% on foreign currencies, which difference had to be paid by the importers. The devaluation of currencies in the Western States, however, dealt a fatal blow to the export trade of Rumania; in fact it has very nearly paralysed it. Yet the importers have still been forced to pay the 38% premium on foreign currencies. This new situation has made it quite improbable that the lei could be brought back in the future to its stabilization parity. The economic life of Rumania has already adapted itself to the 38—40% loss of the lei's actual value, so that prices have generally gone up since 1929. The new stabilization of the foreign rates of exchange is, therefore, paramount to an open confession of the actual situation. The practical devaluation of the lei was, then, an established fact long ago, although officially it has only taken place now.

— y —

### RUMANIA'S DEBTS FIGURING IN THE BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1936/37.

The Rumanian daily, "Lupta" (October 24), published authentic records, on the basis of the Budget of 1936/37, concerning the State debts of Rumania on April 1st, 1936. The inland debt of Rumania then amounted to 28.652 million lei, while the foreign debts amounted to 79.380 millions, that giving a total of 108.032 million lei. Rumania's foreign debts were divided as follows:

36.684.684	L sterling, à 510 lei .	18.730.730.151 lei
332.653.300	French gold francs, à 32.25 lei . . . . .	10.730.730.151 lei
207.350.020	gold lei, à 32.25 lei .	6.688.696.945 lei
88.800.850	paper dollar, à 110 lei	13.304.463.908 lei
130.728.224	gold florin, à 80 lei .	8.124.034.074 lei
178.185.974	gold crowns, à 34 lei	6.036.103.325 lei
40.201.310	Swiss paper francs, à 32 lei . . . . .	1.296.813.858 lei
2.024.988.587	French paper francs, à 6.66 lei . . . . .	13.263.675.245 lei
131.508.231	Ital. lire, à 9 lei . .	1.157.009.416 lei
3.097.376	Belgian paper francs .	10.531.080 lei
178.100	Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian crowns . .	7.979.389 lei
	Other currencies . . .	29.458.806 lei
	Total:	79.380.226.348 lei

### RUMANIA'S TRADE BALANCE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Rumania's trade balance at the end of September showed an active surplus of 4.900 million lei, that being an increase of 45.5% (against 3.300 millions in 1935). Of the countries exporting to Rumania, Czechoslovakia fell back to the third place behind Germany and Austria. Of the countries importing from Rumania, Czechoslovakia has now advanced to the fifth place (from the sixth), while the first place is occupied by Germany. Last year this place was occupied by Italy, but this year she has fallen back to seventh place.

When we compare the above figures with the situation on April 1st, 1935, we observe a decrease of 1.284 million lei in Rumania's foreign debts, while her inland debts have increased by 9.935 million lei.

The interest payable on State debts in 1936/37 amounts to 3.509 million lei, that representing 15.3% of the total amount (22.972 millions) of the Budget Estimates; out of the above sum, 1.400 millions are allotted for the payment of inland debts, while 2.109 million lei will serve to repay foreign debts.

— y —

### RUMANIA'S IMPORT CONTINGENTS

The total value of imports (2.800 million lei) licensed by the Directorate of Contingents for the fourth quarter of this year is divided among the several States as follows: Czechoslovakia, 343 mill. lei; Great Britain, 381 mill.; Austria, 388 mill.; Germany, 600 mill.; Belgium, 114 mill.; Hungary, 160 mill.; Yugoslavia, 18.5 mill.

— y —

### TRADE RELATIONS WITH POLAND SUSPENDED

The Polish Government has informed the Rumanian Government that it has suspended the issuing of import licences until further notice. The explanation given by the Polish Government was that the Rumanian Government, in defiance of existing agreements, has prevented the import of goods from Poland into Rumania. At the present moment a Polish delegation is conducting negotiations in Bucharest with a view to finding a "modus vivendi" until the final settlement of the affair.

— y —



## YUGOSLAVIA

### TRADE BALANCE OF THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF THE YEAR

The statistical records recently published by the Ministry of Finance show the trade balance of the first nine months of this year to be passive. This is most remarkable in trade with Germany (142.8 millions); then follow Czecho-Slovakia (99.5), Great Britain (62.9), the United States (56.5), France (15.3), and Switzerland (9.8 millions). Trade relations with Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, and Switzerland were active this year, all of which have for the past few years invariably imported from Yugoslavia more than they have exported there. These are Austria (122.8 mill.), Belgium (100.4), Greece (79.5), Italy (58.1), and Hungary (43.1 mill.).

— y —

### EXPORTS IN FIRST NINE MONTHS OF THIS YEAR

The value of Yugoslavia's total exports amounted to 2838 million dinars, an amount divided among the various States as follows: Germany, 774 mill. (26.3%); Czecho-Slovakia, 496 mill. (16.8%); Austria, 300 mill. (10.2%); Great Britain, (9.8%); Italy, formerly Yugoslavia's chief purchaser, now figures only with 1%.

— y —

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S PURCHASE OF WHEAT IN YUGOSLAVIA

For some years past the Yugoslav Government has made an effort to place a part of its wheat surplus in the Czecho-Slovak market. For purely political reasons the Czecho-Slovak Government last year purchased a few thousand wagonloads of wheat from Yugoslavia, but it was obliged to sell the corn in the international market, because Czecho-Slovakia's inland production not only covers the demand of the population, but there is a surplus of 27,000 wagonloads still waiting for sale in the granaries of the Czecho-Slovak grain-exporting company.

— y —

### GERMANY, — YUGOSLAVIA'S GREATEST COAL IMPORTER

Germany has imported less coal into Yugoslavia, so far, than Great Britain and Poland. The situation has now undergone a remarkable change, as the Yugoslav Government has reduced her coal imports from Great Britain by 50% in favour of imports from Germany. It is reported that a considerable number of shiploads have already arrived in the Yugoslav ports.

— y —

## S P O R T S

With the close of the summer and autumn seasons the attention of Hungarian lovers of sports has turned towards winter sports. The beautifully situated artificial skating-rink in Budapest was opened in November, and some of the Hungarian skaters have begun to train. Hopes for the winter competition run high, for Hungary has a big number of promising young skaters both for figure skating and racing. The Hungarian ice-hockey team shows a steady improvement every year at the international events. So far skiing is concerned, things are much less promising; no snow has yet fallen, so opportunities of training are lacking. The Treaty of Trianon has deprived Hungary of her mountains, and Hungarian skiers must betake themselves to the Austrian Alps — if they can afford it. The high hills in Slovakia, which once belonged to Hungary, would be ideal for early training, but the attitude displayed by the Czech authorities towards foreigners, especially Hungarians, coupled with frequent and unwarranted arrests, do not make expeditions to them very advisable.

### ICE-HOCKEY

The leaders of the ice-hockey sport in Central Europe held a meeting in November, at which it was decided to make the ice-hockey cup tournament a permanency. The leading ice-hockey associations of Budapest, Vienna, Prague and Bucharest were represented at the meeting, and it was agreed that seven groups divided in two parts would take part in the

tournament. In this way the teams will play against each other not twice, but four times, because, to cut expenses every trip will last two days. The first match will be for the cup, the second a friendly one.

### SWIMMING

The Hungarian swimmers, who did so splendidly in Berlin, have begun to make preparations for the winter work and for next year. The winter season will not bring anything sensational, but next year will abound in big events. In the first place mention must be made of the Horthy Challenge Cup competitions which are to take place in Budapest and in which, besides Hungary, Germany, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria are to take part. The Swedish and Dutch waterpolo teams are also to be invited to Budapest.

### TENNIS

The list of Czecho-Slovakia's representative tennis players has just been published. The interesting thing about it is that the man at the head of it is Ladislav Hecht, a Hungarian from Slovakia.

### FOOTBALL

The Central European Cup committee held a meeting in Prague, at which it was decided that, besides the Hungarian, Austrian, Italian, Czech, and Swiss teams, the Yugoslavs and Rumanians would also take part in the matches.

— y —