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THE TRIBUNAL OF HISTORY

BY

ELEMÉR SZUDY

The fate of the Czecho-Slovak State — provoked by that State itself — has been accomplished. The country concerning which Herr Adolphus Hitler, Chancellor of the German Empire, last autumn so tellingly declared that it had been born of lying propaganda and had maintained its existence by means of a campaign of lies, at the first threat of violence fell to pieces like a house of cards.

If we would trace the origin of the drama we must hark back to the Munich Conference, at which the Four Great Powers of Europe decided to sever from the body of the Czecho-Slovak State those regions which had in any case never belonged organically to it; viz. the Sudeten German areas and the Magyar ethnic strip of territory fringing the frontier of Upper Hungary. When this decision had been taken and had been carried out in practice, it at once became evident that history could not come to a standstill, seeing that it had left two problems — those of the Slovaks and the Ruthenians — unsolved. — At Munich the so-called ethnic principle was asserted; though not to the extent and in the spirit rendered natural and desirable by the structure of the Czecho-Slovak State. For — even after the very extensive, though not complete, segregation of the German and Magyar elements — that State-formation still comprised two ethnic elements, the Slovak and the Ruthenian, which on the one hand were endeavouring to secure an independent State existence and on the other hand were anxious to return within the framework of the Kingdom of St. Stephen. From the moment when the independent Slovak and Ruthenian (or, as

Mgr. Volosin was pleased to call it, Ukrainian) Governments had been established, there was no possibility of checking the progress of fate. All the elements which had never been in reality coherent, being merely compelled to writhe in the clutch of an imaginary community, endeavoured as rapidly as possible to escape into the free waters of independence and self-determination.

And surely there was nothing in the world to hold together the Slovaks and the Czechs, who had never in the whole course of history formed one nation or one people. There was no identity of language to ensure that end, for the Slovak and the Czech languages are two entirely independent idioms, even though they are both Slav in origin. Each people has its own independent literature and culture, which in each case is jealously guarded; and the Slovaks in particular persistently refused to entertain the idea of an intellectual or cultural community. Was it the common ethnic origin, then, or a common history that should have bound the two peoples together? That is equally out of the question, seeing that, as is universally known, the Slovaks have at all times in their history had an independent ethnographic individuality, and that for more than a thousand years they lived in historical symbiosis, not with the Czechs, but with the Magyars.

The Ruthenians — an exceptionally brave, loyal and pious people known also as Little Russians — have not had so many points of contact with the Czechs even as the Slovaks. For centuries they have lived their own peculiar life on the slopes of the Carpathians, in brotherly agreement with the Magyars; and now that after the ridiculous and never really serious Ukrainian venture they have once more been given the opportunity to join the mother country, they have received with effusive joy and happiness the Hungarian troops coming to rescue them from the horrors of a reign of terror and from the pangs of hunger, bringing in exchange wellbeing and civil liberty, equality of rights and every guarantee of ethnic self-government.

The moment the Tiso Government had declared for

separation from Bohemia and had proclaimed Slovakia's independence, the Czecho-Slovak State ceased to exist. This event of far-reaching importance would seem at first to have upset the equilibrium of the central Prague Government; for the latter believed that the application of force would enable them to stem the course of events and to check the progress of fate. This Tiso Government was removed from office, the Prague Government at first appointing an individual of the name of Sivák to the office of Prime Minister, his appointment being followed 24 hours later by that of Charles Sidor, the commander of the Hlinka Guards. Both experiments were naturally doomed to failure; for, while on the one hand they were not backed by the sympathy of the Slovak people, on the other hand they were made without regard to the international balance of forces. For in the interim M. Tiso, the Slovak Premier who had been dismissed from office, entered into communication with the leading factors of the German Imperial Government, who still continued to acknowledge him as the head of the legitimate Slovak Government. It was then already quite manifest that the arbitrary policy pursued by Prague had failed, and that the lords of the Hradsin would be compelled to bow before the accomplished facts and to take cognizance of Slovakia's independence.

And that is what actually happened. The great turn of affairs ensued in Prague; the Powers accepted the inevitable consequences, and President Hacha and Foreign Minister Chalkovsky went to Berlin, where they signed the historical document which subjected Bohemia and Moravia to the protectorate of Germany. We see then that after a brief independent existence of twenty years these two provinces returned to the body of the Empire in the framework of which — though under changing circumstances and in divergent historical conditions — they had lived for many centuries. This event is of quite exceptional importance also for Hungary, for in accepting the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia which had been offered to it, the German Empire adopted the historical principle expressed most

plastically in the St. Stephen State-idea which derives its irresistible force from the unalterable postulates of ten centuries of possession. It is in this connection too that we find a convergence of the ethnic principle with the great postulate of the right of self-determination, a combination of principles which has always been the basis and the substance of Hungary's revisionist policy.

The far-reaching self-government which the Bohemia of former days is to enjoy will surely prove sufficient to enable that country to preserve its ethnic peculiarities and to freely develop its culture, — a possibility which it itself was unwilling during twenty years of domination to ensure the oppressed peoples — among the latter in particular the more than 1.000.000 Magyars who had, against their will and without being consulted in the matter, been subjected by the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon to the yoke of slavery. And all that was done in the name of the right of self-determination of the peoples; and it is surely a classical instance of the irony of fate that this very sublime conception should have been the means of shattering the artificial structure botched up in 1919 in defiance of all ethnical rights and of the principle of national sovereignty.

The independent and self-governing Slovakia the external defence of which has been undertaken by the mighty German Empire, for a thousand years was an integral part of the Kingdom of St. Stephen. It is impossible that the ten centuries of symbiosis should not have impregnated the soul of the Slovak people with the fertilising elements of brotherly co-operation and friendly agreement. We are convinced that the affection and brotherly fellow-feeling with which the Hungarian nation regards the future of the Slovak people finds an echo in the mind of that people permeated with the consciousness that here in the Basin of the Carpathians the fate of the two peoples is made one by higher laws from the reaction of which neither people is able to escape. Not only economic and geopolitical, but also historical postulates contribute to shape the destiny of these nations — a statement

the truth of which is proved by ten centuries of symbiosis; and in like manner both peoples will in the future to experience the deep-seated logic and irrefutability of that truth.

With the falling to pieces of the Czecho-Slovak State the Ruthenian people became veritably stateless; and it was only a natural manifestation of their instinct of self-preservation that they should have appealed for help to Hungary, the country which had been their home for a thousand years. The Hungarian nation gladly grasped the hand stretched out in appeal, in order to be able once more to raise to the dignity of human beings and rescue from ruin the people to which it was bound by sentimental and historical ties which were in any case unbreakable.

Hungary has certainly been very considerably reinforced morally, politically and economically by these events. We must however stress the fact that we have not received anything new, merely recovering a part — a fragment — of that which had been ours previously for a thousand years and which twenty years ago was wrested from us in defiance of right, law and justice.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

THE DIPLOMATIC MEASURES LEADING TO THE RE-INCORPORATION OF RUTHENIA

STATEMENT MADE BY

COUNT STEPHEN CSÁKY,

HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, BEFORE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE OF THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

On March 23rd., before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament, Count Stephen Csáky, Foreign Minister, made the following statement of his policy:

"Since the last meeting of the Committee the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary has increased by 11.000 square kilometres, the increase of population involved being 552.000 souls. This part of the country will be incorporated in the Kingdom of Hungary as a province enjoying an adequate territorial autonomy.

"Probably no Member of the Committee was surprised by the return of this ancient part of our country so much as by the unexpected rapidity with which the re-incorporation was effected. I desire to submit to you and to explain the matter for which the Premier has already promised the Lower House an explanation, — viz. why the Government was compelled with lightning rapidity — at practically a minute's notice — to undertake the considerable risk involved by the occupation of the territory known as Ruthenia?

"Before proceeding in the matter we had to renew the relations with the German Empire which had for years connected Hungary closely with that country. We had to keep awake the interest of Italy and then to create an atmosphere in the countries of our neighbours to the South — i. e. in Rumania and Yugoslavia — enabling the Governments of those two countries to regard with relative equanimity any

eventual action undertaken by the Hungarian State in Sub-Carpathia.

"At the same time we had to convince Poland that the Hungarian Government had never been in a position to relinquish the idea of incorporating in the Kingdom of Hungary the territory known as Ruthenia; and we had also to re-assure the Slovaks that the action of the Hungarian Government would be confined within certain limits.

Our Relations with the German Empire More Cordial Than Ever.

"Our relations with the German Empire are more cordial than ever. Reciprocal confidence has been restored. With the far-reaching goodwill shown by the leaders of the German Empire Hungary would never have advanced so far as she has on the path of consolidation; and all factors alike, both at home and abroad, must take very seriously the attitude expressed by the Führer of that Empire to the effect that Germany needs a strong, independent Hungary able as an independent factor to play an important role in the political life of the peoples of Central Europe.

"Conscious of the importance attached elsewhere too to independence, the Government has taken particular care not to ask anything from anyone in connection with the action in Ruthenia, determining on the contrary to carry out that action by having recourse exclusively to its own resources and to the national impetus behind it.

"In respect of the attitude of certain States we have been able to establish the fact that Yugoslavia's conduct was correct.

"Rumania unfortunately hesitated and did not display a more understanding attitude until I had called the attention of the Bucharest Government to the fact that the Hungarian Government was determined to take possession of Ruthenia by every means at its command, even if opposed. It is true, indeed, that I at the same time assured the Rumanian Government that, although our National Army was marching with practically irresistible forces also along the former Ruthenian-Rumanian frontier, the action was not aimed against Rumania, unless the Rumanian Army allowed itself to be dragged into taking hostile action against the Hungarian Army. I did not

however fail to warn Bucharest also that any unprovoked attack on the Hungarian troops meant war.

Rumania's Incomprehensible Gesture.

"The Hungarian Government still abides by its promise to avoid even the appearance of any military actions likely at any point to threaten the security of the Rumanian frontier. I cannot therefore refrain from regarding it as unfortunate that the Rumanian Government should nevertheless have carried out against us too very serious military measures for which there was no cause whatsoever, a decision on that Government's part which once more robbed it of a possibility of making a gesture towards every section of Hungarian public opinion — as had been done by Yugoslavia, for instance, — making the Hungarian masses realise that Rumania was sincerely desirous to strengthen the foundations of a rapprochement with Hungary laid with such zealous insistence and genuine conviction by M. Gafencu, Rumanian Foreign Minister.

"The behaviour of Rumania — at times vacillating, at others smacking of excessive energy — was incomprehensible. It was surely incomprehensible that she should first of all desire that the Hungarian troops should not occupy the part of Ruthenia lying beyond the Huszt-Felsőbisztra line — i. e. the larger half of the territory of Ruthenia —, notifying us at the same time that it would, to secure the defence of Rumania's interest, concentrate troops on the Rumano-Ruthenian frontier, though those troops would not cross the Ruthenian frontier until Rumania considered her interests to be in danger. And when I repudiated this hidden threat, the Rumanian Government informed me that Rumania would be satisfied with the surrender of the Lonka-Körösmező railway and with the transfer also of a few Rumanian villages lying in the neighbourhood of Mărmarosziget.

"I wonder whether the object in the mind of the Rumanian Government when it acted in this manner was to prove unequivocally that if it wanted to do so it could make itself extremely disagreeable?

"After having informed the Governments of the States

with which we are on friendly terms and also of those which are on friendly terms with Rumania of this behaviour on the part of the Rumanian Government, I simply ignored the demand, declaring however that — if Rumania showed a correct attitude, — I would be prepared to show the most benevolent consideration possible for the interests of Rumania affected by the new common frontier.

“But I also informed Rumania's friends that this promise did not apply to territorial concessions, for Hungarian public opinion would be unable to understand the motives impelling us to renounce a railway line in favour of Rumania, or to hand over to Rumania in exchange for 3—4 villages a slice of territory, disproportionately large in area, cut out of Ruthenia without any return being made and without even determining the principle on the basis of which Rumania demands from Hungary territorial concessions. And in conclusion I called Rumania's attention to the circumstance that we had promised Sub-Carpathia territorial autonomy and that we could not possibly interpret this promise to mean that we proposed to distribute slices of various sizes of the self-governing territory. I at the same time, however, endeavoured through the medium of Berlin, Rome, Warsaw, London, Paris and Belgrade, to re-assure Bucharest, repeatedly reiterating the promise I had made to the effect that, unless the Rumanian troops attacked the Hungarian troops, the Hungarian Government would avoid even the appearance of desiring to endanger Rumania's territorial security.

“The Hungarian Government proposes to continue to develop good neighbourly relations with Rumania and is prepared for direct negotiations in all questions affecting the common interests of both countries which may arise as a consequence of the new frontier — possibly in other questions too, though under no circumstances whatsoever in the event of a mobilised Rumanian army being massed behind the Rumanian negotiators.

“The Hungarian Government is most nearly concerned in the restoration in Central Europe within the shortest time possible of peace and understanding; and it is not in the least desirous of seeking for fresh complications. Our previous endeavours have indeed convinced the Yugoslav Government

that such is the case, that Government having displayed an attitude for which it deserves the sincere thanks of the whole Hungarian nation.

"We have succeeded in convincing Poland that the Hungarian Government never renounced the idea of the re-incorporation of Sub-Carpathia, — if only because by so doing at the present juncture it would have been guilty of abandoning the political principle of the self-determination of the peoples which it had professed for twenty years. The strengthening of our confidence in Poland was the source of that sincere and profound friendship which was responsible for the touching and spontaneous outburst witnessed at Verecke when the Hungarian and Polish troops first joined hands on the mountain ridge forming the common frontier of the two peoples.

London, Paris and Washington.

"London, Paris and Washington too realised that the lot of the Magyars living in Sub-Carpathia was becoming more and more intolerable and that even prior to the general elections the Magyar and Ruthenian inhabitants had to suffer a whole series of disabilities and outrages. The Volosin Government, as is well known, not only forbade the Magyar and Ruthenian parties to take part in the elections, but confined the leaders of those parties in concentration camps.

"Those Powers realised also that its being severed from the mother country had made Sub-Carpathia unviable while the arbitrary conditions were being maintained by the so-called Ukrainian Government — a government completely foreign to the autochthonous Ruthenian inhabitants — solely and exclusively with the aid of armed bands of terrorists and of the Czech army. But what probably attracted the attention most of all the Great Powers alike was my warning to the effect that the Volosin Government was carrying out deforestation on a scale seriously endangering the supply of water of the Hungarian Lowlands and the distribution of the volume of water available, it being emphasised at the same time that this was no new invention on the part of Hungary, seeing that during the Peace Negotiations we already called

the attention of the Powers to the mortal danger threatening Hungary in this connection, so that a Chapter not to be found in the other peace treaties was included in the Treaty of Trianon. Articles 292 and 293 serve the purpose of protecting the flat districts of Hungary against the serious dangers arising from deforestation and from hydraulic measures of an inexperienced character.

"When the antagonism between the Pozsony and Prague Governments came to a head and the conflict assumed dimensions awakening international interest, it became manifest to us that the Vienna Award might any moment become invalid. In other words, that the only legal basis upon which the so-called Carpatho-Ukraine had built its existence might become a thing of the past. We realised also that, in the event of the Czech State losing its authority in Sub-Carpathia, we should have to reckon with serious upheavals and perhaps even with a civil war in that province.

"Nor could those Powers have been ignorant of the fact that the events in Sub-Carpathia were being watched closely in other countries too, and that there was a danger that Hungary would only recover this ancient Hungarian territory in a mutilated shape.

"When, therefore, the autochthonous inhabitants began to raise their voices louder and louder in appeal for help to Budapest, — when certain members of the last of the Volosin Governments appealed for the assistance of the Hungarian Government, — when with the aid of Czech regulars the Sitch bands once more attacked the Hungarian frontier guards at Munkács, probably in the belief that thereby they would compel the whole Czech army of occupation stationed in Sub-Carpathia to make a stand and hold back the Hungarian army at least long enough to enable them to remove all the valuables and war material to be found in Sub-Carpathia — and, last not least, to enable the Sitch Guards to make their escape —, the Hungarian Government had no choice left but to undertake all risks and, trusting in the ancestral military prowess of the Hungarian soldier, — in the early days with deficient military equipment and with recruits who had had only six weeks training —, to accept the

challenge, to repulse the attack and with as little delay as possible to take possession of Sub-Carpathia.

"The tiny Hungarian army in a few days succeeded in so seriously threatening the veteran, splendidly equipped enemy that the latter begged for a truce. Our reply — as everybody knows — was to the effect that, if they laid down their arms, the enemy would be free to go. We also called upon the Volosin Government in its own interest — and in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed — to summon the Terror Troops under its control also to surrender. The answer received was to the effect that Volosin had sent to Budapest, for the purpose of negotiation, a delegation headed by a Member of his Government, but had at the same time appealed to the German Empire for help, begging the Empire to offer his country the benefit of its protection. Volosin at the same time addressed a similar appeal to the Rumanian Government, and then — ran away.

Marvellous Achievement of National Defence Army.

"The Czech army — as everybody knows — was not prepared to comply with the demand for unconditional surrender; and as a consequence hostilities were continued.

"It is not my business to describe the marvellous capacity and military prowess of our national defence army. That has been done already by the international press, in particular by the German and the Italian press, and indeed by that of Western Europe too, and in days to come that prowess will be commemorated by Hungarian military history in terms far exceeding in eloquence anything I might be able to say. But, apart from having once more wielded their sharp-whetted and brightly polished swords in a manner worthy of their ancestors, our soldiers have also accomplished an important national mission. Inspired by the new national spirit, which has returned to the Hungarian nationality conception derived from the principles of St. Stephen which for centuries proved so effectual and in terms of which no importance whatsoever attaches to the language spoken by the citizens of the Hungarian Kingdom, — provided only those citizens are loyal and contented sons of the State —, they have treated the Ruthe-

nian people with a brotherly kindness which has effectively laid the foundations of a peaceful symbiosis of the two races based on reciprocal understanding destined to be lasting owing to the reciprocal conviction of interdependence.

"There can be no doubt that the political and military action carried out by us without any infringement of rights, with foresight and lightning rapidity and entirely without assistance from abroad, has once more enhanced Hungary's prestige. In addition our connections with our old friends have been made much closer, the Western European Powers have shown complete understanding of our procedure, there has ensued an improvement of our relations with Yugoslavia, and I cannot but hope that we shall be able to continue our endeavours towards an understanding with Rumania which during the course of our action in Sub-Carpathia — I would stress the point that it was not our fault — were suspended.

"With the re-incorporation of the Memel District territory which has been German for centuries has been restored to German possession. This was a triumph alike for the historical and for the ethnical principles. The Treaty of Versailles — on which that of Trianon was modelled — has once more been seriously repudiated. And indeed the Hungarian Government did not fail yesterday afternoon to embrace the opportunity to express its congratulations to the German Government on the fresh success achieved without bloodshed by the German Empire on the arduous path of reparations.

"Allow me further on the present occasion also to convey to Signor Mussolini our cordial and sincere esteem on the occasion of today's celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the first militant fascio.

"In conclusion I have one other thing to say: I do not believe that the peace of the world is in danger; it is becoming every day more and more manifest that the political power factors are becoming equipoised and that the Parties now facing one another will be impelled in the future to display a greater degree of understanding than that now in evidence for one another's legitimate interests."

SUBCARPATHIA'S RE-INCORPORATION CREATES COMMON POLISH-HUNGARIAN FRONTIER

BY

ANDREW BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY

Within three days, counting from 15th March, Subcarpathia, together with the honest, loyal and religious Ruthenians, returned to the Sacred Crown and took its ancient place in historical Hungary.

The restoration of Subcarpathia took place in the following manner. On 14th March the Hungarian troops repulsed attacks on the frontier, and on the 15th three detachments took action; one advancing from Ungvár towards the Uzsok Pass, another from Munkács towards the Verecke Pass and a third along the valley of the Tisza towards Körösmező. The first to reach the Polish frontier, at 1.25 p. m. on 16th March, was the detachment from Munkács. That same day this detachment reached the Verecke Pass through which Árpád led the conquering Hungarian horsemen a thousand years ago. Next day the troops from Ungvár reached the Uzsok Pass. The reason why they took a day longer to do so was that, although the other line had also to be cleared of Sitch Guards and Czech soldiers, who offered resistance here and there, waging a guerilla warfare on the advancing Hungarian troops, it was on the Uzsok line at Perecseny that regular Czech troops attempted to make a serious stand, and it was not until the latter were completely routed that the Hungarians could advance. The same day the detachment advancing from the Tisza towards Körösmező gained the Polish frontier along a

line almost 270 kilometres long. Struggling with a terrible blizzard and with Czech troops and bands of Ukrainians that lay in ambush for them, the Hungarian soldiers covered exceedingly rough ground with surprizing rapidity. These little forces, consisting partly of raw recruits with only six weeks of training, may be said to have accomplished the hard task of occupying Ruthenia with the astonishing verve of the ancient Hungarian military spirit.

It is, however, undoubtedly true that this action was not a campaign of conquest; had, in fact, no resemblance to one, if only because the task of the Hungarian National Army was facilitated by the enthusiastic, wellnigh fanatical, willingness to assist displayed by the Ruthenian folk, a people so sorely harassed by Czech and Ukrainian — a people known as Prince Rákóczi's "most loyal folk", the gens fidelissima of Hungarian history. Their zeal in lending assistance to the Hungarian troops has been recorded by the foreign journalists who witnessed it. At Órhegyalja, for instance, Hungarian flags made their appearance, and at Szélestő a portrait of Admiral Horthy was set up on the War of Independence (1848) Memorial. In other words, despite all the persecution the Ruthenians had to endure, for twenty years they preserved the Hungarian colours and the Hungarian Regent's portrait. The welcome accorded to the Hungarian troops in Huszt was particularly enthusiastic. Foreign Press correspondents established the fact that, besides the older people, an astonishing number of young Ruthenians could speak Hungarian. In spite of Czech and Ukrainian propaganda and a reign of terror, the Ruthenians showed that at heart they belonged to Hungary by teaching their children Hungarian, even though they had no Hungarian schools.

The Hungarian military action was not simply the restoration on the basis of Hungary's historical rights of one of the most valuable and important parts of the kingdom of the

Sacred Crown; it was actually a plebiscite on the part of the Ruthenians: an act of self-determination according to the Wilsonian principles, nay more, enthusiastic and voluntary reunion with Hungary. It has also restored the ancient boundaries between Hungary and Poland, making a closer co-operation between the two countries possible. This is important for Poland as well as for the entire Danube Valley; in fact for the whole of Europe.

Within a short time the future is bound to show that the re-establishment of the old Polish-Hungarian frontier was one of the greatest events of the past five years. Its restoration has liberated great Hungarian and Polish forces and this will prove to be one of the fundamental pillars upon which a natural reconstruction of the Danube Valley may be built.

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OSZK
Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár

HUNGARIANS OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

EUGENE PIVÁNY

English interest in Hungary and the Hungarians flowed and ebbed largely in accordance with certain political and religious movements. The rise of Ottoman power, which Byzantium and the Balkan States proved unable to resist, continued in the 16th and 17th centuries, the ultimate object of the Sublime Porte being the conquest of the Holy Roman Empire. King Louis II. of Hungary having lost his life in the fateful battle of Mohács fought in 1526 against Suleiman the Magnificent, the crown of Hungary came into the possession of Louis' brother-in-law, Ferdinand of Habsburg, who was the brother of Emperor Charles V., and was elected on the latter's demise Emperor himself. Though Hungary has never belonged in public law to the Holy Roman Empire (which — to use the words of Gibbon — was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire), the final struggle was fought out mostly on Hungarian territory. Hungary was torn into three parts: Transylvania was ruled by Hungarian, generally Protestant princes acknowledging Turkish suzerainty, the central part of Hungary proper was under direct Turkish rule, and the northwestern part was ruled by the Habsburg Kings of Hungary, more often than not in opposition to Hungarian sentiment and in violation of the laws of the country. The Hungarians had, thus, to sacrifice life and property in defence of western civilisation in a war lasting, with few interruptions, about two centuries, during which period they were compelled several times to rise against their own kings to regain their constitutional liberties and religious freedom.

The Turkish wars and the struggles of the Hungarians

could not fail to evoke interest in England, too. This was particularly the case in the 17th century, when a whole series of events tended to arouse and enliven such interest. In the Thirty Years' War the son-in-law of James I., Frederic V., elector palatine, and Count Peter Mansfeld were the allies of Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, leader of the Hungarian Protestants. Later England was rent by religious strife and an antidynastic revolution, followed by restoration and Tory reaction. Even the division of the Hungarians into *Labantses* (court party) and *Kurutses* (country party) bore some resemblance to Toryism and Whigism.

But to return to the 16th century, it seems strange that a son of Hungary, a land-locked country, should have been selected to have an honourable part in the first serious English attempt at colonisation in the New World; nevertheless, that is exactly what happened. Like many humanists of the age, this Hungarian also Hellenised his name; and we know him only as *Stephanus Parmenius Budaeus*, or Stephen Parmenius of Buda. He was born in Buda in the middle of the 16th century, amid Turkish surroundings, but of Christian parentage. He was a Protestant, and augmented his knowledge acquired at home by three years' study in foreign countries before arriving in England. His talents and accomplishments gained him many friends among the literati of London and Oxford. One of them, the famous Richard Hakluyt, introduced him to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who took such a liking to the young Hungarian humanist as to select him to be the historian of his second voyage to America, to record in graceful Latin the events of the enterprise and the founding of the colony.

Sir Humphrey, with his colonists, embarked on four boats and landed on August 3, 1583, in Newfoundland, of which he solemnly took possession in the name of his sovereign. Parmenius sent a Latin report to Hakluyt, which, with a Latin poem of Parmenius and an account of his death, was published in Hakluyt's great work: *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*. On the return voyage to England the two boats bearing Sir Humphrey and Parmenius, respectively, were wrecked, carrying them down to a watery grave. Captain Haie of the *Delight*, which got home safely, wrote of the death of Parmenius as follows:

"This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraughted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of hundred soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budaenius, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time."

It is not my intention to give a full bibliography of the English books, pamphlets, etc. referring to Hungary, the Turkish wars, the siege of Buda, etc. in the 16th and 17th centuries, but shall confine myself to the selection of such items as are of special interest or, rather, deal with particular persons of note.

The first English book devoted entirely to the history of Hungary was published in London in 1600, entitled *THE HISTORIE OF THE TROVBLES OF HVNGARIE: contain- ing the pitifull Losse and Ruine of that Kingdome, and the Wares happened there, in that time, betweene the Christians and Turkes*. This is a translation by R[ooke] C[hurche] of Martin Fumée's French book, published in Paris in 1594. It is a large book, quarto size, of 356 numbered pages in addition to the dedication, introduction and an alphabetical index, and contains the history of the fifty years from the battle of Mohács (1526) to the death of Maximilian (1576). The translator, who had been "a trauailer in this Countrie of Hungarie" himself, begins his dedication with the following words characteristic of the spirit of the book: "Hungarie after many afflictions endured by her sworne enemies (the Turkes) for her vtter ruine and decay: and after as many intreaties, requests, and earnest petitions made to the Princes of Christendome, and to diuers persons of great reputation and authoritie amongst them, for the asswaging (or rather quite suppressing, if possible it could be) of these her wofull and intollerable miseries: doth now at last wander abroade, and is come into our little Iland (it beeing as it were in the vtter-

most confines of Europe) in ragged and mournfull habits as a distressed Pilgrime."

Several of the Princes of Transylvania of the 17th century have found some place in English literature. Captain John Smith, of Pocahontas fame, in writing of his exploits against the Turks in Hungary proper and Transylvania (some of which are in contradiction to well-established historical facts) claimed to have received an annuity of 300 ducats and a grant of arms from Sigismund Bathory, Prince of Transylvania, in 1603 as a reward for having killed three Turks in single combat. The grant of arms, though entered in the register of the College of Arms in London in 1625, is undoubtedly a forgery (as proved by Mr. Lewis L. Kropf, of London, in a series of articles published in volume IX of the London "Notes and Queries" and augmented in my treatise on Hungarian-American Historical Connections, Budapest, 1927.).

The party of Stephen Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania, who rose in arms against King Rudolph to get redress for the violations of Hungary's constitutional liberties and the oppression of the Protestants, issued a manifesto to the rulers of Europe, the English edition of which was published in London under the title of *A Declaration of the Lords and States of the Realm of Hungaria* in 1606.

The name of Prince Gabriel Bethlen, who — as stated above — was the ally of the son-in-law of James I. and of Count Mansfeld in the Thirty Years' War, often occurs in contemporary English literature. As a champion of religious freedom his name was somehow associated with the word Bethlehem, and he was often referred to as Bethlehem Gabor (Gabriel) or Bethlem Gabor. He is mentined in Ben Jonson's drama *Staple of News* (1625) and Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1681), also in Godwin's novel *St. Leon, a Tale of the 16th Century* (1799). Under the influence of the last-named book John Burk wrote an historical drama entitled *Bethlen Gabor, Lord of Transylvania* (1807). A serious appreciation of Gabriel Bethlen's life and acts as a statesman was published, however, only in 1740 by Samuel Richardson, who edited the papers of Sir Thomas Roe. (*The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from*

the Year 1628 inclusive, containing... his correspondences... with Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, etc.)

The successor of Gabriel Bethlen as Prince of Transylvania, George Rákóczi I., was also compelled to make an appeal to arms against the encroachments on the constitutional liberties of Hungary, and issued a manifesto setting forth the causes thereof. The said manifesto was made public in London in 1644 under the title of *The Declaration or Manifesto of George Racokzie, Prince of Transylvania, to the States and Peeres of Hungarie*, and was followed by a reply of King Ferdinand III. in the same year.

During the reign of Prince George Rákóczi II. (son of George I.) an Anglican divine, Isaac Basire, prebendary of Durham, who had to flee from England after the revolution, found refuge in Transylvania as professor at the College of Gyula-Fehérvár (Alba Julia) and became the confidential adviser of George Rákóczi II. in matters of state. After the death of the latter he returned to England and was reinstated by Charles II. His correspondence was published in London, however only in 1831.

Prince Michael Apafy also rose in arms against the oppression of the Habsburg Imperialists. He, too, issued a declaration (of 16 folio pages), which was published in parallel Latin and English columns in 1682, the title of the same reading as follows: *THE DECLARATION OF THE Hungarian War, Lately set out by the most Illustrious MICHAEL APAFY, Prince of Transylvania, Against the Emperour's S. Majesty. — According to the Transylvanian Copy, Anno 1682. — To all Kings, Princes, and Commonwealths, of the Christian World, to the Estates and Orders of the whole S. Roman Empire: Lastly, to the miserable People of Pannonia, that groan under the burthen of their Oppressions: For everlasting Memory, Michael Apafy, by the Grace of God Prince of Transylvania, Lord of (several) Parts of the Kingdom of Hungaria and Count of the Siculians, I do declare and testifie in sincere Truth and unfeigned Faith. —* The declaration contains a pathetic description of the tragedy of the Hungarian nation during the rule of the Habsburg Kings, their violations of the laws of the country and oppression of the Protestants, their policy of Germanisation

and the methods followed by them for creating division among the Hungarians, and ends with an appeal for unity in the national cause. Being reproached for accepting the help of the Turks against Christians, Apafy gives in his declaration a list of the Christian rulers — including Pope Clement IV., Francis I. of France, and Maximilian of Austria — who had turned to the Mohammedans for armed assistance against their enemies.

In 1664 there appeared in London a neat little duodecimo book, with the "imprimatur" of the Archbishop of Canterbury, entitled *The CONDUCT and CHARACTER of Count NICHOLAS SERINI, Protestant Generalissimo of the Auxiliaries in Hungary, The most Prudent and resolved Champion of Christendom. With his Parallels SCANDERBEG & TAMBERLAIN. Interwoven with the principal Passages of the Christians and Turks Discipline and Success, since the Infidels first Invasion of Europe, in the year 1313.* — The book is adorned by a medaillon picture of Serini, painted by H. D. and engraved by I. Chantry, and the unknown author signs himself O. C. This book is an appreciation of the noble character and deeds of the second Nicholas Zrinyi, surnamed in Hungary "the Poet", having been the author of "Obsidio Szigetiana", the epopeia of the self-sacrifice of his ancestor, the first Nicholas Zrinyi. To our knowledge, he was not a Protestant. The story of the first Nicholas Zrinyi and his heroic death in the defence of Szigetvár a century before is also related in the book.

Eight years later another small book, but conceived in an entirely different spirit, was published in London. The encroachments on the Hungarian constitution having continued and the imperial army having left Hungary to her fate, concentrating all its efforts on the defence of Vienna, several Hungarian patriots of high standing planned an armed uprising to force a change in the policy of the Government. The Vienna Government, having been informed of the plans, had the leaders of the so-called conspiracy, viz. Peter Zrinyi, Ban of Croatia, Francis Nádasdy, Iudex Curiae, and Cristopher Frangepán, arrested, convicted of high treason and executed in 1671. The constitution of Hungary was abolished, and the grand-master of the Order of the Teutonic Knights

was appointed Governor of the country. The execution of the patriots aroused great indignation, whereupon the Imperial Government deemed it advisable to have its own account of the happenings published. This was written in German by Matthaeus Cosmerovius, and the said little English book was translated from the German of Cosmerovius by P. A., Gent . . . The title of the book reads as follows: *THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION: OR An Historical Relation of the late wicked Practises of the three Counts, Nadasdi, Serini, and Frangepani; tending to subvert the Government of his present Imperial Majesty in Hungary, and introduce the Mahumetan. With their Arraignment, Condemnation, and manner of being Executed for the same.* — It "The Epistole to the Reader" the translator states that he wishes the book "may have its true and proper effects, on all such turbulent and Rebellious spirits here amongst us, as, being ignorant of the heavy yোক which the Subjects of most Princes and States submit to, as also insensible of the great indulgence and lenity, which we are bless'd with here, are alway murmuring and repining at the Government: I wish (I say) that this may be a warning and example to all men to keep within the bounds of their Duty and Obedience to that Royal Authority, which is set over us by God".

The adherents of the executed patriots fled mostly to Transylvania, where the banner of liberty was soon unfurled again, the leadership passing from Michael Teleki, Councillor of Prince Michael Apafy, to Emeric Thököly who received assistance both from Louis XIV and the Sultan. It was around this time that in Hungary the appellations *Kuruts* and *Labants*, and in England Whig and Tory came into existence. Thököly, the Kuruts leader, was extremely popular among the Whigs and Dissenters of England, but was furiously assailed by the Tories. His name was variously spelled in England as *Teckely*, *Tekely*, *Teckeli* and *Tekley*, and it was particularly his alliance with the Turks, which offered ground for attacks on him and his English admirers, the latter being dubbed *Teckelites*. He was certainly the most talked about, most praised and most abused Hungarian in 17th century England.

The nickname Teckelite seems to have been invented, or, at least, brought into circulation, by Sir Roger L'Estrange, who

was "surveyor of imprimery and printing presses" under Charles II., but, after losing that job, became a journalist himself and founded the *Observer* in London in 1681 to offset the influence of the Whig press. The first article dealing with Thököly appeared in this paper in 1682, in which L'Estrange called him "the mahometan christian or the true protestant Hungarian moderator for the reconciling of both churches". The English Whigs — L'Estrange stated — and the Hungarian "malcontents" closely resembled each other; the Hungarian Dissidents asked the "brotherly assistance" of the Moham-medan Turks, their conduct being "every jot" as justified as that of the Whigs who appealed for assistance to the Christian Turks, *i. e.* the Scotch Covenanters. Several other articles were published in the same vein, and the "Hungarian Declaration" (by which was meant Apafy's manifesto) was also subjected to hostile criticism.

In my collection of English *Hungarica* there are two rare pasquinades about Thököly, printed in London in 1683 as one-leaf broadsides. The first is entitled *A Letter from Count Teckely to the Salamanca Doctor, giving an Account of the Siege of Vienna, and the State of the Ottoman Army*. A few lines quoted from this mock-letter will show its tenor. "And as a token of his love to You, and all the English Mahometans and Telekites, he will give and grant unto You the full enjoyment of Liberty of Conscience, after You have lent Your Prayers and Hands to the Extirpating of Christianity: And he doth farther assure You. That he will use his utmost Endeavours to make a perfect Unity between the two Kirks of Mahomet and Geneva; and that the Directory, and the Alcoran shall be bound up in one Volumn, and be proclaimed equally Religious and Glorious, and equally to be used by the true Protestant Mahometans and Tekelites." The other broadside is entitled *Dr. Oates's Answer to Cont Teckly's Letter, Giving Him a True Account of the Present Horrible Plot*. In this pasquill Dr. Oates assures Thököly that "If you will send Money to bear the charge of their Voyage, I do not doubt but to bring the G. S. a hundred thousand True Mahometan Protestants, that (since your Letter) I have recommended your Excellencys respects to. Nay, a great part of them are in the village of London".

Thököly made his entry into English poetry, too. John Dryden vented his spleen at him or, rather, his English friends, in the following lines:

... there were a sort of wights,
 (I think my author calls them Tekelites:),
 Such hearty rogues against the king and laws,
 They favoured e'en a foreign rebel's cause,
 When their own damned design was quashed and awed;
 At least they gave it their good abroad.
 As many a man, who, for a quiet life,
 Breeds out his bastard, not to nose his wife,
 Thus, o'er their darling plot these Trimmers cry,
 And, though they cannot keep it in their eye,
 They bind it 'prentice to Count Tekely.

Sir Walter Scott as editor of Dryden's collected works quotes, among his editorial notes, also from less known Tory poets lines referring to Thököly.

A ballad published in 1685, soon after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, bears the title "A Song upon the Rendezvous on Hounsley-Heath, with a Parallel of the Destruction of our English Turks in the West, and the Mahometans in Hungary."

The Rev. Alexander Tyler, who wrote *The Memoires, of the Life and Actions Of the most Invincible and Triumphant Prince* (John Sobieski, King of Poland), "done in verse" and printed in Edinburgh in 1685, got into a frenzy whenever he referred to Thököly, as may be seen from the following quotation:

Base Apostate Rebel, Count Tekly by Name,
 All Christendoms Scandal, the Protestants shame:
 To find his Imperial Land-Lord, new Work,
 Divorc'd all Religion, struck match with the Tvrk:
 Quits Cross for a Crescent; the Sun for the Moon;
 The truth for a Turbant; takes Mecha for Rome.
 Paunds his Grace, and his God, and auch glorious thing,
 For the Nick-name, and Noise of a Titular King.

The romantic love of Thököly for Ilona Zrinyi (daughter of Count Peter Zrinyi and widow of Francis Rákóczi I.), one

of the greatest heroines of Hungarian history, who defended the fortress of Munkács for three years against the blood-thirsty imperial General Caraffa, is the subject of a book, translated from the French in 1686, entitled *The Amours of Count Teckeli and the Lady Aurora Veronica de Serini*. The biography of Thököly, up to the year 1691, was published in London in 1693 under the title of *MEMOIRS of EMERIC COUNT TECKELY. In Four BOOKS. Wherein are related all the most considerable Transactions in Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, from his Birth, Anno 1656, till after the Battel of Salankement, in the Year 1691.* — This is the translation of a French book published in 1691, the authorship of which is attributed to J. Leclerc. The book contains also a medallion picture of Thököly engraved by P. Bouche.

There are many references to Thököly also in a book dealing with the reign of John Sobieski, which appeared in London in 1700, entitled *POLISH MANUSCRIPTS: or The Secret History of the Reign of John Sobieski, The III. of that Name, K. of Poland*. This is a translation of Dalerac's *Les Anecdotes de Pologne*, published in Paris in 1699.

Thököly was not entirely forgotten in England even after he had died a quiet man in exile in Turkey. A drama glorifying some of his heroic exploits was written in England as late as in 1806 and performed on the stage with such success that a second edition was printed in 1807 and a third edition in 1829. The title page of the book reads as follows: *TEKELI; or The Siege of Montgatz. A Melo Drame, in Three Acts. As performed with distinguished Success at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane. Written by Theodore Edward Hook, Esq. The Music by Mr. Hook, Senr.* — Theodore Edward Hook was a popular stage-author of the period, but he evidently overlooked to mention that his drama was an adaptation from the French of M. Pixérécourt performed for the first time in Paris "sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu comique le 7 nivose an XII", viz. on December 28, 1804. It was a spectacular play with much fireworks and waving of flags, but deviating in many important particulars from historic facts. Montgatz is, of course, the Frenchified name of Munkács, Ilona Zrinyi is called Alexina, and Thököly kills — as a happy ending — the General Caraffa in single combat. — y —

M. CALINESCU'S FALSE ARGUMENTS

BY

LADISLAS DEÉSI

The "Paris Soir" of 23rd February published a statement made when Deputy Prime Minister by M. Armand Calinescu, the present Rumanian Premier. Certain passages of that statement are such as cannot be passed over in silence.

Speaking of the minority problem, M. Calinescu started by declaring that "it is a mistake to speak of a minority question in Rumania". In his opinion this is best proved by the circumstance that the ethnic minorities have collaborated in the work of creating the National Renascence Front, which fact, he argues, fully justifies the Rumanian conception of minority politics. "Above all things, we are a national State," continues M. Calinescu. "The soil of Rumania was occupied, tilled and made use of first by our people. And though later our territories came under alien rule, this was only a temporary stage. During that period the Rumanian people preserved their traditions, folklore and language. There is no agreement or treaty that can draw new ethnic frontiers, for such frontiers are established by history and the natural rights of the peoples. And these frontiers we shall defend."

M. Calinescu concluded his statement about the minority problem with the assertion that the minorities were nowhere treated better than in Rumania. The principle of the legal equality of all citizens was — he said — laid down in the Rumanian Constitution. The minorities enjoyed full rights in the spheres of language, religion and the Press, and were free to form associations. They were at liberty to establish denominational schools and institutions, and, naturally, were entitled to education in their mother-tongue, teaching in which had been introduced in the State schools.

It would be hard to find a Rumanian politician with other

views, and M. Calinescu is not the first to declare that "Rumania is a national State". It makes no difference to him that according to the figures published by the Rumanian Statistical Office, 27% of Rumania's 18 million inhabitants (or 4.900.000) are minority citizens, and that of these almost 5 million people 2.300.000 live in Transylvania and Máramaros, 1.300.000 in Bessarabia, 502.000 in Bukovina and 783.000 in Older Rumania.

With these figures in view we are forced to the conclusion that M. Calinescu was guilty of an error when he declared that it was a mistake to speak of a minority question in Rumania.

Nor can we accept his argument that the collaboration of the ethnic minorities in the work of creating the Rumanian National Renaissance Front is a proof of his statement. More than once we have pointed out in the columns of this paper that the minorities acted under compulsion and had no other choice.

As regards the treatment meted out to the minorities, facts compel us to deny M. Calinescu's assertion and to establish the truth that, despite the letter of the Constitution, the Rumanian Administration does not treat the minorities in any field as citizens enjoying equal rights. The language, religious and educational rights of the minorities, the liberty of their Press, their right to form associations and to assemble, are even today so often curtailed that there is no foundation of fact for the statement that the minorities are treated nowhere better than in Rumania.

Another point in which M. Calinescu's arguments are lame is where he says that Rumania's frontiers were drawn by history and the natural rights of the peoples. The evidence of history does not support this statement, and we are constrained to contradict it. For historical research proves the error of the assertion that the Rumanians were the first people to occupy Transylvania, and that they came under alien rule later on and only for a time. History teaches us that Dacia, thee Transylvania of today, was occupied in 107 A. D. by the Roman Emperor Trajanus (the Rumanians today declare that they are descended from these ancient Romans); but this province did not continue to be part of the Roman

Empire for long. In 251 A. D. it was invaded by the Goths and in 270 the Emperor Aurelianus evacuated it, settling its Roman inhabitants in Moesia, present-day Bulgaria. (This is incontestably proved by contemporary documents.) With this Dacia as such ceased to exist, and for centuries the territory was inundated by wave after wave of migrating peoples. In the fifth century the Goths were subjugated by the Huns, and after Attila's death in 453 an attempt was made by the Gepidae to establish themselves in Dacia, but in 567 their State was conquered by the Avars, who in turn were crushed by Charlemagne. Then the province was ruled by the Bulgars until 896, when Árpád created Hungary, the only State that was able to withstand all the vicissitudes of history, of which Trianon is an example. Granted that Dacia (Transylvania) was a Roman, or, as the Rumanians call it, a "Rumanian" province, from 107 till 251 P. D., a thousand years of Hungarian possession certainly gives Hungary a better title to that territory than Rumania's claim based on a mere 144 years of Roman rule.

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THE MINORITY QUESTION IN THE BUDGET DEBATE IN THE SKUPSHTINA

BY
EMERY PROKOPY

The minority question was broached on March 6th. in the Skupshtina, during the debate on the Estimates of the Department of Education, when Stevan Chirtz, Minister of Education, in his exposé declared that he desired to respect the mother tongues and the nationality rights of the minorities. The first of the Government Party Deputies to speak on this question was Rada Lungulov. In his speech M. Lungulov stressed that in order to ensure an adjustment of the minority question it was necessary to elaborate a permanent minority cultural programme, which would then have to be strictly observed.

Particularly noteworthy were the speeches made by two representatives of the German minority, Herr Francis Hamm and Dr. Trischler, and of the sole representative of the Magyar minority, M. Gellért Fodor. Deputy Hamm demanded a proper amendment of the law dealing with the regulation of the sale and purchase of real estate, the said law being in diametrical opposition to the provisions of the Minority Treaty and of the principle of equality of rights ensured in the Constitution. He complained further that the articles of association of the "Deutsch-Schwäbischer Kulturbund" had not yet — despite repeated attempts to urge the matter — been approved by the competent factors, and that Yugoslav subjects of German nationality still had the greatest difficulty in obtaining passports. And in conclusion he complained of the brutal treatment by the authorities of Yugoslav subjects of German nationality. Dr. Trischler demanded the establishment of agricultural schools, with German as the language of instruction, for the German minority.

The Deputy dealing most exhaustively with the minority question was M. Gellért Fodor, the representative of the Magyar minority, who in his speech explained the grievances and the legitimate demands of the Magyars living in Yugoslavia. "The Magyar minority living in Yugoslavia" — he said, inter alia — "does not ask for prerogatives or to be treated as privileged citizens; all it asks is that rights to which it is entitled by the laws of the land shall be realised to the same extent as in the case of the German minority within the framework of the Constitution. It has every right to ask that this should be done, particularly seeing that during the past 20 years it has unquestioningly fulfilled every obligation devolving upon Yugoslav citizens and has proved that it is ready to do so in the future too. The fact must nevertheless be established that the 500.000 Magyars living in Yugoslavia have been deprived of every possibility of development, have been reduced to intellectual thralldom and ruined economically, the result being that it would appear to be condemned to death. The leaders of the Magyar minority have in innumerable cases laid the grievances and legitimate demands of the Magyars of Yugoslavia before the political leaders of the country; but all they have received in answer so far has been — empty promises.

"The most crying of our political grievances is the circumstance that there are no Magyar officials functioning in the towns and villages inhabited by Magyars. We are quite unable to get work for the Magyar young men who have graduated at a university; for all posts alike are given to persons whose mother tongue is Slav and who in many cases do not possess adequate qualifications, and have brought the once flourishing towns and villages to the brink of ruin . . . As things stand today, there is not a single village in the whole country with a Magyar functioning as parish clerk or notary. The Magyars therefore beg the Royal Government to engage in the public offices a number of duly qualified Magyar young men in proportion to their quota of the population.

"The officials and other employees of Magyar nationality engaged by private enterprise are also being gradually ousted from their posts. I have received numbers of letters from

citizens complaining that under official pressure they have been dismissed on the plea of "nationalisation."

"The Magyars desire further that the courts of law functioning in districts inhabited by Magyars should have attached to them only judges familiar with the language of that minority. The Magyar minority also complains that formidable difficulties are thrown in the way of procuring citizenship even in the case of persons who resided in the territory of present-day Yugoslavia prior to 1910 and had already prior to that date acquired the right of domicile (*pertinenz*) in that territory. Another grievance voiced by the Magyar minority is that exceptional difficulties are thrown also in the way of obtaining passports, especially in the case of Yugoslav citizens of Magyar nationality.

"One of our chief grievances in respect of the country's economic policy refers to the Order in Council dealing with the restriction of the sale and purchase of real estate, which is aimed exclusively against the Magyar minority. As things stand at present, Magyars are already quite unable to sell real estate to Magyars, contracts of sale never being approved by the authorities when the purchaser is a Magyar. We see, therefore, that it is the express object of this Order in Council to make it impossible in particular for citizens who are Magyars by nationality to acquire landed or other real estate.

"The Magyar agricultural labourers were not given a share in the benefits of the land reform; and the Magyar agricultural labourers have never received even as much as a house-building site. The same has been the fate of the farm servants, cottagers and tenants of Magyar nationality expelled from the large estates that were distributed under the land reform, who today go about in rags and are in the most desperate situation. I would call the attention of Government particularly to the sad situation of these poor Magyar destitutes who have been plunged arbitrarily into misery.

"The most painful wounds in the cultural field have been those inflicted by the school policy so far pursued. The Magyars beg Government before all to urgently invalidate the various Orders dealing with the name-analysis system. As a consequence of the ruthless enforcement of the system of name-analysis, in Horgos, for instance, as things stand

today, the language of the Magyar minority is used as the language of instruction in only 6 of the 17 classes established there, despite the fact that of the 11.000 inhabitants of the township 9500 are Magyars by nationality. We beg, further, that religion should be taught, in both the elementary and the secondary schools, not in Serbo-Croatian, but in Magyars, irrespective of whether the pupil in question is attending a parallel Magyar section or a section in which the language of instruction is the language of the State. Another thing desired by the Magyars is that the teachers of Magyar nationality transferred to the schools in which the language of the State is the language of instruction should be re-attached to the so-called parallel Magyar sections, and that the Magyar teachers who have recently completed their training should be appointed without delay, to make it possible to re-open the Magyar sections closed owing to an alleged shortage of teachers. This is particularly the case with the homestead schools, in which there has not been any teaching for years.

"Another thing desired by the Magyars is that a Magyar theatre of a permanent character should be established and the same benefits in respect of taxation accorded it as those enjoyed by the theatres using the language of the State. And, in conclusion, we beg for the approval of the articles of association of the non-political Magyar cultural associations promised so many years back but not yet actually effected."

What M. Gellért Fodor said in the speech of which we publish an abstract above, is only a mere fraction of the grievances and legitimate demands of the Magyar minority. If the Yugoslav Government really and seriously desires to adjust the question of the Magyar minority and to bring about a sincere rapprochement with Hungary, it should without delay fulfil the demands described above, which are really only a minimum.

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THE INDEPENDENT SLOVAK STATE

BY

ANDREW KASSAI

The history and the particulars of the collapse of the second Czecho-Slovak Republic constructed on the basis of the Munich Agreement are well known. Nevertheless, to give our readers a clear, historical picture of what took place, we consider it necessary to set out in detail certain phases of that collapse and of the construction of the new Slovak State.

On 9th March — as reported on the 10th by the German Telegraphic Bureau — M. Hacha, President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, removed the Tiso Government from office by means of a coup-d'état, and appointed M. Joseph Sivak as Slovak Premier and M. Charles Sidor as Political Minister. Simultaneously, Czech troops occupied the Slovak towns and proclaimed martial law. According to an announcement in Slovak, broadcast by the Vienna wireless at 1.10 p. m. of the same day, Mgr. Tiso, on 10th March, informed Vienna that he and the other members of the Slovak Cabinet had been removed from office against their will by the Central Government, and that this was an unconstitutional act.

A report from Berlin received by the Hungarian Telegraph Bureau on 11th March stated that German public opinion was following the events in Slovakia with keen interest, and that the general view taken was that the Prague Government had violated Slovakia's autonomy, had been guilty of a breach of the Munich and Vienna Agreements, and was bent on governing with the old Beneš system of force. Rumours spread that Mgr. Tiso and his colleagues in office had drawn the attention of the German Government to the circumstance that Prague was acting in an unconstitutional manner, and that in their Note they had begged the German Government to support their legitimate points of view. After Mgr. Tiso's Note had been despatched, President Hacha removed M. Sivak from office and, on the recommendation of the Committee of the Slovak Diet, appointed M. Sidor as Premier, making at the same time other changes in the Cabinet. Mgr. Tiso, accompanied by his deputy in the former Cabinet, M. Durchansky, left for Berlin by aeroplane. They

were accorded an official reception by the German Government on 13th March, after which both Mgr. Tiso and M. Durchansky had an audience with Herr Hitler, who spoke with them in the presence of the German Foreign Minister. That same day an official communiqué was issued in Berlin in which it was stated that the attempt to settle the relations between the different racial groups in Czecho-Slovakia in a peaceful manner and in the spirit of the Munich Agreement had failed. For this unfortunate state of affairs the so-called "Beneš" spirit alone was responsible.

By this time the whole world knew that anarchy was rampant in Slovakia. According to a report received from the Pozsony "Informacio Bureau", on 15th March certain detachments of the German forces operating in Bohemia and Moravia crossed the western frontier of Slovakia in order to defend those provinces against any possible action of the Czecho-Moravian soldiers and gendarmes in Slovakia. The report emphatically declared that the German troops had occupied only a narrow strip of the western frontier zone from Zsolna to Pozsony, and that they had not entered the town of Pozsony itself. The German troops had halted at a distance of several kilometres from Pozsony, the German ring around that town extending to Bazin on the north-east. Zsolna, a town near the frontier, had been occupied, but only as a temporary measure.

On 15th March the Hungarian Telegraph Bureau issued the following report:

"Germany officially states that from this day Czecho-Slovakia has ceased to exist. As regards the future of Slovakia, the following statement has been issued: Slovakia is a completely independent State, in which Germany will be represented by a diplomatic agent. Germany naturally demands that Slovakia shall respect the cultural rights of the German minority living there."

On 14th March the Slovak Diet entrusted Mgr. Tiso with the task of forming a Cabinet. The Diet also proclaimed the independence of Slovakia and passed a law the text of which runs as follows:

§ 1. Slovakia is an independent and sovereign State. The former National Assembly has resolved itself into a legislative Diet.

§ 2. Until such time as the Slovak Constitution is promulgated, all administrative and executive powers shall be exercised by a Slovak Government appointed by the Competent Committee of the Slovak Diet.

§ 3. All laws, ordinances and measures hitherto in force shall, subject to such modifications as follow from the independence of the Slovak State, continue to be operative.

§ 4. The Government is empowered to institute by ordinance

such measures as are in the meantime required to maintain the order and security necessary to the interests of the Slovak State.

§ 5. This law comes into operation today.

On 16th March Premier Tiso despatched the following telegram to Herr Hitler:

"Trusting fully in the Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich, the Slovak State places herself under your protection. Slovakia begs you to undertake the protection of the Slovak State."

In reply Herr Hitler sent the following telegram to Mgr. Tiso:

"I acknowledge receipt of your telegram and herewith undertake to protect the Slovak State."

On 17th March the Hungarian Telegraph Bureau received the following report from Berlin:

"In connection with Slovakia's decision to place herself under Germany's protection, well-informed political circles point out that, although no definite steps have been taken in this respect yet, it is very probable that Slovakia's relations with the German Reich will be of an entirely different nature from those of Bohemia and Moravia. Namely, whereas the two Czech provinces have become part of the Reich, Slovakia will retain her independence, and will merely enter into a military, customs, and financial union with Germany. This signifies a common customs frontier, a common monetary system, and close military co-operation under the direction of a joint military staff. Slovakia will be ruled by a Slovak President; legislative powers are to be exercised by the Slovak Diet, and the executive power will be in the hands of the Slovak Government. The foreign affairs of the country will be attended to by an independent Foreign Minister, and Slovakia will have her own diplomatic representatives in other countries."

On 17th March General Göring made a statement to Mr. Ward Price, the editor of the Daily Mail, in which he stressed the point that Slovakia, although a German Protectorate, would remain outside the framework of the German Reich, and would be a completely independent State; no German garrisons were to be established in the country unless the Slovak Government asked for them.

According to the "Uj Hírek" (Pozsony) of 19th March, Mgr. Tiso, accompanied by M. Mach, Propaganda Minister, and M. Durchansky, left on 17th March for Vienna, where he entered into negotiations with German official circles, the upshot of which was that it was decided to set forth in the form of a declaration Slovakia's relations with Germany, which, although they were to be very close, would in no way affect the independence of the Slovak State. The report stated that agreements of an economic,

financial and military nature were to be expected as a result of the Vienna pourparlers.

On 23rd March Professor Tuka and M. Durchansky, Slovak Ministers, arrived in Vienna along with several economic experts to discuss economic questions. When this discussion was over, they left the same afternoon by aeroplane for Berlin to continue negotiations there. These negotiations were concluded that day, upon which Mgr. Tiso immediately flew to Berlin to sign the agreement. The text thereof runs as follows:

"Article 1. The German Reich undertakes to protect the political independence and territorial inviolability of the Slovak State.

"Article 2. In order to ensure the protection of Slovakia as undertaken by the German Reich, the German army shall always have the right to establish military bases in the zone encompassed by the western frontiers of the Slovak State, the eastern ridge of the Little Carpathians, the eastern ridge of the White Carpathians and the eastern ridge of the Javornik mountain range, and to occupy those regions with such military forces as Germany considers necessary. It devolves upon the Slovak Government to acquire and provide the areas required for these military bases. The Slovak Government also agrees to such measures as are necessary to ensure that commissariat supplies for the German troops in Slovakia shall be free of customs duty and that no duties shall be imposed on the materials to be sent from Germany to the German military bases in Slovakia. In the above-mentioned zone, the German army shall exercise supreme military authority. All subjects of the German Reich who, under contracts of a nature pertaining to the sphere of civil law, are engaged in the work of establishing military bases in the above mentioned zone shall be under the jurisdiction of the German courts of law.

"Article 3. The Slovak Government shall organize its own defence army in close co-operation with the German army.

"Article 4. In keeping with the military relations as stated above, the Slovak Government shall always shape its foreign policy in close co-operation with the Government of the Germany Reich.

"Article 5. This treaty comes into operation on the date of signature and is valid for 25 years. Before the lapse of that term the two Governments shall approach each other in good time with a view to prolonging this treaty."

The treaty was signed on behalf of Germany by Herr von Ribbentrop, and by Mgr. Tiso, Professor Tuka and M. Durchansky on behalf of Slovakia.

The nature of the military agreement concluded between Germany and Slovakia is clearly set forth in the foreign treaty, but public opinion knows nothing of the details of the economic

agreement beyond what Mr. Mach broadcast from the Pozsony wireless station on 23rd March. According to the "Slovak" of the 25th, M. Mach's broadcast on the economic treaty stated that in future Slovakia was to be an independent customs unit and would not enter into a customs union with any other State. Slovakia's political frontier as established by the Vienna Award would also constitute her customs frontier. In order, however, to ensure economic uniformity between the various parts of the former Czecho-Slovak Republic, the treaty stipulated that for the time being no customs duties were to be imposed on goods passing between Slovakia on the one hand and Czecho-Moravia and Sudetenland on the other. At the same time it was agreed that export and import permits were to be required for goods passing between Slovakia, Czecho-Moravia and Sudetenland, and, although no customs duties were to be imposed, they would be subjected to a customs examination. The "Slovak" report also announced that a separate clearing agreement would regulate payments between Slovakia, Czecho-Moravia and Sudetenland as well as between Slovakia and Germany, the difference to be paid in marks. The ratio of Slovak crowns to German marks was to be $100 = 8.60$. Mr. Mach also explained how exporters and importers were to effect their payments and how they would receive payments in their own countries.

According to the "Slovak" of 31st March, the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" reported from Vienna that the delegates of the German National Bank discussed the establishment of a Slovak National Bank with Slovak economists. They also discussed the new Slovak monetary unit and its ratio to the German mark and the Czech crown. It was agreed that German advisers would collaborate in the management of the new Slovak National Bank as a permanent department thereof. It was also agreed that regular customs duties would be paid on the goods imported from the Czecho-Moravian Protectorate and Slovakia by the Sudeten German districts, if these commodities were consumed in the Sudeten areas. This report would appear to imply an amendment of the customs treaty as explained by M. Mach. No duties, however, are to be paid on such agricultural products as are exempted from customs duties by the German Minister of the Public Commissariat.

All this permits of the conclusion that although Slovakia's political status is essentially different from that of the Czecho-Moravian Protectorate, her links with Germany in the fields of military and foreign affairs, finance and customs policy are nevertheless very close.

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THE GERMAN-RUMANIAN ECONOMIC AGREEMENT

BY
ANDREW FALL

Diplomacy is familiar with secret political and secret military treaties; but that there should be any mysterious secret in an economic agreement, is an entirely new-fangled Rumanian speciality.

The statements made by Rumanian politicians, their inspired press and those foreign newspapers which have obtained their information from the Rumanians, have enveloped in a mist of artificial mystery the events leading up to the conclusion of the agreement, as also the essential points and the consequences of the same, the result being that the situation would have become veritably comical, if in the conditions at present in force public opinion had any desire to be humorous.

The whole mystery began by M. Tilea, the Rumanian Minister in London, giving information to Reuter's Agency which caused the latter to startle the world press with a report that Germany had presented her economic demands on Rumania in the form of an ultimatum. Consequently, when on the basis of information supplied from a Rumanian quarter the international press tolled the knell of Rumania, asserting that that country had had an ultimatum presented her by Germany, simultaneously, on the basis of another piece of information also supplied from a Rumanian quarter, the Stefani Agency, in a report dated from Bucharest on March 24th., 1939, "re-assured" the West by declaring that, even if Rumania did conclude an economic agreement with Germany, that was being done solely for the purpose of strengthening the economic co-operation between the two countries and did not affect "Rumania's economic independence" or prejudice the right of that country to further its economic contacts with other States

too. So, while on the one hand Rumania spread the report of an ultimatum, on the other hand, that country — in the March 15th. issue of the Orient Radio — categorically denied the report, stating that the negotiations being carried on between Herr Wohltat, German Councillor, and Rumania, were of a perfectly normal character. So successful was Rumania in getting the report of the ultimatum believed also in serious quarters that in a speech made on March 18th. Mr. Arthur Henderson — basing his remarks on the information received — went so far as to declare that on March 17th. Herr Wohltat had presented to the Bucharest Government an ultimatum demanding that Rumania should be subjected to the political and economic control of Germany. The March 18th. issue of "The Times", on the basis of the information received, established the "fact" that the German ultimatum contained three points, viz.: 1. A systematic reduction of Rumanian national industry; 2. A monopoly to be given to Germany for the export of all raw materials and natural products, in particular of petroleum; 3. in the event of the two first demands being accepted Germany would guarantee Rumania's frontiers. "The Times" is far too serious a journal for any one to be entitled to presume that it would ever have published the said points in so categorical a form if it had not received convincing information from a Rumanian quarter.

We see, therefore, that the Rumanians succeeded in their work of mystification already in connection with the question whether the agreement was the result of threats in the form of an ultimatum, or whether it had come into being by voluntary consent not influenced by terror? In any case Rumania was hereby endeavouring to enlist the sympathy of the Western democracies for the future, while at the same time making a gesture of bona fide good friendship in the direction of Germany. For the benefit of Western democracies, the "Timpul" declared that "Rumania would never in any form whatsoever permit any infringement of her independence, whether in the economic or in the political field"; though at the same time the March 20th. issue of the "Curentul" — in an article meant for Germany — was delighted to endorse and approve the friendly co-operation between the two contracting Parties.

But this same "Curentul", in an article published in its March 22nd. issue written for the benefit of the Western Powers, speaks

of the "brutal changes" which had resulted in the collapse of Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania's ally, though by way of a counterpoise the March 22nd. issue of the "Timpul" was delighted to register the fact that the Rumanian Government had been inspired by national interests when it had concluded the agreement with Germany. These press tactics are however surprisingly transparent; for it is common knowledge that Rumania is at present under a dictatorship, so that both the articles written for the benefit of the Western democracies and those addressed to Berlin are inspired by one and the same factor — the Rumanian Government.

The German-Rumanian treaty was signed on March 23rd.; but the agreement will not come into force until one month after the exchange of the documents of ratification: the Rumanian Government is exceedingly cautious and circumspect and is fully aware that many things may happen in a month.

In terms of the agreement Germany has declared that she is prepared to place her experiences in the fields of agriculture and forestry at the disposal of Rumania and will supply Rumania with the industrial equipment required. The agreement — which is supplementary to the commercial treaty previously in force — embraces an economic scheme covering a period of several years. The primary object of this scheme is the development and the direction of Rumania's agrarian production. One of the points in the scheme, for instance, is the augmentation of the production of the plants already sown, above all of fodder, oleaginous and fibrous plants. The agreement extends also to the development of the lumbering and forestry establishments. Germany is to supply machinery for the Ruthenian mining establishments; German-Rumanian companies are to be formed for the exploitation of the Dobrudja copper pyrites, the Banate chromium and the manganese ore to be found in the Dorna-Vatra-Brosteni district, for the marketing of bauxite, for the development of the aluminium industry and for the exploitation of the mineral oil fields. Free zones are to be marked out for the use of German industrial and commercial undertakings and for the transshipment equipment of German shipping companies. Under this economic scheme Germany is to supply war material and war equipment for the use of the Rumanian army, navy, air-force and armaments industry.

The majority of the Rumanian papers expressed their enthusiastic delight at the conclusion of the agreement: according

to an article in the March 25th. issue of the "Romania" the treaty "provides a whole series of conditions favourable to the security and the development of Rumania"; while in the same day's issue of the "Curentul" Pamfil Seicaru declared that "the well-known efficiency of the German undertakings, their technical ability and their organising capacity, which extends even to the most minute details, will create in Rumania a veritable Garden of Eden". These effusive articles — meant for Germany — were however inspired by the same controlling power as was the article by Jorga meant for the Western democracies which appeared in the "Neamul Romanesc" (for in the countries ruled by dictators only such articles may appear in the press as are desired by Government), — the article in which Jorga spoke of this agreement as "tuft-hunting policy" and continued by declaring that "today new empires are being created with a brutality so far unparalleled in history; every historian knows, however, that Biblical Bohemoths, Plesiousauruses and Ichthyosauruses cannot remain in existence; not even the genius of Napoleon proved able to make empires of the kind; we wonder whether it will be possible for the present-day superiority of military technique without the aid of genius to bring such an empire into being?"

Rumania is therefore once more doing what she did during the Great War, when, though she had concluded a military alliance with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, after waiting for the moment when she thought that Monarchy in the last stage of debility, she took up arms against it, — when she simultaneously kept in stock an Entente-phile and a German-Austrian-Hungaro-phile set of documents, ready to show the one required in the hour of victory. Then too she concluded treaties: and, when she had to come to an agreement with the Central Powers, she produced the necessary treaty, and when the agreement had to be made with the Entente Powers, she referred to the treaty concluded with those Powers.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

THE PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED BY THE REGENT, ADMIRAL HORTHY, TO THE PEOPLE OF SUB-CARPATHIA

On 21st March the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy, issued the following proclamation to the people of Subcarpathia:

"To the People of Subcarpathia!

"Brethren! On behalf of the entire Hungarian nation and in my own name I send you affectionate greetings.

"You have been and are our brethren. For centuries our ancestors and yours, sharing good and evil alike, lived side by side in peaceful harmony, and fought shoulder to shoulder for rights and liberties at a time when they were unknown in the greater part of Europe.

"The blue peaks of your mountains gaze on the Hungarian Plain, and the rushing brooks and rivers of your valleys hasten in the same direction. The natural features, highlands, and plains, completing each other, entwined, form an indissoluble unit created by God himself, and therefore it was only for a short time that violence, intrigue, human error and ill-will were able to separate those for whom symbiosis in one political State was ordained by the immutable laws of nature.

"You have suffered much during the past twenty years; but the Hungarian nation has suffered too. And suffering has its own great moral value and produces its own fruits. We all of us more clearly realize that our interests are common, that it is necessary for us to live in one State, and that within the framework of the Hungarian political State the Ruthenian people must be granted the self-government which outside of it they would never have been able to obtain.

"National values must be preserved, but besides this every son of the Ruthenian nation must find the ways and means of enjoying financial prosperity, and a sure basis must be established after years of oppression, disability and neglect upon which Prince Rákóczi's beloved "gens fidelissima", the Ruthenian folk, may build a future of liberty, rights and brotherly co-operation with us. Reunion with the Great Plain of Hungary will supply the firm foundation of economic prosperity, and the immediate inauguration of wide-spread public works will certainly promote

your financial welfare. Your land, which with the exception of the past twenty years has never known alien rule, has again become an integral part of Hungary.

"Once again you are a free people. May God reward you for your loyalty and perseverance.

"Together let us raise our voices in gratitude to the Almighty, who has restored a lost brother to the bosom of his family in the Basin of the Carpathians.

(signed) Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya, Regent of Hungary.

(signed) Paul Teleki, Prime Minister of Hungary."

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HUNGARY GRANTS AUTONOMY AND POLITICAL AMNESTY TO PEOPLE OF SUBCARPATHIA

The fervent desire of the people of Subcarpathia has been realized. Namely, the Hungarian Premier, speaking on behalf of the Government, has announced that Hungary voluntarily grants to them what, in spite of all commitments, the Czecho-Slovak Administration refused to Subcarpathia: self-government. At the same time the Hungarian Government, true to the ancient Hungarian spirit of chivalry and generosity, has proclaimed a political amnesty in those regions. The promise of autonomy was announced in the Hungarian Parliament on 16th March, when the Prime Minister made the following solemn statement: —

"In view, on the one hand, of a series of provocative incidents that have been taking place during the past weeks on the Ruthenian frontier, or rather along the line of demarcation and in the environs of Munkács and Ungvár, and, on the other hand, of the disintegration of the Czecho-Slovak Republic followed by a state of anarchy, it became necessary, practically overnight, to take certain political and military steps in order to protect the interests both of the Ruthenians, who in spirit have always remained loyal to Hungary, and of the Hungarian inhabitants. Yesterday and today the masses of the Ruthenian people and their leaders approached the Hungarian Government, asking us to send an army immediately to occupy Ruthenia, in order to restore the security of life and property there. The Hungarian Government has acceded to this request and our national army will proceed to occupy the whole of Ruthenia.

"The occupation of Ruthenia by the Hungarian national army will in no way endanger the territories or frontier interests of any of Ruthenia's neighbours; on the contrary, instructions have been issued to avoid even the semblance of any action that might lead to a misunderstanding. With the occupation of Ruthenia we restore to the mother-country a region of vital importance to Hungary, to which for a thousand years it belonged, and within

this ancient framework we grant self-government to our brethren, the Ruthenian folk."

On 17th March the Premier repeated this announcement in the Upper House. A political amnesty was proclaimed by official placards posted in every village of Ruthenia on 19th March. The text was as follows:

"The glorious Hungarian national troops come to you as brethren and friends, bringing you economic prosperity, economic welfare, religious, cultural and social liberty and autonomy. Ruthenians and Hungarians are equally free citizens without distinction of religion or nationality. In Hungary every nationality may live in peace, provided it is willing to co-operate peacefully and loyally. We therefore warn everybody that all attempts to launch a campaign of revenge or calumny will be suppressed. On the other hand, the Hungarian army brings amnesty to all who conform to the requirements of the new legal system created by the occupation of Ruthenia by the Hungarian troops. Brotherly love and a desire for co-operation have brought the Hungarian troops to Ruthenia; therefore we ask you to regard the Hungarian soldiers as your brethren and the guardians of your persons and property, to wait with patience for our arrangements to be made and to obey our orders."

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M. VOLOSIN DECLARES THAT HE AUTHORIZED NO ONE BUT HIS ENVOYS IN BUDAPEST TO TREAT OF RUTHENIA'S FUTURE

The Hungarian Telegraph Bureau issued the following report on 4th April:

"During his sojourn in Zagreb, Dr. Augustus Volosin made the following statement to the Hungarian Consul there:

"Statement. In refutation of certain Rumanian Press reports concerning a union of Carpathian Ukraine with Rumania, the following facts must be established: After the disintegration of the Czecho-Slovak Republic the Provincial Diet of Ruthenia proclaimed the independence of that province and notified the neighbouring States of that step. As an independent, free State Ruthenia that day sent delegates to Budapest to discuss to which State the country should belong and the question of Ruthenian autonomy. After the unexpected evacuation of Ruthenia by the Czecho-Slovak army, certain local and irresponsible elements in villages on the Rumanian frontier instigated an insurrection, in consequence of which, at the request of the inhabitants who had fled to Máramarossziget, we addressed a question to the Prefect of that town, asking whether it would not be possible for Rumania to assist in protecting the security of life and property endangered until such time as the Hungarian troops arrived. It is not true that the Government of Ruthenia authorized anyone

except the delegates we sent to Budapest to negotiate concerning the country to which Ruthenia was to belong politically.

(signed) Dr. Augustus Volosin President of Carpathian Ukraine."

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WHAT THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE FRONTIER BETWEEN HUNGARY AND SLOVAKIA MEANS

During the twenty years of Czech rule the Ruthenians of Subcarpathia repeatedly urged the delimitation, on an ethnographic basis, of the frontier between Ruthenia and Slovakia. But it was in vain they did so, for the Czech Government merely established administrative frontiers. When the Ruthenians were liberated from Czech rule between the 15th and 18th of March, and Ruthenia returned to Hungary, the Hungarian authorities were compelled to establish the fact that the western frontier of Ruthenia was not clearly defined. The result was that on the 24th the Hungarian forces in Subcarpathia found it necessary to occupy certain places west of the Ung Valley in order to protect the railway line in that valley. In connection with this the Hungarian Telegraph Bureau issued the following report on 24th March: "In order to insure the necessary protection of the railway line in the Ung Valley, the Hungarian troops in Subcarpathia occupied certain places to the west of that valley today. As is well known the frontier between Slovakia and Subcarpathia was never demarcated, a circumstance that led to constant conflict in the past. Peace has now been restored, but to prevent any dispute in the future a mixed commission of Hungarians and Slovaks will draw the final frontier. For this purpose the Hungarian Government has approached the Government in Pozsony."

Although Hungary was innocent of any act of provocation, having made no attack on the towns and villages of independent Slovakia, and although none of the movements of the Hungarian troops warranted the belief that Hungary was planning hostilities against Slovakia, on 24th March Slovak aeroplanes launched an air-raid against defenceless Hungarian towns and villages. Slovak aeroplanes bombed the towns of Ungvár, Rozsnyó and Nagyberezna, and also numerous Hungarian villages. Besides this, the Slovak aeroplanes attempted to attack the Hungarian infantry regiments in their positions, but without success, as they were soon put to flight by the Hungarian anti-aircraft guns. The Hungarian anti-aircraft forces engaged the Slovak aeroplanes at every point, and a very fierce battle was fought in the air over Szobránc. In this battle two Slovak aeroplanes were shot down. Another fierce fight raged over the village of Pálóc, where the Hungarian anti-aircraft arm destroyed seven Slovak 'planes. In answer to these attacks Hungarian bombers made their appearance over the Iglo flying-field, where they destroyed nineteen Slovak

aeroplanes. In all the Hungarian Air Force destroyed thirty-two Slovak machines. The reply of the Hungarian army to the air raids of the Slovaks was annihilating. The personal courage of the Hungarian pilots and the excellence of the Hungarian aeroplanes won the admiration of the whole world.

Although the Slovak attacks were wholly unwarranted, it was the Hungarian Government that approached the Slovak Government, asking that this unnecessary bloodshed be stopped and inviting the Slovak Government to send their delegates to Budapest when it suited them, to discuss the issues that had arisen. The Slovak Government accepted this invitation and sent a delegation to Budapest for that purpose. The Hungarian and Slovak commissions opened negotiations on 27th March. These pourparlers were brought to a satisfactory conclusion on 1st April, by which time an agreement had practically been reached regarding the delimitation of the disputed frontier. On 3rd April another meeting of the experts was held at which the frontier was precisely drawn on the map.

The width of the new frontier strip returning to Hungary is on an average 20 kilometres. Hungary receives 50.000 inhabitants, 40 villages and 1000 square kilometres of territory. The new frontier does not coincide everywhere with the Ruthenian ethnographic frontier, in so far that, according to the leaders of the Ruthenian people, the Ruthenian ethnographic frontier extends as far as Poprád, and it is only there that the final frontier can be drawn.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

— y —

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

RUMANIA

ANTI-HUNGARIAN TERROR IN RUMANIA

The persecution of Hungarians in Rumania is described in the most striking manner in a letter, dated from Bucharest, which was recently published in the "Uj Hirek" ("Latest News"), a Hungarian daily appearing at Pozsony (Bratislava), the capital of the Republic of Slovakia (March 31st). — Rumania, the writer of the letter says, has been seized by an atmosphere of panic which has had no precedent in the past twenty years. An enormously huge crowd of people set out from the smallest villages towards the cities and railway stations, and wherever people were not willing to go they were driven on by the bayonets of soldiers and gendarmes. At the same time an unprecedented anti-Hungarian propaganda was begun as if obeying the gesture of an invisible hand which is bound to surprise the spectator even in Rumania, a country which could never be accused of an aversion to atrocities. In the schools, for instance, a whole lesson is every day devoted to the description of the alleged brutality of the Hungarians in the reannexed territories of Upper-Hungary, for which brutality — they say — the Rumanian people must take a noble revenge on the Hungarians.

The results of this crazy propaganda and hatred began to make themselves felt only too soon. Day after day fresh insults and atrocities are being reported to Bucharest. The crowds of Wallachians (Rumanian mountaineers) pouring down from the mountains into the cities plundered the houses of Hungarians on their way, beat their owners black and blue, pulled down their fences and set the hay-stacks in the fields on fire. — In the Bratianu Boulevard — one of the main streets of Bucharest — a lady was badly insulted in a crowded tram car for addressing the conductor in Hungarian; a Protestant clergyman who protested against the insult to the lady was arrested. — The Protestant minister of the village of Kolosborsa was driven out of the village, his house was plundered, he himself fled to the city of Kolozsvár (Cluj); here he applied to the gendarmes for protection, but they could only advise him not to go back to his village. — At Marosvásárhely, three Hungarian recruits marched through the streets

of the city singing Hungarian songs; a crowd of Rumanians stopped them and asked them how they dared to sing in Hungarian. In the heat of the argument one of the Hungarians was stabbed to death. — At Kolozsvár (Cluj) a band of Wallachians attacked a Hungarian boy, beat him to death with their staves and performed a dance of triumph over the poor boy's dead body.

Among the many cases of the utmost horror there were a few humorous ones. A Rumanian recruit, apparently in a state of intoxication, suddenly began to shout in the street: Hurrah Hungary! — He was, of course, instantly surrounded by policemen, who flew at him with their batons. Thereupon another Rumanian from the crowd called to them: Leave him alone, don't you see he is drunk? And don't you know that truth is hidden in wine? — Needless to say, this Rumanian received proper treatment from the policemen. — y —

NUMEROUS LAW-SUITS AGAINST MINORITY PERSONS BEFORE MILITARY TRIBUNAL OF KOLOZSVAR (CLUJ)

The Rev. Kálmán Déri, Protestant Minister of the village of Mezököl, has been sentenced to the payment of 2000 lei; he was accused of "disrespecting the national holidays", because he did not hoist the Rumanian flag on his church on the Rumanian national holidays of May 10th and July 8th. The sentence of the Military Court was passed in defiance of the provisions of the law, according to which churches are exempted from such obligations.

The Rev. Kálmán Pető, Unitarian Minister of the village of Nyomát (County of Maros-Torda) has been fined 2000 lei and made to pay 1000 lei costs, following the denunciation of the village teacher, who accused him of disrespecting the National Anthem. Last year on May 10th, which is a Rumanian national holiday, the Unitarian church service was preceded by a school festival at the end of which the children sang the National Anthem. Nevertheless, the teacher played it again on the organ at the conclusion of the service, so that the authorities might have no complaint against the church; the minister, however, did not wait until he had finished playing, but led the children out of the church, since they had already sung the anthem at the end of their festival.

József Derzsi, a dentist in Abrudbánya, has been sentenced to pay a fine of 2000 lei, because he did not put out the Rumanian flag on his house on June 2nd, which is the Heroes' Commemoration Day in Rumania. Two young men of the village of Nyáradszereda, László Demeter and Sándor Farkas, have been sentenced to pay fines of 2000 lei each because some time ago, when they were ordered to carry the Rumanian flag at the head of a detach-

ment of recruits, they furled the flag, as the wind was blowing very hard. Márton Ötvös, a young musician, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment because, during the carnival festival in the village of Mezőtelegd (County Bihar), he did not hear the Rumanian anthem being played and remained sitting. („Ellenzék”, March 12th.)

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VILLAGE NOTARY COURT-MARTIALED FOR PUBLISHING VILLAGE ORDINANCES ALSO IN HUNGARIAN

M. Dénes Gidófalvy, notary of the village of Kakasd, was ordered to appear before the Military Court for publishing the village ordinances both in Rumanian and in Hungarian. M. Gidófalvy declared to the Court that he thought it necessary to publish his ordinances in both languages if he wanted to make them understood by both the Rumanian and the Hungarian inhabitants of the village. He was acquitted. („Magyar Ujság”, March 18th.)

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A GIPSY MUSICIAN COURT-MARTIALED FOR PLAYING HUNGARIAN AIRS

Béla Bámbó, a Hungarian gipsy musician, was playing Hungarian tunes in a restaurant at Marosvásárhely. On the denunciation of two policemen in civilian clothes, who were present at the time, the gipsy musician was ordered to appear before the Military Tribunal, together with the proprietor of the restaurant. Frederick Röder, a Saxon by birth. The Military Tribunal acquitted the musician, but the proprietor of the restaurant was sentenced to pay a fine of 2000 lei, because he did not warn the gipsy not to play Hungarian airs. („Magyar Szó” March 10th.)

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ONLY CONTROLLED CHURCH MEETINGS PERMITTED IN TRANSYLVANIA

It was a serious blow to the minority churches of the County of Háromszék when last year the authorities forbade them to hold any kind of religious meetings. In this way the religious societies were prevented from exercising any cultural activities, that meaning a deadlock of their religious life. The leaders of the churches often appealed to the authorities to revoke this unjust measure, whereupon the gendarmes were ordered to permit strictly religious meetings and such as are absolutely necessary for the administration of the Church. The clergyman or church authority responsible for the meeting is ordered to report to the gendarmerie 24 hours before the meeting and he must also submit the full programme of the meeting for inspection. („Brassói Lapok”, March 8th.)

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MINORITY VILLAGE SCHOOL OF NYOMÁT SEALED
BY AUTHORITIES

A special commission has appeared in the village of Nyomát (County of Maros-Torda) and sealed the Unitarian school of the village. With this, the only Hungarian school in the village has stopped teaching. The Rumanian Ministry of Education some time ago withdrew the public school character of the village school of Nyomát, but the teaching was continued without a break. After this a Rumanian State school was built in the village; the Rumanian headteacher then reported to the Ministry of Education that he had detected certain abuses in the administration of the minority school. The Unitarian church authorities were also informed of this report, but the Church at once proceeded to rectify matters. Nevertheless, the report of the Rumanian headteacher has now led to the sealing of the school building. („Brassói Lapok”, March 16th.).

GREEK CATHOLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN COMPELLED TO
ATTEND ORTHODOX CHURCH SERVICE

The Minister of National Education recently issued an edict according to which the Rumanian school children, irrespective of their religion, must go to the Orthodox Rumanian church in all those parishes where there is no other church. They are not allowed to go to minority churches. Up to now it was the custom to take the school children to the local Roman Catholic church if there was no Greek Catholic church in the village. („Brassói Lapok”, Febr. 23.)

— y —

RUMANIAN GENDARME SERGEANT CLAIMS RIGHT
TO ISSUE ORDERS CONCERNING LANGUAGE

The sergeant of gendarmes in the village of Micske (County of Bihar) ordered the teacher of the Protestant village school to teach his pupils to greet each other with the word „Sanatate” (“Health”), which is the salute of the Rumanian National Renascence Front. The teacher thereupon inquired of his superior church authorities whether any order had been issued to this effect. The reply of the church authorities was negative, and the teacher was instructed to ask for a written order in case the sergeant should continue his importunity.

The teacher thereupon informed the sergeant of the reply of his superiors. The latter, however, paid no attention to the teacher's instructions and reported him for defying the language of the State.

The case has now been tried by the military court of Kolozsvár (Cluj). The public prosecutor contended that the teacher had outraged the national feeling of the Rumanian people, while

in reply the counsel for the defence argued that the sergeant had no right to issue orders concerning the use of language. Finally, the defendant was acquitted of the charge brought against him. ("Budapesti Tudósító", February 6.) — y —

HUNGARIAN FUNCTIONARIES OF THE CITY OF NAGY-SZALONTA AGAIN SUBJECTED TO LANGUAGE TEST

The Prefect of the County of Bihar has ordered the few Hungarian functionaries still retained in the service of the town of Nagyszalonta to appear in the County Hall for a new language test. Those affected by this ordinance are seven Hungarian functionaries who have already successfully passed a language test and have, accordingly, received certificates to testify the result. This order for a repeated test is in strict contradiction with the provisions of the Minority Statutes. — y —

NEARLY 100.000 MAGYARS IN TRANSYLVANIA IN DANGER OF BEING DISMISSED

The Rumanian authorities have begun the conscription of inhabitants not included in the register of citizens. A few hundred thousand people were omitted from the register during the Census of 1924 and last year, and nearly a hundred thousand Hungarians who were born in Transylvania have lost their political rights through no fault of their own but through the omission of the census officials. The new Citizenship Act, which has been in force since February 1st, provides that those who are not included in the register of citizens are not allowed to take any employment; they may not exercise any industrial profession as independent craftsmen; they are to be dismissed from official employment and also to lose their pensions. The situation is hopeless for the pensioners, who have not received any pension for over a year now. („Ellenzék", Febr. 28.). — y —

TRADE BOYCOTT AGAINST MINORITIES IN RUMANIA

A furious campaign has been launched against the minority shopkeepers by the Rumanian Press. Suggestions of an outrageous nature have been put forward in the columns of the "Tribuna" and the "Universul." V. Pitti, a merchant of Nagyszeben, for instance, calls for a law forbidding landlords to let shops and business premises to any but true-born Rumanians. Until such a law can be promulgated he advises the formation of a committee within the framework of the National Renaissance Front to safeguard Rumanian interests and keep a register of all the Rumanian shopkeepers, so that whenever the lease of a shop lapses it may be given to a Rumanian ("Tribuna," 17th Feb).

Stephen Penes suggests that only Rumanians be allowed to sell monopoly articles, that 80% of all public contracts be given to true-born Rumanians, and that 80% of trade appointments and posts in the National Bank be reserved for ethnically pure Rumanians. ("Tribuna", 18th Feb.) — y —

FORMER RUMANIAN CABINET MINISTER DEMANDS EXCLUSION OF MINORITIES FROM ECONOMIC LIFE

M. Joanitescu, a former Rumanian Minister of Labour, recently gave a lecture in Bucharest on the protection of Rumanian national labour. He demanded that Rumanian labour should be protected, not only against workers from abroad, but also against the minorities. He also demanded the speedy introduction of the minority percentage of 20%. ("Brassói Lapok", February 23rd). — y —

MINORITY ARTISANS OBLIGED TO EMPLOY RUMANIAN APPRENTICES

Among the items figuring in the agenda of the new Rumanian Cabinet there is a Bill to be drafted by the Ministry of Labour concerning the compulsory employment of apprentices. Artisans and merchants — especially those belonging to minorities — are obliged to employ an adequate percentage of Rumanian apprentices. ("Budapesti Tudósító," February 3.) — y —

EVEN TAXI DRIVERS MUST PASS LANGUAGE TEST

The authorities of the town of Mărmarosziget have ordered the taxi drivers in the town to appear for the language test. The driving licenses will be withdrawn from all those drivers who have an insufficient command of Rumanian. ("Magyar Ujság," February 2). — y —

SAXONS OF TRANSYLVANIA HAVE HAD THE RIGHT TO THE FREE USE OF THEIR FLAG FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

Herr Georg Kraft, teacher of the Saxon confessional school in the village of Dedrad, has been accused of disrespect towards the Rumanian nation because, on June 8th last year, a national holiday, he hoisted the Saxon flag beside the Rumanian flag on the school building. Herr Kraft was acquitted of the charge, as the Military Tribunal agreed with the counsel for the defence, who pointed out that the Saxons of Transylvania have enjoyed the right to the free use of their colours from time immemorial. („Déli Hírlap", February 22nd.) — y —

SLOVAKIA

SLOVAK ATROCITIES

The following cases were reported from Pozsony (Bratislava) in March 29th, 1939:

1. In the city of Igló, eight Hungarian young men were arrested and taken to Lőcse. For some days past the Hungarians of Igló have repeatedly been stopped in the streets, their party certificates and badges taken away, and many of them badly insulted. The houses of Hungarians were searched by various uniformed organizations without any official warrant; the Hungarian House of Igló has been seized by the Hlinka Guards.

2. At *Szomolnok*, M. Kálmán Bubrovsky, President of the local branch of the Hungarian Party, was arrested and taken to Lőcse.

3. At *Aranyosmarót*, unruly elements tore off the sign-board of the Hungarian Party and the name-plates of Hungarian solicitors and doctors and the Hungarian sign-boards of Hungarian shops.

4. At *Nyitra*, uniformed people have for some days past continued to insult the Hungarian inhabitants, tearing off their party badges.

5. At *Mocsonok* and *Királyi*, uniformed people from Nyitra plundered a number of shops and kept on brutalizing the Hungarians. At Nyitra and in its neighbourhood large numbers of Hungarian workers are being dismissed, so that the unemployed industrial and farm labourers now number many thousands. At *Misérd*, three Hungarians from the neighbourhood were attacked by the crowd; all three of them were beaten black and blue, their clothes were torn off and the crowd kept on shouting insulting terms at them. Thereupon they were again beaten and searched by uniformed people. As the three Hungarians were about to leave the place the crowd threw stones and bricks at their car.

6. At *Pozsony* (Bratislava), Hlinka Guards continue to take away from the Hungarians their party badges, although the Slovak Government has given permission for their wearing. — y —

THE SHERIFF OF JOLLSVA BRUTALISED BY SLOVAK GENDARMES

In a letter to the Budapest daily, "Magyar Nemzet" (March 28th, 1939), M. Ferenc Kerpely, town clerk of Jolsva, gives a detailed account of the brutalisation of János Gérec, sheriff of the same town. The following is an extract from the letter, which was verified by the victim himself:

On March 25th János Gérec and his little ten-year old son went, provided with a regular passport, to visit his sister in the neighbouring village of *Nagyszlobos*, which is situated across the frontier in Slovakia. They had not been there more than about ten minutes when, all of a sudden, Slovak gendarmes appeared in the house and arrested Gérec without any further inquiry. They

then took him to the gendarmerie, where they beat him out of his senses, threw him on the floor and tortured him with their bayonets fixed against his breast. When the unfortunate sheriff was completely exhausted by this treatment and the gendarmes, too, grew tired of their work, he was at last able to ask his torturers for the reason of this treatment.

The sheriff then told the gendarmes that he had always been proud of his Slovak nationality, of which he made no secret even after the re-annexation of the town to Hungary. He declared himself for a Slovak at the last census, too, though he had now become a Hungarian public functionary. Although the Slovaks only represented 13% of the population of his town, he had never experienced any disadvantage from the Hungarian authorities on account of his Slovak nationality. In his office as well as in the town he always spoke Slovak and he was, he declared, extremely proud to have lived to the day of Slovakia's independence.

The gendarmes, thereupon, felt ashamed of their conduct, asked the sheriff for his pardon and offered him a seat. The sheriff then told them that this treatment made him feel ashamed of being a Slovak and demanded a speedy explanation of their brutal conduct.

— y —

THE CONCENTRATION CAMP OF RAHÓ

Rahó is a small town in Ruthenia, situated on the upper reaches of the river Tisza, at the foot of Mount Dumeny, a hill 1600 metres high. In this little place the Ukraine adventurers headed by Canon Volosin set up a concentration camp for the torture of their Ruthenian and Hungarian victims. Not less than 194 prisoners were released from here after the fall of the Ukrainian Government.

In the beginning the prisoners were placed in the empty hangars of the Skoda Works; the hangars were not heated, of course, so that hundreds of prisoners froze to death in the terrible winter cold of 30 to 40° C. Later on a number of low sheds were built for the prisoners; the furniture of these sheds consisted of four rows of berths, a few shelves, a tiny window and a tub in the corner, bearing the inscription in Hungarian, German and Czech: Drinking Water. — When a prisoner died of the inhuman tortures, his name was simply erased from the list and his body buried behind the dust heap without any name or sign. There was a sort of a dug-out at the back of the camp which served as the prison. The doors were closed by iron bars, and the air penetrated into this horrible shaft through tiny holes in the wall. The prison was teeming with rats. The shaft was so deep that if somebody had been thrown into it he had to be pulled up by means of a rope. Sometimes a prisoner would suffer in this horrid place for five or six days, merely because he failed to

jump quickly enough at the approach of a guard. We now relate a few authentic incidents from the life of the prisoners in the concentration camp of Rahó.

István Olasz, a school teacher, once contradicted the orders of Sergeant Djamba, the ill famed commander of the camp, whereupon this monster put out both his eyes during a hearing.

The Rev. Paszulyka, a clergyman of Terebes-fehérpatak, was brought into the camp because he had appeared at the Congress of Ungvár on November 3rd, when the question of the reunion with Hungary was discussed. The clergyman was seized by Ukrainian terrorists during a divine service and he was carried through the valley in his full clerical robes. He was forced to go bare-footed, at times he was hurried on with the butt of a gun; while in the camp, he was forced to perform the most abominable form of work without any implements.

Mons. György Egressy, a Dean, was beaten round the camp stark naked at a temperature of -20° C.; after he became quite exhausted they poured buckets of water on him until his body was literally covered with a solid block of ice. Only then did they allow him to be taken into the sheds, where his fellow-prisoners looked after him. It is indeed a miracle that he was able to leave the camp alive.

Ivan Rászony, leader of the Hungarophile Ruthenes, was hung up with his head downward until he died.

The Rev. István Zombory, a Greek Catholic priest, was obliged to walk over a heap of broken glass, after which his wounds were covered with salt.

— y —

NINE CLASSES IN EIGHT CLASS ROOMS

The Hungarian Grammar School and Teacher's Training College of Pozsony (Bratislava) has now moved into its new building, which used to be that of the District Court. The work of the school is greatly handicapped by the fact that the students of the Teacher's College are obliged to have their lessons in the afternoon, as the Ministry of Education has not yet provided for the building of the ninth class room of the Grammar School. At the same time, however, the number of pupils is expected to become still higher next year, as this is the only Hungarian Grammar School in the whole of Slovakia, so that the more remote Hungarian settlements in the country will also send their children to this school.

— y —

YUGOSLAVIA

HUNGARIANS STILL PRACTICALLY EXCLUDED FROM PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

In the town of Zenta — inhabited by an 87% Magyar majority — the municipal council recently (February 25th) elected 8 minor officials, of whom only one is a Magyar.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

At a recent meeting, at the end of February, of the Government Party at Szabadka (Subotica) it was decided that the municipal positions would in future be filled according to the following principle: for every 3 minor officials of Bunievatz nationality 1 Serb official would be elected, while for every 6 Bunievatz officials one Magyar is to be elected in Szabadka, where the Magyars represent 43% of the population: — y —

SITUATION OF SCHOOLS IN DANUBE BANATE

At the meeting of the Executive Council of the Danube Banate held on January 21st, the deputy head of the Department of Education read a report, from which we quote the following passages for the information of our readers.

In the current school year there are altogether 25 Senior Schools in the Danube Banate; 32 are maintained by the State, while 3 of them are in private hands. The distribution of subjects is as follows: commercial subjects in 15, industrial and manufacturing subjects in 12, and agricultural subjects in 8. The minority — which represent 18% of the population of the Banate, even according to the official records — does not possess even one single Senior School, though according to its percentage it ought to have at least 6 such schools. The entire staff employed in the above 35 schools includes 444 Senior School teachers, of whom only one or two are Magyars; though, in view of the percentage of the Magyar population, there should be at least 80 Magyar teachers working in these schools. — As regards Secondary Schools, there are 26 of them in the Danube Banate. One of these is a complete Hungarian school, i. e. consisting of eight classes, while 4 of them have only a parallel Hungarian section in the lower grade. Yet in even these two schools the majority of subjects is being taught in the language of the State. The staff of these 26 schools includes 759 teachers, of whom only 4 or 5 are Magyars; though, in view of its percentage the Magyar minority ought to have at least 140 teaching posts in secondary schools. — Finally, the report quotes the figures referring to elementary education. There are altogether 2270 elementary schools in the Danube Banate; in these schools there are only about 120 partly Magyar sections. Now, according to its percentage the Magyar minority would be entitled to claim — in the Danube Banate alone — at least 409 elementary parallel sections and — counting 4 forms to each section — at least 1636 forms with teaching exclusively in Magyar. Instead, however, the Magyar minority has now at least 289 elementary sections and 1156 elementary forms less than it is rightfully entitled to, both by virtue of its percentage and those rights of equality which are guaranteed by the Constitution to every minority citizen. — y —

B O O K S

Lord Rothermere's Book About the European Crisis and the Struggle for Justice for Hungary.

Lord Rothermere, Hungary's powerful friend, has written a striking book entitled "Warnings and Predictions" about the European crisis. In this work he shows that the symptoms of that crisis were discernible and curable long ago and that it was owing to the shortsightedness and ignorance of the Western Powers that they became so acute.

Three main questions are discussed with his usual calm objectiveness and realism by Lord Rothermere: what is the reason why Great Britain was left so far behind in the field of rearmament during the past two decades; why was it not possible to do away with the real cause of the European crisis, namely the injustices of the Peace Treaties, in time; and lastly what was responsible for the shifting of the balance of power in Europe and in how far did it affect Great Britain's relations with Germany? Lord Rothermere launches a bitter attack against those who, with the slogans of pacifism and disarmament, prevented a normal increase of armaments in Great Britain, therewith placing the British Empire in a disadvantageous position in international politics. In his newspaper Lord Rothermere has never ceased to urge that Britain's deficiency in armaments should be supplied quickly and her Air Force adequately developed, especially in view of the fact that Germany was rearming to an extent that was growing increasingly formidable.

To avoid a European war Lord Rothermere, at the same time, energetically demanded a redress of the injustices of the Peace Treaties. In the first place he pointed out the dangers lurking in the cruel measures of the Trianon Treaty and urged their modification by way of agreement. Hungarian public opinion well knows every phase of Lord Rothermere's struggle to further Hungary's interests, in the course of which he predicted that a botched-up Czecho-Slovakia would prove the greatest menace to the peace of Europe. From a Hungarian point of view the most interesting chapters of this book are those in which the noble Lord tells us of his efforts to further the cause of Hungarian revision. The book contains a summary of most of his articles on the subject

that have appeared either in the Daily Mail or in other world newspapers since 1927.

The problems of Central Europe had two aspects for him — we read in his book. — On the one hand he was shocked by the injustice to which the proud and noble Hungarian nation had been subjected. He was convinced that England was being chained to an unworthy ally instead of to an old friend, and that an attempt was being made to petrify a status quo in which a nation to which Europe was deeply indebted was handed over to the tender mercies of uncivilized, barbarian peoples. He was also filled with anxiety because England was aiding and abetting Germany's enemies over an issue that did not concern her, apparently only from ill-will. Hungary's position in the camp of the Central Powers had been a very peculiar one. In 1914, Count Stephen Tisza, the great Hungarian statesman, opposed the idea of a war with Serbia, knowing that it would lead to a world war. Throughout the war Hungary gave evidence of unflinching bravery on the battlefield and irreproachable chivalry behind the front. No English men or women were sent to detention camps. The war prisoners were treated in an exemplary way. And the reward for all this was that Hungary was deprived of a great part of her historical territories and that hundreds of thousands of Hungarians were placed under the yoke of nations on a much lower level of civilization than themselves. During his visit to Hungary, Lord Rothermere had had the opportunity of examining the situation for himself, and so deep was the impression he received that on his return to London he launched a campaign to obtain redress for the wrongs done to Hungary. As early as 1930 he had predicted that Czecho-Slovakia would vanish from the face of the earth. That prediction had now come true.

Lord Rothermere says that, had his predictions been regarded, the crisis of 1938 might have been avoided. Relations between the different Powers would have developed in a more friendly manner, and the spirit of Locarno would have taken the place of the tension which constrained Mr. Chamberlain to hasten by aeroplane to Herr Hitler.

Lord Rothermere's book also contains quotations from his articles on the Czech question, written in 1930. Six years after they had been published, says the book, in the May of 1936 an intimate acquaintance of his, who had been in Berlin, told him that Rome and Berlin were making new and startling plans. This information he passed on in a letter to the then Prime Minister and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In that letter he wrote that, if these plans did not refer to Austria, it was possible they referred to France or England. On the other hand, from certain signs to which he drew their attention, he inferred that Czecho-Slovakia would be cut up from one day to the other. A year later the Anschluss took place, and eighteen months after that

the Sudeten districts were detached from Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary received back part of valuable Upper Hungary. Czech tyranny was indeed strangled.

Lord Rothermere reproaches the British Governments for not preparing the way for a revision of the Peace Treaties. He says that between 1930 and 1936 the British Government would have been able to force a revision of the unjust treaties of Versailles, Trianon and St. Germain through the medium of the League of Nations. If this step was not suggested by an abstract love of justice, England should have taken it by right of self-defence. Nothing, however, had been done.

Lord Rothermere continues with unflagging energy to demand a revision of the Peace Treaties. In spite of the rush of events the most necessary deficiencies in Britain's armaments had not been supplied, and no attempt had been made to right injustices in Central Europe in a peaceful way. All the dangers to which he had pointed for years had come to a head in the April of 1938. It was then he reached his 70th birthday and visited several countries in Europe, in order to observe events and obtain first-hand information. He felt that the situation was such that he could not withdraw from the political direction of the Daily Mail, as he had planned to, and could not remain silent when signs of the greatest danger that had ever threatened the British nation were looming on the horizon. In a series of seven articles he summed up all that had come true of his predictions and once more pointed out the serious perils about to descend upon Europe. In vain, for England continued to procrastinate.

Then, in the September of 1938, took place what he had foreseen ten years earlier: Europe was driven to the brink of war by the international injustice that had allowed the Czechs to trample underfoot the Hungarian nation, that thousand-year-old nation which for centuries had, with its own body, defended Christian civilization. He had clearly foreseen how the crisis might have been avoided. Now, at last, Germany's and Italy's decision in Vienna had restored to Hungary some of her northern territories, with a million inhabitants. This event signified a profound change in European politics, but — so says Lord Rothermere — Europe has not gathered all the fruits of that change yet.

— y —

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

16% INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF RECEIPTS
3% INCREASE OF PURCHASING POWER

The Hungarian Economic Research Institute has just published a comprehensive report concerning the first half of the economic year 1938—39. It appears from this report that the total receipts of agriculture were 16% higher than in the previous economic year. The standard of purchasing, however, shows only an increase by 3% because — in spite of a certain decrease in the prices of technical supplies — the regulative activity of the Marketing Board has caused the distance of the agrarian and industrial indices to remain the same as before, i. e. about 15.5%, so that the development of receipts could not ensure an adequate development of the purchasing power of agriculture.

The favourable development of receipts, however, does not indicate, as it were, a uniform development of the situation of agriculture. The prices of wheat were — in spite of the good crop — rather high, which is no doubt due, in the first place, to the fixing of minimum prices at a considerably high level. The same condition is to account for the fact that the largest part of the surplus of crop had been placed in the market as early as last autumn, which has again exercised a favourable influence on the development of receipts.

Cattle breeding, on the other hand, shows a less favourable development. The high prices of corn in the inland market caused a remarkable increase in the costs of cattle breeding, to which must be added the loss caused by the foot-and-mouth-disease. It appears from this, then, that there was a striking contrast between the development of corn growing and that of cattle breeding.

The surplus of the wheat crop amounted to 6—6.5 million quintals; most of this has already been placed in foreign markets: Germany has purchased 2.4 million quintals, Italy 2.5 million quintals and Switzerland 600.000 quintals.

Germany is prepared to pay the high inland prices, which are 7.7 pengő above world parity, while Italy a lower price, though the State is paying the difference. One and a half million quintals are still to be placed abroad; this quantity will also most

likely go to Italy, though the storing of at least one million quintals would be desirable for the purposes of home defence.

The crop of rye has given a surplus of one and a half million quintals. There is, however, practically no export of rye at present, because, owing to the low prices, the surplus of rye is being used up for cattle food, in order to save what little surplus there is of maize, which is needed for the purposes of pig breeding.

Pig breeding shows a remarkable rise. In the middle of June 1938 the total number of pigs bred was 5,911,000 of which number only 750,000 were used for fattening, while on October 15th the number of fattened pigs was 2,418,000 out of a total contingent of 6,231,000 pigs. This year Germany has offered to purchase 252,000 pigs from Hungary, while 100,000 pigs may be exported as meat.

The prices of horned cattle show an increase by about 20% since June last; yet, the number of fattened cattle has not increased, owing to the — as yet — uncertain possibilities of exportation.

The quantity of milk and milk products has decreased in consequence of the foot- and mouth-disease, which again resulted in a corresponding decrease in the making and exportation of butter.

The export of poultry has reached its last year's level: 160,000 quintals. 57% of this went to Germany, and 40% to England. It is interesting to remember that since the abolition of the Jewish ritual butchering of cattle the consumption of poultry has increased considerably in Hungary.

The export of eggs has decreased. Nevertheless, it is a notable fact that the export of frozen eggs to England was ten times as large as last year. The explanation of this fact is that a considerable portion of the quantity of eggs formerly imported from China has now been purchased from Hungary — owing to troubles caused by the Chino-Japanese war.

The total quantity of wine was one and a quarter million hectolitres less than in the previous year. The prices of wine, therefore, now vary between 2.7 and 3.1 fillers per Maligand grade, which is a remarkable difference compared to 1.1 and 1.3 fillers in the previous year. The supplies of wine now stored by wine growers are very small.

— y —

RUMANIA

Trade relations between Hungary and Rumania recently show a declining tendency. While between 1935 and 1937 the volume of exports amounted to an average of 24—25 million pengő a year, this amount sank to 21 millions in 1938. The decrease of imports

is still more remarkable. In previous years the value of goods imported from Hungary to Rumania and vice-versa amounted to 48—59 million pengő, while in 1938 the amount fell to 42 millions. The decrease in imports is caused, in the first place, by a decline in the import of petrol. In 1937 Hungary's import of Rumanian oil amounted to 24.000 wagon-loads, while in 1938 it was not more than about 17.000 wagon-loads.

It is to be expected that the boring of new oil wells in Western-Hungary will shortly bring about a parity in the balance of trade relations between the two countries. There was, furthermore, a decrease in the import of timber and wood from Rumania; the quantity of these items decreased from 39.000 wagons to 36.000 wagons. This decrease of imports does, however, not affect the trade balance; namely, owing to an increase in the price of wood the value of wood imported from Rumania in 1939 was nearly the same as in 1937. — y —

SLOVAKIA

THE LACK OF ORGANISATION IN SLOVAKIA'S TIMBER PRODUCTION

36.6% of the whole area of Slovakia is forest land. This should produce a revenue of 1.000.000.000 crowns. The amount of timber felled is 5.108.000 cubic metres per annum. After deducting Slovakia's own needs, about 2.400.000 cubic metres remain. But there is such a lack of organisation in Slovakia's timber trade, such a want of foresight, that according to a Slovak report issued on 28th March, 1939, Slovakia is forced to sell her timber 30% cheaper than do Poland and Rumania theirs. This is all the more striking in view of the fact that there are practically no restrictions on the export of wood from Slovakia to Germany. Slovakia's timber trade will suffer a further decline now that Hungary will be able to obtain the wood she needs in Ruthenia, for Hungary was the greatest consumer of Slovakia's timber through the agency of the "Dredem" timber marketing concern.

Thus Slovakia's greatest and most important source of revenue will dry up considerably, all because she is not able to organize her timber trade and thus cannot compete in the German markets with Poland, and because she did not enter into closer co-operation with the country upon which geological and economic factors make her dependent. — y —

YUGOSLAVIA

THE SITUATION OF CLEARING TRADE BETWEEN
YUGOSLAVIA AND HUNGARY

Official reports published in Yugoslavia show that Hungary's demands in the clearing trade between the two countries have decreased from 15.7 million dinars in January to 6—7 millions in February. The clearing trade between Italy and Yugoslavia shows a remarkable change. In January Yugoslavia demanded 2.4 million dinars from Italy, while in February there appeared an *Italian* demand of 10.9 million dinars against Yugoslavia. *Yugoslavia's* clearing debt in relation to *Czechoslovakia* has decreased remarkably. At the end of 1938 her debt to *Czechoslovakia* amounted to 142 million Czech crowns, while at the end of January it decreased to 114 million crowns, and at the end of February it fell to 98 million Czech crowns. Germany's clearing debt also shows a marked decrease in February, from 26.1 million dinars to 20.3 millions. — y —

YUGOSLAVIA'S PASSIVE CLEARING BALANCE

It appears from the report of the National Bank that Yugoslavia's clearing accounts in relation to *Czechoslovakia*, *Hungary*, *Rumania*, *Switzerland* and *Belgium* shows a passive balance. Her clearing balance with *Germany* is active. Among the various items on the creditor's side of the balance sheet *Czechoslovakia* figures with 107 million crowns, *Hungary* with 13 million dinars, *Rumania* with 8 million dinars, *Switzerland* with 2.75 million Swiss francs, and *Belgium* with 2.26 Belgian francs. *Germany* owes *Yugoslavia* 335 million dinars. — y —

FURTHER RESTRICTION OF CURRENCY DEALINGS

At a recent meeting of its Board of Directors the National Bank of Yugoslavia decided to introduce a further restriction of international currency dealings. The prevailing regulations will be maintained only in relation to the so-called "tourist dinars." According to the new regulations, no financial transaction in which the dinar is involved may be effected without the consent of the National Bank. To December 10th.: 938 it was allowed to take out of the country 10.000 dinars without any special permission, this limit has now been reduced to a maximum of 5.000 dinars.

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