

DANUBIAN REVIEW

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ELEMÉR SZUDY
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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Dr. ANDREW FALL
MANAGING EDITOR

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TOWARDS A SOLUTION

BY

ELEMÉR SZUDY

At present the Danzig question is still the nucleus around which the events in international politics revolve. Although the tone of the controversy is harsh enough, several points that have emerged recently may perhaps, with a certain measure of optimism, be regarded as a sign that the worst is not going to take place. After the horrors of 1914—1918 it is wellnigh inconceivable that anyone should accept the responsibility of a world war, and for this reason it is not probable that, even to save their prestige, the leading statesmen of Great Britain, or Germany, or Poland, will place difficulties in the way of a solution of the Danzig question by peaceable means. We have all the greater reason for hope, since both parties have signified that the question of a settlement without war is discussable.

Mr. *Chamberlain's* last speech contains a statement to the effect that there is room for improvement where the Danzig arrangements are concerned and that ways and means could be discussed in a calmer atmosphere. Statements of this sort undoubtedly do much to cast oil on the troubled waters, and we cannot believe that anyone would refuse to entertain the idea of acting on this honest initiative. But who is to be the one to take the first steps? The answer is not so difficult. In his great speech at the opening of Parliament, a speech that was internationally lauded, the Regent of Hungary indicated the High Forum competent to take the initial steps calculated to lead to a reconciliation of the Powers at variance with one another and a general settlement of all the questions at issue. This High Forum,

His Holiness the Pope, has announced his willingness to inaugurate the work of mediation and perhaps before long the white dove of peace may soar up from the garden of the Vatican to bring tranquillity and relief to the tormented nations of the world.

Tranquillity and relief! Great and serious words, but their meaning is something utterly different from what it was in normal times. Today, it is strongly charged with dynamic force, with the tension of this feverishly turbulent age, with all the torturing longings of the soul. Yet how easy it would be to insulate the tragic disillusionment that has led us to the verge of an explosion. All that would be necessary would be to reverse everything that was declared right and just in the Treaties of Versailles, Neuilly and Trianon.

What was it that M. Bonnet, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, said to an English reporter? "*It is intolerable that the nations should have to worry about their frontiers every day.*" How true this is. How profoundly and humanly true: but who were those who drew the new frontiers? and how were they drawn? and who tore three and a half million Magyars, besides others, from the community to which for more than a thousand years they had belonged, and forced them against their wishes to become the subjects of a foreign country? Is not this intolerable? And is it not more intolerable still that for twenty years Dismembered Hungary has not had one undisturbed night? Her nights have been loud with the sobs and lamentations of millions of oppressed Magyars. Foreign Ministers would do well to examine the other side of the question before making apodeictic statements. It is but natural that we have the same horror of war and violence as the French Minister of Foreign Affairs has, but that is not enough; the causes of violence and war must be done away with.

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Our bitterness was lessened by the memorable day for us when the Slovak and Ruthenian Members of Parliament from the restored Hungarian areas took their places in the Hungarian Parliament and swore loyalty to the Hungary of *St. Stephen*. Their sincere and arrestingly fine speeches will be found in the last issue of this paper, but we feel compelled to return to them here, not only because of their historical significance from a Hungarian point of view, but also because they are fingerposts showing the way to a solution of the whole Danube Valley problem.

On behalf of the Slovak members, M. Anthony *Kadlec* solemnly declared that he and his colleagues would perform their duties as legislators in that ancient Hungarian spirit which for centuries had made the Magyars and Slovaks brethren. How deeply affecting this splendid declaration sounded above the ruins of the State built up by *Beneš* on a foundation of lies. "*From the very outset*" — said M. *Kadlec* — "*we fought against the incredible nonsense of Czech and Slovak unity and, though faced with persecution and imprisonment, we openly declared that the surest foundation of the welfare of the Slovak people was the brotherhood of the Slovak and Magyar nations.*"

There we have the answer to the false and unscrupulous propaganda with the aid of which the Czechs achieved the dismemberment of Hungary.

The whole world ought to have heard the words of M. Andrew Brody, ex-Premier of Ruthenia and representative of the Ruthenian nation. One of the things he said was: — "I consider it my duty to tell the Hungarian nation, to tell the whole world, friends and foes alike, that the Ruthenian nation has returned to the Realm of *St. Stephen* of its own accord, and that it wishes to build up its future prosperity in co-operation with the chivalrous Hungarian nation."

The great authors of the peace, Mr. *Wilson* and M.

Clemenceau, were they alive, could see now what they had done in the name of national self-determination and what kind of a plebiscite it was with which they attempted to justify their Herostratesian work. It is now certain that after so many trials, vicissitudes and disappointments better times are in store for the people of Subcarpathia; that they will receive what an alien rule denied them in spite of an international treaty signed in view of the whole world: freedom to develop their national life in the spheres of economy and culture within the framework of self-government. This is now on the way towards accomplishment, and the first Government Commissioner of Subcarpathia has already begun what we hope will prove a beneficial activity.

Hungary's grief for the loss of the now restored regions has been turned into gladness, and in this respect she is at peace, but what is to be said about her other sorrows which are deeper and greater, the redress, or even a slight alleviation, of which she longs for in vain? What about our kindred in Transylvania, the two million suffering Magyars, who are almost worn out in the nerve-racking struggle for their national existence? What is to be said about Premier Calinescu's speech the gist of which may be compressed into two words: *never* and *nothing*? Here let M. Gustave Hervé, that eminent French publicist, speak for us, who wrote as follows in the "Victoire": — "France made a great sacrifice to win Turkey's friendship when she ceded the Alexandrette Sandjak. That sacrifice was in fact made in the interest of peace, and this is the end it serves. If France is willing to sacrifice so much for peace, she is justified in expecting other nations — above all Rumania — to make sacrifices too. It would serve the ends of peace were Rumania to restore Southern *Dobrudja* to Bulgaria and Transylvania to Hungary. If there is to be reconciliation in Central and Eastern Europe, it is imperative that Rumania should satisfy

in a peaceful way the legitimate demands of her southern and western neighbours."

There is not much hope that M. Hervé's serious warning will be listened to in Rumania. Her policy is much too biassed, much too one-sided, for warnings of this nature from a foreign source, no matter how authoritative, to produce any effect. Yet there is much in this warning that Rumania might take to heart. Another thing that ought to give Rumania food for thought is the fact of the Bulgarian Premier, M. *Kiosseivanoff's* visits to Berlin and Bled. During the past few months Bulgaria, who until then had been rather silent on the subject of territorial questions, has come forward with demands for revision and since then she has not ceased to state officially her claim to the Dobrudja. In this respect she has gone much farther than Hungarian foreign policy.

We wonder whether it does not occur to Rumania that even from her point of view the time is ripe for a settlement of the whole Danube Valley question, and that a peaceful solution thereof by way of negotiation would also be of vital interest to herself.

DEBRECEN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH SPIRIT IN DEBRECEN

BY

STEPHEN GAL

Last year was the fourth centenary of the foundation of the oldest Protestant institute in Hungary, the Debrecen Reformed Church College. Throughout the length and breadth of Hungary great preparations were on foot to celebrate this important date, but political events of international import made it advisable to postpone for a year a jubilee which should be of interest to Western Europe too. The circumstance that the second Chair of English Philology and Literature in Hungary is to be formally inaugurated in Debrecen this autumn is an additional reason why we should now devote some space to that important event in the history of Hungarian culture. Of all the towns in present day Hungary Debrecen is the one that had the earliest contract with Protestant England, and it was on natives of Debrecen that the English spirit exercised the greatest influence in moulding their characters. Later on we shall return in detail to what we would merely mention here, viz. that Debrecen has played the same role in Hungarian cultural life as Cambridge has in Anglo-Saxon culture. For this reason Debrecen may well be styled the Cambridge of Hungary.

The greatest kings of the Hungarian Middle Ages were in touch with England. After the initial steps taken by St. Stephen, Béla III. and Sigismund, the friendship between England and Hungary first culminated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The important political acts of Zápolya, the Báthorys, Gabriel Bethlen, the two George

Rákóczys and Francis Rákóczy II. in this field are more or less familiar. If we turn from those Princes to the Hungarian towns whose citizens had most in common intellectually with England, we must mention three: Enyed, Debrecen and Sárospatak. Each of them was a self-reliant stubborn Protestant republic, just like the towns of Holland or Northern Germany.

At the time of the rout at Mohács (1526) Debrecen was the largest and richest town in Hungary. Its cattle markets supplied half Europe with meat. To its cattle-breeding it also owed its rapid and many-sided industrialization. But in this garden city inhabited mostly by peasants there was always a strong desire for culture. Slow and deliberate progress coupled with a stolid conservatism have always been the outstanding traits of Debrecen.

The ancient College has stamped its mark indelibly on the character of the town. No sacrifice for the college and its pupils was deemed too great by the citizens of Debrecen. During the 150 years during which Transylvania was an independent principality and Debrecen lay in the corner where all the parts of tripartite (Habsburg, Turkish and Transylvanian) Hungary met, the town, thanks to this fortunate economic situation, began to increase in wealth rapidly. It was then that it started sending its young men in legions to the countries of the West on what was then called "peregrination". Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland, Sweden and England exerted an influence that was to last as long as life itself on many young Hungarians.

Hungarian students began to visit England in large numbers when during the Thirty Years' War the armies of Spinola and Tilly burned down the German university towns. At that time there were hundreds of Hungarian students at the universities in the Netherlands, from whence it was an easy matter to cross the narrow channel to England.

The first student from Debrecen to study in England

was Paul Kereszturi. Later he was to be one of Hungary's greatest educators and a formidable master of Calvinist theological polemics. In 1624 and 1626 respectively, Mathew Kecskeméti and Benedict *Bakai*, both of whom were later Rectors of the Debrecen College, were working in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In 1626 John *Thállyai*, who two years later received a grant of 58 shillings from St. Andrews University, was studying at Cambridge.

Early in 1671 Paul *Medgyesi*, perhaps the greatest Protestant thinker of the seventeenth century, crossed to England. After passing seven years at Debrecen College, he was sent to study in England by the Town Council, which gave him two hundred ducats, one hundred Hungarian florins and one hundred Imperial thalers. He wished to go to England "to learn the language as well as many other useful things", but his most serious reason was that he was eager to study the country whose sons had fought so bravely for liberty of conscience and democracy. He spent about six months at "that famous and memorable ancient Academy of Cantabrigia" in the company of his faithful friend Andrew *Ruszkai*. On his return home in 1631 he was elected *Rector* of Debrecen College. There he completed his great work begun in London, the translation of "*Praxis Pietatis*", the Protestant manual of those times. This great work, almost a thousand pages in extent, ran to seven editions in 22 years, an unparalleled phenomenon when we consider the intellectual level of Hungary at the time. The six months spent at Cambridge made a tremendous impression on Medgyesi. In these years Cambridge became the Bulwark of English Calvinism. Here and there a self-examining Protestantism tinged with elements of Neoplatonism began to urge social reforms. In the person and life-work of Medgyesi we find the most beautiful expression and perpetuation of that fine religious movement.

From 1631 to 1658 Medgyesi published several volumes annually. His fertility, perseverance, and rapidity as a thinker were unparalleled. In his books he enters the lists for equality of rights, for universal and national education and for the use of the vernacular. He strove to introduce into Hungary the technical application of the innovations put into practice abroad. He was the first in Hungary to have reprints made. He wrote the first theological work in Hungarian, and was the first in rank among the writers of books of prayer and meditation. The London polyglot Bible inspired him to make a new translation, which was published by the Prince of Transylvania in an edition of 10,000 copies. (Of the Bible which prior to his had enjoyed the greatest circulation in Hungary, Albert *Szenczi-Molnár's* translation, only 1500 copies were published.) Gabriel *Incze*, the greatest authority on the Hungarian Protestant literature of the period, compares Medgyesi with Gyöngyösi and Zrinyi, the most eminent Hungarian writers of the century. As chaplain in ordinary to George Rákóczi I, Prince of Transylvania, and headmaster of the Prince's college at Gyulafehérvár, he was largely responsible for the fact that so many young men from Transylvania were able to visit England in the following decades.

The hyper-conservative clergymen at the Debrecen Synod in 1638 thought it was time to prevent the innovations which "certain young Hungarian men in Holland and England are conspiring to introduce into the Church". Their efforts were however, of no avail. There were no means or regulations by which young Hungarians could be prevented from visiting England. In 1645 Matthew *Nógrádi*, then teacher and pastor in Debrecen, later Superintendent (Bishop) went out. In 1654 Samuel *Kölesvári* was in England, and he learned English so well that he preached to the English in their own language. When he returned, he wrote and translated a whole series of books. He died in Debrecen

as Dean. Another Debrecen pastor, Valentine *Kereszturi*, a friend of Paul *Jászberényi*, a famous Hungarian professor in London, spent four years in that city — from 1660 to 1664. Stephen *Gyöngyösi*, a Senior of Debrecen College, and George *Szilágyi*, lived in Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1670 and 1671 respectively.

But the most important sojourn of all was that of George *Komáromi-Csipkés*, whose statue was recently unveiled in Debrecen. He visited England at the beginning of the 'fifties. Having taken his doctor's degree in Utrecht, he crossed to England from Holland. Later on he became Professor of Biblical Languages and Philosophy in Debrecen. He published the first English grammar for Hungarians in 1664 (exactly 250 years ago) under the title of "*Specilegium Anglicum*". It was in his time that the school in Debrecen, which till then had been styled "schola", began to be called "collegium". It is very probable that in preparing its curriculum, which was drafted by the two professors who had been to Oxford, *Komáromi-Csipkés* and Matthew *Nógrádi*, in collaboration with the famous George *Martonfalvi*, the system of an English college was copied. An examination of the old school systems in England would throw light on this question. *Komáromi-Csipkés* was a pupil of Nicholas *Apáti*, the greatest Hungarian follower of Descartes and the author of *Vita Triumphans*, who learned English in Holland.

The Hungarian students who had been to the West of Europe brought back more than new manners and new ideas. Their trunks were filled with books. In this way the library of the Calvinist College in Debrecen waxed and grew rich, until it became the finest and most valuable provincial collection of books in Hungary. The theses of the Hungarian candidates for a doctor's degree saw the light in the best printing-presses of the period. Among the beautiful Elzevir

editions we find several Hungarian dissertations. No wonder, then, if in the Debrecen Library we find copies — in number some five hundred odd — of one-third of all the known Elzevir editions, those elegant examples of the printer's art. We also find the works of the great thinkers of the seventeenth century, Grotius, Descartes, etc. evidence enough that the descendants of the Hungarian peasantry were very receptive of the teachings of rationalism.

One of these early rationalists was Paul *Gyöngyösi-Arva*, who spent a year and a half in the English university towns, in Oxford, Cambridge and London, somewhere about 1700. He was ordained in London and boasted much on his return of his right to the title of "Presbyter Ecclesiae Anglicanae." He brought five or six hundred books home with him, but at the frontier the Jesuits confiscated his luggage. *Gyöngyösi* appealed to Paget, the English Ambassador in Vienna, through whose intervention *Kollonics* was prevailed upon to restore one-sixth of his books to *Gyöngyösi*, though the rest were burned as dangerous to religion and the State. *Gyöngyösi* had very much trouble at home. He arrived in a wig and was forbidden to wear it by the Tarpat Synod. Once, during his ministry in Kassa, he was heard to speak mockingly of a statue of the Virgin Mary. He was sentenced to death by the Jesuits and it was only with great difficulty that he succeeded in having this harsh sentence commuted to one of exile.

In 1693 Stephen *Husztii-Szabó*, Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine, paid a visit to England. He worked in the Staphorst chemical laboratory in London and took part in the public debates at Oxford. He became court physician to Michael Apafi II, the last Prince of Transylvania, and in 1700 was elected professor in Debrecen College and chief medical officer of the town.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the

most famous professors of medicine were teaching in the English university towns. It was here that the rational treatment and nursing of the sick first began to be practised. Our physicians began to join the Hungarian theologians studying in England. In the 'fifties of that century the English Faculty of Medicine had a Hungarian pupil who made a name for himself afterwards. He was Stephen *Veszprémi-Csanádi*, the later famous doctor and historian. He studied medicine in Oxford and Cambridge in 1754 and spent much time gleaning knowledge in the libraries. He also stayed in London for a year and a half, working in the hospitals. It was while he was in London that he published a dissertation in Latin which attracted so much attention that it was translated into English and French. *Veszprémi-Csanádi* settled in Debrecen and was chief medical officer of the town for several decades.

While he was in England George *Kalmár*, a student of Oriental languages who had been a pupil of Debrecen College, was also at Oxford. His was a life of adventure, and his ambition was to create a world language.

In the eighteenth century English Protestantism provided Debrecen not only with spiritual food but also with material means. Professor Nicholas *Sinai*, who later on was Superintendent (Bishop), sojourned in Oxford from June 1756 to March 1757. During his sojourn in England he managed to secure an exceptionally large donation for the assistance of Debrecen College. In answer to the appeal made by Thomas Haring, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bench of Bishops and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge collected about two thousand pounds sterling. The interest of this sum was enjoyed by the College right down to the beginning of the Great War, through at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Vienna Government tried to make difficulties. A little circle devoted to the spread of English culture

gathered in Debrecen around that Sinai to whom the College owed this bounty, and generation handed down to generation the tradition of an Anglo-Hungarian friendship.

The brothers *Budai* were Sinai's pupils. *Isaiah Budai* taught Theology, History, Latin and Greek in Debrecen College. In 1793 he was working in Oxford. He visited a compatriot of his who had made a great name there. This was *John Uri*, a native of Nagykörös, who was considered so eminent an authority on Oriental languages that he was entrusted with the task of arranging the collection of Oriental manuscripts in the Bodleian. It was in his time that Debrecen began to be the Cambridge of Hungary, a leading centre of the natural sciences which, nevertheless, did not neglect the world of the classics. In addition to editions of the works of Latin authors, grammars and books on botany in Hungarian were also published, and a society was formed for the production of etchings and the drawing of terrestrial globes. It was then that Debrecen came to be something unique, something apart, in Hungarian intellectual life.

About 1776 *Michael Benedek* (who was later to be a Bishop), the compiler of the Reformed Church hymnbook still in use, was studying in Oxford. Between 1788 and 1796 *Francis Pethe* travelled for considerable periods in Holland and England. He was a fellow of Debrecen College, a great pioneer in the literature of Hungarian national economy, the man who introduced national methods of agriculture and made the Dutch windmills popular in the Great Plain of Hungary. For a book of Psalms which he published in Utrecht in 1794, King George IV — then Regent — rewarded him with a present of 36 pieces of gold. *Pethe's* work entitled "Systematic Agriculture" is one of the most important books in the branch of Hungarian literature dealing with political economy.

For a time he was professor at the Georgicon Academy of Agriculture at Keszthely and later he became steward of the famous Eszterházy and Festetich domains.

Among the Debrecen lovers of England in the 'nineties of the eighteenth century we find Stephen *Segesvári*, who translated an English medical work into Hungarian; Bishop Francis *Hunyadi-Szabó*, the translator of Milton's works, and Samuel *Szilágyi*, who translated Pope's epigram on Newton. Small wonder that when Robert *Townson* travelled through Hungary in 1793 he was surprised and pleased to meet in Debrecen — "the biggest village in Europe", as he called it — four or five gentlemen who had spent a considerable length of time in his own country.

Michael *Csokonai-Vitéz* was a pupil of Isaiah Budai, and we may presume that to the latter's influence was due the fact that in his essay the former more than once refers to English sources. The close connection between his comic epic "Dorothea" and Pope's "Rape of the Lock" has been definitively established by philological research. It is very interesting to find him giving the following advice to the Hungarian nation in one of his essays: "Remember, my dear Hungarian, how the immortal Kaunitz declared that only the English and the Hungarians have a national character."

The first of our poets to read English books in the original were Adam *Pálóczi-Horváth* and Joseph *Péczely*. They learned English in their student days in Debrecen. They lived and studied in the same room as Paul *Németi*, the tutor, later on, of the Teleki boys, who implanted in his pupils an admiration of England. Another to master the rules of English grammar in his college years in Debrecen was Joseph *Péczely* jun., librarian and professor of the College and member of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He also visited England sometime between 1813 and 1816.

One of the most distinguished students of the Debrecen College, Francis *Kölcsey*, did not read English authors — Byron for instance — in the original until he was an old man. In his notes John *Arany* says that one of his professors, Paul *Sárvári*, who had been educated in Göttingen, sent for him several times and each time encouraged him to study Shakespeare with the words "Nothing but Shakespeare, Shakespeare, Domine" (sic!). *Arany* was one of our greatest Shakespeare-translators.

When in 1849 the Hungarian Government fled from Pest before the army of Windischgrätz, to assist whom the Russians had invaded the country, all the great politicians of the Hungarian reform age betook themselves to Debrecen. Many of them had been in England towards the end of the 'thirties; and the Protector himself, Louis Kossuth, was an ardent admirer of the English: he once, in fact, began a translation of "Macbeth". These men must also have been influenced by their stay in Debrecen. Charles *Szász*, for instance, began to learn English there, and four years later he published a translation of the English poems he had read at that time. This ministerial secretary from Debrecen became the most prolific translator of English books in the whole history of Hungarian literature. He translated into Hungarian enough of the works of the Victorians to fill a library, as well as no less than eight of Shakespeare's plays.

From 1851 on English was always taught in Debrecen College. The first Professor of English was Alexander *P. Nagy*, who wrote an English grammar in leaflet form in the 'fifties. Almost all the clergymen and Bishops of Debrecen visited England sometime or other. Michael *Könyves Tóth*, who translated Macaulay into Hungarian, was there in the 'sixties. His son Kálmán spent six months in London in 1863, and the reminiscences of that journey are read to day by many children in his novel "Világjárók" (Globetrotters).

The perfect Hungarian personification of the puritan English spirit, the great Stephen *Tisza*, another Debrecen student, paid a visit to England in 1884. The English political economists of the classical school made a great impression on him, and whether he was writing about agrarian questions or the international situation, his arguments were always influenced by their opinions. It is interesting to note that when in 1891 the Sick Relief Bill was being framed *Tisza* advocated the English form of workers' insurance instead of the German system that was adopted. He was always very careful to devote space in the "Magyar Figyelő" to articles and debates about English political and intellectual life.

Two of our modern poets, *Árpád Tóth* and *Lawrence Szabó*, were also students of Debrecen College. *Árpád Tóth's* "Örök Virágok" (Unfading Flowers) is a collection of the most beautiful English poems translated with incomparable delicacy. The lyrical poetry of Milton, Keats, Shelley, Byron and Browning not only affected him profoundly as a form of emotional escape; they have also through him won the hearts of the Hungarian readers of poetry. At the age of twenty *Lawrence Szabó* translated all Shakespeare's sonnets and Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner". His translations of "Timon of Athens" and "As You Like It", which were produced in the National Theatre lately, are so perfect that they may justly be compared with those of *Vörösmarty* and *Arany*. These poets, as we know, transformed the works of the great English dramatist into Hungarian classics.

It is worthy of note that the first Hungarian history of philosophy in English was published in Debrecen. Its title is "Hungarian Philosophy", and it is the work of Professor *Béla Tankó*. And since last Christmas an international periodical in five languages, one of which is English, is also being published there. It is called "Helicon", and is devoted to literature and aesthetics. Professor *John Hankiss* is the

editor of this splendid review, the same professor who inaugurated the Debrecen Summer University courses at which lectures are also naturally delivered in English to meet the requirements of the numerous English-speaking visitors attending them.

Now that an opportunity has arisen of disseminating English culture, not only in the Budapest University, but also in one of the provincial university towns, no better place for this purpose could possibly have been chosen than Debrecen. The present holder of the Chair of English Language and Literature in Debrecen, is Professor Alexander Fest, who has done more than anyone else to throw light on the history of Anglo-Hungarian intellectual contacts. The significance of this Chair of English in the "Hungarian Calvinist Rome", as Debrecen is called, is particularly great; for we must not forget that south of the Rhine there is no country in Europe in which two university chairs proclaim a similar keen and ardent interest in English culture.*

* For additional data relating to the subject of this article see "Hungarian Protestants and England in the XVI—XVIII Centuries." (*Danubian Review*, 1934. No. 5.)

THE "RE-RUMANIANIZATION" OF THE SZEKLEERS

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

According to the Rumanian census, about one-third of the 1.660.488 Magyar inhabitants of Transylvania (which was detached from Hungary and adjudged to Rumania by the Trianon edict) live in the four counties known as the "Szeklerland": *Csik, Háromszék, Udvarhely and Marostorda*. The Hungarian census of 1910 found 502.030 Magyars in the Szeklerland and even the Rumanian census of 1930, the figures of which are illusory because of the unreliable nature of the statistics so arbitrarily registered, puts their number at 472.476, or 67.4⁰% of the total population of that region.

The several Rumanian Governments have done everything in their power to strip this compact block of Magyars of their national characteristics. In the spheres of religion and education those half million Magyars have been practically at the mercy of the endeavour to Rumanianize them. By means of forcible proselytism the Rumanians try to shepherd the Magyars into the fold of the Rumanian national Church. Like mushrooms, Orthodox parishes spring up in every part of th Széklerland, and recently Orthodox deaneries were established in three purely Magyar towns: *Kézdivásárhely, Sepsiszentgyörgy and Székelyudvarhely*. Education is also being pressed into the service of this "*re-Rumanianization*". The "cultural zones" established by the *Elementary Education Act* promulgated on 26th July 1924 are also intended to further the denationalization of the Szeklerland Magyars. In ten of the Transylvanian counties, among them

the four above mentioned, special measures have been instituted by that Act. Teachers of State schools are accorded special material privileges of no mean sort — a supplementary salary of 50%, etc. (§ 150). Naturally the main task of these well-paid teachers, who, by the way, for the greater part scarcely know a word of Hungarian, is to denationalize their Magyar pupils. The same is the aim of the system of so-called "name analysis" (§ 8), which examines the ethnic origin of the children's parents, and should it be established that a child's parents or ancestors were "Rumanians", such a child may not attend any school other than a Rumanian public or private one.

It is a sad fact that in these Magyar districts the language of instruction in the infant schools (Kindergartens) is exclusively Rumanian and that the teachers employed in these schools do not speak Hungarian at all. It is also a lamentable truth that in every field the Magyars of the Szeklerland are being harassed with the expressed purpose of divesting them of their nationality and their religion, or, as the Rumanian Government says, "of restoring them to their original nationality."

Rumanian propaganda does its best to prove that this great Magyar island, the Szeklers, are a people entirely different from the Magyars of Hungary. It was Professor Jorga who first, in 1926, put forward the theory that the Szeklers were simply Magyarized Rumanians.

Since, however, the only argument he could urge in support of this theory was that the houses, dances and songs of the Szeklers resembled those of the Rumanians, he altered it in the May of 1927, saying that the Szeklers were descendants of the Cossacks. In April 1929, again, he modified the whole theory and declared that the Szeklers were not Rumanians, but that there were very many Magyarized Rumanians in Szeklerland.

The protagonist of the anti-revisionist movement, the "Universul", is the organ of a well organized Government propaganda. It demands that foreign countries should be enlightened as to the "real" ethnic composition of Transylvania, and finds fault with the Rumanian Statistical Office for registering the Szeklers under the same heading as the Magyars.

Our only reply is that scientific research has established the fact that the Szeklers are a race akin to the Magyars and that in all probability they were sent by King Ladislas (Saint Ladislas) from Transdanubia to settle in Transylvania for the defence of the eastern frontier line. Whether they were Huns, Avars or Kabars — all kindred races of the Magyars — is a question over which authorities on history may be left to argue. One thing is certain: none of those tribes was Rumanian.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE HUNGARIAN ADMINISTRATION

BY

STEPHEN EGYED D. C. L.



III.

The "Doctrine of the Holy Crown" is not only a fundamental idea of the Hungarian Constitution; it also exerts an influence on all the fields of Hungarian political life, thus on the *Administration* too. The way the fundamental principle of the „Doctrine” asserts itself in the Administration is that Nation and King share in the exercise of executive power. In most foreign Constitutions the executive power is in the hands of the Head of the State, who exercises it by way of a long chain of executive organs. In terms of the Hungarian Constitution the executive power belongs jointly to *Nation and King*: the Nation participates in the exercise thereof, not only indirectly through the principle that the Government is responsible to Parliament, but also directly by way of the organs of self-government.

The institution of a responsible *Ministry* was introduced on the French model by the Hungarian State in 1848. The comparatively late introduction of this institution does not however signify that the system of Government responsibility had no precedent in the history of *Hungarian* law. In terms of Acts V and VII of the year 1507, for example, all Decrees issued by the King without listening to the advice of the *Royal Council* were invalid, and Parliament had the right to call to impeach and pronounce sentence on Councillors who acted against the laws, the independence and the welfare of the country; under the *Habsburgs*, however, since 1526 that is to say, the responsibility of the Royal Council could no longer be systematically extended and developed.

As regards the *Parliamentary* standing of the *Ministers*, the *Hungarian State* copied neither the Constitutions which prescribe that *Ministers* must also be members of the *Parliament*, nor those which preclude their being members thereof; keeping to the middle of the road, the Hungarian State considers it desirable that *Ministers* should be members of one of the *Houses of Parliament*, if possible of the *Lower House*, but there exists no obligation. To a certain extent *Hungarian* public opinion, even today, regards it as important that so far as possible the several *Ministers* should be specialists in their own branches, and this is why in *Hungary* the system of purely political *Ministers* or *Ministers* without *Portfolios*, was never able to take root firmly; the *Hungarian Ministers* always take an active part in discharging the duties pertaining to the administration of the *Ministries*.

In terms of the *Hungarian Constitution*, the *Government* has the right, without any special legal powers, to regulate by *Ordinance* all matters hitherto not regulated by law or of which the regulation has not been reserved to itself by the legislature. Besides this, it can by *Ordinance* regulate the matters ceded by the legislature, but cannot issue an *Ordinance* contrary to the laws of the land without special powers. Such special powers are received from the legislature only in cases of emergency; even then only for a limited period of time and in connection with certain definite matters, and always subject to the control of *Parliament*; the *Hungarian Government* has no general powers to issue emergency *Ordinances*. The *Government's* right to legislate by way of *Ordinances* has in recent times naturally become much more extensive in *Hungary* too, without affecting the predominant importance of the legislative body.

In *Hungary* *autonomy* possesses two main organs in the field of administration, viz. the *County* and the *parish (municipality)*. These two organs attend in the first and second instance to the task of general administration, including also government. Namely they are not merely bodies called upon to discharge the duties of ordinary administration; they also partake of

the character of independent fictitious persons, have their own households and their own sources of revenue, elect their own officials and magistrates, and frame their own statutes. If then, on one hand, the administration of the country as a whole devolves upon the Government and the national trend thereof is ensured by the influence of Parliament, the nation, on the other hand, exerts a direct influence on local administration through the medium of its autonomous organs. The Hungarian term for autonomy is „*önkormányzat*” (self-government) as compared with the German „*Selbstverwaltung*” (self-administration), and the difference clearly expresses that in Hungary the autonomies are not merely organs of administration but also of government.

The foundations of the *County* system were laid by the first King of Hungary, St. Stephen, at the beginning of the XI century. The County has therefore been the chief institution of Hungarian administration for over 900 years. St. Stephen created the Counties (Hungarian: *megyék*) on a western model, but their evolution on Hungarian soil was unique of its kind and they came to be one of the most original creations of the Hungarian genius and the Hungarian conception of law. For centuries the County served as the foundation on which the Hungarian State was built up; it was the guardian of the *Constitution* and the sole wielder of judiciary and administrative authority.

Three epochs may be distinguished in the evolution of the County. In the first of these the County was a Royal institution under the control of a Royal official, the Burggrave or Lord Lieutenant, whose jurisdiction extended chiefly over the people belonging to the castle. From the XIII to the XV century the County underwent an evolution and became a self-governing organ. To an increasing extent the nobility took over the administration of its affairs, for which purpose they appointed officials of their own choosing. The sphere of authority of the Royal Lord Lieutenant (*főispán*) passed almost entirely to an elected Deputy Lieutenant (*alispán*), leaving the Lord Lieutenancy merely as an organ of control at

the head of the County. The autonomous development of the County reached its golden age in the first half of the XIX century; since then a certain measure of decline is observable. In consequence of the spread of the idea of expanding the control of the State, an increasing number of tasks have been divorced from the sphere of authority of the County, and even the affairs left to it are subject to strict Government control. But even in its present condition the County reflects many original ideas, many peculiarly Hungarian conceptions, and remains, what it always was, one of the fundamental pillars of the *Hungarian* political State.

As one of the original features of County organization, let us examine the difference between the posts of Lord Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenant and their spheres of authority. The Lord Lieutenant is a *Government* official at the head of the County who is appointed by the Head of the State on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior. His task is to govern the County, he therefore is entitled to preside at meetings of the County Council, to examine the different County offices, institute legal measures and provide for their being carried out, and nominate or appoint County officials. The Deputy Lieutenant, on the other hand, is the first official of the County self-government, head of all the rest of the County officials, director of the County administration and representative of the County as a fictitious person.

The Deputy Lieutenant is elected by the County officials through the medium of the County Council for a period of 10 years; the election or appointment of all the rest of the County officials is for life. A special office of the County is the *Board of Guardians*, which attends to the affairs of minors or persons placed under a curator and administers their estates. Another special office is the County Archives, which often contains documents of great historical value.

Even today the Hungarian County has also a political sphere of activity; it may therefore occupy itself with matters that in fact belong to the authority of Parliament, the Head of the State and the Government, and submit its opinions,

that is to say the relevant resolutions of the County concerning these matters, to Parliament and the Government. The County makes the necessary preparations for Parliamentary elections and conducts the polling. The Counties and municipalities elect about 30% of the members of the Upper House. Against illegal measures or measures detrimental to the Counties issued by Government the former have the right of appeal to the Court of Administration, which may annul the measures in question. In this respect our Counties are the real guardians of the *Hungarian Constitution*.

Besides the 31 Counties there are 11 provincial towns and the capital *Budapest* (the latter with over a million inhabitants) which have the legal status of a municipality. The organization of these municipalities is similar to that of the Counties. The sources of revenue of the towns are more considerable than those of the Counties and the Government's right of control is greater. Some of the provincial towns (such as *Debrecen*, *Kecskemét*, *Szeged* and *Hódmezővásárhely*) possess real estate (*land*) which is not smaller in extent than the areas of some of the smaller Counties. The administration of the population living scattered over these territories gives no small amount of trouble to the authorities. The regulation of the legal administrative status of the towns and villages (with a population of about 500.000) growing up in the vicinity of Budapest is also a problem awaiting solution.

The head of the Hungarian district administration has always been the *Chief Constable* (*főszolgabíró*). That official, whose duties originally, like those of an *English Justice of the Peace*, were chiefly judicatory, has besides the office of judge in cases of petty offences, a sphere of authority that extends to practically all the fields of administration. It is also his task to control and direct on behalf of the County the autonomous life of the parishes belonging to his district.

A difficult problem for the Hungarian administrative authorities of the first instance is the so-called "*tanya*" (*homestead*) question i. e. the administration of the people who live

out on the "*tanyak*" and "*puszták*" (farms) far from the villages. One-fifth of the total population of the country, and a very valuable section of the Hungarian race at that, lives namely on those outlying farms. The sporadic nature of their settlement makes it extremely difficult to satisfy their needs in the fields of economy, hygiene, education and administration.

Up to the 'seventies of last century there were no specially organized administrative authorities. The whole administrative, even the judiciary authority, lay in the hands of the self-governing bodies, the Counties, which performed this work under the control of the *Ministry*. In the 'seventies legislature established the *Royal Courts of Justice* and also special departments to deal with matters of finance and special administration. In this way the several *Ministries* gradually developed their administrative departments, and so more and more matters were withdrawn from the sphere of the Counties. But the organs of ordinary, so-called interior, administration are still the County and the parish. There are, therefore, in Hungary two parallel administrations different in character: in the field of ordinary administration the autonomies dominate, while in the many branches of special administration the State departments are the competent authorities. The organs of the self-governing administrative authorities are merely under Government control, but the Government authorities of the specialised administration are subordinate to the Ministries.

Another characteristic feature of the Hungarian administration is that most of the special departments are organized to correspond to the County system; so that the County may be regarded not only as a fundamental element of self-government, but also as the basis on which the area of the country is divided as regards the greater part by far of the affairs pertaining to *Government* administration. The administrative authorities functioning in the territory of a County,

partly as organs of the self-governing bodies, partly as those of the Government, are not united in one uniform administrative organization. The *Administration Committees* formed in 1876 in the several Counties do, it is true, unite the higher officials of the self-governing corporations and of the Government administrative offices in one body, but the union is rather loose and in no way affects the independence of the several organs, so that administration in the second instance is not centralized.

In earlier times the law in many cases permitted an appeal to be made to the ordinary *Courts of Justice* against the decrees of the administrative authorities. In 1883 a special Court of *Financial Administration* was established, which in 1896 was transformed into a general *Court of Administration*. This *Court of Administration* is equal in rank to our highest *Court of Justice*, the *Royal Supreme Court of Appeal*; its judges are appointed by the Head of the State, partly from among the judges of the ordinary *Courts of Justice*, partly from the ranks of the higher administrative officials. The sphere of authority of the Court of Administration extends to all legal points of dispute enumerated in the laws. The Court of Administration is entitled to examine the legality of decrees and may on the ground of an appeal from the County veto any illegal decrees issued by the Government. The extension of the sphere of authority of the Court of Administration and the establishment of Administration Courts of the first instance has long been an item of the Government programme.

The conflicts over the question of competency that had arisen between the administrative authorities and the ordinary Courts of Justice and between these authorities and the Court of Administration were settled in 1907 by the establishment of a *Court of Competency*, which consists of Judges both from the Royal Supreme Court of Appeal and from the Court of Administration.

IV.

In the foregoing I have attempted to sketch those characteristic features of the *Hungarian Constitution* and the Hungarian Administration which set the organization of the Hungarian State more or less apart from that of other countries. These characteristic features have been a permanent concomitant of the history of our Constitution and even today they keep the nation loyal to it. Our first King, *St. Stephen*, said that what most became Royalty was adherence to ancestral laws; disregard of the ancient laws, in his opinion, would result in the downfall of the country; "*for who — asked the King — would wish to rule the Greeks in a Latin or the Latins in a Greek way?*" And if for many centuries the Hungarian nation has firmly adhered to its ancient traditions in the spheres of political and constitutional law, this is merely a sign that it clings to its own form of existence and wishes that its own peculiar national personality and our national attributes should continue to assert themselves in our legislature, in our government, and in our administration.

HUNGARY'S ROLE IN THE POLISH-SOVIET WAR OF 1920.

BY

DR. ADRIAN DIVEKY

Hungary and Poland played a great rôle in checking the invasions and inroads of barbarians from the East. While Western Europe was free to develop in peace, for centuries those two nations were forced to shed their blood in battles.

In the XIII century both countries suffered sorely in consequence of the havoc wrought by the Mongol invasion. They had to bear the brunt of the onslaught, if the Mongols were to be prevented from overrunning the countries of the West.

In the XIV century they were at war with the Turks, and it was to Hungary that the lion's share of the fighting fell. From 1366, the date of the first battle between the Magyars and the Turks, until the Peace of Karlovitz in 1699, Hungary was engaged in practically incessant warfare with them. In those battles it often happened that the Poles fought side by side with the *Magyars* and the death in battle of *Wladislas I* at *Várna* (1444) and Louis II at Mohács (1526), both of whom, though Kings of Hungary, were of the *Polish Jagelló* dynasty, was symbolic of the unity of the two nations in their heroic struggle against a common enemy.

The brilliant victory won at Belgrade in 1456 by John Hunyadi made the Turks give up the idea of a European campaign for a long time. The *Turks*, however, were not the only enemy against whom the Magyars and the Poles had to fight. Towards the close of the XVI century the Russians were threatening the northern part of Poland. When the

Poles elected Stephen Báthory, the Magyar Prince of Transylvania, to be their king, he led three campaigns against Ivan the Terrible in 1579, 1580 and 1581. In those campaigns about five thousand Magyar soldiers fought bravely together with the Poles far away from their own country, somewhere in the north near Lake *Peipus*.

On the other hand, John *Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, played a great rôle in driving the Turks out of Europe. He took part in the relief of Vienna in 1683, and afterwards defeated the Turks at *Párkány* in Hungary.

The two nations also struggled together against Western oppression when at the time of the Hungarian war of independence three Polish generals, Bem, Dembinski and Wysocki, and the Polish legion, fought with Hungary against Austria.

Hungary and Poland had a great historical mission to fulfil; their geographical situation and historical development made it expedient for them to co-operate against attack and invasion, but in doing so they were also defending Europe and Western civilization.

The interdependence of the two nations and the common character of their destinies existed not only in bygone days, as we see from the rôle played by Hungary in the Polish-Soviet war of 1920, when the Hungarian Government sent ammunition to the sorely pressed Polish army and thus enabled it to win a decisive victory over the Soviet forces at Warsaw. This not only saved Poland, but also preserved the whole of Europe from the menace of *Bolshevism*.

An interesting book about the Battle of Warsaw has been written by an English diplomat, Viscount d'Abernon, who gave it the title of "*The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World*".

Viscount d'Abernon begins by saying that according to the Creasy computation there were fifteen decisive battles of

the world before 1851. If to these we add the Battles of Sedan and the Marne, it brings the number up to seventeen. In his opinion in 1920 "a battle of equal importance to the human race was fought and won; a battle not less decisive than Sedan and the Marne."

D'Abernon quotes *Gibbon*: "*If Charles Martel had not checked the Saracen conquest at the Battle of Tours, the interpretation of the Koran would be taught at the schools of Oxford...*" The events of 1920 were in his opinion of equal importance: "Had *Pilsudski* and *Weygand* failed to arrest the triumphant advance of the *Soviet Army* at the *Battle of Warsaw*, not only would Christianity have experienced a disastrous reverse, but the very existence of Western civilization would have been imperilled. The Battle of Tours saved our ancestors of Britain and our neighbours of Gaul from the yoke of the Koran; it is probable that the Battle of Warsaw preserved Central and parts of Western Europe from a more subversive danger — the fanatical tyranny of the Soviet."

"*The victory of Charles Martel*" — continues the author — "has been termed one of those signal deliverances which affect for centuries the happiness of mankind. The Polish victory of August 1920 has an equal, in some ways, perhaps, a superior, title to honour. For the civilization endangered was of a far higher order; compared with it, the century of *Charles Martel* was barbarous. In 1920 the set-back entailed by defeat would have been incomparably greater. While the hosts of Abd-er-Rahman were inspired by fierce religious zeal, they had an ordered state and enjoyed a high degree of culture, the enemies of the Poles had no ambition but to set class against class, no creed but destruction of the present order, no policy but to annihilate all that stands for our conception of religion, justice and good faith."

Viscount d'Abernon then goes on to say that the struggle

between East and West has continued through two thousand years. In that struggle the *Battles of Marathon and Salamis* were a turning-point in the history of the world. Had the Persians won, "*the Greek spirit of individual freedom would have been crushed under Oriental despotism. Greek intellectual curiosity would have been stifled under Asiatic immobility — Europe would have lacked the primary source of her literary and artistic inspiration.*"

"Lepanto" — says d'Abernon — "*was hardly less decisive. Had the Turkish fleet prevailed over the combined forces of Christendom, Europe might well have been overrun by barbarous hordes from Asia Minor and reduced to the sterile nakedness of all lands which fell under the devastating rule of the Ottoman Sultans.*"

In *Viscount d'Abernon's* opinion the relief of Vienna in 1683 was "*one of the occasions when Europe owed safety to Polish valour ... John Sobieski earned the gratitude of all who value the maintenance of European civilization.*"

The importance of the Polish victory in 1920 cannot be questioned. As we read in *Viscount d'Abernon's* book: "... had the Soviet forces overcome Polish resistance and captured Warsaw, Bolshevism would have spread throughout Central Europe and might well have penetrated the whole continent."

He then points out how strong Communism was in Germany at that time and how favourable the European situation was to revolutionary movements. "*The minds of men were so weakened by the terrific strain of the years of war, that they had become a ready prey to any subversive doctrine. The old order, which had landed the world in so grave a catastrophe, had lost authority — something different must be resorted to. Bolshevism had not yet proved its incapacity — it was still a gospel of hope.*" Here we must not forget that the civilized nations of Western Europe were doing nothing to combat zealous Bolshevik propaganda; they

were too busy quarrelling among themselves. "*The foundations of Western civilization might be menaced; ex-enemies could not combine in its defence; distrust made them oblivious of their common beliefs — suspicion and hatred were their counsellors. Diplomacy was, as yet, powerless to bridge the gulf.*"

Viscount d'Abernon says that the history of our present civilization knows few events of greater significance than the Battle of Warsaw in 1920, and there was certainly none the importance of which has been so little recognized.

In another place he says that in many historical moments Poland has been Europe's bulwark against Asiatic invasion, but in no instance was her service greater or the danger more imminent than in 1920.

Before his book appeared Viscount d'Abernon wrote an article on 17th August 1930 about the importance of the Battle of Warsaw in which he said that it would have been the duty of political authors, in the first place of the Poles themselves, to demonstrate to European public opinion that in 1920 Poland saved Europe, for Poland was a defence against the permanent danger of Asiatic invasion.

I have dealt at some length with *Viscount d'Abernon's* opinion of the importance of the Battle of Warsaw in the world's history because I wish to show the decisive significance attached to that event by an erudite British diplomat who was a member of the mission despatched by the *Great Powers to Warsaw*, where he spent a whole month during the most critical period, being there at the time of the Polish victory.

He is right in describing the Battle of Warsaw as an event of historical importance in the world's history, for it was the intention of the Bolsheviks to revolutionize the whole of Europe after crushing Poland. This may be established from statements made by leading men of the

Soviet. At the time of the Bolshevist offensive, *Lenin* on one occasion turned to *Tuchachevskij* with these words: "World revolution goes forward, Comrade *Tuchachevskij*. You will accomplish a task of the greatest historical importance, which will turn the world upside down, and overthrow the European social system overnight."

On 2nd July 1920 *Tuchachevskij* issued the following general order to the army: "*The road to world revolution leads across Poland's dead body. Forward to Wilno, Minsk and Warsaw!*"

As early as 1919 *Trockij* had made a similar statement: "We shall carry the fire of world revolution across the dead body of Poland."

Had Poland fallen, the whole of Europe would probably have become Bolshevist, for we know that at the time Berlin, Prague and Vienna were teeming with Bolshevist agents and Bolshevist propaganda was hard at work in the countries of the West. In Germany, for instance, Communism was so strong after the war that as late as 1932 eleven million Communist votes were registered. These were the reasons why the Polish victory was of such historical moment.

The Polish-Soviet war had lasted for nearly two years and the Polish forces had reached Kiev when in 1920 things began to go badly for them. On 4th July the *Soviet Army* opened a powerful offensive on the north, under the pressure of which the Polish forces were compelled to retreat. In forty days they had retreated 600 kilometres to *Radzyminig*, a suburb of Warsaw, scarcely twenty kilometres from the capital.

What was the cause of this retreat? It was not merely that the the Red Army was superior in numbers, but also the circumstance that the Polish forces were almost entirely without ammunition. The ammunition, namely, that had been sent for them from France to Danzig could not be unloaded

because the German dock-workers had gone on strike, and the ammunition ordered by the Polish Government in Hungary had not arrived. It had been despatched on, or about, 10th July, but the *Czechs* refused to let it through the *Czecho-Slovak Republic*, and it was held up on the frontier. Owing to an utter lack of ammunition the situation of the Polish Army was catastrophic. I was told by a Pole who was on intimate terms with the then Polish Premier and who was very well informed that the shortage of ammunition was so alarming that the soldiers were forbidden to use their arms. Those who wasted any of their cartridges were punished and it was only as a last resort that they were allowed to fire their rifles.

Soviet spies reported that by 15th August the Polish Army would have used up its last cartridge. This is why *Tuchachevskij* made straight for *Warsaw*, convinced that victory awaited him there.

Another cause of great anxiety to the Poles was that they were unable to meet the large and extremely mobile cavalry troops under the command of the *Cossack* leader *Budienny* with an adequate mounted force.



POLITICAL MOSAIC

THE SLOVAK CONSTITUTIONAL BILL PASSED. COUNT ESTERHAZY'S MISGIVINGS.

The gist of the Slovak Constitutional Bill was published in our July issue. This Bill was passed unanimously by the Slovak Parliament on 22nd July. Before the division was taken Count John Esterházy, President of the Hungarian Party of Slovakia, stated the misgivings of his Party.

In the first place *Count Esterházy* pointed out that the object of the new Slovak Constitution was to lay down a foundation upon which it would be also possible for the rest of the nationalities to erect the edifice of their prosperity and development. Another point of view no less important was that Slovakia, which was an organic part of the Danube Basin surrounded by the Carpathians, ought to become a strong factor of reconciliation and co-operation, and thus of European order.

"For us Magyars" — said Count Esterházy — "it is an unusual thing to be present at the birth of a Constitution. The Magyars are the only people in Europe, with the exception of the British, that have a historical Constitution, and we are never able to forget that we have a Constitution the foundation of which was laid down a thousand years ago by *St. Stephen*, who determined its principles and shaped its policy. The spirit of that Constitution has always lived, and will always live, within us, and now that we are debating the first written Constitution of the *Slovak State* I cannot emancipate myself from the influence of that spirit.

"The first thing that follows from it is that every single letter of the Constitution must be imbued with the ideas of Christianity. Another requirement is that the Constitution must take into consideration the fact that there are several peoples living here at the foot of the Carpathians; to use a modern expression that this is not the *Lebensraum* of one single race, for here within and without the frontiers of this State peoples rendered interdependent by centuries of a common destiny have settled and are now seeking, nay demanding, the things that are necessary to the maintenance of their moral, intellectual, material and economic existence.

"And lastly, from the *St. Stephen* spirit it follows that no new order or system may be established by way of the Constitution that is at variance with the ideology, rooted and traditional, that for centuries has been part and parcel of the nations — be they Magyars, Slovaks, Germans or *Ruthenians* — living here, or that is not adapted to the geo-political situation of all of them.

"I cannot accept it as permissible that the Slovak nation should consider us Magyars inferior in any respect or field, or that the

Slovaks should deny to us any of the rights they wish to secure for themselves. The less so, for we were never strangers and sojourners here; we were the first to found a State and to establish orderly political life in these territories.

Full equality, unrestricted rights and liberties, and self-determination!

"To all the racial groups living here must be granted — and guaranteed in the Constitution — all the possibilities necessary to a full enjoyment of racial life. These are: full equality, unrestricted rights and liberties, and self-determination. But it is not merely the question of granting these rights in the Constitution. We know well that on paper many things were granted by the *Czecho-Slovak Constitution* which in practice were denied. The *Slovak Constitution* must contain sanctions that may be applied to obtain redress of, and reparation for, the slightest infringement of the rights guaranteed. The *Slovak State* is only a few months old. I do not wish to draw unfavourable conclusions regarding the future government and administration of the country from the bitter experiences — bitter for us — of that short period. I do not intend to indulge in recriminations, but I would mention that there is no sign of the equality to which the Magyars are entitled in terms of the *Vienna Award*, or any trace of the protection we have the right to expect. Where the *Magyars* are in question, liberty of person, liberty of speech, freedom of the Press, liberty to express our opinions and liberty to assemble have suffered the most serious infraction, and that, not incidentally, but systematically and incessantly. The buttressing of these rights in the Constitution is therefore of primary importance. The same is true of the right to use the *Hungarian* language and of all the things imperative to our existence as a recognized racial group, none of which the *Slovak Government* has seen fit to grant."

What is lacking in the Constitutional Bill.

Count Esterházy then went on to point out in detail the deficiencies of the Constitutional Bill; that, for instance, it contains no clear and definite promise that all citizens are to enjoy exactly the same rights and be liable to perform the same duties. The same vagueness obtains where rights and liberties are concerned. The freedom of the Press is not guaranteed, although it is one of the most important factors of liberty to express opinion and an indispensable guardian of the purity of public life.

"What most closely affects the Magyars" — said Esterházy — "*is the section of Article XII that deals with the national groups.* It is not stated therein what party is entitled to represent any of the national groups. Should this question be left purely to the

discretion of the *Government* — a thing I can hardly believe — it would leave us with such a shaky foundation that I cannot possibly accept it.

"The Constitutional Bill incorporates in law the principle of reciprocity, for it says that the rights granted in the Constitution to the national groups are valid only provided the Slovak minority living in the mother-country of the national group in question enjoys *de facto* the same rights there. I would have that paragraph deleted, altogether; for it is contrary to the Vienna Award, to the equality of rights to which we as a national group are entitled here, and makes the assertion of our rights dependent on circumstances over which we have no control. It means interference with the domestic affairs of other countries and — another important point — I do not see what tribunal is to decide this question, should it arise.

"Article VII, which deals with the establishment of Estates, makes no mention whatever of the national groups, although on the principle of equality it is inconceivable that the various national groups within the different Estates (*where they will naturally be in the minority*) should be exposed to the danger of being treated as negligible. By virtue of our past, our traditions, our cultural development and civilization and our maturity, we Magyars have every right to expect to be given a suitable rôle in every field of political life."

HOW MANY SLOVAKS ARE THERE IN HUNGARY?

On 31st December 1938 a surprise census was taken in Slovakia. The German minority protested against this census. *Since then the Slovak authorities have officially admitted that it was not fair to the Germans. The Ruthenians, too, complained, saying that there were about 200.000 Ruthenians living in the area where the Slovaks took the census on 31st December. It is interesting to note that whereas the 1930 census counted 118.000 Ruthenians, the Slovak census found only 79.000. ("Dilo" 1st Feb.)*

The Magyar racial group also protested against the Slovak census. According to Magyar statistical authorities there are about 110.000 Magyars in Slovakia, whereas the Slovak census shows only 68.000. But even these official figures were falsified for propaganda purposes by no less a personage than the Slovak Premier, M. Joseph Tiso, who on 27th April declared that there were only 40.000 Magyars in Slovakia.

After that statement we cannot be surprised if the official Slovak Press organs, such as, for instance, the semi-official "Slovak", and leading Slovak politicians like M. *Durchansky*, Minister of Foreign Affairs and M. *Alexander Mach*, Propaganda

Minister, publish absurd statistics about the number of Slovaks in Hungary. They usually speak of 600.000 but sometimes of 700.000 Slovaks. Strange to say, the 600.000 Slovaks claimed are considered too many even in Slovakia, and in the "Slovak" of 11th June the number is mentioned as 400.000. In the June 10th issue of "Le Temps" Maxime Beaufort has an article on the subject. He was also told during his trip to Slovakia that the number of Slovaks in Hungary was 700.000. M. Beaufort says that that number is too large and that very probably there are about 500.000.

Let us see how the matter really stands. The Hungarian census taken in 1930 shows 104.819 Slovaks, who, however, do not live near Slovakia but in the very middle of the country.

According to the census taken on 15th December 1938 in the areas restored to Hungary by the Vienna Award of 2nd November there are 123.864 Slovaks there.

No census has yet been taken in the areas regained on 4th April 1939 (Subcarpathia and part of Eastern Slovakia), but according to the 1930 census the number of Slovaks in those areas was 20.499.

According to these figures at present there should be 249.182 Slovaks living in Hungary.

Even if we allow for a natural increase since the census of 1910, there cannot be more than 260.000 Slovaks in the whole of present-day Hungary. These statistical figures clearly give the lie to the statement used for propaganda purposes that the number of Slovaks in this country is very large. It would appear that in Slovakia they forget that juggling with statistical figures throws discredit on the reliability of Slovak statistics in general. This, we are convinced, cannot be the aim of Slovak propaganda. It was with false propaganda of this sort, which is so easy to disprove, that Beneš and Co. brought ruin on their own country.

A REICH GERMAN'S OPINION OF THE TEACHING IN THE GERMAN MINORITY SCHOOLS IN HUNGARY

A German visitor to Hungary was in *County Baranya* and was present at the examinations in one of the village schools. He wrote an article about his impressions in the June 18th issue of "Neues Sonntagsblatt", a weekly of the Germans in Hungary. What follows is a literal translation of an interesting passage in his article.

"Only one or two pupils failed to answer the questions put to them. Pupils of the first class were able to repeat the Ten Commandments in the purest German... This was the first time in my life that I ever heard pupils of the first elementary class

reading fluently without any hesitation... However hard I try, I cannot remember having heard such a splendid examination before. *In the upper classes of the elementary school the pupils read the Hungarian exercises fluently, translated them without a mistake into German and were able to repeat the contents correctly in both languages...* They sang some songs in both languages... In these bilingual village schools teaching involves a double amount of work, and yet all I can say is that *the results were brilliant*. I do not know whether all the Swabian village schools are on the same high level as the school in the south of Baranya that I visited... One thing is certain: in the Swabian village schools where first-rate and ambitious teachers teach their pupils to speak both languages so perfectly there is no danger that the children will fail to attain the required standard of general education. *Every clever Swabian child will have the opportunity of acquiring higher grade secondary education to the benefit of the country and of his own racial group."*

It is with pleasure we cite this unprejudiced opinion formed by an unbiassed German from the Reich on the evidence of his own experience.

RUMANIAN DESERTERS TELL TALES OF A RUMANIAN REIGN OF TERROR

Of late a great number of deserters from the Rumanian army have fled to Hungarian territory. Most of them are Magyars by race, but among them were also three Rumanians from County *Hunyad* and a *Bulgarian* from the *Dobrudja*. All of them arrived in a state of utter fatigue and on the point of starvation. The tales they tell of the sufferings of the Magyars in the border districts are appalling. In the frontier zone practically everybody is treated as unreliable and the villagers are being ordered out in crowds for compulsory work. The authorities are spurred to increased severity, which in some places amounts to cruelty, by the rumours rife throughout the whole country that Rumania will not be able to escape sharing the fate of Czecho-Slovakia. The villagers who are ordered out to do compulsory work are mostly employed in mending roads and digging trenches at important strategical points. The men fit for military service are being called up on the most diverse of pretexts. They, as well as the people ordered out for compulsory labour, must take five days' provisions with them. For the rest of the time the State promises to supply them with food, but what they receive is so little and so poor in quality that some of the troops and the groups of labourers are literally starving. The unanimous opinion of the deserters is that the non-Rumanian soldiers and labourers are being deliberately starved. The food

they receive is barely enough to keep body and soul together. The indignation of the people who have been called away from their agricultural work grows more bitter day by day.

A report from *Gyoma* dated 17th July states that from day to day Rumanian soldiers keep on arriving in Hungarian territory from the Maros frontier zone. They say that unsufferable conditions prevail in Transylvania, especially in the frontier districts. Liberty of person, particularly in the Magyar towns and villages, has, owing to the severe measures inaugurated during the past few days, practically ceased to exist. It is hardly possible for anyone to leave his place of abode, since all movement and travel are subject to permission from the authorities. Meetings of any kind are immediately dispersed. In *Nagyszalonta* wedding gatherings have been forbidden. In the *Borosjenő* district much alarm was caused by the rumour that all able-bodied persons under fifty would be taken to the frontier for military labour before the harvest work was over, and calm has not yet been restored among the terrified population. According to the deserters, economic life in Arad is gradually coming to a standstill owing to the Draconian severity of the restrictive measures taken by the authorities. Should no improvement take place — say the deserters — and if the state of panic and the reign of terror continue, riots may be expected to break out.

A PLAN FOR THE COMPLETE DISPOSSESSION OF THE MINORITIES IN RUMANIA BY EXTENSION OF THE STATE'S RIGHT OF PRE-EMPTION

The Land Reform which Rumania carried out after the Great War served the purposes of "*Rumanization*" on the one hand and the complete dispossession of the minorities on the other. In Transylvania, for instance, 87.16% of the land expropriated had belonged to Hungarians. This was a fatal blow to the economic situation of the Hungarian citizens of Rumania. Unbiased estimates put the losses suffered by the Hungarian minority in consequence of the Land Reform at 2 million 178.000 cadastral acres, which is equal to a sum of 40.000 million 190.000 Lei. To this must be added the losses incurred by the obligatory renting of land in 1919—1921; these amounted to about 888 million 647 thousand Lei. The total amount of losses suffered by the *Hungarian minority*, then, may be estimated at 41.660 million and 837 thousand Lei. If we take the quotations of 1921, this amount corresponds to 2.945 million and 88.101 Swiss francs (100 Lei being equal to 70.692 Sw. fr.). Yet, even this estimate is too low to include all the losses caused by the ruthless execution of the Land Reform by the *Rumanian Government*. Out of sheer chauvinism the Government confiscated the tiny properties of

Hungarian small-holders, the common pasture lands of the poor Szekler villages, the agricultural schools of the Hungarian farmers, so that they may not have the opportunity of learning how to recover their losses by a more intensive cultivation of what little land was left to them. The Hungarian farm hands, as well as the agricultural labourers were rendered homeless and workless pariahs. The *Rumanian Land Reform* was a simple act of confiscation, as the bonds issued for indemnification covered but 0.015% of the actual value of the land taken away.

The Rumanians were, of course, treated through the Land Reform with the utmost generosity, and they received a much larger share of land than their percentage entitled them to. Among those who received land through the Land Reform, the Rumanian statistics for *Transylvania* estimate the percentage of the Rumanians at 75.82%, while that of the *Hungarians* reached only 16.26%. In this way, the Hungarians have received a considerably lower share of the benefits of the Land Reform, as their percentage — even according to the *Rumanian* statistics — is 26.7%. The *Rumanians* who received land sold it again in very many cases within a short time after they had got it.

The laws concerning the Land Reform introduced another new feature: the State's right of pre-emption, which means that the State was entitled to buy up any large property at the price offered by an intending private purchaser. Art. 47. of the Land Bill guarantees this privilege for the State in the case of all the land described by the expropriation committees as arable land. The law of 29. March 1927 provides that the State is entitled to buy any piece of land, estate or fully furnished property which exceeds — as a whole — the size of 50 acres, including all that there may be found on it. It makes no difference whether the estate in question was wholly or partly expropriated or wholly exempted from expropriation.

A proposal now prepared by the *Supreme Economic Council* includes an even wider extension of this privilege. It suggests that the State should exercise this privilege in connection with estates over 25 hectares only if required by the safety of the State, and only in certain regions of the country. In practice, this means that the State's privilege is extended to estates below 25 hectares too. By this means the Rumanian State has acquired an even more powerful weapon, in the possession of which it will be able to give to the Rumanian claimants all the land which is still in the hands of the minorities.

The fact that this is the real aim of these provisions may be seen from the law issued on June 16th last in connection with the reorganization of the Land Credit Co. (*Casa Rurala*). Art. 46 of this law declares that the parts of estates sold by the *Land Credit Co.* may not be transferred to any but

Rumanian claimants either by purchase, or by presentation, or by will or inheritance without a will, or any other means. It states, moreover, that even the lease of such property may only be given to Rumanians.

What is this, we ask, if not the dispossession of the minorities of what little they have left of their old property?

WHY MAGYAR STUDENTS IN RUMANIA FAIL?

Measures calculated to root out the Magyar intelligentsia play a great part in the Rumanian Government's plan of denationalizing the Magyar minority. M. Angelescu, former Minister of Education, devised a system of unfair examinations by means of which Magyar students are prevented from entering the universities.

To attain this end the Rumanian Government introduced a form of secondary school final examination which for the past twenty years has allowed the boards of examiners to reject from 40 to 50 per cent of the Magyar students. This year, at the Piarist Lyceum in Temesvár only 8 of the 20 Magyar candidates succeeded in passing the final examination. In the Kolozsvár denominational schools, 55 per cent of the students taking the final examination in the Roman Catholic gymnasium (secondary school) and 67 and 42 per cent respectively of those attending the Unitarian gymnasium and the Reformed Church girls' gymnasium failed. Similarly unsatisfactory results were recorded in the rest of the denominational schools.

At a meeting of the Magyar Parliamentary group held in Bucharest on 8th July it was stated that in many places no attempt had been made to carry out the decree issued by the Ministry of Education that students should be allowed to take the examination in so-called scientific subjects in their own mother-tongue. Senator Paul Szász said that the papers of 10 of the 14 students of the Nagyenyed Bethlen College taking the final examination at Gyulafehérvár had been rejected by a board that was ignorant of the students' language and the 4 that were allowed to take the viva voce had been expected to answer in Rumania. Senator Szász had advised the head master of the College to refuse on behalf of his pupils. In connection with this case M. Tulea, chief inspector of schools, put through a telephone call to M. Bratu in the Ministry of Education and was informed by the latter that the Ministry had ordered that pupils were to be examined on scientific subjects in their own language. In spite of this, the presiding examiner issued an order that none of the teachers should put any of the questions in Hungarian. The questions

were therefore put in Rumanian and the pupils replied in Hungarian. M. Cordea, the teacher who acted as interpreter, was not able to translate the answers correctly.

With a system of examinations of this kind, where the examiners and pupils require an interpreter and the interpreter is unable to translate the answers properly, it is no wonder that the majority of the students fail.

HOW YUGOSLAVS FACILITATE MAGYAR-YUGOSLAV RAPPROCHEMENT

The largest and most active association of the Magyars in Yugoslavia is the "Magyar Reading Circle" of Szabadka. This social and cultural association numbering 1600 members, the original name of which was the "Magyar People's Circle", was dissolved by the Government in the April of 1935 for no serious reason, and its considerable assets were sequestered. After two years of hard work and innumerable petitions, the leaders of the Magyars managed to induce the Stoyadinovitch Government to allow the association to renew its activity, but only on condition that it adopted a new name, framed new statutes, confined its activities to the town of Szabadka, and made no attempt to establish branches anywhere else in the country. Since that time no complaints have been made concerning its activities. This is proved inter alia by the fact that after the Parliamentary elections held last December, the Mayor of the town (who had been elected deputy) was present at a performance arranged by the association, and assured the management of the Circle that the municipal authorities were perfectly satisfied with its work and were prepared to lend their support. The greater then the surprise and indignation of the half million Magyars in Yugoslavia when they learned of the arbitrary action taken by the authorities of the Danube Banate, who on 30th June suspended the activity of the Reading Circle, closed down its premises, and confiscated its books and archives. The explanation given by the police was that the Reading Circle had overstepped the sphere of activity laid down in its statutes, and that proceedings had been instituted against it on the charge of a breach of the Defence of the State Act.

So far all that has leaked out is that the alleged crime against the State was that some of its members had been guilty of singing one or two Hungarian patriotic songs at a party. If this is the case — and reliable reports from Szabadka confirm the rumour — then by right and justice proceedings should have been taken against the guilty parties, but it is not fair that the offence committed by a few individuals should be punished by the suspension of the activity

of the biggest cultural association of the Magyars in Yugoslavia.

On 7th July, the management of the Magyar Reading Circle appealed to the Banate Office of the Danube Banate and to the Minister of the Interior, demanding an urgent quashing of the unjust sentence and pointing out that an offence committed by individuals with which the police were competent to deal was not sufficient reason for suspending the activity of the association. In this matter steps were also taken by M. Gerard Fodor, the only representative in the Skupshtina of the Magyar minority. On 7th July he saw M. Beskitz, Minister of Agriculture, who is from the Voivodina himself, and begged him to intervene with Premier Tzetkovitch and the Minister of the Interior and secure an immediate annulment of the unjust sentence. Besides this, a few members of the management of the Reading Circle formed a delegation and, led by Senator Emil Varga, appeared before the Premier to lodge a complaint against the illegal action taken by the Banate Office.

The affairs of the Reading Circle were discussed at a general meeting of the Szabadka Municipal Council held on 24th June, on which occasion a Serb Councillor accused certain members of the association of having made statements dangerous to the State at a banquet held in the premises of the Circle.

At this same Municipal Council meeting, at which there was no lack of invectives against the Magyars, the Serbs demanded the immediate dismissal of M. Géza Székely, head of the inland revenue department and the excise bureau, because this Magyar national had been guilty of the capital offence of joining the Palics branch of the Magyar Reading Circle. The Mayor and Vice-Mayor took sides with the accused, stating that he had immediately resigned membership on learning that it was a "National" association and not merely a club. This in effect means that in Yugoslavia public officials are forbidden under pain of losing their posts to be members of any cultural or social organization of their own national minority, a state of matters that is flagrantly at variance with the minority treaties and the provisions of the Yugoslav Constitution that guarantee the equality of all citizens. This grievance of the Magyar minority is all the more acute, since in pre-war times the Serb public officials in Hungary were absolutely free to join any Serb society, none of which was dissolved because its members *inter pocula* sang Serb patriotic songs or made speeches demanding the rights of the Serb nationals.

It is also characteristic of Yugoslav minority policy that not one single minority subject was admitted to the courses for the training of municipal officials established in *Ujvidék* in terms of the regulations concerning municipal officials in the Danube Banate issued about the middle of June by the Banate

Office. This is merely in keeping with the illegal state of matters so often complained of that the half million Magyars in Yugoslavia have not one single Magyar village notary of their own. In pre-war Hungary the Serbs had their own public officials in the lowest and the highest posts.

WIRELESS SETS IN YUGOSLAVIA.

Yugoslav statistics show the number of wireless sets registered at the several general post offices. These figures tell us that 71% of the total of 111.994 sets are to be found in the territories formerly belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the other 29% in pre-war Serbia. 53% of the total number are registered in the areas wrested from Hungary — the so-called *Voivodina and former Croatia-Slavona* — that is to say in the districts belonging to the general post offices of *Ujvidék, Zagreb and also Ljubljana*. This fact, if we regard it from the point of view of cultural progress, speaks for itself. („Kisebbségi Statisztikai Tudósító“, 1939. July 4.). In this connection we would mention that after twenty years of patient waiting the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia is at last to have a Hungarian programme twice a week from the Belgrade broadcasting station. („Novosti“ June 24)

STUDENTS FROM SAROSPATAK IN ENGLAND

At Lord Rothermere's invitation, 15 students of the Sárospatak Reformed Church College arrived in London on 7th July to spend their summer holidays in England as His Lordship's guests. This invitation was surely meant as a sign of Viscount Rothermere's appreciation of the fact that *there is a Magyar school in Hungary where English is so well taught that not long ago the pupils were able to give an admirable performance in that language of the famous Hungarian dramatist Madach's classical work, "The Tragedy of Man."* In London the boys were invited to tea by *Mr. Victor Casalet, M. P.*, and in Westminster Palace Lady Astor had a long conversation with them and praised their knowledge of English. The most memorable event of their sojourn in London was their visit to the British Parliament arranged by *Mr. Henry Procter*, who also invited them for tea. At a tea-party given for them by *Sir Robert Gower*, their host expressed his pleasure that the boys were having an opportunity of seeing England and *experiencing the friendly feelings for Hungarians entertained by the English*. He promised to visit Hungary soon and inspect the famous Sárospatak College. The boys were also invited to tea by *M. George Barcza*, Hungarian Minister, and by *Sir William Goode*. They have now left for Scotland.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AGRICULTURAL
INDUSTRIES IN BUDAPEST

From a Hungarian as well as an international point of view, the Congress in Budapest which began on 11th July and lasted for ten days was of outstanding importance. In the Hungarian capital the Sixth International Congress of Agricultural Industries discussed the general economic aspects of one of the most important branches of economy, as well as the special technical, chemical, manufacturing and marketing problems connected with it. The Congress was a memorable one, not only because *532 foreign delegates from 38 States and 371 Hungarian members took part in it*, but chiefly because the men who discussed those questions exhaustively were a selected band of specialists and the level of the debates was so high that all the delegates from abroad were filled with admiration. At the opening meeting on 12th July, at which *Admiral Horthy*, Regent of Hungary, was present, the Chairman, *M. Nicolas de Kállay*, welcomed Hungary's foreign guests and *M. H. F. Dupont* (Paris) replied on their behalf. When *Count Michael Teleki*, Hungarian Minister of Agriculture, had spoken, *M. Ducos*, Deputy President of the French Chamber and former Minister, made a speech in which he said that *Hungary was one of the countries where the knowledge of foreign languages was the most widespread, and that in spite of all the vicissitudes of fortune this country had preserved intact the noble traditions of her past. The large number of international scientists present was proof, on the one hand, that the high level of Hungarian culture was a recognized fact and, on the other, of the importance in modern life of international co-operation.*

Special mention must be made of the Hungarian Premier *Count Paul Teleki's* address in which he said that the reason why Hungarian fruit is more delicious, Hungarian wheat more glutinous, and Hungarian vegetables and fruit are richer in vitamins than those of other lands is that of all the countries with a similar climate Hungary enjoys the most sunshine. Very successful lectures were delivered by *Mr. Goresline*, President of the Washington Bacteriological Institute and by *M. Flanzky*, Director of the Narbonne Institute of Viticulture, *who spoke with great appreciation of the Hungarian savant, Professor Albert Szentgyörgyi, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in recognition of his scientific labours.* The members of the Congress visited the Agricultural Muzeum in Budapest. They were also received by the Regent; a soirée was given for them by the President of the Hungarian Parliament and a dinner by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Gala performances

and excursions were arranged in their honour. Some of the foreign delegates had decorations conferred upon them by the Regent, while *M. Ducos* presented the decorations conferred by the President of the French Republic. *M. Ducos* spoke with appreciation of the high level of culture in Hungary, the hospitality of the preparatory committee, the beauties of Budapest, and recalled the historical contacts between France and Hungary in the past. He stressed the point that sympathy between the two countries must be encouraged, for there had been so much to link them together in bygone days, beginning with the fact that it was a French Pope who sent the Hungarian crown to *St. Stephen*. Kings of the House of Anjou had made Hungary great and the ideas of *Kossuth* and *Petőfi* were identical with the French ideas of liberty.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

RUMANIA

ANOTHER ATTACK IN PREPARATION AGAINST THE SZEKLER JOINT TENANTS.

After a series of proceedings instituted by the authorities against the Szekler joint tenants (compossessorati) of Csik, the object of which was to dispossess them of the remnants of their estates, *fresh action in the fields of economy has been started against the Szeklers of Háromszék*. The Law Court in Sepsiszentgyörgy has begun to deal with the petition submitted by the *Public Prosecutor, M. Chiricha*, in which he asked that, in terms of the relevant Ordinance of 1927, the 9 mineral springs in the county of Háromszék which belong to the Szekler joint tenants should be expropriated and conveyed to the political community. *This would be equivalent to dispossessing the Szekler joint tenants of Háromszék of their most valuable possession and making it over to the Rumanians*. At the trial the Szekler joint tenants were represented by *M. Istrate Micescu*, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, who protested against the petition and pointed out that it was unprecedented for a Public Prosecutor to submit a petition dealing with a matter of civil law and thus deprive private lawyers of their work. In his reply the Public Prosecutor said that the matter was not one of a private nature; it was the question of the State securing possession of the valuable assets represented by the springs of curative power. The case will probably be a long-drawn-out affair and its various phases are being watched with much anxiety by the Szekler population of *Háromszék*.

AMATEUR PERFORMERS TRIED FOR — CONSPIRACY

The farmer *Béla Keressi*, with a number of his friends, had to appear before the police court at *Kolozsvár (Cluj)* under the charge of conspiring against the State. The sergeant of the Gendarmes in their village, Bors, reported the farmers for holding a secret "irredentist" meeting in *Keressi's* house. The defendants were, however, acquitted of the charge, as it appeared that they had only been discussing the preparations for an amateur performance to be held in the village. It must be added that the same sergeant had once before caused the same farmer to sit in detention for 70 days, though then, too, the charge against him was unfounded and he was acquitted. This time, again, the farmer had to sit in detention for many months before his case was tried.

ANTI-MAGYAR COURSES FOR TEACHERS IN NAGYVARAD

The Rumanian Minister of Education has inaugurated summer courses in *Nagyvárad* for Rumanian teachers. The object of these courses is definitely anti-Magyar. At their opening the various speakers without exception delivered anti-Magyar addresses. Amongst those who spoke were Bishop Nicolas Popovici of the Greek Catholic Church and M. Andrew Petre, Minister of Education. In his speech the latter, amongst other things, said:

"I knew that here I should find an atmosphere more tense with the national question than elsewhere. I knew that in this region are living the descendants of those who gave their lives for their race. The only way to crush all opposition is if physical force is coupled with a belief in our right to this soil. The inhabitants of this district must feel that every Rumanian sympathizes with them and that the whole country is ready to fight to the death for them. *This is the object of these courses in the frontier zone.* I trust they will prove a worthy complement to our military strength."

NO SPIRIT LICENSE WITHOUT SUCCESSFUL
LANGUAGE TEST

M. Károly *Orosz*, Hungarian deputy, has submitted to M. Silviu *Dragomir*, Minister of Minority Affairs, a memorandum concerning the question of spirit licenses. The memorandum mentions, among other things, that in the county of Udvarhely the Director of Finance will not issue spirit licenses unless the applicants pass a test in Rumanian first, although the law only requires that the applicants should be able to read and write.

TOBACCONISTS LICENSES WITHDRAWN

The police have again withdrawn 45 tobacconists' licenses in the county of Arad. The number of minority tradesmen whose licenses have been withdrawn now totals 150.

THE EXAMINING COMMISSIONERS DO NOT KNOW
HUNGARIAN

In spite of repeated promises from the Government, the Hungarian students in Rumania are still treated without any more understanding in the final examinations. A delegation of the Hungarian secondary schools of Kolozsvár appeared before the President of the Hungarian National Community and informed him that two commissioners of the final examinations,

Professors *Rosca* and *Candid*, do not know Hungarian, although an edict of the Government allows the pupils to take their examinations in Hungarian in the following subjects: philosophy, botany, physics and chemistry. — On the other hand, the commissioner in the Hungarian secondary school of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), Professor *Popovici* of the University of Jassi, did not allow the pupils to answer in Hungarian in the above subjects. — As regards the results of these examinations, at the Protestant College of Nagyenyed 10 pupils out of 14 failed in their papers, which means that they were not admitted to the oral examinations. At *Gyulafehérvár*, out of 14 pupils of the Roman Catholic secondary school 7 were not allowed to pass by the board of examiners.

HUNGARIAN JOURNALIST PUNISHED FOR PUBLISHING ARTICLE FROM ENGLISH NEWSPAPER

M. Zsigmond *Gyulai*, editor of the Hungarian newspaper "Reggeli Ujság", has been sentenced by the court of Marosvásárhely (Targu-Mures) to pay 3.000 lei and 2.000 lei costs for an article written by him in 1934, which — it was stated — offended the dignity of the Rumanian nation. In this article M. Gyulai gave an account of an article published in the Manchester Guardian under the title "*The experiences of a journalist*", which was a report about Rumania. The Hungarian journalist pointed out that the English reporter criticized the conditions in Rumania which — as a Rumanian statesman who is now Premier declared — would lead to the ruin of Rumania.

GYPSY PUNISHED FOR PLAYING HUNGARIAN TUNES

The military court of *Kolozsvár (Cluj)* has sentenced a gypsy band leader, István Thuri of *Marosvásárhely* to the payment of a fine of 2000 lei for playing Hungarian tunes in one of the local restaurants. The gypsy pleaded not guilty and pointed out that not one of the tunes he played conveyed any hostile feeling against the State and that, in any case, he had played Rumanian tunes as well. His plea was dismissed.

VILLAGE CLERKS OF BANATE TRANSFERRED TO REGAT

Several Hungarian village clerks from the counties of Temes and Arad in the Banate have been transferred into the Regat (the Old Kingdom) at a moment's notice.

INSULT TO RUMANIAN FLAG

was the alleged crime for which a young farmer József Zagoni Szabó has been sentenced by the military court to one year's imprisonment, the payment of 10.000 lei fine and the suspension of his political rights for 6 years. The actual case was that he had been attacked by a vagrant dog and, not finding anything else near at hand to defend himself with, he hauled out a hoisted flag and used the flagpole for chasing the dog away.

PUNISHED FOR DECLARING THAT RUMANIA'S
FRONTIERS WILL CHANGE

Though the defendant pleaded not guilty, a military court has sentenced the farmer János Katona of Bályog to the payment of 3.000 lei fine under this charge. Balázs Székely, a gardener of Torda, was sentenced to the payment of 2000 lei fine for *insulting* the honour of the Rumanian nation. The singing of *irredentist songs* was the charge brought against the farmer Jenő Káresz; he was sentenced to 3 months' and 1 day's imprisonment.

NO RAILWAY REDUCTION FOR THE CATHOLIC
CONGRESS IN TRANSYLVANIA

The managing committee of the Catholic Congress in Transylvania has informed intending visitors that the CFR (the Rumanian State Railways) have refused to grant a 50% reduction to them. The committee applied for this reduction a long time ago, but the CFR informed them of the rejection only in the last few days before the congress.

MAGYAR CLERGYMEN BEFORE THE RUMANIAN
MILITARY COURTS.

On 12th July the case of the Rev. Emil Orth, Reformed Church pastor of Biharpüspöki, was tried before the military court in Kolozsvár. He had been reported by the notary of the village as having used subversive expressions in one of his sermons. At the trial all the witnesses, amongst others the head of the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary in Nagyvárad and the commander of the Biharpüspöki garrison, gave evidence in favour of the accused. On their evidence M. Orth was acquitted by the military court.

The Rev. Alexander Gönczy, Reformed Church Dean of Nagykároly was also arraigned before the military court. The charge against him was that on one of the national holidays he had not put out the national flag on his manse. Because of extenuating circumstances he was let off with a fine of 1000 lei.

PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN ACCUSED OF DISLOYALTY

The Court of Appeal in *Nagyvárad* (Oradea Mare) has sustained the sentence by which a Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Sándor *Peleskei* of *Örvély* was sentenced to 15 days imprisonment, while Rev. Árpád Magoss of Szatmár (Satu-Mare) was acquitted of the charge. The charge against them was that they left the church before the congregation had ended the singing of the Rumanian national anthem.

Another Protestant clergyman, József *Bereczki*, was also acquitted of the charge brought against him: at Easter he had received a letter from his brother in Hungary, certain passages of which were interpreted as giving an answer to questions contained in a previous letter written by the clergyman to his brother

MORE PRIESTS HARRASSED. — TRIED BECAUSE THEY DID NOT HOIST THE RUMANIAN FLAG

The Rev. Lajos *Czumbel*, parish priest of *Nagybánya*, and his curate, Rev. István *Timkó*, had to appear before the Military Court of *Kolozsvár* (*Cluj*), because — the denunciation alleged — they refused to hoist the Rumanian flag on the Roman Catholic church on May 10th last, a Rumanian national holiday. The Military Court, however, acquitted both the defendants.

HUNGARIAN CHORAL UNIONS HINDERED IN THEIR ACTIVITY

In his report to the district branch meeting of the Society of Hungarian Choral Unions, the General Secretary of the district branch of Szatmár pointed out that the activity of the Hungarian choral unions of this district is hindered in so many ways that two of them have already had to suspend their activity.

SLOVAKIA

MORE ARRESTS IN SLOVAKIA

Following his arrest by the Slovak authorities, M. Hugo Kahlbrenner, a solicitor in Szepesolaszi and one of the leaders of the Hungarians in the Zips district, was taken to the prison at Illava. The reason for his arrest is unknown; it is probable that someone has reported him to the police for some alleged offence. In this connection it will be interesting to mention that the Slovak authorities have not yet released the Rev. János *Válint*, Protestant

minister of Feketelehota, who — by orders of the Slovak authorities — was dragged out of his bed by the gendarmes early in the morning on July 3rd and taken to the prison in *Dobsina*. The clergyman was very popular in the district, and everyone knew him as a most devoted pastor of his Hungarian parishioners; nevertheless, he was always very careful not to do anything that might be likely to offend the laws of the State. Just about a year ago, before the re-annexation of a part of Hungary's northern provinces, the Rev. *Válint* was also taken to prison and was not released from the jail of *Lőcse* before December 9th. His parishioners are most optimistic as regards his future and hope that he will be released within a short time.

HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE EXCLUDED FROM CURRICULUM OF SLOVAK SCHOOLS

On July 20th the Slovak Government approved the new reforms to be introduced in the curriculum of Slovak secondary schools. Among the compulsory languages are Latin and German, while Hungarian does not figure in the curriculum at all. This is all the more strange as the Hungarian Government has included the Slovak language among the subjects taught in the schools of the recently re-annexed territories in Upper Hungary. It is not easy to see why the Slovak Government has not thought it necessary to provide for the teaching of Hungarian in its schools, there being still over a hundred-thousand Hungarians living in Slovakia.

HUNGARIAN TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGE AT POZSONY TO BE CLOSED

It is reported from *Pozsony (Bratislava, July 3rd)* that the two first classes of the local Hungarian teachers' training college are to be closed in the next school year. Under the pretext of lack of interest (not enough pupils) and of economy the Slovak authorities intend to gradually close the college altogether. Before the Vienna Conference the school had 191 pupils, after which this number fell to 81. The remaining two classes will have 65 pupils altogether.

DOMICILIARY VISIT IN PREMISES OF HUNGARIAN PARTY AT POZSONY

On July 1st a number of detectives appeared at the headquarters of the Hungarian Party in *Pozsony (Bratislava)* with the intention of undertaking a domiciliary visit. The President of the Party, Count *János Esterházy*, asked them to show their warrant whereupon the detectives left and soon re-appeared with a written

warrant. The domiciliary visits were continued on July 3rd, but without any result. Nothing was found that would have served as evidence against the Party.

STRANGE EXPLANATION

The Hungarian Society for the Protection of Children in Slovakia had arranged for 300 Hungarian children to spend the summer at the *Lake of Balaton*, but the Slovak authorities did not approve of this plan. The explanation was that the Hungarian newspapers appearing in Pozsony had attempted to influence the Slovak Government in this respect, and that some of the children were of German or Slovak origin respectively.

YUGOSLAVIA

HUNGARIAN SONGS BANNED IN YUGOSLAVIA

According to *Yugoslav* opinion, it is an act dangerous to the State to sing Hungarian songs. We see this from what took place sometime in the spring in a *Szabadka* restaurant, the details of which have only now become public. It seems that *M. Gerard Fodor, Magyar Member of the Skupshtina*, was dining there with some friends, and the gypsy band began to play Hungarian songs. Thereupon a non-commissioned artillery officer drew his sword, and brandishing it, began to shout to the gypsies: — "If anybody wants to listen to Hungarian songs, let him go to Budapest." In order to avoid an unpleasant scene, *M. Fodor* and his party immediately left the restaurant. They were followed by the rest of the Magyars present. Unfortunately, this sort of thing is not at all uncommon even today. The only comfort for those who are forced to suffer the abuses and violence of the authorities is that, though Hungarian songs may be silenced in public places, they cannot be rooted out of the heart and soul of all true Magyars.

"MAGYAR" DEPARTMENT OF BELGRADE TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGE

The Minister of Education has issued an Ordinance (N. 6.441/1. V. 1939) instructing the Belgrade State Teachers' Training College to open the first class of its so-called parallel Magyar department for the year 1939—1940 and to admit *a total number of 30 pupils*. This department, which figures in official reports as a "Magyar" teachers' training college, is still a rump institution, for in the next school year only three classes, the first, second and third, will open and in these classes the majority of the

subjects will be taught in the official language of the State and the rest in Hungarian by Serb teachers.

ALARM BECAUSE GERMANS ARE BUYING LAND

The "*Dan*" of *Ujvidék (Novisad)*, a Serb newspaper, publishes an article that appeared in a Slovene paper, the "*Delavska Politika*" of Marburg (Maribori), which rings the alarm because the Germans and Magyars of the so-called Voivodina are said to have been purchasing land to the value of 2,000.000.000 and 1,000.000.000 dinars respectively. The article complains furthermore that *within the last seven years land to the value of 57,000.000.000 dinars has been bought in the Marburg (Maribori) district by foreigners*, the result of which is that at present only 40% of the land in that district is in Yugoslav hands, while 40% belongs to Germans and 20% to the State. At *Gornja Radgona*, along the frontier, in pre-war times 25% of the real estate belonged to Germans, today they own 44%.

We have no means of controlling the figures published, but we consider it strange that the paper makes no mention of the Government Decree restricting the sale of landed property *which makes it almost impossible for minority subjects to acquire land or other real estate, especially in the areas* under the jurisdiction of the *Ujvidék* and Zagreb Courts of Appeal.

DOWNFALL OF LEADER OF GERMAN MINORITY IN YUGOSLAVIA

Dr. Setphen *Kraft*, who had been the prime factor in the organization on a political, economic and cultural basis of the Germans in Yugoslavia, to whom was also due the breach between the Germans and Magyars of the Voivodina, and who from the outset had been the most strenuous opposer of co-operation between these two national minorities, was obliged not long ago to appear before a court of honour composed of leading men in Germany. This court *not only ordered Dr. Kraft to retire from politics, which he did last December on the eve of the Parliamentary elections, but also forbade him to take any active part in public life*. In terms of this sentence Dr. Kraft has now resigned all the positions he previously held in the German economic and cultural organizations, and therewith the role which for two decades he played as recognized leader of more than half a million Germans has come to an end.

BOOKS

Czech Propaganda Falsehoods.

The "*Református Élet*" (*Reformed Church Life*), an important Protestant society, has published an interesting pamphlet entitled "*Czechs and Hungarians before the Tribunal of Protestantism.*" The intention of this pamphlet, which has appeared in English, French, German and Dutch, is to open the eyes of international Protestant public opinion to the falsehood of the Czech assertion that with the collapse of the Czecho-Slovak State the last outpost of Protestant democracy in Central Europe has fallen. With the skill of an historian the author marshals a wealth of authentic data to prove how utterly unfounded that thesis is. We are told in the pamphlet that in the last few decades before the Battle of the White Mount, which in 1620 dealt an annihilating blow to Czech independence, Protestantism flourished in Bohemia. In 1609 the Hungarian Protestant Estates, which with the Palatine, George *Thurzó*, as their leader, were fighting against the Turks and also defending Hungary's independence and religious liberty against the Habsburgs, made an alliance with the Austrian and Czech Protestant Estates for the benefit of the latter two and in 1610 forced the monarch to issue decrees guaranteeing religious liberty and religious peace. In those days Hungarian Protestantism was the ally and supporter of Czech Protestantism; in point of fact Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, sent troops to aid the Czechs at the Battle of the White Mount. When, after the defeat of the Czechs, Bohemia lost her independence, the Czech Protestants began to be ruthlessly persecuted by the Habsburgs. In Bohemia the Counter-Reformation was wholly triumphant; the Czech nobility became the most devoted and loyal servants of the Austrian dynasty. Bohemia was swallowed whole by the Habsburg Empire and the leaders of Czech Protestantism were forced to take refuge abroad, chiefly in Hungary. Masaryk's assertion that the Czech Hussites were the fore-runners of Protestantism and that the Hussite movement made the Czechs doughty champions of the Gospel and steeled their souls to resistance against the Germans and the

Habsburgs, is entirely at variance with the teachings of history. Huss was not a religious but a national and social reformer; Protestantism was not the offspring of the Hussite movement; the Czechs did not resist the Habsburgs and the Germans, on the contrary they surrendered on every point to their new masters. When the Hungarian war of independence ended in disaster, the Habsburgs inundated Hungary with a flood of Czech officials, and later on the joint departments of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were overrun by Czechs. It was Masaryk who stimulated the Czechs to new efforts and awoke in them a spirit of national consciousness, but the foundation of their political power was Free Masonry and not Protestantism. It is therefore sheer nonsense to say that the artificial Czecho-Slovak Republic was the last stronghold of Protestantism in Central Europe.

The national minorities persecuted by the Czechs bear witness that the late Republic was not even a bulwark of democracy. Hungarian Protestants feel pity — says the pamphlet — for the Czechs in as far as the loss of their independence is concerned, but protest against the false propaganda that would make out that the Czecho-Slovak Republic was the last bulwark of Protestantism and democracy in Central Europe.

by George Lukács.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

THE PRODUCTION OF HUNGARY'S MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN 1938 SURPASSED THE MAXIMUM OF 1929.

The National Association of Hungarian Manufacturers published, at the beginning of July, its report on the production of Hungary's manufacturing industry in 1938. The gross value of this production in 1938 amounted to 3051 million pengő, which was just 100 millions — i. e. 3% — more than the value of the production of Hungary's manufacturing industry in the previous year. The net value of the production amounted to 1310 millions, which was not only larger than the net value realized in the previous year, but it was 33 million pengő more than the net value of the maximum production of 1929.

The records of Hungary's manufacturing industry show that in the years of the world crisis a number of factories had to be closed down, so that even two years after the crisis, in 1935, the number of factories working was less than in 1929. In 1936, however, manufacturing industry began to increase at a quick rate, so that *the number of factories rose by 500 within a few years.*

It is important to take into consideration the increase of personal expenditure in 1938. While the number of employees and the value of production shows only an increase by 2—3 per cent., the total of personal expenditure, 492 million pengő, was 44 millions — i. e. 10% — higher than in 1937. Another interesting feature of the report is that while the value of articles produced in 1938 was just 7% higher than ten years ago, the amount of horse power represented by the machines and electric engines (motors) was 28.6% higher. This increase of horse power shows that the capacity of factories is increasing more quickly than production itself. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the number of factories working today is 500 more than 10 years ago. — The number of people employed by the mines and foundries (including workmen and clerks) in 1937 was 43.437, while the number of the clerks alone was 32.134 during the same period.

The investments of 1938 contributed, in the first place, towards the increase of the production of the iron and machine industry. Here the gross value of production in 1938 was 742 million pengő, i. e. 81 millions more than in the previous year. The most remarkable increase is that in evidence in metal goods

(23.3 millions), machinery, boilers and armaments (32 millions). Other branches of industrial production also show a remarkable increase. Thus, there was an increase in the value of the production — both gross and net — of the food industry, milling, milk products, tobacco and liquor, sweets and chocolate. There was no change in the production of salami and tinned meat, while the production of sugar, alcohol, beer and malt decreased. The value of production in the chemical industry in 1938 was 302 million pengő, 24 millions more than in the previous year. Several branches of the chemical industry were kept fairly busy in consequence of the amount of orders from public bodies. Among the branches of the building industry, the production of those more directly concerned (cement industry, quarries, brick works and the clay industry) slightly increased since 1937.

38 MILLION EXCESS OF EXPORTS IN FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR

According to the report issued by the *Hungarian Statistical Office*, the value of *Hungary's* imports in June was 42.000.000 pengő, as compared with 34.400.000 pengő in June 1938. The value of her exports was 43.500.000 (36.500.000) pengő. That month's foreign trade balance therefore showed an excess of exports of 1.500.000 (2.100.000) pengő.

The value of *Hungary's* imports in the first half of the year was 243.800.000 (200.300.000) pengő; that of her exports was 281.800.800 (251.700.000) pengő. Last year's balance for the first six months showed an excess of exports of 51.300.000 pengő; this year the excess of exports was 38.000.000 pengő.

In the first half of the current year, as compared with the same period last year, there was a great increase in our imports of motor-cars, copper, raw and scrap iron, dressed furs, coke and raw cotton, but a considerable decline in timber and tobacco.

Those of our exports which show the greatest increase are wheat (2494.898 quintals to Italy and 570.849 q.s to Germany), pigs (202.179 to Germany), lard and bacon (90.254 q.s to Germany), and flour (224.368 q.s to Germany and 24.322 q.s to Italy).

SLOVAKIA

SLOVAKIA'S BUDGETARY DEFICIT

In an address to the financial committee of the Slovak Parliament, on July 8th, M. *Prujinsky*, Minister of Finance, gave an account of Slovakia's public finances. Even after its completion

and improvement the deficit of the Budget in the first five months of the current year amounts to 305.78 million Slovak crowns. The unsecured expenses of the State undertakings during the same period ran as high as 204.11 million crowns. Extraordinary investments — without any funds to cover — totalled 480.74 million crowns. The revenues of the State — from direct taxation — amounted to 108.18 millions, 17.13 millions less than the figures foreseen in the Budget estimates. On the other hand, indirect taxes (torn-over and luxury) secured the State an income of 99.93 millions, 20.76 above the figures of the estimates. State revenue of duties and taxes amounted to 56 millions, i. e. 20.82 millions below the estimates, while tobacco fetched 60 million crowns more than the sum estimated. The *baths* of Slovakia are in the most critical situation. The number of visitors had been fatally low so far, but it is to be hoped that the summer will bring better results. Including investments, the losses of the State in connection with its baths amounted, in the first five months, to 480.74 millions.

MAGYAR CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

The "Hanza" co-operative society of Galanta (Upper Hungary) has issued a report of the work accomplished during the past twenty years. The figures of this balance-sheet show better than any mere words could the magnitude of the struggle waged for the welfare of the Magyar minority and are also proof that the economic ability of the Magyars, their perseverance and unflinching efforts, are able practically to work miracles.

The Hanza has branches from Pozsony to Ipolyság. Twenty years ago it had 114 co-operative branch societies which until 1938 it was able to increase to 219, despite the fact that the Czechs did everything possible to strangle Hungarian economic organization. All the difficulties raised by the central supervisory departments under the control of which they were forced to work, could not prevent the Hanza co-operative societies from becoming an increasingly important economic factor. *These 219 branches of that society always transacted over 36%, in good years sometimes 50%, of the whole of Slovakia's co-operative trade, and that although the Slovaks had more than four times the same number of co-operative units.*

However difficult the situation was, *the Hanza never availed itself of a single crown of State aid*, not even of the privileges ensured in the Czecho-Slovak laws. In this way it managed to preserve its jealously guarded independence. The society, however, was always ready to make sacrifices for the good of the Hungarian minority. During the past 14 years, 74 village institutes to propagate culture were built of the money lent without interest by the Hanza. For the heating of schools in winter the Hanza

spent about 250.000 Czech crowns yearly.

The secret of the astonishing way the Hanza prospered lay in the social methods of its management. Its staff policy was social in character, for the minimum wages of the youngest shop-assistant were equivalent to 110 pengő a month, and the highest salary paid to the man at the head of the Hanza business may not be more than seven times the minimum wage.

It dealt in a social manner with its workmen, for each family was provided with a two-roomed flat and a bathroom. Its policy was social also because every co-operative society belonging to the Hanza that bought goods at the central warehouse in Galanta paid the same rate for the transport of the purchased wares by lorry ($\frac{1}{2}\%$ of their price) whether the distance was 5 or 200 kilometres. Its price policy was social, for no attempt was made to amass large reserve funds. The business profits were shared out among all its members by reducing the prices of commodities to a minimum. During the Czech era the Hanza even cut the prices of monopoly articles and successfully defied all the cartels.

SLOVAKIA STRIVES TO FIND A MARKET IN HUNGARY FOR HER TIMBER

This year's annual general meeting of the "Dredoma" Co-operative Society was held at Tátralomnic with M. Biringer, engineer, general manager of the State forests, in the chair. The report submitted by the secretary of the company had one subject only: *exports to Hungary*. From this report it may be gathered that *Slovak official circles are endeavouring to direct the exportation of Slovak timber towards the Hungarian markets*. That this is the trend of Slovakia's foreign trade policy is confirmed by the fact that *the Slovak National Bank has forbidden the other banks to advance sums to exporters dealing with Germany, which had been permitted for the past few weeks*. This measure is due to the growth of Germany's debts to Slovakia. German importing firms are now trying to surmount the difficulties created by the Slovak National Bank by making their agents pay cash immediately to the sawmills for the goods ordered. The result of these cash payments is that the Slovak sawmills at present are working almost exclusively for Germany; Slovak economists, on the other hand, are extremely anxious because of the rapid increase of the banknotes in circulation and consider that this method of immediate payment will not last long. The export of Slovak timber to countries with stable currencies is on the decline. For, while in the past foreign buyers very often paid for the whole production, at present they have stopped advancing money because of the unsettled conditions. For lack of capital the Slovak producer has been forced

to cancel a considerable part of his exports to countries with stable currencies. An important technical difficulty in the way of exportation to those countries is the lack of trucks. The markets of certain non-clearing countries, such as, for instance, Holland, demand timber the length of which requires trucks from 10 to 12 metres long. Having lost a certain amount of her rolling stock, Slovakia does not possess a sufficient number of such trucks. All these circumstances contribute towards making Slovakia *anxious to use every means to direct her timber exports towards the Hungarian markets.*

In the report submitted to the general meeting of the "Dredoma" it was stated that even after the territorial changes the export of Slovak timber to Hungary had begun favourably. The report also pointed out that the development of barter trade with Hungary depended solely on how the political relations between the two countries took shape.

MAGYAR INSURANCE OFFICIALS IN SLOVAKIA LOSE THEIR JOBS

In the July 13th issue of the Pozsony "Uj Hírek", the official organ of the Hungarian Party of Slovakia, we read that many Magyar private employees, amongst others insurance officials, are being dismissed. Recently, for instance, the Magyar officials of the Domov-Slovakia insurance company, an affiliation of the "Star", were dismissed. These dismissed officials state that at the beginning of January a paper was circulated in the office in one column of which they had to enter their nationality. Shortly afterwards the Magyar officials began to be dismissed.

The company, citing Government Decree No. 91 of 24th December, 1938, gave notice to its Magyar officials on the pretext that as it had lost the greater part of its Magyar clients through the restoration of the Csallóköz to Hungary, it could no longer employ Magyar officials. These officials belong to three categories. Those belonging to category "A" if dismissed are to receive 100% of their fixed salaries, "B" and "C" categories 50% and 30% respectively as compensation. Here it should be said that the fixed salaries represent about 70% of their total increments, the rest being bonuses etc. Naturally the Government Commissioner had to give his assent to the dismissals.

YUGOSLAVIA

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN YUGOSLAVIA'S MINING INDUSTRIES

According to official statistics, at the end of 1937 the capital invested in mining and foundry industries was 882.000.000

dinars. 77.73% of that capital was foreign. The distribution was as follows: Great Britain 40.83%, France 28.07%, Belgium 4.69%, Italy 1.79%, Switzerland 1.04% and Germany 0.87%. Since then, however, the situation has undergone a considerable change. In 1938 many new mining companies were floated, the greater number of which are German concerns, so that now the interests of German capital in Yugoslav mining industries rank third after British and French interests.

ABOUT 80.000 REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED IN YUGOSLAVIA

The official reports of the labour exchanges state that at the end of May there were 77.961 registered unemployed in Yugoslavia, but only 14.110 were in receipt of assistance.

A FEW YUGOSLAV TOURIST STATISTICS

The following data are taken from the report for 1938 submitted to the annual general meeting of the "Putnik" travelling bureau held in Belgrade on 18th June. In comparison with former years, tourist travel in 1938 was a much better organized branch of national economy. *The number of tourists — domestic and foreign — has been growing steadily larger for the past five years (1933—1938).* The number of foreign tourists from the countries with a clearing arrangement with Yugoslavia was much larger than from the other countries. As regards the income from tourist traffic, 1938 was a record year. According to the report of the tourist department of the Ministry of Commerce, tourist traffic in 1938 yielded an income of 1.008.900.000 dinars to Yugoslavia.

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