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A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE
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EARLY TRAVELLERS FROM UPPER HUNGARY IN ENGLAND

BY

STEPHEN GAL

The partition of Czecho-Slovakia and the restoration to Hungary of the purely Magyar territories justifies our asking the question as to the type of Magyar developed in the Highland regions during the course of ten centuries, and as to the rôle played by the Magyars of those regions in the life of the Hungarian nation — inquiring also whether those Magyars had any connections with the rest of Europe in general and with Great Britain in particular?

The Hungarian Highlands — the region known to history as Upper Hungary — are inhabited by that part of the body of the Hungarian nation which geographically too is the northernmost and westernmost (this region being known more correctly by the name found also in the school textbooks of geography — viz. North-Western Highlands). As a consequence of its geographical position this part of the Hungarian nation has at all times acted as a factor of mediation, bridging over and welding together the various parts of the country. More than once the other regions of Hungary have shown the influence of outside cultures and have been affected by the predominance of some foreign cultural system; while the Hungarian Highlands always contributed to reconcile and balance the various tendencies in force. As a Hungarian essayist says, "When we speak of civilised Hungarians, we must think primarily of the Highlands. Europe and Hungary became reconciled in the Hungarian Highlands".

It cannot be regarded as a mere accident that the pioneer works and the finest masterpieces of our memoir and travel literature should have been written by men from the Hungarian Highlands. To the more highly developed civic consciousness of the men of those Highlands we owe many

an important work figuring as a significant monument of the European consciousness and Christian conscientiousness of the Magyars. In these works the Highlands everywhere reflect absolute Europeanism. The intellectual horizon of the intelligentsia of the Highlands always coincided with that of the European consciousness of the day. Many of the writers found their way at various periods to England too, bringing back with them a demand for a higher standard of life — a more human life.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the young men from the Hungarian Highlands who desired to obtain a superior education visited chiefly the near-by universities of Vienna, Olmütz and Cracow. However, the Szepes (Zips) District and Kassa, while under German, Moravian and Polish cultural influences, preserved and indeed developed other cultural connections too. In the Reformation Age the Hungarians studying at French and Dutch universities often crossed the Channel to England. The fame of Queen Elizabeth had spread far and wide. *Martin Berzeviczy* — who later on was Chancellor of Transylvania and Poland — in 1563 went from Paris to London. He took part in the theatrical performances of the Cambridge students which were at times attended also by the Queen herself. In 1595 *Matthew Csanaki* went to England and visited the famous towns of that country.

King *James I.* of England corresponded with the Protestant Palatine *George Thurzó*, the powerful overlord of the Hungarian Highlands. In 1612 the King's great theoretical work — the *Basilikon Doron* — was published in Hungarian too, the translation being the work of *George Kórocz de Szeps*. The preface to the translation was written by *Albert Molnár de Szencz*, also a son of the Hungarian Highlands, who is reported by the "Magyar Athénás" of Peter Bod to have been to an English university. The "*Basilikon Doron*" greatly influenced *Gábor Bethlen* and thus indirectly affected the political theory upon which the absolutism of the Princes of Transylvania was based.

The most interesting — and at the same time most exhaustive — memorial dating from this period is the "*Europica Varietas*" (a travel book) written by *Martin*

Csombor de Szeps which is the first work of its kind in Hungarian literature. This work is one of the most valuable monuments of the Europeanism, not only of the Hungarian Highlanders, but of the Hungarian people as a whole. The writer was in England in 1618, at a period when the travel literature even of that country was not very highly developed. I believe I am right in presuming that it was in England that Csombor became inspired to write this exceptionally valuable and important work; indeed, I would even go so far as to say that he actually followed an English model — the “*Itinerary*” of *Fynes Moryson* published in 1617, which, being one of the greatest book successes of the period, he must have been familiar with. In his book, which appeared in 1620, Csombor speaks in terms of the highest admiration and appreciation of England and its people. “It possesses many rivers, a large population, many towns and harbours and numbers of tiny islands off its coast... In England the people firmly clings to its nationality. The country possesses sufficient wheat, rye and barley; only the ploughed fields are all enclosed with hedges, a circumstance showing that the produce is dear, the population being excessively large: and there is abundance of other fruits too. There are many kinds of cattle, and in particular an abundance of sheep... Nowhere is there better or finer lime, white marble or alabaster. The men are handsome and of medium stature; the women in particular are very beautiful, clean, white and tall.” This is how Csombor writes page after page; the only thing which disappoints him is the language. “The language of the inhabitants is a medley mixture composed of the languages of the adjoining provinces — of Ireland, France and Germany, their pronounciation of the same being exceedingly ugly.” Equally amusing is what Csombor has to tell us about the poor Latin knowledge of the English. He complains that in the streets of London he did not find a single person knowing Latin to show him the way. “The first thing that excited my astonishment was this people’s lack of Latin; for passing through three whole streets among merchants, furriers and tradesmen etc. I failed to find a single person able to speak Latin with me”. Csombor stayed at the “Fox” Inn near the Great Bridge, using that as his

headquarters for his excursions into the streets of the town. "The streets are very fine and broad... fine roads, big houses, adorned with innumerable running channels..." Before visiting London he had lived in a considerable part of the Europe of the time; Danzig itself, where he had previously studied for two years, was a powerful patrician town with masterpieces of church and house architecture. We can therefore accept as trustworthy what he has to tell us about London: "I had seen the large towns of the countries through which I had passed, but so far nothing comparable to this. The population of London is so large, you would imagine there to be a bigger crowd every day; and I heard that — apart from new-comers — there are always 300,000 persons in it. What a lot of bread these people must need!! I may safely say that no week passes without 150 oxen, and 1000 sheep being slaughtered; and what about the birds of the air? and the enormous quantity of sea fish?" Csombor surveys with pious devotion the masterpieces of English Gothic architecture. "Huge and impressive is the Church of Westminster in which the sovereigns are buried and in which rests the body of our Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory". In St. Paul's Cathedral the writer saw "the marble and alabaster coffins of many scholars, warriors and civilians". In the Tower he was horrified by the sight of 270 old cannon. In vain did he wait before the royal palace; King James would appear to have been ill. He made a thorough study also of his own trade: "there are many booksellers' shops, as many in the town of Szeben in the Szepes District". Apparently the charms of the life of the West did the writer of the first exhaustive description of England no good; for in the days when he was a schoolmaster in Kassa Alvinczi, Gábor Bethlen's austere chaplain, reported that the master spent his time "exclusively in walking and parading". Yet he was in the meantime engaged in serious work; in 1623 appeared his little book entitled "Udvari Schola" — a sort of "hand-book of the nobility".

Thirty years later, a Hungarian Highlander — under what circumstances, we do not know — was present at the execution of King Charles I. In the material left by *Stephen Döry*, Clerk of the County of Gömör, there is a spirited

Hungarian letter dealing with that great event. The spectacle arranged with such brilliant ceremony which was alleged by the dour Puritan moralists to be the wish of the people, Döry must have been somewhere in the throng. "According to a custom in force here the King's head was cut off with an axe employed for the purpose. The King went to his death unperturbed, himself untying the cords of his shirt and his tunic and entrusting the burying of his body to the Bishop and Prince Richard, who had it embalmed."

During the days of Cromwell's Protectorate many Hungarians visited England. The presence of Comenius made Sárospatak the hope of the English Chiliasts. The English connections of the school at Sárospatak are however so extensive that I shall have to deal with them separately on some future occasion. It is in any case to be regretted that the Hungarians who visited England did not keep diaries. What has come down to us under this head is too brief: to give an example of the kind of records in our possession, I may quote the following passage: "I, *Samuel Kölcseri*, started from our house at Várad for Belgium and England, in my twentieth year. After spending three and a half years in exile I returned to Eperjes on August 2nd, 1657."

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the movement for the achievement of Hungarian independence which originated from the Highlands was in high repute in England. And in 1682 the anti-royalist Englishmen were actually styled *Tekelites*, after *Imre Thököly*, the leader of the Hungarian insurgents. *Francis Rákóczy II.* displayed a very vigorous diplomatic activity for the purpose of securing the favourable opinion of the English Court. His efforts were not particularly succesful; for all Queen Anne's ambassadors did was to intervene with the object of effecting a reconciliation. The Peace of Szatmár concluded in 1711 may be regarded as having been brought about by English diplomacy. Early in the fight for independence carried on by the Hungarian "kurucz" (Crusader) army Marshal *Nicholas Bercsényi* was decidedly in favour of fostering friendship with England, which he regarded as of greater value than that of France. His thorough knowledge of the situation is evidenced also by the words spoken by him on

one occasion in illustration of the legal relations between the Austrian Dynasty and the Hungarian Nation: "Austria treats us as England treats Ireland, whereas our position is really analogous to that of Scotland". (These words were spoken before 1707!!) Queen Anne was so convinced of the importance of remaining on good terms with the House of Habsburg that she refused even to allow Francis Rákóczi II. to pay his respects in her Court. Rákóczi was off the port of Hull waiting for the royal permission; and tiring of the long and fruitless waiting he at last rowed to the shore accompanied by *Adam Charles Szatmári* and *Clement Mikes*, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the inhabitants.

James Bogdány — the most important Hungarian painter of the day after Adam Mányoki and John Kupeczky — was court painter to Queen Anne and her successor. This painter of still life (fruit and flower) who had been trained in the Flemish school also painted pictoures illustrating the avifauna of England.

We have numerous personal data referring to the visits of Hungarians to England in the eighteenth century. In 1770 a London banker took home with him from Hungary a certain *Charles Jetting*, of Pozsony, later on known as the "Hungarian Robinson" because of his adventures. His friend intervned with the English Government to obtain for the adventurous young Hungarian a post in Senegal. Three years later Jetting returned to London, where he was presented to the King, who, after listening to the story of his experiences, appointed him to the office of Consul. This office took him to San Domingo. After his return from the latter place, having had enough of his sufferings and of the ups and downs of his life, he came back to Pozsony accompanied by his English bride. His Memoirs were widely read in the age of enlightenment and romance.

An even more fantastic career was that of *Count Maurice Benyovszky*, who is mentioned as a personal friend also in the Journal written by Mr. Wraxall, the English Ambassador in Vienna. He was the son of General Samuel Benyovszky and Baroness Rose Révay, and was born at Verbó, in County Nyitra, in 1746. After having spent his



youth fighting in the Polish Legion he went to Plymouth; though his close connection with the Anglo-Saxon world did not begin until he returned from imprisonment in Siberia and Alaska. Louis XIV. raised him to the rank of baron, while Maria Theresa conferred on him the rank of count. Joseph II. entrusted him with the work of regulating the river Vág and with the task of introducing sericulture. These activities failed to satisfy his ambition. Early in 1784 he was in London negotiating with English merchants concerning the possibilities of expanding the British market in Africa; but he failed to obtain permission to fly the British flag on his ship. He then tried his luck on the other side of the Ocean. One of the leading merchants of Baltimore placed at his disposal a ship of 150 tons. He started with a full cargo of industrial products for the Island of Madagascar, where the natives actually elected him king in recognition of his activity as a "market explorer". His Memoirs appeared in English in 1790 in London and at the time enjoyed great popularity.

During the years under discussion several Hungarian thinkers and politicians spent a considerable time in England; many of these thinkers and politicians were from the Hungarian Highlands. In 1772, for instance, *Francis Abaffy*, Deputy Sheriff of County Árva, made a *grand tour* in the company of his family. They visited Paris, London and St. Petersburg. This traveller was one of the outstanding personalities of the Hungarian Age of Enlightenment, the personal friend of Kazinczy, the literary dictator of the day, and one of the leaders of the Martinovich conspiracy. *Charles Reviczky*, London ambassador, lived in the English Capital from 1786 onwards. He enjoyed the reputation of being an eminent orientalist; he was very highly esteemed by English scientists and was elected Member of the Royal Society. *Baron Nicholas Vay*, landed proprietor resident at Zsolc, who was a favourite of Joseph II., was in England between 1785 and 1787. He was the first Hungarian to import Bolton and Watts steam machines; and he brought back with him to Hungary also a wool-spinning machine. With the latter he established the first Hungarian wool-weaving factory. It was he who first proposed to build a chain bridge modelled on what he had seen in England to connect Pest and Buda; but

it was only a generation later that Count Stephen Széchenyi succeeded in realising the scheme.

In 1787 *Gregory Berzeviczy*, the founder of Hungarian economic literature, was in England. His letters, written hom to his mother, are exceptionally valuable of the growing interest in the development of England displayed by Hungarians. "This is a strange and peculiar country" — he wrote — "differing entirely from every other country I have so far seen. It is really true that England fully deserves her reputation and the esteem in which she is held. In that country everything is sound and perfect in its way. The men are serious and decided and are just what they themselves determine to be. The women are exceptionally valuable, gentle and reserved; they do not paint themselves, nor is there any powder on their hair. Reserve and reliability are the chief cherecteristics of the nation as a whole. A man is esteemed here for his qualities as a man, not, as in Paris, according to the volume of his riches or to the position he occupies." London made a very favourable impression on him: "The town is enormously big, bigger than Paris; everywhere one sees manifest signs of well-being and industry; the streets are broad, clean and handsome, and the pravements ensure comfort." Since the days of Henry VIII. every sovereign of England had had Hungarian visitors. Berzeviczy was received by George III., who conversed with him for nearly half an hour, as Berzeviczy tells us in his *Memoirs*. "The king's exterior does not give one the impression of his being highly intellectual. (Macaulay said the same about George III.). The Queen is a noble, amiable lady." Berzeviczy visited the provinces too; he was also in Oxford, the city of the Marlboroughs and the Buckingham, and on their estates. "The country is one big garden, though it is not all stiff like in Holland, but finely tended nature. The people reflect liberty everywhere; and the towns and villages reflect well-being. The well-being is considerable and general. The peasants wear good clothes, fine wollen stockings and strong boots, and change their shirts daily. England is without doubt the most entrancingly interesting country in the world. The present period of my life is of exceptional importance; my sojourn in England has supplied political knowledge and

ideas which previously were hidden from me. How happy I am!" he cries when he comes to the end of his visit to England.

The mighty schemes embracing the whole of Eastern Europe formulated by Gregory Berzeviczy are of enormous importance and are particularly up-to-date even today. The network of canals to connect the Baltic Sea with the Adriatic and the Black Sea — the central station of which he proposed to establish in the Szepes District, his own home — is a matter of enhanced interest today, even though its author failed to realise it in his own time. It is convincing evidence of Hungarian genius and of the creative imagination of the Hungarian people.

Gregory Berzeviczy succeeded in finding his way from Göttingen to England. That was a privilege denied even the most brilliant writers living at the turn of the centuries, whose distressing material situation deprived them of the opportunity. Kármán and Dayka, two Hungarian writers who may be spoken of as the Charles Lamb and the Coleridge of Hungary, dreamed in vain of what was to them a merely *pium desiderium* as it was to Kazinczy and Bacsinszky, the champions of Hungarian progress who were then under surveillance as having taken part in the Martinovich conspiracy. So, when we remember the nation-moulding and State-building experiences and schemes brought back with them from England only 30 or 40 years later by our politicians and writers, we may calculate the loss involved.

In the so-called Age of Reform — in the 'thirties and 'forties of the nineteenth century, the Highlands of Hungary produced two powerful anglophile politicians whose rôle was epoch-making and quite unique in the history of Anglo-Hungarian connections, and whose life and work made the mission of the Hungarians a constituent element of British historical consciousness. These two personalities were *Francis Pulszky* and *Louis Kossuth*. 1837 was the important year in which these two men of the Hungarian Highlands destined to higher things showed the first signs of a consciousness that, if they desired to play any part in international history, the Hungarians would have to rely upon the Anglo-Saxon peoples. It was at this time that the young Pulszky published

his Travel Notes (*"Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Gross-Britannien reisenden Ungarns"*). And it was at this juncture that in his confinement Kossuth began to learn English and to translate Shakespeare's *"Macbeth"*. Ten years later Kossuth and Pulszky exploited to the full their knowledge. It was to their respect and administration for England and the English nation that they owed that friendship which was of such inestimable value to both alike. (That is however a subject that must be treated in a separate article).

As we see, therefore, a knowledge of England and the English people, combined with respect for and the propagation of the English spirit, has always been an organic constituent element of the culture of the Magyars of the Hungarian Highlands.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

EXTENSION OF CULTURAL ZONE IN RUMANIA

BY

Dr. LADISLAS FRITZ

The May 27, 1939 issue of the Rumanian official gazette ("Monitorul Oficial") published a Law dealing with the organization and functions of elementary education and teachers' training (*Lege pentru organizarea si functionarea invatãnantului primar ș normal*). Paragraph 220 of the new Rumanian education law contains the following provisions:

Teachers who are, or will be, employed *in villages in the attached areas where the majority of the inhabitants are either of non-Rumanian ethnic origin or are denationalized Rumanians*, and who undertake to remain at least four years in the said villages, shall receive, for the duration of their employment in those areas, an extra salary amounting to 50% of their ordinary payment. *Advancement out of turn is also assured them.* In these villages 10 hectares of the land set apart for colonization purposes may be given to them. Should any teacher fail in his duties as required by the specific conditions obtaining in the village where he is stationed, he may be deprived of the above-mentioned privileges."

The paragraph from which the above quotation is taken also stated that *a list of these villages with a non-Rumanian or a denationalized Rumanian majority would be published by the Ministry.*

This list was actually published in Ordinance No. 150.205 of 28th August 1939, which appeared in the "Monitorul Oficial" (No. 201) of 1st September. In it the Minister of National Education determines which villages are to be considered as belonging to that category and gives a detailed list of them. All in all, the names of 1052 villages situated in the 23 counties detached from historical Hungary and assigned to Rumania appear in the list. If we take the

present measure, which applies to villages in all the 23 counties, in the light of the circumstance that hitherto the so-called Rumanian "cultural zone" established by law consisted only of 10 counties in Transylvania, we shall see that it de facto means *an extension of the Rumanian cultural zone*. The committee of the political organization of the Magyar National minority, — lodged a petition with the League of Nations on 2nd September 1930.

What in substance is this Rumanian cultural zone?

Ordinance No. 40.771 issued by the Minister of Education on 3rd May 1924 and published in the "Monitorul Oficial" No. 24 of the same year, created a cultural zone "*in order to make Rumanian education more intensive in the areas with a mixed population.*" This zone consisted of 6 counties in Transylvania: Szatmár, Bihar, Temes-Torontál, Háromszék, Udvarhely and Csik. The ordinance provided that teachers employed in the cultural zone, "especially teachers from the Old Kingdom", should receive a 50% additional salary "for their work in and out of school".

The Elementary Education Act of 26th June 1924 (published in No. 101 of the "Monitorul Oficial" that year) contains detailed particulars of the measures relating to the cultural zone. According to the provisions of that Act, such primary school teachers as have no rights of domicile in these counties but accept positions there, and bind themselves to teach in those areas for at least 4 years, receive for the time they are employed there an additional salary amounting to 50% of their ordinary payment; the period between promotions is curtailed by one year; their removal expenses (three months' salary for married men and two for single) are paid, and they also receive 10 hectares of the land set apart for colonization purposes. Should the Minister of Education consider it expedient, he may ordain that all qualified teachers on leaving the teachers' training colleges must spend 3 years in the counties above enumerated before they can be eligible for appointment in other parts of the country. The cultural zone, according to Paragraph 159, consists of 10 Transylvanian counties, Bihar, Szilágy, Szatmár, Máramaros, Udvarhely, Csik, Háromszék, Maros-Torda, Torda-Aranyos and Hunyad, the aggregate area of

the same being 47.415 square kilometres, which a population of 2,289.024 souls, 1,102.648 (47.5'') of whom are Magyars by race. According to the figures of the 1910 Hungarian census, in four of these counties, Udvarhely, Csik, Háromszék and Maros-Torda, the aggregate area of which is 16.096 square kilometres, the population numbered 647.562 souls, 502.030 (78%) of whom were of Magyar nationality. These counties are inhabited by compact masses of Széklers, who in language and race are identical with the Magyars, the only difference — one of name — arising from the special constitutional conditions obtaining in Transylvania before 1848.

The State Elementary Education Act is careful to avoid mention of the fact that the cultural zone was created for the purpose of Rumanianizing the Magyar populations of those regions. The main reason for its establishment was stated to be the denationalization of Rumanians, which is presented as a sin of the past that must now be redressed. No allowance is made for the historical fact that in Transylvania, where for centuries three nations (Magyars, Germans and Rumanians) lived together in a fairly conglomerate symbiosis, the phenomenon of absorption was always to be observed, sometimes to the benefit of one race, sometimes to that of another; this, however, cannot serve as a reason valid for all time justifying the measures adopted against the minorities by the Rumanian Administration. When the Rumanian Government united the counties in question in one large cultural zone, the main object was not to spread culture; it was to establish a separate educational administration there, and to enlist teachers for those regions from far-distant areas — teachers whose chief qualification was that they could not speak the language of the people in the cultural zone, which "negative" virtue was rewarded with a 50% additional salary and other material benefits.

Of all the speeches heard in the Rumanian Parliament when the State Elementary Education Act was under debate, we consider that delivered by a Rumanian Senator, M. Alexander Aciu, worthy of special mention. According to part detached from Hungary and assigned to Rumania) is evident.

the official minutes of a meeting of the Senate held on 12th June 1924 (*Desbaterile Senatului No. 74, 1923/1924*) M. Aciu *inter alia* said: "When a teacher's activity is not confined solely to his school duties, when it must also be manifest in social work, what can be the object of sending to those schools teachers who cannot speak anything but Rumanian, and who therefore can have no contacts with the children's parents, whose language they do not know?"

As to how the provisions of the cultural zone Ordinance were carried out, we have interesting data supplied by the official report for 1924'1925 issued by the Rumanian School-Inspector's Office in County Maros-Torda and published in 1926. Amongst other things it says: "After our county was included in the mixed population cultural zone, 120 young teachers enjoying a 50% additional salary as well as the advantage of more rapid advancement were appointed to help us in our cultural campaign. A year's experience has taught us that those appointments were a mistake. For, in villages where not a soul except the parish clerk and the gendarmes can speak a word of Rumanian, there are teachers who never heard a word of Hungarian in their lives, much less had they any opportunity of acquiring an idea of the customs and way of thinking, of the population. These teachers frankly and openly admit to the inspectors that it is impossible to produce results with children who cannot speak Rumanian." (*Dorea de seama asupra invățământului primar pe anul scolar 1924/1925, pp. 26—27, Targu Mures 1926*).

It was in 1926 that the Rumanian Government began to import large numbers of teachers from other parts of Rumania, especially from the Old Kingdom, to the cultural zone, and ever since the teaching staffs of the Rumanian State schools there have been steadily reinforced.

Now that the cultural zone has been extended to embrace the whole of Transylvania, the recent decree issued by the Minister of National Education under § 220 of the Elementary Education Act will result in the appointment of specially paid Rumanian teachers in 1052 villages. That this measure is extremely prejudicial to the interests of the national minorities, especially of the Magyars, in Transylvania (the

part detached from Hungary and assigned to Rumania) is evident.

Just before going to press we received the Rumanian official gazette, the "Monitorul Oficial", of September 21. (No. 219), which contains the text of Ordinance No. 163.817 issued by the Minister of National Defence. This Ordinance annuls Ordinance No. 154.205 of 28th August in terms of which the cultural zone was extended to embrace amongst other parts the 23 counties of Transylvania, the Banate and the Körös District. As things stand at present, then, the Rumanian cultural zone still exists and extends over the 10 counties of Transylvania in which the majority of the population is Magyar. The Rumanian Government would have shown more consideration for the minorities had it completely abolished the cultural zone established in 1924.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

THE SERBO-CROATIAN AGREEMENT

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

TSerbo-Croatian the first phase of the negotiations ended, as we know, with the Council of Regency's refusal to accept concluded the agreement on 27th April on a basis of reciprocal concessions between Premier Tsvetkovitch and M. Maček. New negotiations were set on foot on 17th June, and were brought to a successful conclusion in Bled on 24th August. The result, a Serbo-Croatian agreement, on the legal phraseology of which three Serb and three Croatian experts worked towards the end of the pourparlers, was endorsed by the Council of Regency that same day, whereupon Premier Tsvetkovitch, claiming that he had accomplished his task and stating that both the changed political conditions at home and the increasingly menacing international situation made the appointment of a concentration Government of a wider nature imperative, tendered his own and his Cabinet's resignation. This was accepted by the Regent, Prince Paul, who entrusted M. Tsvetkovitch with the formation of a new Cabinet. The reconstructed Government, in which M. Maček took his place as Deputy Premier, and which numbers among its members 5 other Croats, 11 Serbs, 1 Slovene and 1 Bosnian Mussulman, took the oath of allegiance on 26th August.

Simultaneously with the formation of the new Government was effected the appointment of the first Ban of the new Banate of Croatia in the person of Dr. Ivan Shubashitz, M. Maček's brother-in-law, with Dr. Ivan Krbek, a professor of the Zagreb University, as Deputy Ban.

The full text of the Agreement was published in the Press on 27th August. The Agreement guarantees the Croats practically the same rights as they enjoyed under the Croato-Hungarian Agreement of 1863 (Act XXX), with one by no means insignificant difference, namely that the Hungarian Act XXX regulated the autonomy not of a Croatian

Banate, but of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmacia as Associate-countries.

The Agreement consisting of 16 Articles dealing with the Banate of Croatia and its organization was signed on the recommendation of the Cabinet Council by Prince Paul, and Messrs. Stankovitch and Provitch, who form the Council of Regency, at Bled on 26th August "in order that the co-operation of the Croats in the public life of the State should be assured and public interests safeguarded". The following are some of its more important provisions.

Article I defines the frontiers of the Banate of Croatia. In terms thereof the Save and Littoral Banates, the town of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in the Zete Banate with the Dubrovnik prefecture, the Sidi and Ilok prefectures in the Danube Banate, the Gradatchatz and Dervent prefectures in the Vrbas Banate and the Brtchko, Travnik and Foynitza prefectures in the Banate, have been united to form one Banate called the "Banovina Hrvatska" (Banate of Croatia), the capital town of which is Zagreb.

Article II determines the sphere of authority of the Banate of Croatia. In terms thereof, to the sphere of authority of the new Banate belong all matters pertaining to agriculture, commerce, manufacturing industry, forestry and mines, building, public hygiene, physical training, justice, social policy, education and domestic administration. The Banate of Croatia is also competent to deal with all matters which under the measures at present in operation belong to the sphere of authority of the several Banates. All other matters throughout the whole of Yugoslavia remain under the sphere of authority of the executive State departments. The Council of Regency has powers to transfer matters from the sphere of authority of the State authorities and institutions to that of the Banate of Croatia.

In terms of Article III, in order to ensure an efficient execution of the work connected with the matters relegated to the sphere of authority of the Banate of Croatia, the Banate will enjoy an adequate measure of financial independence, but a separate Edict is to determine what sources of revenue and what receipts are to be transferred to the Banate of Croatia.

According to Article IV, legislative power in matters belonging to the sphere of authority of the Banate of Croatia will be exercised jointly by the King and the Sabor (Parliament). Administrative authority will be exercised by the King through the Ban. Justice in the whole territory of the Banate of Croatia will be administered by the courts of law, whose sentences and decisions will be pronounced in the name of the King and the law.

In terms of Article VI the Croatian Sabor will consist of deputies elected by the people. Suffrage will be universal, uniform and direct, and secret ballot will ensure minority representation. A Royal Edict will determine the order of the first elections, the constitution of the Sabor and its Standing Orders. According to Article VII, the Sabor will be convened by Royal Edict and will meet in Zagreb. The King has the right to dissolve the Sabor, but the relevant Royal Edict must contain a resolution fixing the date of the next elections and providing for the convening of the new Sabor. The Edict dissolving the Sabor will be countersigned by the Ban. The Ban will be appointed and dismissed by Royal Edict, which in the latter case will be countersigned by the new Ban.

Article IX deals with the Ban's responsibility under criminal law, Article X with the matters relegated to his sphere of authority and the possibilities of legal redress. Article XI regulates the questions of administrative lawsuits, while Article XIII provides for the establishment of a statutory court, the construction and procedure of which will be determined by a special Royal Edict.

Article XIV deals with certain questions of competency arising between the State and the new Banate. Article XV regulates the procedure to be employed in carrying out the provisions of Article XIV, and Article XVI — the last — provides that the Edict determining the establishment and organization of the Banate of Croatia shall come into force on the day it is published in the Official Gazette.

The Banate of Croatia thus formed, the organization of which, as regards matters pertaining to its sphere of authority, has been merely loosely defined, has an area of 66.393 square kilometres, and constitutes therefore 26.6% of the total area

of Yugoslavia. The number of its inhabitants is 4,423.000, or 28.6% of the entire population of the country, estimated at 15,500.000. The population of Croatia is divided from a denominational point of view as follows: Roman Catholics about 75%, Serb Pravoslavs 20%, Mussulmans 4%, Protestants 0.5% and Jews 0.5%. According to a Croatian estimate, another 430.0000 Roman Catholic Croats live in Yugoslavia outside the boundaries of Croatia.

Besides the Edict establishing the Banate of Croatia and simultaneously with it, the Council of Regency, issued under Article 116 of the Constitution the following Edict: "The provisions of the Edict of 26th August 1939 re the Banate of Croatia may be extended by Royal Edict to the rest of the Banates, and for this certain Banates may be thrown together, as in general their areas may be altered."

According to a report published in the "Politika" of Belgrade on 16th September, the provisions of the Edict re the Banate of Croatia, which have now come into force, will in the near future be extended to the Slovene Drave Banate. The Slovenes have already elected a committee of three, whose task it will be to prepare the draft of the relevant Bill.

The joy of the Croats over the results achieved was enhanced by the circumstance that all the Croatian political prisoners received a free pardon within the framework of the general amnesty proclaimed on 6th September, the King's birthday.

Of the many statements and comments with which the Agreement was received on both sides, we shall quote but one taken from the speech delivered at a meeting of the Croatian "representative body" on 29th August by M. August Kosutitch, Speaker Designate of the Croatian Sabor: "*In Croatia*" — he said — "*there is no domain of public life of which we can say "Thank God, things are better than they were twenty years ago". . . This first step does not mean that it is the last and only step; we must progress along the path of political agreement, honestly, sincerely and openly. Twenty years ago when Europe was in an upheaval Croatia lost her freedom. Now when Europe is again in the throes of war we must regain our lost independence.*" ("Hrvatski Dnevnik", Augt. 31.)

THE ECONOMIC RE-CONSTRUCTION OF SUB-CARPATHIA

BY

ANDREW FALL

The economic reinforcement of *Sub-Carpathia* — the province re-incorporated in Hungary between March 15th and 18th last — is one of the most important objects of the policy of the Hungarian Government. The *Hungarian Government* did all in its power immediately after the re-incorporation of that province to provide the *Hungarian-Russian (Ruthenian)* people now liberated after twenty years of suffering with opportunities of work ensuring their subsistence. Far-reaching social and administrative measures were taken to prevent there being any trace of famine or destitution in *Sub-Carpathia*. The first assistance given to the autochthonous Hungarian-Russians took the form of gratis supplies (of wheat, maize, rye, bacon and oil). These gifts represented a total value of several million pengő. The first social measures were followed immediately by a systematic economic policy instituted by the Hungarian Government. A beginning was made already in the first weeks of the new régime with the work of providing the able-bodied persons with jobs in private enterprise. In most places deforestation and lumbering operations have begun. The wood-manufacturing establishments are also operating at full capacity. The State forestry domains are fully in operation too. Two expedients have been found for ensuring the employment of those workers who were unable at the outset to find jobs in private enterprise. One form of assistance is of the character of an investment; this expedient was first employed in creating opportunities of labour within the framework of the forestry and waterways department of the *Ministry of Agriculture* and of the State building office of the *Ministry of Commerce* and has so far resulted in ensuring the subsistence of many thousand workers and their families. The other expedient took the form of emergency works. Within the framework of this scheme work has been provided for unemployed either near villages or within the confines of the villages. These works have all proved beneficial to the Hungarian-Russian villages. The works in question consist of the building or repairing of parish roads, pavements and market-places, of the construction of embankments, small bridges or crossings over the brooks flowing past or through the villages; and indeed in places the dilapidated houses of the needy Ruthenians have been repaired and made habitable. For the

purpose of providing opportunities of work the *Hungarian Government* bridged over the initial difficulties also by employing the agency of the *National Hungarian Agrarian Association* to enable many thousands of Ruthenian labourers to take part in the reaping, threshing and other agrarian work in the *Hungarian Lowlands* and thereby to obtain a whole year's supply of produce.

Reservoir, Improved Mining, Industrialization and Better Forestry.

In addition to these transitional measures the Hungarian Government has elaborated plans on a large scale for the economic re-construction of Sub-Carpathia; and the realisation of these plans is already under way. For the Hungarian Government is fully aware that the re-incorporation of Sub-Carpathia is a gain alike to Hungary and to the re-incorporated province, seeing that it has brought about a restoration of the economic equilibrium that had been developed through ten centuries of symbiosis. To Sub-Carpathia the re-incorporation means an enormous advantage, seeing that in consequence the dead values of that province have appreciated on a very large scale. The increased exploitation and manufacture of its natural resources must bring about a considerable economic upswing in this area. And it is with this object in view that the Hungarian Government has elaborated its far-reaching economic plan. Within the framework of this plan it is proposed, for instance, to construct in Sub-Carpathia the mightiest reservoir in Europe, which is to feed the irrigation works in the Hungarian Lowlands. We see, therefore, that the re-incorporation of Sub-Carpathia renders it possible at long last to ensure the volume of water required for the irrigation of the Lowlands. The dam is to be built in the valley of the Tarac; it is to be 70 metres high, 40 metres broad and 372 metres long. This will be the largest valley-enclosing dam of the kind in Europe. The reservoir is to be 10 kilometres in length and will form an artificial "tarn" with a depth of 70 metres that will prove to be one of the most attractive sights of Europe. For the production of the concrete required for the building of the dam a stone quarry is to be opened in the neighbourhood; and this quarry itself will suffice to provide many hundreds of workers with labour for a few years. The costs of the construction of the dam and the reservoir have been estimated at 25—30 million pengő. The work of building will take some four years. Of the 25—30 million pengő estimated as total cost 15 million pengő are to be appropriated for wages, thus ensuring opportunities of work for the Hungarian-Russian people.

The construction of the dams will make it possible to produce also electrical energy at a reasonable cost. Each of the valley-

enclosing dams will be able to produce at a very cheap rate sufficient energy to supply the needs of *East Hungary*.

A concomitant of the plan for the production of electrical energy is the intention of the Hungarian Government to industrialize *Sub-Carpathia* and thereby to provide many thousands of workers with a subsistence. The *Hungarian Government* proposes to establish spinning and weaving mills at various points in the province, as well as a large-scale textile factory at Munkács. The Hungarian Government is particularly anxious to increase the output of the salt-mine at Aknaszlatina and proposes in consequence to establish a new up-to-date mill at Aknaszlatina. Another point in the programme of the Hungarian Government is the carrying out of works to render the Tisza navigable as far as *Tiszaújlak* (or even as far as Huszt), thereby enabling the salt to be carried by the cheaper water-route. The amendment of the Hungarian railway tariffs to meet the needs of *Sub-Carpathia* is in progress. The solution of this problem will on the one hand make it possible to market at good prices in all parts of the country alike the fire-wood produced in *Sub-Carpathia*. From the point of view of the rapidity and cheapness of carriage great importance attaches to the fact that we recently succeeded in concluding with *Rumania* an agreement respecting the transit traffic passing through Rumanian territory. Equally important from this point of view will be the new railway line to be built between *Aknaszlatina* and *Tarac-köz*, the construction of which is already in progress. As already noted above, the Hungarian Government is extremely anxious also to further the rationalization of forestry management in *Sub-Carpathia*. The most important factor of the economic life of that province is the forest-land covering about one-half of its area, which maintains roughly 40% of the population — that figure being reached by taking into account the circumstance that the lumbering, rafting, wood distilling operations etc. provide labour for about 100.000 persons and ensure the subsistence of about the same number of families.

Furthering of Forestry.

The principal branches of production of the forestry of *Sub-Carpathia* are: the production of fancy wood, divided into two branches (hard — beech and oak — and soft — fir — wood) on the one hand and on the other the production of fire-wood and cellulose wood and the manufacture of the products of wood distilling (charcoal, wood spirit, wood lime, acetine etc.). The production of soft wood itself is of great importance for the Hungarian market, for as a consequence of the restoration of *Sub-Carpathia Dismembered Hungary* has now to import from foreign countries 30—40% less soft wood. The change is much more significant in respect of the production of hard wood; for

the re-incorporation of *Sub-Carpathia* — in addition to bringing about a complete suspension of our hard wood imports — will provide us with export surpluses. The re-incorporation of *Sub-Carpathia* has also revolutionised our position in respect of fire-wood. *Trianon Hungary* was very largely dependent upon imports for the supply of her needs in respect of fire-wood; now the country will be able to supply all the fire-wood it requires.

The production and marketing of the wood suitable for the manufacture of cellulose is also one of the important problems awaiting solution in *Sub-Carpathia*. The *Hungarian Government* will also facilitate the establishment of a cellulose factory.

The reincorporation of *Sub-Carpathia* restored to Hungary three large wood distilling establishments (those at *Perecseny*, *Szoljva* and *Nagybocskó*), which manufacture 15.000 truckloads of firewood a year, producing, in addition to charcoal, other products of wood distillation (methylated spirits, wood lime, wood spirit, acetine etc.) in quantities sufficient, not only to secure the requirements of the Hungarian market previously secured by importation, but also to enable the country to export considerable quantities of these articles. The *Hungarian Government* expects great results to be obtained also by the works undertaken for the opening up of oil wells in *Sub-Carpathia*. The boring of the oil wells was begun already by the *Czech Government*. The *Hungarian Government* is on the one hand continuing the work begun by the *Czechs* and on the other hand having surveys made for the purpose of discovering where there are oil-fields making the boring operations worth while. The *Hungarian Government* is devoting peculiar attention to the work of improving the agriculture of *Sub-Carpathia*. For this purpose it has established three agrarian inspectorates in *Sub-Carpathia*:

1. The Agrarian Inspectorate attached to the *Ung* Administrative Agency, with its seat at *Ungvár*;
2. The Agrarian Inspectorate attached to the *Bereg* Administrative Agency, with its seat at *Munkács*;
3. The Agrarian Inspectorate attached to the *Máramaros* Administrative Agency, with its seat at *Huszt*.

In the hundreds subject to the jurisdiction of the several *Administrative Agencies* the work of agrarian inspection will be done partly by agrarian inspectors attached to the headquarters of the respective Agrarian Inspectorate, partly by agrarian inspectors stationed in the capitals of the several hundreds. In the space at our disposal it would be difficult indeed to enumerate all the far-reaching measures and extensive schemes already carried into effect or to be carried into effect in the re-incorporated province of *Sub-Carpathia* by the *Hungarian Government*. On the present occasion we would merely note that, in order to further the economic recovery of and to assist *Sub-Carpathia*, the

Hungarian Government has ensured that province a budgetary support well in excess of the quota naturally falling to its share.

It must also be noted that the inhabitants of Sub-Carpathia have been fully re-assured and their hopes considerably raised by the results of the repeated visits to that province of *Admiral Horthy*, Regent of Hungary, and of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count *Paul Teleki*. The visits of the Hungarian Regent and of the Prime Minister created a profound impression in every class of the population, for they afforded an opportunity to all alike to personally express their wishes and record their experiences and observations. The affability and condescension of both the Regent and the Premier made them the objects of an enthusiastic popularity and in more cases than one veritable legends have sprung into being in connection with their appearance near the frontier without betraying their identity and with their frank conversations with the simple sons of the soil. Not till much later did the latter learn that they had been discussing their troubles with the Hungarian Prime Minister himself.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

HUNGARIAN PREMIER'S PROGRAMME IN RESPECT OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC POLITICS.

At a meeting of the Hungarian Government Party held on 13th September Count Teleki made the following speech:

"Since our last Party meeting grave events have happened in Europe. Our Chairman has said that the Hungarian nation awaits the happenings of the days before us with calmness and confidence. I should like to add that this is true, not only of the days before us, but also of the approaching months. In the first place I wish to state that *the line of foreign policy hitherto to consistently followed by Hungary, which was clearly outlined by the Regent in his Address to the two Houses at the opening of the new Parliament and to which in our action since that date we have closely adhered, remains unaltered.* I also wish to establish the fact that the trend of our internal policy has likewise remained unchanged, as have the objects which in our domestic policy we consistently serve and strive to realize.

"Why, indeed, should there be any change? A nation which from time immemorial has governed itself cannot be unstable or precipitate in its decisions, or influenced by the impressions of the moment. A nation like ours may sometimes be frank to the point of rashness, honourable to the point of self-sacrifice, but it can never be overhasty, unstable or disloyal. This also applies to those who have to bear the responsibility of governing the nation in times like these. He upon whom this duty devolves ceases — especially in moments such as the present — to be a man with private opinions; he must gauge the mind of the nation as a whole, and his every act, which often has to be the result of a sudden decision, must be a manifestation reflecting the soul of the nation.

**THIS NATION CANNOT ENTER INTO
ANY ADVENTUROUS UNDERTAKING.**

"I am happy that the Hungarian nation has preserved its calmness and the unity so needful today with difficult times before us. *The calmness and seriousness displayed by the Capital, by our other towns and villages, and by the nation in general, has won the respect of the whole world.*

"On questions vitally affecting Hungary every Hungarian is of the same mind. The times are grave, and a nation which has scarcely recovered from the utter collapse that overtook us twenty years ago *cannot, in its delicate geographical position, enter into any adventurous undertaking. Nobody must allow his mind to dwell on hare-brained schemes.*

"In stating — as I did in my opening words — that our line of foreign policy remains unaltered, I have said all that it is necessary and possible to say. Those who have access to the various sources of information must shoulder the responsibility and, believe me, we are fully conscious of our historical responsibility, which today is very great. *And we whom Fate has placed in leading positions must now ask the nation to have faith in us. We need the nation's confidence and I feel that we possess it.*"

**ALL THE INTERESTS WE SERVE
ARE HUNGARIAN INTERESTS.**

"It is unnecessary to say that we are working to serve the interests of the nation, but I must emphasize that *all the interests we serve are purely Hungarian ones. Our policy is wholly Hungarian.* What our aims are and with what friendly contacts we shape Hungary's foreign policy, may be clearly gathered from the identity of the foreign policies of the successive Hungarian Governments, from their statements, acts, and our links with foreign countries. The details of our work must naturally be left in the hands of a few people."

PRODUCTIVE WORK MUST BE CONTINUED.

"At the present moment our policy is one of peaceful work. This policy is being pursued by Italy, Yugoslavia and

many other countries. *Germany's interests, as well as those of the rest of the belligerent States, demand that peace should prevail in the Danube Valley and that the work of peaceful production should be continued.*

"This country must be strong, must, in fact, continue to grow stronger every day. The Government is doing its best to make this possible. Although public opinion is quiet — quiet, I may say, to an astonishing and praiseworthy degree — we have nevertheless introduced certain measures of a special nature. Had we not done so, we might have laid ourselves open to censure. Our people must have felt reassured when they learned that other countries much farther off from the seat of war than we are have taken similar, even greater, precautions.

"That so few measures have been necessary in Hungary, is due solely to the calmness displayed by the nation and the confidence the Government has in the people. Should further measures prove needful we shall institute them, but, so far as possible, in a manner calculated to inspire confidence and only when the people of Hungary themselves feel that they are necessary."

***I HOPE PARLIAMENT WILL FAITHFULLY
REFLECT THE CALM ATTITUDE OF THE
COUNTRY.***

The Premier next spoke of the duties awaiting Parliament.

"Parliament was convened at a time when no one imagined that war would break out before it met. Rumours of a prorogation have been in circulation. My constitutional sense, my faith in the nation, my confidence and trust in the members of this Parliament, would not allow me to think of a prorogation at this time; on the contrary *I consider that Parliament must work as best it can, and do as much as is possible in the present circumstances. I shall do all in my power to ensure an atmosphere of calm and dignified discussion in the spirit of national unity. From the outset I shall try to achieve this, not by means of compulsory measures or by force, but in a friendly and conciliatory*

manner as befits a Hungarian today. I beg the Party to show the conciliatory spirit required by the times we live in. I trust Parliament will faithfully reflect the calm attitude of the country and set a good example by the work it does. It would be a great thing should Parliament be able to discuss the new Bills, some of which are very difficult and complicated, with calmness and dignity in these troublous times. *This would be inspiring for the nation, a source of confidence and self-esteem, while in all other countries it would awaken respect and a certain measure of admiration for Hungary.*"

WE ARE ALL HUNGARIANS, WE ARE ALL ONE.

"I have convened an inter-party meeting, in order to discuss this question with the leaders of the Opposition in an amicable and understanding spirit. I have often experienced a spirit of understanding on the part of many members of the Opposition, or have heard them say that at this moment we are all Hungarians, all one, and work for one cause. This is my opinion too, and I am ready to meet anyone who shares it halfway.

"This applies to all the Bills to be introduced, amongst others to the Land Reform Bill. *I consider the passing of that Bill of paramount importance.* I myself, therefore, and all the members of my Cabinet, will do our utmost to ensure its being passed without obstruction and I hope we shall find a way of doing so without coming into conflict with anybody else's convictions."

COUNT CSAKY'S EXPOSE.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament met on 14th September with Dr. Béla Imrédy in the chair. After the Chairman's opening speech, Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered the following exposé:

"The Hungarian Government sincerely regrets" — he said — "that *what was predicted by the late Count Albert Apponyi in Paris in 1920 should have come true. For Count Apponyi, who was the head of the Hungarian delegation to the Peace Conference, had said that the Treaty of Versailles and the rest of the so-called Peace Treaties modelled on it would have to be paid for in blood.* The self-restraint displayed during the past weeks by every section of the Hungarian nation shows how firmly rooted in Hungary was the conviction that the political measures terminating the Great War, no matter what name was given to them by the various international conferences, had merely created a provisional state of affairs, a truce.

"It is true that for many years we hoped that commonsense would gain the upper hand. The whole world can certify that Hungary has borne much, suffered much, only to prevent this sorely-tried generation being called upon to enter the arena of war again. We know that here as well as abroad every ex-serviceman who has attained a leading position in his own country thinks as we do.

"What was the Hungarian Government to do when storm-clouds gathered on the frontiers of the country? We continued to adhere to the policy pursued for the past twenty years by our predecessors in office. We maintained the attitude of traditional loyalty towards our friends, for we recognized the truth of the principle that *the honour and trustworthiness of a country represent a greater asset in the community of nations than all its armed force.*

"By some means or other the sword may be wrested from the hand of any nation, but that nation's force is not

abated and it may rise again if it does not lose faith in itself and its confidence in its future. With this I do not mean to say that we have placed our reliance in moral forces alone. *Behind those moral forces and behind the resolute, undaunted will of the leaders of this country stands the Hungarian army in a state of exemplary discipline and preparedness, becoming stronger and better equipped each day, and ready to defend to the last the homes, great and small, of the Hungarian people and the peace of their inmates."*

OUR RELATIONS WITH RUMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA.

"In accordance with our policy of race-preservation I have submitted the draft of a minority treaty to the Rumanian Government. This draft was such that within the framework of the suggested agreement every concrete complaint of each member of the Hungarian minority in Rumania might have been redressed. No answer has yet arrived, and I shall not be in a hurry to repeat the proposals made in May and later on submitted in a concrete form. The Hungarian Government takes these proposals for the protection of minorities very seriously. *The Rumanian Government is well aware that Hungary has no aggressive intentions. It is to our own and our friends' interests that the present conflict should be confined to as narrow an area as possible.* The Rumanian Government also knows that in the opinion of many the offer of a non-aggression pact when no act of aggression was contemplated was made merely for tactical purposes. The first thing necessary is to ensure a more rapid improvement of the atmosphere, and the *sine qua non* of this is an elastic minority treaty. Then we must have evidence that the treaty has really been put into execution. When it proves to function well, it will be possible to give outward expression in a political form to our relations. *The Hungarian Government has again given manifest proof that we leave no stone unturned in our endeavour to improve relations with Rumania, for the Government will now submit to Parliament for ratification the agreement concluded with that country in connection with the Gozsdu Foundation.*

"So far as Yugoslavia is concerned, the situation is easier, and we leave it to that Government to decide whether they wish to conclude a minority agreement with us, and if so to prepare a draft which we shall study with the sincere goodwill that best characterizes the relations between the two countries."

**THE GOVERNMENT SEES NO NECESSITY OF
PROCLAIMING HUNGARY'S NEUTRALITY.**

"In connection with the Balkan States I must mention with deep respect the warm words with which King Boris of Bulgaria spoke of Hungary when he received our new Minister to Sofia, — words that have found a sincere echo in Hungarian public opinion.

"No danger threatens Hungary from the countries at war on her borders, and, therefore, the Government sees no necessity of proclaiming Hungary's neutrality. To do so would only complicate our national life during a war which seems likely it prove a lengthy one.

"In these dark hours our thoughts turn with undying gratitude to Signor Mussolini, to the great Italian statesman who, with another Power to back him, was the first to launch an attack against the apparently unscalable walls of the disastrous Peace Treaties. He did so not only with sword in hand, but also with profound wisdom and a deliberate purpose. That the whole world is not in flames, that a general conflagration has been avoided, is due chiefly to the Duce.

"It is the firm intention of the Hungarian Government to pursue with calmness and composure, amidst storm and stress, as long as it is possible and until Hungarian national interests make a change imperative, the policy that has proved so successful during the past twenty years."

Replying to certain members of the Committee, the Foreign Minister in conclusion said that the Hungarians were following the hard struggles of the Poles, which were acknowledged as heroic even by their enemies, with a sympathy that was unchanged.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

STATEMENT BY RUTHENIA'S POLITICAL LEADER: SUBCARPATHIA IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF HUNGARY

Ungvár, September 23: The first issue of the first Ruthenian newspaper to be published in Hungary, the "*Ruszkaja Pravda*" (*Russian Truth*), appeared on 22nd September. This newspaper is the revival of a daily with the same title which was suppressed by the Czechs last year. This is the second year of its existence. In a prominent place it contains an article with the text of the appeal addressed to the Ruthenians by M. Andrew *Bródy*, M. P., one-time Premier of Ruthenia. Amongst other things M. Bródy sais:

"We, the Russians who live in Subcarpathia, are back again within the ancient, frontiers of our homeland, the century-old Kingdom of St. Stephen. One fact is clear to all: Subcarpathia is again an integral part of the Hungarian State, in which we must henceforth live and die, whose foundations we must help to strengthen and defend in all circumstances. We imagined that after so many convulsions old Europe would settle down again to a peaceful and orderly existence, but alas! that is far from being the case. Thanks to the wisdom of our statesmen and by the Grace of God our frontiers are not menaced by the bloody struggle being waged in other parts of Europe. It does not, however, follow that we can afford to enjoy a well-earned rest or wait with folded arms in the hope of a better future for our people. On the contrary, we must all join forces and work with might and main to be ready to defend, if need be, our families, our country and our State."

The article then went to say that M. Andrew Bródy had ten days earlier formed a *Ruthenian National Alliance*. The representatives of the *Ruthenian Parliamentary Club*, the élite of the Ruthenian nation, had joined the executive council, a body of 40 members. This extra-party alliance — says the article — will be the supreme national organization of the Ruthenian people, and its aim will be to gather the whole of the Ruthenian people into one sound racial unit. The article ends with an appeal to the Ruthenians to join the organization and unite in one great racial body.

NEW HUNGARIAN MINISTER IN SOFIA

The Bulgarian Telegraph Bureau reported from Sofia on 7th September that, amidst impressive ceremonies, the new



Hungarian Minister, M. Michael *Jungerth-Arnóthy*, had presented his credentials and the letter recalling his predecessor to *King Boris* on that day. The Hungarian Minister was accompanied by M. *George Király-Lukács*, Councillor of Legation, Lieutenant-Colonel John *Aday*, Military, Attaché, and representatives of the King's private and military secretariats.

On their arrival at the Palace they were met and conducted by a military escort composed of Royal Guards. The streets leading from the Hungarian Legation to the Royal Palace were lined with mounted gendarmes and policemen on foot. Great crowds of people who had taken their stand along the route respectfully greeted the new Hungarian Minister on the occasion of his first public appearance.

In the address to the King with which the Hungarian Minister handed over his credentials M. *Jungerth-Arnóthy* gave expression to the friendly feelings and esteem entertained for the King of Bulgaria by the *Hungarian Regent, Admiral Horthy*, and conveyed the latter's best wishes for the prosperity of the Bulgarian nation. He also said how glad he was to have been chosen to represent Hungary in Bulgaria and that he was looking forward to his work, which he hoped would help to foster reciprocal feelings of friendship between the Bulgarian and Hungarian nations and further the increase of amicable contacts.

The Hungarian Minister laid stress on the point that during their thousand years' histories the two nations had had innumerable opportunities of becoming acquainted, of learning to esteem one other and of establishing lasting contacts. He added that he would do all in his power to make those contacts closer, and that it would be his aim to strengthen and develop the traditional friendship existing between the two countries, to strengthen the present cultural and economic connections and thus to promote the welfare of both countries. At the close of his address M. *Jungerth-Arnóthy* begged His Majesty to accord him the support needed for a successful discharge of his duties and expressed the hope that he could count on the friendly co-operation of the Bulgarian Government too.

In his reply *King Boris* said that he was profoundly touched by the friendly message from the Hungarian Regent. He asked the Hungarian Minister to convey to the Regent a similar expression of his own friendly feelings and his best wishes both to Admiral Horthy and for the welfare of the Hungarian nation. The King then went on to say how pleased he was to hear the Hungarian Minister speak of the reciprocal feelings of friendship linking the two nations and of the cordial contacts between them. He also said that he set special value on the new Minister's desire to make the ties of friendship uniting Hungary and Bulgaria closer still and to strengthen the existing cultural and

economic connections. This wish was shared by himself and by the people of Bulgaria.

King Boris promised to support the Hungarian Minister in the discharge of his duties and assured him of the cordial cooperation of the Bulgarian Government. The King's speech ended with a few gracious words of welcome to M. Jungerth-Arnóthy. When the ceremony was over King Boris entered into a friendly conversation with the Hungarian Minister, *M. Kiraldy-Lukács*, Councillor of Legation, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Aday*, Military Attaché. When the audience was over the Hungarian Minister and his suite returned in state to the Hungarian Legation. The members of the Royal escort were then entertained at the Hungarian Legation by the Hungarian Minister.

REPARATION AFTER 21 YEARS

After Hungary's forced signature of the Trianon Treaty, the Yugoslav Government hastened to nationalize education on the basis of a Government Order (No. 10.030) issued on 20th August 1920. The way this nationalization was carried out was that the Government, without paying any compensation, *took possession of the nationalized schools with all their buildings and equipment and also of the assets valued at many million gold crowns, (lands, gardens, houses, school-buildings, foundations, funds and moneys,)* employed to maintain the various types of private schools established by the Churches, villages, towns and associations. In the areas wrested from Hungary proper, that is to say in the Voivodina, the Baranya triangle, the Muraköz and the regions beyond the river Mura, besides several hundred Hungarian State schools, no fewer than *751 private Hungarian elementary and 36 secondary schools fell a prey to Yugoslav nationalization*, that naturally leading to the dismissal of the greater part of the teachers of Magyar nationality employed by them.

Among the Hungarian lower-grade schools that were nationalized were the 72 elementary schools in Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia maintained by the Julian Society in Hungary. These schools were taken away from their rightful owners immediately after the change of rule, that is to say in the autumn of 1918. *When this took place the Julian Society appealed by way of the Hungarian Government to the Yugoslav Government, the League of Nations and the local authorities, and for more than ten years did everything possible to get the confiscated schools re-opened and have their rights restored.* When the Society saw that all efforts were in vain, it was obliged to appeal to the Mixed Court of Arbitration at The Hague, where naturally it claimed financial compensation. For the buildings and sites it claimed 313.761

gold crowns and 148.588 for the movable assets, furniture, school equipment and libraries — in all 462.349 gold crowns. The Mixed Court of Arbitration did not, however, pronounce judgment, for in terms of the Hague-Paris agreement of 28th April 1930 the matter was left to be settled by direct negotiation between the two countries concerned: Hungary and Yugoslavia. Owing, however, to the unwillingness of the Belgrade Government negotiations *between the two Governments were not opened until 1938*, when, on the one hand, a definite settlement of the question of the funds belonging to the "Tökölianum" and the "Angelianum", two Serb cultural foundations in Budapest which even today serve Serb cultural aims, and, on the other, that of the liquidation of the financial claims of the Julian Society, was discussed.

The first negotiations were held in Belgrade on 25th January 1938, the rest in Budapest. An agreement on both matters was reached at the beginning of July. *2,300.000 dinars were offered by the Yugoslav Government as settlement*

the Yugoslavs arguing that the buildings had lost much of their value through 21 years' use and that the movables confiscated was now of practically no value at all. With this agreement litigation that has been in process for 21 years has now come to an end and the Julian Society will at least receive partial redress for the grave injustice sustained through the loss of its 72 schools and the confiscation of its educational assets. (From the report issued for 1938 by the "Julian Educational Society".)

HUNGARIAN READING CLUB IN SZABADKA PERMITTED TO RESUME ITS ACTIVITIES

On 27th August M. Dragomir *Drintchitz*, Deputy Ban, personally informed the Magyar delegation which appeared before him in *Szabadka (Subotica)* that, in consideration of the changed circumstances, the Ban's Office (*Danube Banate*) had accepted the appeal made by the Hungarian Reading Club, and that the Club was now free to pursue its activities. ("*Reggeli Ujság*", Aug. 29.)

THE SITUATION OF SZÉKLER JOINT TENANTS

Four counties of the Transylvania annexed to Rumania by the Treaty of Trianon — *the Counties of Csik, Háromszék, Maros-Torda and Udvarhely* — compose what is known as „*Székler-land*". The bulk of the territory of the Székler-land counties — *eighth-tenths of the County of Csik* — consists of forests and Alpine pasture-land. This property has never been — and is not even today — suitable for individual farming; in order to ensure it remaining indivisible property it was converted into "joint pro-

perty" known today as "*compossessoratus*". The origin of this system dates centuries back; for centuries it maintained estates which could not be split up or farmed by individuals. With the increase of population the insufficiency of arable land made cattle breeding, which had to be increased in scale, and wood industry the chief sources of subsistence in Széklerland. Both these sources of subsistence depended constantly on the indivisible possession of the forest and pasture land; for it was only by systematic joint farming that the very trifling quotas falling to the share of the members of the community could be made to provide any revenue at all. The "joint tenancies" (*compossessorati*) and the political parishes are not however identical and must be very decidedly distinguished from one another. The "joint tenancies" are a peculiar form of private property, whereas the property of the political parish (village) has to be classed as public (national) property. Although the two are not far removed from one another, seeing that the persons living in the political parish (village) are practically identical with the members of the "joint tenancies", the two nevertheless differ materially also in respect of the revenue yielded by the property.

To illustrate the importance attaching to these "joint tenancies" in Széklerland, it will suffice to refer to the fact that in County Csik, for instance, there is not a single church or school which has not been built out of the revenue yielded by the properties of the "joint tenancies". Moreover, the members of the "joint tenancies" have been provided by those "tenancies" with firewood and with timber, the cash received from sales being divided among the members, the "tenancies" having also given grants to the denominational schools, and having paid the parish rates due by members etc.

The properties belonging to the "joint tenancies" were not based originally on tradition merely; Act LV. of 1871 passed by the Parliament of Greater Hungary adjusted the quotas to be allotted to members, providing at the same time that it should be left to the courts of law — during the procedure for the determination of the quotas — to fix the shares due to the "compossesores" ("joint tenants") of the assets of "joint tenancies" and also whether those "compossesores" were entitled to such shares.

After the change of rule the Rumanian Government left no stone unturned to get the property owned by Magyars into Rumanian hands. This was the object of the agrarian reform, which showed no mercy towards even the territories in possession of Székely-land villages and "joint tenancies." The value of property forfeited in this manner by expropriation amounts to many hundreds of millions, this procedure being nothing more or less than a confiscation of property at the expense of the Magyar

smallholders — a measure cryingly and strikingly anti-Magyar in character.

Among the assets owned by the Széklerland "joint tenancies" items of particular value are the medicinal springs and watering-places, which are for the most part owned by villages, though in very many cases they are the property of so-called health-resort "joint tenancies", which also own the forest land surrounding them. An item of the kind is the Kovászna mineral water and carbonic acid spring establishment in Háromszék County, the Matild spring (also in Háromszék County), the spa at Tusnád, etc.

One can quite understand *the Rumanian Government's anxiety not to leave these valuable assets in Magyar hands as Magyar property*. A whole series of steps have been taken by the authorities against this last remnant of the joint property of the Széklers. Until this year the Széklers succeeded in parrying the attacks; *but in July last a Royal Edict declared the mineral water and carbonic acid springs at Kovászna in Háromszék County to be public property, no reason being offered for this measure*. Once more the property owned by Magyars had suffered a very sensible reduction. And judicial proceedings have just been concluded against the "joint tenancy" *owning the Matild spring in the village of Bodók in Háromszék County*. This spring is the property of more than 1100 Magyars living in nine villages, whose title has been entered in the land register, the right to exploit the mineral water for 50 years having been adjudged to the 1100 owners in due legal form by a decision taken in the course of the procedure prescribed by the mining law. Two years ago the Rumanian district attorney at Sepsiszentgyörgy submitted to the court of law there an application requesting that the right of ownership of the medicinal spring should be transferred from the names of the 1100 persons living in the 9 Székely villages to that of the political parish. This would have meant in practice that the Székely health resort "joint tenancies" of Háromszék County should be deprived of their most valuable asset, which should be transferred to Rumanian possession. *The interests of the "joint tenancy" were defended by M. Micescu Istrate, former Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. Istrate pointed out that it was an unprecedented procedure for a State attorney to submit to a court of law an application referring to the case of a private body, and then declared that cases of the kind were not likely to further the aims of the present State system. And the Rumanian court dismissed the application, that meaning that for the moment the Székely "joint tenancy" is secure in its possession of the Matild spring. As to what this fresh illegal attack must have cost to avert, the less said the better; and it is equally certain that this valuable asset will be subjected again to attacks on the Rumanian side until the Rumanian authorities succeed in wresting it from the grasp of the Magyar owners.*

ILLEGAL EMBARGO ON USE OF HUNGARIAN ON LETTERS

Article 8. of the Paris Minority Treaty of December 9th, 1919 — ratified by the Rumanian Parliament on August 30th 1920 — contains the following provision: "*No Rumanian citizen may be restricted in the free use of any minority language, either in private intercourse or in business life.*"

The private use of minority languages is one of the most delicate problems of the political life of the minorities;

Some time ago the Rumanian Post Office authorities provided that an extra charge should be imposed on telegrams in Hungarian; this provision, however, has now been abolished. Further restrictions have, on the other hand, been introduced with regard to addresses.

The representatives of the Hungarian minority have appealed to the Ministry of Minorities in the matter of "Hungarian names of firms printed on envelopes." The Ministry has now informed them of the decision of the Post-Master-General. Any language may be used — the reply states — in the space reserved for private communications in letters or on post cards "On the envelope, however, the addresses of both the sender and the addressee must be written in the language of the State; if any other language is used in this space, an extra charge must be made." The Post Office of Temesvár (Timisoara) has informed the public that, in the case of letters to be delivered in Rumania, envelopes should be addressed only in Rumanian; should any foreign words be used in the address (viz. words corresponding to "Mr", "Esq", etc), an extra charge of 2 lei will be made, without the payment of which the letter will not be delivered. The Post Office of Kolozsvár (Cluj) has informed the Magyar Ethnic Community (the official representative body of the Magyar minority) that, according to an ordinance issued some time ago, the addresses of senders written or printed in any foreign language (including minority languages too) are to be treated as any instrument of publicity. This however, they point out, refers only to those words which signify occupations (e. g. "solicitor", "physician", etc.), and not to words immediately preceding or following the addressee's name (such as "M", "Esq", etc). The Post Office of Kolozsvár (contrary to the statement made by that of Temesvár) holds that an extra charge (2 lei) has to be levied only on the use of words denoting occupations.

It must be added that the Post Office can by no means be considered a legal authority, entitled to issue regulations concerning the use of minority languages. But, even if it were a legal authority, it would have no right to issue such regulations, because the free use of their mother tongues is one of the citizens' privileges which fall under the jurisdiction of constitutional authorities.

HOW BAPTISTS FARE IN RUMANIA

In the territories severed from Hungary and allotted to Rumania by the Treaties of Peace there are a large number of persons belonging to the Baptist Church. Of the 60,562 Baptists registered by the 1930 Census as living in the territory of present-day Rumania 37,829 (i. e. more than 50%) reside in the areas annexed to Rumania by the Treaties. There are a very large number of Baptists also in Bessarabia, 18,861 in all. The number of Baptists registered by the 1930 Census as living in the territory of Bukovina was 1,145; while the number of Baptists resident in Older Rumania is 2,727.

In the Greater Hungary of pre-War days the Baptist confession was one of the denominations recognised by law; the consequence being that the Baptists living in the territories formerly belonging to Hungary which have been annexed to Rumania are perfectly entitled to demand that the new rulers should not deprive them of their vested rights and should continue to treat them as a legally recognised denomination.

As things stand, however, the Ordinance issued by the Minister of Education in 1938 has *restricted the character of the Baptist Church to that of a religious association* required to apply for permission to function. No such permission can be obtained unless the association every year submits to the Minister of Education a report giving the personal data of the leaders and the members and designating their age, nationality, period at which they were converted and the religion which they abandoned when they were converted. *The Rumanian Government has placed the Baptists in the same category as the various religious sects.* As a consequence of the personal intervention of Dr. Rushbrook, Secretary of the powerful world organisation of Baptists, the Rumanian Government, though not actually revoking the Ordinance in question, took certain measures delaying the enforcement of its provisions and gave the Baptists permission to open their prayer-houses, that enabling them after a prolonged interval to begin their public services again.

Nor does the Ordinance issued in July ensure the Baptists the legal recognition of their confession as a denomination; the only mitigation of conditions provided thereby being that the number of members required to form a Baptist religious association has been reduced from 100 — as provided in the original Ordinance — to 50. One of the Magyar dailies of Rumania ("Szabadság") in its August 3rd (1939) issue published a long article dealing with the grievances of the Baptists and among other things

reported that the Baptists have decided that the moment the Ordinance is officially handed to them *they will once more close their prayer-houses and suspend their public functions*. And the Magyar Baptists have submitted a memorandum to the President of the Magyar Ethnic Community requesting him to intervene with the Rumanian Government to respect their vested rights.

PROMISE TO REDRESS GERMAN MINORITY GRIEVANCES IN RUMANIA

Herr Hans *Hedrich*, the permanent representative of the German racial group in Rumania, on 30th August saw Premier Calinescu, to whom he enumerated the grievances of the German minority most urgently requiring redress. The upshot of his representations was that the German minority in Rumania received assurances that the Government would permit the establishment of German schools in Bessarabia. The Premier also promised to restore to the German Lutheran Church all the schools and other buildings the ownership of which is a disputed point at present. As is well known, in Bessarabia all the school buildings and school property belonging to the German Lutheran Church had been ruthlessly confiscated. Premier Calinescu also promised to redress the special grievances of the Banate Germans. (*"Néplap"*, Nagyvárad, September 6.)

COUNT ESTERHAZY'S MESSAGE TO MAGYARS IN SLOVAKIA

The following appeal was addressed to the Magyars of Slovakia in the September 3 issue of the *"Uj Hirek"*, the official organ of the United Hungarian Party, by Count John *Esterházy*, President of the Party:

"The international tension of the last few weeks has now reached its peak point. At this juncture I call upon the Magyars in Slovakia, advising them to keep calm, even more so than hitherto, and to act with the utmost self-discipline at this critical hour. I beg all alike to obey most strictly all existing and future orders and to refrain — in their own interest — from any action likely to imperil public order and safety.

"It is the interest of the Magyars in Slovakia, too, that the quiet atmosphere within the country should be preserved. I feel sure that every Slovak citizen of Magyar nationality will do his utmost to contribute towards this maintenance of order.

"Let all of us alike perform our daily tasks and civic duty with a love of God and an unshakable confidence, and let us do our utmost towards the fulfilment of our duty to our fellow-creatures."

GERMAN CONTINUATION COURSES FOR TEACHERS
OF GERMAN MINORITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

By order of the Hungarian Minister of Education, the one-year's course established two years ago for the purpose of training teachers for the German minority elementary schools will be continued this school-year too. *In 1939—1940, 25 certificated male and 5 certificated female teachers will be admitted to the course with free board and lodging.* Dr. Julius Lux is the head of this institution.

Besides this, the one-month's course for teachers employed in the German minority elementary schools which for years has been held in Baja opened on 1st August. About 100 male and female teachers, for whose board and lodging the State has made provision, are attending this year's course. It is held under the direction of *M. Aloysius Chobudiszky*, director of the Baja State teachers' training college.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

RUMANIA

MAGYAR ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN RUMANIA SEEKS REDRESS OF MAGYAR GRIEVANCES

Some leaders of the Magyars in Transylvania appeared before M. Armand *Calinescu*, Rumanian Premier, and made representations to him concerning the situation of the Magyars and their legitimate wishes. They handed the Premier a memorandum dealing with the *new Citizenship Act* of 1939. In this memorandum it was stated that *the Ordinance interpreting the Act which was issued by the Minister of Justice did not tally with the precisely defined provisions and spirit thereof*. A speedy amendment of that Ordinance was urged.

Several members of the Parliamentary Group of Magyars in Transylvania saw General Daniel Papp, Governor of the Maros province, and told him that in some of the counties *certain authorities were not treating the Magyars in a way likely to foster the harmony which the leaders of the country wished to establish and maintain*. They drew the Governor's attention to the *artificially engendered atmosphere* which was against the interests of the whole population of the province. They also begged him to take steps to prevent minor officials obstructing the work of the Magyar organizations. Mention was also made of the heavy dues amounting to over a million lei illegally imposed on the butter factory at Marosvásárhely belonging to the Central Economic and Credit Cooperative Society.

RUMANIAN EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES WITHHOLD PERMISSION TO APPOINT A FIFTH TEACHER IN REFORMED CHURCH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AT SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY — LOCAL AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO PAY OUT THE EDUCATIONAL STATE GRANT

Declaring that there was no budgetary cover for it, the Rumanian authorities of *Sepsiszentgyörgy*, the purely Székler capital of County *Háromszék*, have refused to issue the State grant applied for by the two minority denominational schools of that place. The educational authorities have also rejected the petition lodged by the Reformed Church asking permission to appoint a fifth teacher in the elementary school maintained by that denomination, and this, although there are over 600 Calvinist children of schooling age in the town. (*"Brassói Lapok"*, September 8.)

ONLY ONE MAGYAR TEACHER ALLOWED BY RUMANIAN
EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES IN SCHOOL WITH OVER
600 SZÉKLER PUPILS

The language of instruction in the State school employing seven teachers at *Csikmadaras*, a purely *Székler* village in the so-called "cultural zone", is Rumanian, and the teachers of that school cannot even speak Hungarian. The Roman Catholic parish of *Csikmadaras* applied to the Ministry of Education for permission to appoint more teachers in the minority denominational school maintained by the Church, since, in terms of the new Education Act, which does not allow more than 40 pupils in one class, at least three new teachers would be required to provide the instruction prescribed by law to the 600 odd pupils registered. This application was refused by the Ministry of Education on the ground that the State elementary school was capable of providing education for all the children of schooling age in the village, and therefore no new appointments were necessary. ("*Néplap*", Brassó, Augt. 25.)

REFORMED CHURCH OF TRANSYLVANIA INSISTS ON
ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHTS

The ecclesiastical authorities of the Reformed Church of Transylvania are urging the Ministry in Bucharest to restore the status of a public school to several Calvinist denominational schools and to issue the usual State grants to minority clergymen. The Reformed Church received a definite promise to this effect some time ago, but so far that promise has not been kept. ("*Ellenzék*", *Kolozsvár*, September 6.)

LICENCE TO HOLD THIS YEAR'S ANNUAL MEETING OF
TRANSYLVANIAN UNITARIAN MINISTERS WITHELD

The ministers of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania wished to hold their annual meeting on 23rd and 24th August. Permission to do so was withheld by the Minister of the Interior. ("*Néplap*", Brassó, Augt. 23.)

SLOVAKIA

SLOVAK AREAS OCCUPIED BY POLAND NOW UNDER
SLOVAK ADMINISTRATION

Berlin, September 13: In a lengthy article the „*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*” publishes a report of the last Slovak Cabinet Council, which incorporated the areas inhabited by Slovaks that had been attached to Poland and placed them under Slovak

administration: An official report of the Cabinet Council states that "the Government takes cognizance of the fact that the customs frontier on the north has been moved forward as far as the 1920 frontier." It was simultaneously announced in Pozsony that *Slovak* post offices had been re-established in *Orava* and *Javorina*.

RADIO APPARATUSES BELONGING TO UNRELIABLE PERSONS CONFISCATED IN SLOVAKIA

The "*Felvidéki Ujság*" reports from Pozsony: It has been officially announced that the authorities have received instructions to confiscate under the Defence of the Republic Act the wireless sets owned by unreliable persons.

YUGOSLAVIA

MAGYAR POLITICIAN VISITS M. MACEK

A group of politicians from the Voivodina visited M. Maček, Deputy Premier, in Belgrade. One of them was Dr. Ivan Nagy, a lawyer of Ujvidék who had been a candidate for Parliament on M. Maček's general list. Dr. Nagy, who is a Magyar by race, supplied M. Maček with information concerning the grievances of the Magyars in the fields of culture, education, administration and economy, their legitimate demands and those provisions of the decree regulating the sale of real estate which are particularly injurious to the Magyar minority.



BOOKS

Portuguese Writer on the Subject of Justice for Hungary

The book published by a Portuguese writer, Senor *José Rendeiro*, deserves special attention among the extensive literature on the subject of war responsibility, not only because of the new points of view it contains, but also because of the author's thorough grasp of the subject. This West-African Portuguese publicist is known to entertain sympathy for Hungary. This is not the first time he has entered the lists in the interest of justice for this country. In the present cleverly written book he refutes with convincing force the accusations which would lay the responsibility for the war on Hungary, and publishes in detail the history of the dramatic *pourparlers* between Stephen Tisza's Government and Vienna. His book also contains copious quotations from Tisza's letters in which the great Hungarian statesman clearly sets forth his reasons for advocating a policy of peace. One after another, Senor Rendeiro produces documents that establish the magnitude of the effort made by the ill-starred Hungarian Prime Minister to save peace. The ultimate conclusion arrived at by the author is that Hungary was dismembered by Trianon because she had remained to the end loyal to the Central Powers. This is not the only book on Hungary written by the same author. Two others are in circulation, one of which contains a comprehensive history of Hungarian art, while the other presents the reading public with a portrait of Count Albert Apponyi's arresting personality.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

HUNGARY'S REQUIREMENTS OF RAW MATERIALS ENSURED EVEN IN EVENT OF LONG WAR

The present international embroilment finds Hungary in a very consolidated state both economically and financially. This is due in large measure to the fact that the people of Hungary have reacted with calmness and composure to the events of the past few weeks. The European war does not threaten to disturb Hungary's economic life seriously; in some respects, indeed, the effects may prove stimulating. Thus, the increased needs of the belligerents and the difficulties attending overseas trade will enable Hungary to market many of her products on favourable terms; it may even be that certain countries which hitherto did their purchasing in other markets will now turn their attention to Hungarian products. It is therefore but natural that in these circumstances Hungary should react with greater composure than many other countries.

Very few European States can say that their economic position is as stable as Hungary's. The country is amply supplied with practically every prime necessity and has considerable reserves of the more important commodities that have to be imported from abroad.

According to the report on the crops lately issued, a record wheat yield of 30.5 million quintals is expected. Other grain crops are also good, and the rest of the agricultural crops are satisfactory. Live stock statistics for 1938 record 1.882.000 horned cattle, 3.110.000 pigs and 1.629.000 sheep. These numbers have of course risen with the restoration of the areas re-incorporated in Hungary. The forest areas of *Subcarpathia* will ensure a supply of timber, the salt mine at *Aknaszlatina* produces an ample quantity of salt for the country's needs, and the increase by leaps and bounds in the volume of raw oil production enables Hungary to cover a very large part of her own needs in that commodity.

Industrial production shows a favourable balance. Statistical reports for 1938 give the following figures: black coal 1.042.080 tons, brown coal 8.305.800 tons, iron ore 297.600 tons and pig iron 334.920 tons. That Hungarian industry is working at an extremely high capacity may be seen from the circumstance that in May 1939 the number of persons employed in factories and handicrafts was 769.000 as compared with 699.000 — also a very high number for Hungary — in the same month last year.

All these figures and circumstances show the elasticity of Hungarian economic life and justify the opinion that even in the event of a long war Hungary's economic resources will prove adequate to cope with the situation.

RUMANIA

HALF RUMANIA'S FOREIGN TRADE CARRIED ON WITH GERMANY

An examination of Rumania's foreign trade figures for the first five months of the present year shows that more than one-third of her exports go to Germany and over half of her imports originate from that country. *The great expansion of Rumania's commercial dealings with Germany is the result of the economic treaty concluded in March.* In the first five months of the current year the value of Rumania's imports from Germany exceeded that of her exports to that country by 2.982.000 marks. The most important of her exports during that period were 2.667.070 quintals of petroleum, 23.920 quintals of meat and lard, 5205 slaughter animals, 2010 quintals of live poultry, 6370 quintals of dead poultry, 47.247.000 eggs, besides horses and a considerable quantity of live and killed game. Quite recently, in terms of the recently concluded agreement a beginning was made with the exportation of fruit to Germany.

FOREIGN BUYERS KNOCK UP THE PRICE OF RUMANIAN WHEAT

Bucarest, September 12. — *Swiss, Belgian, Dutch and British* buyers have made their appearance in the Rumanian grain markets and have knocked up the price of wheat. They pay with stable currencies by way of clearing transactions. By 11th September the price of wheat per wagon had risen by 12.000 lei, which makes it an exportable commodity. The present price is 43.000 lei per wagon, as compared with 31.000 formerly. The price of beans has also risen from 80.000 to 110.000 lei per wagon, that of barley from 20.000 to 30.000 lei per wagon.

YUGOSLAVIA

WHAT CROATIAN ECONOMISTS DEMAND

Belgrade: The representatives of the *Chambers of Economy in the Banate of Croatia* have summed up their demands in 58 points

It has, for instance, been demanded that in future no new economic measures shall be introduced without the co-operation of the *Croatian*

Chambers of Economy. A revision of the assessment and collection of taxes in Croatia has also been demanded. A number of laws that make provision for the centralization of various funds should be repealed. Besides this, an abatement of the indirect taxes and a revision of the system of taxing articles of consumption have been demanded. Taxes on article of consumption should be divided among the various Banates according to a fair assessment key.

In respect of foreign exchange policy the Croats demand the establishment of a central *Foreign Exchange Board* on which representatives of Croatia would have seats. The *National Bank* is asked to open a head establishment in Zagreb and place its moneys at the disposal of Croatia in due proportion to the number of that Banate's inhabitants. State and chartered banking and trade institutions should also open independent branches in Croatia. The Department for the promotion of foreign trade should cease to be the competent factor in questions of that nature affecting Croatia, and its authority should be transferred to an independent institution to be established in Zagreb. Autonomous organs for the control of foreign trade should also be established. In the interests of Croatian economic life the law imposing restrictions on the sale of real estate in the frontier zone should be repealed.

In the sphere of inland commerce it is demanded that no stores (*emporium*) be permitted and that the activity of the retail branches of industrial undertakings be restricted. An embargo on the manufacture of galoshes is purposed to handicap the "*Bata*" concern. The acceleration of the electrification of Croatia is demanded. The provisions of the Manufacturing Industry Act must be made more severe; the licences issued to foreigners to carry on independent mercantile business, and labour permits, should be subjected to revision. The law dealing with public works should be amended in *Croatia's* favour. *Croatia's* demands in the sphere of communications policy have been precisely formulated. They embrace the development of the network of railways in that Banate, an increase of *Croatia's* rolling stock, the effectual subsidising of shipping and the construction of seaports.

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