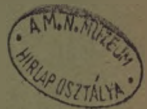


DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)



A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE
DANUBIAN BASIN

Dr. ANDREW FALL
MANAGING EDITOR

Vol. VIII. No. 12.

MAY, 1941.

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BUDAPEST
V. ZRINYI-U. 1. III.

LONDON S. W. 7
29 ONSLOW GARDENS

PAUL TELEKI

Scarcely had the Hungarian nation removed the drapery with which it had mourned the death of Stephen Csaky, Foreign Minister, when a fresh tragic death plunged it again into cruel bereavement. Paul *Teleki*, Prime Minister of Hungary, had passed away with tragic suddenness. *The country was profoundly shaken by the news of its bereavement.* The whole nation — great and small, rich and poor alike — was moved to tears when it heard the crushing news. *Equally great was the horror and equally profound the sympathy of foreign countries.* The statesmen of the countries with which Hungary is in alliance and friendship hastened to send telegrams of sympathy to the sorely stricken Hungarian Government and bore witness to the heartfelt sympathy of the whole world.

It is not our business to pass in review his undying merits as statesman, scholar and educator of his people; that work has been done by the world press: we would merely note that he was an indefatigable champion of the great national aspirations of his country who, after employing all the irrefutable arguments of scientific dialectics to prepare the way, subsequently — as Minister of Education and then as Prime Minister — himself assumed the direction of that policy which eventually led to the partial realisation of our national aspirations. Providence permitted him to take the principal rôle in the work of ensuring the restoration of part of his homeland, Transylvania, and to witness the glorious triumph of his political endeavours. *He was a resolute and fearless champion of the liberty and independence of his native land;* and in his death he will without doubt act as the Genius of that independent Hungarian State-idea to the service of which he devoted the labour of a lifetime.

The whole nation was present in the spirit at his funeral. The Great Deceased lay in state in the Dome Hall of the

Houses of Parliament; and the burial service there was attended in person by Admiral Nicholas *Horthy*, Regent of Hungary, the Archdukes, the Prince Primate of Hungary, Ladislas de *Bárdossy*, Prime Minister, accompanied by all Members of the Cabinet, the Presidents of the two Houses of Parliament, and representatives of the Allied and Friendly Powers, headed by Admiral *Raeder* and Ambassador *Muti* on behalf of Germany and Italy respectively.

The Prime Minister, Ladislas de *Bárdossy*, bade farewell to his eminent predecessor in the following deeply moving words:

"Stricken with grief and bowed with sorrow we stand here before Your coffin, Paul Teleki, to bid You a last farewell in the name of the nation which you loved so fervently and so devotedly. And we think of all that lies hidden in this coffin, — what a strength of will and what a power to work! what anxious heart-searching and solicitude! what self-sacrifice and selfless generosity! what a wealth of ideas and schemes! what a wealth of successes won by unswerving endeavour and of results achieved! and with all these qualities and these achievements behind You, what a tragic fulfilment of what men call Fate!

"The higher the ideals after which a struggling man strives, — the more sacred the mission of which that man feels conscious —, the more arduous the way to be traversed by him in this world. As we stand before this coffin, which is being followed by the heartrending grief of the whole nation, it is truly impossible to find words of consolation. And yet we must raise our heads from the dust to which our sorrow has bent them; we must dry the tears from our eyes — the tears which again and again flood them — and looking beyond this coffin, *we must try to discover the meaning and the lessons of the life* which has just come so unexpectedly and so tragically to an end.

"We should be conscious, not only of the tragedy, but also of the *katharsis* — the process of purification — ensuing. We should not see death only, but life — the glorious, rich life which went before.

"He was a scion of the ancient clan of the Telekis of Szék, — a clan which has produced so many statesmen,

scholars, poets, writers and soldiers. The soul of the youthful Paul Teleki was irradiated by the fertilising light of the memory of his great ancestors; and the young man on the threshold of life was confronted with the principle which later was sublimated into a veritable religion — "to live without desiring anything for ourselves, and not to wish to do anything else but work and serve and make sacrifices for the highest community which we call the nation".

"The earliest years of this journey on the road of life were spent in learning and in preparing to cope with the tasks which he was destined to undertake. His lively interest and his insatiable thirst for knowledge proved all-absorbing; but what primarily captivated his mind was geography and the kindred sciences. It was geography that inspired his ardent love for the Hungarian soil. It was geography that brought into being the cordial and intimate bond between Paul Teleki and the soil of his native land, with which no one was more familiar and which no one could love with greater devotion.

"But the interest of Paul Teleki the geographer was not confined to the soil of his native land. That burning — practically unslakable — thirst which urged him to continuously increase his knowledge and to constantly widen the scope of that knowledge, took him to far-distant countries, among foreign peoples; and while still a young man he became a *savant* whose name and authority was soon acknowledged all over the world.

"His first work as a responsible factor in the direction of public affairs was when he undertook the control of the National War Welfare Office. *As geography had brought him into contact with the soil, so this Office brought him into close contact with the human element* — with the wounded Hungarian soldiers who had given their blood for their Fatherland, with widows left to their own resources, and with weeping orphans.

"He took his share also of the war, playing there too the same eminent role as in all other fields to which his duty called him. And when after the close of the first Great War the nation so terribly exhausted by bloodshed fell an easy prey to an internal revolution and to the greed of

foreign peoples, *Paul Teleki never for a moment lost heart*. His faith remained unbroken and active even when the so-called Allied and Associated Powers — without consulting us — passed their horribly unjust sentence on the Hungarian people. It was at this point that the great work of Paul Teleki's life began.

"A struggle, an unceasing struggle *with the weapons of the intellect — of pure unadulterated science* — for the purpose of proving that *the co-called Peace of Trianon could not be kept in force*, not only because it was unjust, but because it rendered impossible the peaceful symbiosis of the peoples of Europe, and in particular of the peoples of the Danube Valley! The mass of scientifically elaborated and conscientiously considered data compiled for the purpose of proving the truth of this thesis by the Hungarian Peace Delegation, chiefly as the result of the personal efforts of Paul Teleki, failed to move the feelings or the hearts of the Paris arbitrators. But Paul Teleki appealed to the future; and *Providence allowed him to enjoy the full satisfaction of seeing his hopes justified*.

"Twenty years proved enough to bring about a radical change in the political and power conditions established at the close of the first Great War. And the artificial function of these power conditions — the Paris system of treaties — has inevitably shared the same fate.

"Surely no one could wish for a greater satisfaction than that! On the one side the funeral in the Trianon, on the other side the judgment in the Belvedere. On the one side the organisation at Szeged effected in the teeth of great difficulties at the outset, on the other side *the lightning advance of the Hungarian National Defence troops to the ridge of the Carpathians*. Two moments in Hungarian history the interval between which is irradiated by the pure life of Paul Teleki, which bridges over that interval like the arc of a manycoloured rainbow. This life was indeed spotlessly pure, selfless and self-sacrificing like that of an apostle. When as a result of the Belvedere Award his ancestral home, *Szatmár*, was restored to the mother country, *he presented to the nation his ancestral mansion there and the part of his ancestral estate* which had not been partitioned by

the foreign Power previously ruling there. He felt that to be his duty towards those who had fallen to recover what Trianon had subjected to foreign domination.

"These are brief moments snatched from the abundant wealth of a hallowed life. It would be an easy task to add infinitely more; and we should speak of the politician.

"We should speak of the world-famed *savant* who was invited to arbitrate in great questions of international importance, — of the professor who proclaimed the justice of Hungary's cause in the lectures delivered by him in Germany and in the universities of America. We should speak of the leader of the boy scout movement so dear to all Hungarian hearts and of the youth movements generally, — telling how he perhaps loved best the time spent among the Hungarian youth. And finally we should remember that in the closing years of his life Paul Teleki became veritably the teacher of his nation.

"He was a statesman who had to cope with problems arising daily; but at the same time he was a scholar too, viewing the problems from a distant perspective. Probably these two viewpoints — the two divergent methods of work — were often in conflict in him, raising torturing doubts in his soul as to which of the various paths or solutions to choose? And in this connection I am reminded of two lines written by Arany when speaking of Széchenyi — "And how oft he struggled bitterly with himself during so many troubled, sleepless nights". Now he has gone to his rest. Let us not disturb his sleep, which is blessed by a nation's affectionate gratitude."

After the Prime Minister had finished his speech of farewell, the numberless wreaths were placed on forgons by heyducks wearing mourning uniforms, others carrying the Great Deceased's decorations on cushions; and the black metal coffin was taken down from the catafalque and placed in a black hearse to be taken on its last journey. The streets of the Capital were lined by crowds of onlookers paying their last respects to the Great Deceased all along the route to the cemetery, where the eminent statesman is now resting after a glorious, manly struggle.

ADMIRAL HORTHY'S PROCLAMATION TO THE HUNGARIAN NATION

Ever since the flames of war blazed up in Europe, it has been my endeavour to save Hungary and the people entrusted to my charge, who so freely shed their blood in the World War of 1914—1918 and were subjected to such bitter trials after its conclusion, from fresh losses and sufferings. After the World War territories consecrated to Hungary by a thousand years of Magyar work and self-sacrifice were wrested without a battle from this nation, then utterly exhausted, lethargic and misled. It was therefore my conviction that in justice reparation must take place also without a struggle, without war.

Led by this conviction, last December we concluded a treaty meant to serve the cause of peace in the Danube Valley with Yugoslavia, with a Yugoslav Government inspired by peaceful intentions.

On 26th March the legitimate ruler of Yugoslavia was deposed, and the members of that peacefully disposed Government were thrown into prison. This arbitrary change, it would appear, was planned and carried through by the same factors that in 1914 threw Europe into a welter of tears, blood and suffering. In the present instance, too, it was not the maintenance of peace, not an agreement that would have ensured good, neighbourly relations, that was their aim, on the contrary they wished war to spread to this part of Europe. This was why they purposely created a conflict with the great German and Italian nations to which we are linked, not only by ties of friendship, but also by our partnership in the Three Power Pact.

The new régime in Belgrade concentrated military forces along our frontier, but Hungary made no move to defend herself until a series of air-raids was directed against our territory and attempts were made to invade our frontiers, against which my Government protested in vain.

The swift march of events has created a new situation. The leaders of the Croat people, foreseeing the fatal results of the policy pursued by the Belgrade régime, have proclaimed Croatia's independence. It is with sincere satisfaction that we welcome that decision, which for our part we shall hold in full respect. For a thousand years, through thick and thin, we lived in peaceful symbiosis with the Croats, respecting each other and supporting each other in times of trouble, and it is our wish that the noble Croat nation may find prosperity and happiness in its political independence.

With the formation of an independent Croat State Yugoslavia, as such, has ceased to exist, being reduced to its component parts.

This has simultaneously made it imperative for Hungary to take the government of the areas wrested from this country in 1918 into her own hands again and to ensure the safety of the large masses of Magyars living in those areas. This is a sacred national duty that must be performed without delay. I therefore, this day, command My soldiers to protect the Magyars of Southern Hungary from the perils of anarchy. Their military action is not directed against the Serb people, with whom we have no quarrel, and with whom we wish to continue to live in peace.

I greet those of our blood now returning to Hungary, for whose safety we are in future responsible, with affection and satisfaction. May God bless Hungary and the Hungarian nation!

THE SOUTHERN PART OF HUNGARY RETURNS

When after the proclamation issued by Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, the Hungarian troops crossed the Yugoslav frontier on 11th April in the early hours of the morning to protect their brethren, whose lives and property were endangered by the unbridled lawlessness and acts of terror of the irresponsible Serb elements and at the same time to regain possession of that ancient

Hungarian region which had been torn out of the heart of the Great Hungarian Plain by the Peace Edict of Trianon, certain foreign circles and a section of the Press hostile to Hungary launched an attack on this country. In justification of Hungary's behaviour, besides the arguments contained in the Regent's proclamation and in the Hungarian Press, the following indisputable facts should be made public: —

1. While professing to be on good, neighbourly terms with Hungary, Yugoslavia has for the past two and a half years been building a line of fortifications all along the frontier between that country and Hungary. This line was not merely intended as a defence, but also, should occasion arise, as a base of attack against Hungary.

2. The "Prizad", a Yugoslav company enjoying special privileges, had since months been ruthlessly and with growing severity requisitioning in the Voivodina, i. e. in the southern areas wrested from Hungary. *This requisitioning of wheat and flour supplies, chiefly from the inhabitants of towns with a Magyar or German majority and from the mills in those districts, was conducted on such a scale as to amount to war preparations.*

3. Immediately after the *coup d'état* of 27th March general mobilization was ordered, in the course of which Yugoslav forces were concentrated along the line of fortifications near the Hungarian frontier, although no danger threatened from Hungary.

4. Because of the bombing of *Szeged, Körmend, Siklós, Villány* and *Szentgotthard* by Yugoslav aeroplanes on 7th April the Hungarian Government lodged an energetic protest in Belgrade without, however, receiving a reassuring reply, or at least a promise that reparation would be made for the damage done.

5. The fact that even after the treaty of friendship was concluded with Yugoslavia German troops passed through Hungary cannot be regarded as incompatible with the letter and spirit of the treaty, since both the present and the former Yugoslav Governments were well aware that by joining the Three Power Pact and in terms of the obligations thereby undertaken (on 20th November 1940) Hungary was

naturally bound to allow the Germans passage through this country.

6. The Serbs are the last who have any right to accuse Hungary of disloyalty, for in their secret agreement with the German Government, besides other well-known privileges, they stipulated that as the price of their joining the Three Power Pact they were to receive the extremely important port of Salonica belonging to their own ally Greece and the whole territory between the present Greek and Yugoslav frontiers.

7. As regards the accusation of a breach of faith and treaty violation, Turkey and England ought rather to have levelled it against the Belgrade politicians and military circles that were guilty of breaking faith and violating treaties at the time Yugoslavia was created, *first when they evaded the obligations undertaken towards the Croats and Slovenes* in the declarations made on 20th July 1917 at Corfu and 9th November 1918 at Geneva, then by a flagrant violation of Article I of the military pact, or rather armistice treaty, concluded between the Károlyi Government and the Allies at Belgrade on 13th November 1918, in terms of which the civil administration was to remain in the hands of the Hungarian Government, later on by refusing to honour the commitments given in the Minority Treaties as the condition on which they received certain territories, and, last but not least, *by breaking faith with the other States of the Little Entente and the Balkan Bloc in the latter's hour of direst need.*

How little regard they had for international law and for the most elementary principles of honesty incumbent on those who deal in foreign politics, may be gathered from the statement of a notorious "dobrovoljac" leader published in the newspapers of 30th March, according to which, „the treaty concluded with Hungary is only a paper rag, our joining the Three Power Pact was only a blind, for the time has now come when the dream of a great Central European Slav empire will be realized.”

For all that has happened the leaders of the Serb people and no one else, least of all their Hungarian neighbours, are to blame. Hungary merely performed an

elementary duty when during the first stage of Yugoslavia's disintegration *she took absolutely necessary steps to ensure the safety of the lives and property of the half a million odd Magyars living in the areas wrested from this country.* This was duly explained in the proclamation issued by the Regent of Hungary (*v. supra*), in which stress was laid on the point that those military measures were not directed against the Serb people, with whom Hungary wished to continue to live in peaceful relations.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

LADISLAS DE BÁRDOSSY, THE NEW PRIME MINISTER OF HUNGARY

After the tragic death of Count Paul *Teleki*, Hungarian Prime Minister, the Regent, Admiral *Horthy*, immediately appointed as his successor in office Ladislas de *Bárdossy*, who had been Foreign Minister in the *Teleki* Government and who retained his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Members of his Cabinet are the same politicians as served in the previous Government. This rapid appointment of the new Hungarian Government also shows that in these days of crisis it was impossible to leave the country for a single day without a Government; while the fact that the appointment of the *Bárdossy* Government has left the previous Cabinet unchanged at the head of affairs as enjoying the full confidence of the Regent, proves in a most striking manner that *the line of policy to be pursued by the new Government will remain the same as that followed by the Teleki Government.*

This was the interpretation of the appointment given, not only by Hungarian public opinion generally, but also by public opinion all the world over; and the Hungarian political parties too welcomed the new Premier, *Bárdossy*, as the inheritor of the line of policy followed both in domestic and in foreign affairs by the *Teleki* Government.

With *Bárdossy's* personality and his political career we dealt exhaustively two months ago, in an article in these columns written when he succeeded the late Count *Csáky* as Foreign Minister. Since then *he has himself shown that in the direction of the foreign affairs of Hungary he is following in the footsteps of his predecessor*, working in complete harmony and agreement with Count Paul *Teleki*, until the latter's death.

As Prime Minister *Bárdossy*, who has never been a Member of any political party, naturally at once joined the

party with an overwhelming majority organised by Count Teleki, which was delighted to hear of his appointment to the office of Premier, as were also all the Opposition parties, in whose eyes the political personality of Bárdossy is most sympathetic; these parties all alike agree with Hungarian public opinion in regarding him as the inheritor of the political principles professed by the exceptionally popular Count Paul Teleki.

The words of welcome addressed to the new Premier of Hungary by official quarters and the reception of his appointment by the international press show that the new Hungarian Premier — who was Count Paul Teleki's closest collaborator — is expected to be a worthy depositary of the well-tryed domestic and foreign policy of Hungary which has proved to be so oportune.

This wish finds expression in Hungarian public opinion generally; and at the same time the new Prime Minister stressed his desire to continue that policy in the speech delivered by him at the first conference of the Government Party held after his appointment. In the name of this powerful Party Béla *Lukács*, Chairman, welcomed the new Premier and declared that the Party was anxious to accord him in full measure the firm support needed by him in carrying out his policy.

In his reply Premier *Bárdossy inter alia* said:

"When on the tragic Thursday of last week the Regent expressed the wish that I should take over the leadership of the Government left without a head, I must admit that it was only after a grave inner struggle that I decided to do so, my decision being due exclusively to my feeling that it was my duty — especially in the given situation — *to obey the command of the Regent.*

"I was anxious first of all to ensure the further co-operation of the well-tryed, eminent collaborators of our Great Deceased; and I must once more thank them for having unselfishly and without regard to personal considerations given me the benefit of their great experience, their abilities and their personal values in order to provide that *the policy and the work of the Government should be continued unchanged in the same spirit as before — let me stress the*

point again, without interruption and in the same spirit and direction as hitherto."

The new Premier added that he regarded the Government Party as a link connecting him with the nation as a whole, and declared that he wished to appear before Parliament — in keeping with the constitutional usage — after the usual Easter recess, when he would outline the Government's programme. "This policy" — he said — "is in every respect the carrying into effect of the intellectual inheritance bequeathed to us by our Great Deceased. I cannot sufficiently stress that his tragic death does not involve the change of one jot or tittle of the political trend which He initiated. The Government's policy will be a continuation of the spirit which He stood for. In dealing with the problems confronting us, the path to be followed and the method of solution will be that laid down by Him. We shall merely follow His guidance and shall not follow any other."

OSZK

Nemzeti Széchényi Könyvtár

HOW AND OF WHAT THE VASSAL SERB PRINCIPALITY BECAME IN A CENTURY THE S. H. S. KINGDOM, YUGOSLAVIA

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

“**T**he mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small”. The path of justice is often strait and stony, but trodden with due perseverance, uncompromising determination and unbending will, it leads ultimately to the goal. This is what has happened in connection with South Hungary, the so-called “Voivodina”, which in the November of 1918 was wrested from this country and attached to Yugoslavia by the Peace Edict of Trianon. Yugoslavia, which had been augmented by territory belonging to others, has now, unexpectedly, thanks to an irreparable elementary blunder, fallen almost entirely to pieces. What the Serbs built up with a century of self-sacrificing, purposeful, hard and often gory work, but also with a great deal of intrigue and duplicity, has collapsed suddenly like a house of cards, owing to their presumption and impotence. *The southern regions which were wrested from Hungary in defiance of right and justice, are now returning to the mother-country.* Some other parts of Yugoslavia will also seek to join neighbouring States. Croatia has arisen from the tomb and proclaimed her independence, and the Bulgaro-Macedonian areas in South-Eastern Serbia will probably attach themselves to Bulgaria.

Yugoslavia is thus being reduced to her component parts, and when we witness the process of disintegration for which she herself is to blame, we think it will perhaps interest our readers to learn how that State was pieced together.

In 1804 Karadjordje unfurled the flag of the first real, and to a certain measure successful, Serb war of independence, and after three years of bloody battles compelled the Sultan to yield to his demands. In 1807 some of the regions inhabited by Serbs were liberated from the yoke of the Turks, who had ruled over them for 415 years. This part was the foundation of the Belgrade Pashalic (vassal province) consisting of 12 districts and the nucleus of what subsequently became the independent Serb principality. Later on Karadjordje enlarged the area of the Pashalic by adding to it 6 other districts, so that when in 1813 the Prince, abandoned by Russia, was obliged to flee from Serbia before the superior forces of the Porte and take refuge in Austria, it consisted of 18 districts.

Milosh Obrenovitch, who in 1815 headed another rebellion, met with greater success. With the support of the Tsar, Nicholas I, he succeeded in inducing the High Porte to recognize him as prince of the vassal Belgrade Pashalic, which without the 6 districts added to it by Karadjordje, was 25.330 square kilometres in area. With the subsequent second conquest of those 6 districts, comprising about 12.000 square kilometres, its area increased to 37.330 square kilometres, and this enlargement of the vassal principality was recognized by the Sultan in 1833 by a special "hattisherif". This was the area of the Serb vassal principality, and so it remained until 1878, when *by a resolution passed at the Berlin Congress* it not only achieved full political independence, but also, thanks mainly to the intervention of *Count Julius Andrassy, Foreign Minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, was enlarged by the addition of the *Toplitza, Nish and Vronya districts*, in all an area of 10.972 square kilometres. These districts were ceded to the principality as a sort of smart-money to compensate the Serbs for another resolution passed simultaneously by the Berlin Congress, in terms of which the Austro-Hungarian Monarchs was given a mandate to occupy Bosnia and Hercegovina. In 1882 the National Diet of the Serb Principality, now 48.302 square kilometres in area, proclaimed Serbia a kingdom. This also took place with the support of *Count Julius Andrassy*.

TERRITORIES ACQUIRED DURING THE BALKAN
WAR AND THE GREAT WAR

By the *Peace Treaties of London and Bucharest* Serbia acquired a further 39.486 square kilometres after the Balkan War of 1912—1913, so that it was then 87.788 square kilometres in area.

After the first Great War the component parts of the S. H. S. Kingdom created by the Paris Peace Treaties were as follows:

1. The two independent kingdoms of *Serbia and Montenegro* (Crna Gora);

2. Autonomous political units: *Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia and Hercegovina*;

3. Certain Crown Lands belonging to the Empire of Austria, which in terms of the Peace Edict of Saint Germain of 10th September 1919 had to be ceded to Serbia: —

a) *Dalmatia*, but without Zara and the islands of Lastovo and Pelegruz,

b) *Carniola* without the part assigned to Italy (2.100 square kilometres),

c) *Southern Styria*,

d) 1.355 square kilometres in *Carinthia*,

e) *Kastavshatina* and the island of *Krk* (*Veglia*), i. e. $88 + 423 = 511$ square kilometres.

4. The areas which in terms of the Trianon Peace Edict of 4th June 1920 Hungary was compelled to cede to Serbia:

a) 9.380 square kilometres in the *Banate* (the greater part of that region — 18.000 square kilometres — was allotted to Rumania),

b) The *Bácska*, without the *Baja Triangle*, 8.755 square kilometres,

c) In *Baranya* the so-called *Baranya Triangle*, 1214 square kilometres,

d) In the district between the *Mur* and the *Drave* (*Medjumurje*) 775 square kilometres,

e) In the district flanking the *Mur* (*Prekomurje*) 950 square kilometres.

5. The areas which in terms of the Neuilly Peace Edict

Bulgaria was forced to hand over to Serbia. Those were the *Strumica*, *Bosiligrad* and *Caribrod* districts, as well as the region lying on the right bank of the Lower Timok north of Zajicar, in all 2.463 square kilometres.

I. Serbia entered the S. H. S. Kingdom with an area of 90.251 square kilometres. This territory was divided as follows:

Pre-war Serbia	48.302 sq. kms.
Southern Serbia	39.486 " "
The Strumica district	916 " "
The Bosiligrad district	816 " "
The Caribrod district	584 " "
The Lower Timok district	147 " "

II. Croatia, with 43.815 square kilometres, which consisted of

Croatia-Slavonia	42.552 sq. kms.
The district between the Mur and the Drave	775 " "
The Island of Krk (Veglia)	423 " "
Kastavshtina	88 " "

If to this we add Dalmatia with 12.731 square kilometres (without Zara) and the Island of Lastovo (110 sq. kms.), the total area of the Croat parts was 56.536 sq. kilometres.

III. Slovenia was pieced together of areas taken from the following regions:

From Carniola	7.855 sq. kms.
From Styria	6.039 " "
From Carinthia	1.353 " "
From the region adjoining the Mur	950 " "

Total 16.197 sq. kms.

IV. Bosnia and Hercegovina 51.119 sq. kms.

V. The so-called "Voivodina" 19.349 " "

VI. Crna Gora (Montenegro) 15.264 " "

Thus Yugoslavia (or the S. H. S. Kingdom) consisted of

1. Serbia 90.251 sq. kms. 4.133.478 inhabit.

2. Croatia-Slovenia-					
Dalmatia	56.536	„	„	1.054.919	„
3. Bosnia and					
Hercegovina	51.119	„	„	1.890.440	„
5. The "Voivodina"	19.339	„	„	1.346.527	„
6. Crna Gora	15.264	„	„	199.227	„
<hr/>					
Total	248.706	sq. kms.	11.984.911	inhabit.	

The numbers of inhabitants are those of the census taken on 31st January 1921. We have chosen these figures in preference to those of the census taken on 31st March 1931, because they tally roughly with the numbers of inhabitants living at the close of the World War in all the areas of which Yugoslavia was created. The rest of the statistics have been taken from Dr. Stephen Srkulj's "*Hrvatska Povijest u devetnaest karata*" (The History of Croatia in Nineteen Maps) (Zagreb 1937).

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

A GLIMPSE INTO RUMANIA'S INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

In the course of the current year General Antonescu, leader of the Rumanian State, has made several statements about Rumania's foreign policy. According to those statements, "*Rumania joined the Axis without hesitation*". The more surprising then that the Rumanian Press freely publishes strange opinions about the friendship between Germany and Rumania, and that responsible statesmen — above all General Antonescu himself — are engaged in a campaign of unbridled agitation against the Award given in Vienna on 30th August last by the arbitrating Great Powers.

In the "Porunca Vremii", a daily appearing in Bucharest, the editor-in-chief, Ilie Radulescu, amongst other things writes: — "*We are not such great friends of Germany as to forget that in the first place we are Rumanians. Our pro-German sympathies must merely be used as a political means of more usefully serving our own country.*" In a word, Rumania's "friendship" with Germany is nothing but a means of serving her own ends. According to a report published by the Bucharest Orient Radio Bureau, General Antonescu made a speech in Bucharest on 26th March, on the occasion when relief was distributed among the relatives of the soldiers killed during the disturbances on 21st January. In that speech, amongst other things, General Antonescu said: — "*Neither myself, nor the Rumanian nation has accepted, or will accept, as final, the situation I found and in which I was forced to acquiesce. There will never be any peace in this corner of Europe, or justice in the world, until the wrongs done to the Rumanian nation are righted, or until the nation itself redresses them. The Rumanian people know what honour means, and they are ready to hold it in respect, but they also expect their own honour to be respected by others.*"

On the lips of a responsible statesman what else is this statement but *an open repudiation of the Vienna Award?* But General Antonescu is not the only politician who openly opposes the decision. The Rumanian Minister of National Education, General Radu Rosetti, on 14th March paid a visit to the Temesvár University of Sciences, on which occasion he told the professors not to invest any more money in the University, because *it would shortly return to its old headquarters in the town of Kolozsvár* (which was given back to Hungary by the Vienna Award). At the opening of a school in Belényes by the Bishop of the Orthodox Church, which took place in the last fortnight of March, an unprecedented attack was launched against the Vienna Award. Ion Sandru, State Secretary in the Ministry of Education, speaking on behalf of General Antonescu, amongst other things declared that he had come to Belényes with great pleasure, to that old town of nationalistic traditions *which had offered a temporary sanctuary to the Bishopric of Nagyvárad*. General P. Dumitrescu, also speaking on behalf of General Antonescu, said: — "As a soldier I can assure you that the army has only one idea — to be revenged for the humiliation it has suffered and for which it was not to blame. I pray God" — he said in conclusion, turning towards the Bishop" — that Your Eminence will soon be able to re-establish your See in Nagyvárad". (Nagyvárad was also restored to Hungary by the Vienna Award.) At Nagyszeben, on 14th March, in a speech to the pupils of a school for reserve cavalry officers, the colonel in command said: — "Be the leaders of those cavalry troops to which you will soon be in the happy position of giving the order to sweep across to *the precious Rumanian lands of which we have been despoiled*." In connection with the propaganda against the Vienna Award that is being made in Rumania, mention must be made of what took place in Arad on 8th April, an account of which was published in the Arad "Stirea". A priest named Manu Dumitru delivered a lecture on "The Catastrophe of 1940", the opening sentences of which ran as follows: — "We lost a diplomatic battle in Vienna. But I should have liked to see the Hungarian army face to face with ours. Our neighbours were cunning, and

we were not clever enough. *The Vienna Award was a humiliation for us, the like of which we never suffered in the whole course of our history.*"

Relations between Hungary and Rumania — in which an improvement was observable after the agreement concerning optants was concluded in Budapest on 26th February — have again grown worse, thanks to the way the Rumanian newspapers have violated the Press truce. The crowning touch to the anti-Hungarian behaviour of the Rumanian Press was an article that appeared from the pen of Stoica Sever in the Arad "Stirea" about the late Hungarian Premier, Count Paul Teleki.

Rumanian internal politics are characterized by the fact that after the successful issue of the plebiscite General Antonescu is now trying to carry through the reforms demanded by the present situation. In March numerous discussions were held, the National Liberals and the National Peasant Party being offered seats in the Cabinet. George Bratianu is being spoken of as the coming Minister for Foreign Affairs, if only because of his pronounced pro-German sympathies. In connection with Julius Maniu the sensation of the moment is that he has had a lengthy interview with Queen Helena. This fact shows that Maniu has again come into prominence. Another event that caused a sensation was the meeting that took place at the beginning of April between Maniu and the Yugoslav Minister in Bucharest, on which occasion they had a lengthy conversation. That this meeting should have caused a sensation, is explained by the fact that Maniu is well known to be a leader of the anti-Axis trend in Rumania.

Another event in Rumanian internal politics was the letter addressed to General Antonescu by *Horia Sima*, leader of the Iron Guard, who until the revolt in January was also Deputy Premier. In his first letter, with which after two months' silence he at last gave a sign of life from abroad, he had announced his resignation of the leadership of the Legionist movement, and as his successor designated *Vasile Ianinschi*, former Minister of Labour, who is also an exile in a foreign country and for whose arrest a warrant had been issued by the Rumanian authorities. Horia Sima's second

letter — as reported by the Orient Radio Bureau — was handed to General Antonescu on 14th April by Professor Gavanescu. In it Horia Sima asked the Leader of the State to co-operate with the Legionists. General Antonescu returned a written reply to Professor Gavanescu refusing any further co-operation with Horia Sima, Ianinschi and the rest of the former leaders of the Legionist movement who were responsible for the break between the Legion and the Rumanian people. He had — he said — irrefutable proof that they were the instigators of the rebellion which had thrown the country into confusion and ruin. In his reply General Antonescu laid stress also on the point that he himself desired to ensure complete tranquility in the country, but refused to have anything to do even with the sober elements in the Legionist movement, unless they first solemnly and publicly repudiated all connection with the Jilawa murders, the rebellion and the fools who still continued their subversive work against the present régime. The work of purification is still progressing, and the courts of justice are unceasingly engaged with the trials of Legionists. Fresh arrests have been made among those of the Iron Guard who have again put in an appearance.

This sketch of the internal situation in Rumania would be incomplete without mention of the letter made public by the Government on the 60th anniversary of the day on which Rumania was proclaimed a kingdom. A French translation of this letter was read by General Antonescu at a Press conference on 14th March. The letter was written by Queen Maria to her son, the present exiled King Carol II, in the December of 1925, when as Crown Prince he renounced his claim to the throne in order to be able to go abroad with Madame Lupescu. In her letter Queen Maria made reproaches to her son, saying that although he had everything necessary to his happiness, riches, honour, a beautiful and loving wife and a little son, he had left his family, his mother and his seriously ill father for the sake of a love that was nothing but unbridled sensuality. The Queen declared that Carol was unworthy to be the leader of his people, for he had betrayed, not only his family, but also his country.



WHAT THE RUMANIANS HAVE DONE FOR THE MAGYARS

BY

ANDREW FALL

Transylvania's cultural life, which for centuries had shown such splendid development, was ruined when the Edict of Trianon wrested that territory from Hungary and attached it to Rumania, a country on a much lower level of civilization. The cultural programme of Greater Rumania's successive Governments was to reduce everything to one level, and everything possible was done to lower the cultural standard of Transylvania to that of Rumania proper. The Gyulafehérvár assembly, at which the Rumanians of Transylvania announced their union with Rumania, demanded full national liberty for all the peoples of that country, equal rights and full religious liberty for every denomination, and democratic measures in every sphere of public life, — e. g. universal, uniform suffrage, also for women, with direct and secret ballot, liberty of the Press, the right to assemble and to form associations, and the free propagation of all human ideas. Besides this, a minority treaty guaranteed the rights of the minorities attached to Rumania. But the Rumanian Governments simply ignored both the Gyulafehérvár resolution and the Minority Treaty, so that twenty years of Rumanian rule has resulted in the total ruin of the cultural and religious life of the non-Rumanian nationalities in Transylvania.

The Rumanian Constitution promulgated in 1923 contains the following provisions re the liberty of religious practice.

"§ 22. Liberty of conscience is absolute.

"The State guarantees all religious denominations equal liberty and protection in so far as their practices do not

constitute an offence against public order and morality and the Constitution of the State.

"The Greek Oriental (Orthodox) and Greek Catholic Churches are Rumanian Churches.

"The Greek Oriental Church being the religion of the great majority of the Rumanian people, it shall be the ruling Church in the Rumanian State. The Greek Catholic Church shall have precedence over the rest of the denominations."

This article contradicts itself when on the one hand it promises equal liberty and State protection to all religious denominations, and on the other makes an important distinction between denomination and denomination, placing the Orthodox Church in a dominant position and investing the Greek Catholic Church, as second in rank, with the right of precedence over all the rest of the denominations.

From the point of view of public law, therefore, the Rumanian Constitution creates a certain hierarchy among the churches at the head of which, and high above all the rest, stands the Orthodox Church as the established State Church; immediately below it follows the Rumanian Greek Catholic Church, whose most important privilege is that all its bishops are members ex officio of the legislative body; the rest of the denominations do not enjoy the same privileges as the Rumanian Churches, and are therefore in law in a much inferior position. Membership of the Senate is not ensured by virtue of office to every Catholic and Protestant bishop as it is to the Greek Catholic and Greek Oriental bishops, and as it was to all bishops without exception in pre-war Hungary.

In their intolerance the Rumanian Government and the Greek Oriental Church went so far as to commit wrongs against the Greek Catholic Church. The confiscation of Greek Catholic churches and their conveyance to the Greek Oriental Church was the order of the day, sometimes through the instrumentality of the administrative authorities, sometimes simply by means of frankly arbitrary action on the part of the Greek Orthodox clergy. In Pojana (County Hunyad) the Orthodox priest, with the help of his congregation, drove away the Greek Catholic priest and destroyed

the Greek Catholic church. The Greek Catholic church of the Ruthenes of Sucava was taken from the Greek Catholics by a Cabinet Council decree and handed over to the Rumanian Greek Oriental Church. Because of this Russu, the Greek Catholic bishop of Máramaros, put a question in the Senate on 30th January 1937, but he was cried down and accused of Russian irredentism. If the Greek Catholics were treated like this, it is not difficult to imagine what happened to the rest of the religious denominations.

The Religion Act of 1928 contains provisions directed against the non-Rumanian Churches that reduce these old free Churches to the level of tolerated sects. That Act empowers the State to interfere with the administration and the economic and spiritual affairs of the several denominations, to make difficulties and even — as the Preamble to the Act boasts — to forbid them to accept gifts from their brethren in foreign lands, to restrict the generosity of their members, quash the judgments passed by the ecclesiastical courts, render doubtful their exclusive right to teach religion in the schools, and undermine their authority in respect of the question of Church taxes.

On 10th May 1927 the Rumanian Church concluded a Concordat with the Papal See. This agreement proved the source of a fresh series of disabilities for the Roman Catholic Church of Transylvania. It did away with the bishopric of Nagyvárad established by St. Ladislaus 800 years ago, attaching it to the diocese of Szatmár. The dioceses of Transylvania and Csanád established 900 years ago by St. Stephen, which number 350.000 and 450.000 members respectively, were placed under the Archbishopric of Bucharest, a new creation without historical traditions, alien in spirit and language, and with but some 10.000 odd members. The Concordat provides that the assets of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches shall be administered jointly, an arrangement which the latter had refused to consider prior to the change of rule. It has also made teaching in Rumanian compulsory in the schools owned by religious orders, where from time immemorial Hungarian had been the medium of instruction.

The Protestant Churches of Transylvania found them-

selves in an equally difficult position. The autonomy of the Transylvanian Protestant Churches was the result of centuries of evolution, and no restriction had ever been placed on their activities by the Hungarian State. After the change of rule, however, Rumania — in accordance with the anti-autonomous spirit obtaining in Old Rumania — took legislative steps to hamper the work of all the Transylvanian Protestant Churches. Protestant congregations were kept under observation, even Divine Service was controlled. One of the most important functions of the Protestant as well as of the Catholic Church was to establish and maintain schools. Their efforts to perform this task, however, are always being impeded by the Rumanian authorities, so that they are unable to fulfil their mission in this respect.

The Rumanian Administration aimed at ruining the minority Churches financially in order to weaken their activities by depriving them of their funds and thus prevent their establishing minority schools. This aim was effectively achieved under the pretext of a Land Reform. Of the 290.649 yokes owned by the four Roman Catholic dioceses no fewer than 277.645 (95.5%), were expropriated. The Protestant Churches lost 36.686 yokes (45.23% of their 81.106 yokes.). Together the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches lost 84.5% of their landed property.

But the confiscation of their estates was not the only means employed by the Rumanian Administration to make it impossible for the minority Churches to maintain denominational schools. Legislative methods were also used, despite the fact that Rumania had in Paris on 9th December 1919 signed a treaty framed to ensure the protection of minorities, § 9 of which expressly declared that the minorities were entitled to establish at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational institutes, and to administer and supervise them, with the right to use their own language and practice their own religion freely in them. In defiance of this provision Anghelescu's Ordinances Nos. 100.088 and 100.090 ex 1923 made the teaching of geography and history in Rumanian compulsory in the Magyar denominational schools.

The spirit of these Ordinances also asserts itself in the Elementary Education Act of 1924, for the instructions issued re the execution of that law provide that in the first four classes of the seven-class elementary schools, besides Rumanian, geography, history and the elements of constitutional law must be taught in Rumanian, while in the three upper classes all subjects must be taught in that language, so that in point of fact the Act makes the teaching of all the important elementary subjects in Rumanian compulsory even in the denominational schools.

An even more serious blow to minority education is the provision contained in § 7, which stipulates that all citizens of Rumanian origin who have "lost" (forgotten) their mother-tongue must send their children to Rumanian schools. This article was responsible for the notorious system of name-analysis. If the Rumanian administrative authorities decided that a child's name did not sound Hungarian, that child was not allowed to attend a Hungarian school. In practice, therefore, large numbers of pupils of Magyar origin whose parents professed to be Magyars were forced to attend the Rumanian schools against their will.

In the field of denominational education another severe blow was inflicted on the minorities by the Private Education Act of 1925, which degraded all non-State (denominational, parish, etc.) schools to the rank of private schools, made their establishment conditional on a licence from the Minister of Education and placed their activities under his control. This Act removed teachers' training colleges and universities from the category of private schools and made it impossible for anybody but the State to establish schools of that kind. In private schools only books approved by the Minister may be used for teaching, and intercourse with the authorities must take place in Rumanian. Those schools cannot issue certificates of the same validity as those of the State schools, but the Minister may give a licence to do so. In this respect the law leaves the denominational schools at the mercy of arbitrary State interference; it has reduced the use minority languages to a minimum, and in many cases has done away with it altogether. With the aid of name-analysis the Administration has driven the pupils

away from the minority schools and made the existence of the latter dependent on the caprices of the Minister and the authorities. No wonder that even Rumanians have condemned these draconian measures. Writing of the Private Education Act in the "Adverul" on 27th May 1925, a Rumanian secondary school teacher says: — "It contains provisions the like of which were unknown to the Rumanian schools in Transylvania during the old (Hungarian) régime. Some of its provisions ignore all the principles of pedagogy, and their application means mental torture for minority children. Restrictions and prohibitions are so numerous that in certain parts one gathers the impression that one is reading a set of prison rules."

The organization of the Rumanian secondary schools and their examination system underwent a series of modifications between 1925. and 1934. Of these modifications the most notorious was the Higher Certificate Act of 1925, which substituted a so-called higher certificate examination for the old leaving certificate one. This examination has to be passed, not before the teachers of the pupils' own school, but before an *ad hoc* board of examiners appointed by the Minister, and at the headquarters of the district chief inspector of secondary schools. Each board consists of seven members, six of whom are teachers recruited from the higher section of State lyceums, while the seventh is the chairman of the board. Examinations are both *viva voce* and in writing, and the answers must be given in Rumanian. The subjects are the Rumanian language and literature, Rumanian geography, history and the elements of constitutional law, in other words, the so-called national subjects. Besides these, one modern language and two other subjects may be taught in their own mother-tongue. The first year after this Act was passed 516 pupils of Rumanian nationality and 431 Magyars were examined in Transylvania by eight boards. Of the former 188 (34.4%), of the latter 316 (73%) failed. These figures clearly illustrate the purpose of the Act, which confronts Magyar minority pupils with wellnigh insuperable difficulties.

We shall not discuss the rest of its provisions here; it must suffice to say that in 1934 Anghelescu again modified

the Secondary Education Act. The instructions as to how it was to be interpreted, issued on 27th July 1934, deprived the minorities of the last vestiges of their right to use their own mother-tongues by forbidding the use of Hungarian as an auxiliary language at the higher certificate examinations.

The Rumanian Government has restricted the use of minority languages, not only in the schools, but also in public offices, public life and even in private intercourse, and this persecution extends to other nationalities besides the Magyars. Dr. Hans Otto Roth, leader of the Parliamentary Group of the Germans of Transylvania, speaking in Parliament on 29th February 1936, said: — "The Saxons of Transylvania have been here for 800 years, and never before were they restricted in the free use of their mother-tongue."

Minority university students are compelled to study in Rumanian, for immediately after the change of rule the Rumanian Administration took forcible possession of the Kolozsvár Hungarian University, and Rumania refuses to naturalize the diplomas obtained at the universities in Hungary.

Another measure contributing to root out the Hungarian language and to further Rumanianization was the establishment of a so-called "cultural zone". Ordinance No. 40.771 of 1924 established this zone, which embraces the Magyar areas along the western frontier as well as the purely Magyar counties of Csík, Háromszék and Udvarhely. In this zone school-teachers have to work harder and therefore receive bigger salaries. This Ordinance was incorporated in the Elementary Education Act as § 159 thereof. The object served by the establishment of this cultural zone is as follows. Those teachers who enjoy special privileges have posts in State schools established in minority areas where, though the pupils are Magyars, the schools are Rumanian, and it is their duty to Rumanianize the Magyar children. Seeing that a sufficient number of efficient Rumanian teachers willing to undertake the unpleasant task of Rumanization was not to be found in Transylvania, the Government decoyed to those districts teachers from other parts of Rumania. Rumanian teachers, who often do not

speak a single word of Hungarian, have been planted in purely Magyar regions. Rumanian educational circles themselves realize the absurdity of the situation. The supervisor of public education in County Marostorda stated in his report for the school-year 1924—1925 that the number of teachers in the county had risen by 50% in the course of one year, the explanation of this being that teachers from Old Rumania, if forced to accept posts in Transylvania, chose the cultural zone. "The experience of the past year" — says the report — "shows that these appointments were a great mistake. Teachers who never heard a word of Hungarian in their lives and who do not understand the customs, much less the mentality, of the people among whom they have to work, have been sent to villages where, with the exception of the parish clerk and perhaps the gendarmes, not a soul can speak Rumanian. In consequence the conscientious among them feel like fish out of water; and, struggle as they may to make themselves understood by the children, their efforts are wasted. There is nothing to be done, for the children do not understand Rumanian . . . These teachers, who, representing universal national interests, should be the leaders of every movement, are stranded in those villages."

"At the time of the Czars" — so said Policar Betianu, a Bessarabian Member of the Rumanian Parliament, — "it was the custom that teachers sent to Siberia enjoyed special privileges. But Bessarabia is not Siberia."

Neither was Széklerland until it came under Rumanian rule.

In keeping with and as a fitting complement to these arbitrary measures in the sphere of education was the vandalism with which the monuments of many of Hungary's great historical figures and the creations of many eminent Hungarian artists were destroyed. On 13th May 1919 the poet Petöfi's statue was removed from its place in Marosvásárhely. On 18th August 1920 the statue of Louis Kossuth, the great hero of Hungarian independence, in Nagyszalonta was demolished. On 1st March 1921 the Hungarian inscription was removed from the house in Kolozsvár where King Matthias was born. That same year, on 25th March, Louis

Kossuth's statue in Nagykároly was demolished; on 7th May Stephen Széchenyi's bust was removed from the well in Széchenyi Place in Kolozsvár; on 19th October the statue in Máramarossziget of a soldier of the War of Independence of '48 was destroyed. On 21st April 1923 the Town Council of Arad ordered the removal of the historical panels from the concert hall. On 7th January 1924 the Bocskai statue in Nyárádszereda was demolished. On 2nd July 1925 the monument to the thirteen martyrs of Arad was destroyed by order of the Government. On 26th September, 1936, the statues of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas standing in the walls of Szatmár Cathedral were removed and broken to pieces. These were merely the more important statues destroyed. Civilized people will be at a loss to understand the meaning of this vandalism, but the Rumanians knew what they were about. The reason for these acts of vandalism is perfectly clear. For in Transylvania every historical monument, church and statue, every stick and stone, speaks of a thousand years of Hungarian history, of Hungarian culture and Hungarian civilization. The very tombstones in the churchyards proclaim that in its social machinery, in every phase of its economic life and in the free development of its culture, Transylvania was Hungarian. We shall seek in vain for traces of Rumanian historical remains in Transylvania. None are to be found ; therefore everything that recalled the age-old Hungarian past must be destroyed — and destroyed without mercy. The Magyar theatres had to be silenced, the Magyar Press muzzled, lest the sorrows of the Magyar people should find expression through them. One thing alone the Rumanians were powerless to suppress: Hungarian literature. The only gratifying sign during the past twenty years of Magyar suffering was the great strides made by Hungarian literature in Transylvania. The "Erdélyi Helikon" and the "Szépmíves Céh", two Hungarian literary societies, owe their prosperity and the undisturbed appearance of their publications to the fact that, carefully avoiding all delicate themes and all expressions that might be construed as having a political meaning, they have confined their activities to purely literary work.

Apart from literature, there is no sphere of Hungarian

life in Transylvania with which the Rumanians have not interfered since that country came into their possession. We have seen how the minority Churches and schools were treated, and the sufferings of the Magyars have been equally bitter in the spheres of administration and jurisdiction. They have also been hampered and hindered in all their cultural and economic efforts, as well as in the exercise of their political rights. Volumes have been written by unbiassed foreign authors about their trials, and for twenty years Europe has echoed with their complaints, so that we shall not go deeper into those questions here. It does not seem necessary to do so, for a nation that lays violent hands on the religious life of the minorities placed under its rule, forces its way into their churches, prevents their using their own language, ruins their schools, destroys their monuments and deprives them of the possibilities of economic prosperity, cannot be expected to respect the rights of the minorities in other matters either. During the past twenty years Greater Rumania has not respected the rights of any of her minorities. Her persecution of them has given rise to a spirit of rebellion in the areas acquired twenty years ago, and this proves that in her present dimensions Rumania is incapable of existing for long. She has not brought culture to the areas handed over to her; on the contrary, she has destroyed the high standard of culture she found there; she has not brought them economic prosperity, but has reduced the minorities to beggary. Rumanian policy, Rumanian administration and Rumanian jurisdiction, instead of winning the minorities over to the Pan-Rumanian idea, has merely alienated them. The twenty years of Greater Rumania's history have proved that the Rumanians are no state-building race and have therefore no title to rule over a people on a higher level of civilization than themselves.

IN SLOVAKIA NAMES ARE BEING DE-MAGYARISED WITH ASSISTANCE OF STATE

BY

LOUIS KARPATY

In the columns of this Review we have repeatedly reported that in Slovakia the Magyar names of Slovak citizens are being Slovakised or de-Magyarised respectively. Today we are in a position to give a detailed summary of the developments in this field in their true perspective.

The action for the Slovakisation of Magyar names was initiated by the Slovak paper "Nastup" on February 20th., 1940. Certain passages of the article in question are well worth quoting word for word. "Perhaps nowhere" — writes the Slovak journal — "more than in Slovakia is there is evidence the phenomenon of a multifariousness of foreign names in all classes of the nation. There are a strikingly large number of workers and peasants with foreign names, — *there being indeed numerous cases in which the workers and peasants in question are unable to pronounce or even write their own names and have no idea of their meaning.* This is due to the circumstance that the ancestors of the persons in question originally entered the territory of Slovakia as foreigners. The descendants of these ancestors have been Slovaks for five or six generations already, they have Slovak blood running in their veins, but their names sound Hungarian or end in Magyar suffixes. A whole series of national actions must be initiated for the purpose of Slovakising these foreign names. That is the only worthy way to celebrate the first anniversary of the foundation of the Slovak State."

Encouraged by the article in "Nastup", the Slovak Press began a campaign for the Slovakisation of Magyar names. In order to spread the movement a suggestion was

made that a law should be framed to facilitate the Slovakisation of the Magyar names. And the procedure should be simplified and made inexpensive.

And the Slovak Government lost no time in meeting this demand. Already on April 20th., 1940, the Slovak Telegraph Bureau was in a position to report that *an Order in Council with the binding force of law had been prepared to facilitate the Slovakisation of Magyar names.*

Now let us examine some of the provisions of this Order in Council with the binding force of law.

The most important provision is that withdrawing the control of name-changes from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior and accelerating the work of attending to the applications, which may be adjudged by the administrative authorities of first and second instance. The Slovak Government believes that this measure will really lead to an extension of the action and that every foreign-sounding name will very shortly be a thing of the past in Slovakia. Another important provision contained in the Order is that it has made the procedure for the change of names exceptionally inexpensive. Applications have been exempted from the payment of the official dues, only the enclosure of a five Slovak crown deed stamp being exacted. This measure was also taken by the Slovak Government in the hope that it would further the extension of the action. In the April 19th., 1940, issue of the "Slovenska Politika" the following opinion of this section of the Order is given: — "We are very pleased that this provision of the Order with the binding force of law will serve to remove and invalidate all objections on the part of even the poorest, seeing that the payment of a due of five Slovak crowns when asking for a change of name will not cause any difficulty at all. We believe that we shall before long be able to feel the beneficial effects of the harmony brought about between the authorities and Slovaks with all kinds of names."

The Slovak Press thought that the acceleration and the cheapening would lead to the Slovakisation of names developing into a veritable national action, and would very shortly result in there not being in Slovakia a single Slovak with a Magyar name.

To the great disappointment of the Slovak nationalists, however, this expectation was not realised. Despite the facilities ensured by the new law, not a single person was moved to apply. The Slovak Press then demanded that the action should be organised. On this occasion too "Nastup" took the lead in pushing the action. On May 25th., 1940, an article appeared in that paper under the title — "When are we going to begin Slovakising the names?" Inter alia this article contained the following passages: — "It is a long time since the Order in Council was issued in the matter of the Slovakisation of Magyar names; but so far it has not led to any results whatsoever. Not only are the names not being Slovakised; people continue to use Hungarian orthography when writing their names, even where that is quite superfluous."

This article of "Nastup" was taken over also by "Narodni Noviny", which added the following comment: — "Well, so that is how matters stand with the Slovakisation of names?! If the Order in Council is not sufficient, the offices should meet the wishes of citizens and should correct the foreign-sounding names found on documents without charging any dues at all. For this no procedure whatsoever is needed. But, now that we are talking about this subject, we would note also that it would not be detrimental to the cause if the most distinguished factors of our public life were to show the way by beginning to Slovakise their foreign names. For so far there has not been a single case of any such factor Slovakising his foreign name."

But even these fulminations failed to move the Slovaks with Magyar names; and it became necessary for the Slovak Press to resort to far severer measures. On June 8th., 1940, "Narodne Noviny" was still compelled to establish the following facts: — "The Order in Council issued to encourage the Slovakisation of names has failed to find an echo even in places where we had expected an effective initiative to be taken. We still find the non-Slovak names written without change. But, if ordinances are issued, they must also be carried into practice. We are entitled to expect an action enforcing the terms of the Order in Council issued

in the matter of the Slovakisation of names and putting an end to *the present deadlock.*"

This far-reaching work of preparation by the Press was followed by the "Hlinka Guard" taking over everywhere the work of Slovakising names. From Party functionaries with Magyar names they demanded explicitly the de-Magyarisation of their names.

The papers have lost no opportunity offered, and have published full lists of all cases of Slovakisation. So far we have counted altogether 135 cases of Slovakisation of names reported in the semi-official "Slovak", in the Catholic organs "Slovenska Pravda" and "Slovenska Politika" and in the "Narodne Noviny" well known as an organ of extreme nationalism. In motivating the action for the Slovakisation of names, these papers refer to the circumstance that it is in reality merely a question of the re-Slovakisation of Slovak names Magyarised in pre-War Hungary. *But of the 135 persons Slovakising their names only 3 were the descendants of ancestors who adopted Hungarian names prior to the first Great War.* As was only to be expected, the Slovak Press triumphantly made a great show of these three cases. But what about the other 132 cases? The ancestors of the 132 Slovaks with Magyar names were Magyars who out of interest or under pressure had during the course of time become Slovakised. The Hungarian-Slovak language frontier once lay far more to the North than it does today. After the Counter-Reformation and the overthrow of Francis Rákóczi II.'s struggle for independence the Magyars were driven southwards, their place being taken by Slovak settlers. In this way Magyar enclaves came into existence which subsequently became gradually absorbed by Slovakdom. The Magyars have always given this small people the full benefit of their demographic strength. This fact is proved by the enormous number of Slovaks with Magyar names. And the object underlying the action for the Slovakisation of Magyar names is to definitively and finally eliminate the historical records of this fact.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

ANTI-FLOOD-DAMAGE SCHEME OF HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT

After last year's catastrophe Hungary was again visited by the same disaster this year, when the Danube and the Tisza, and their tributaries, flooded the country to a hitherto unprecedented extent. In addition to the floods, subsoil waters appeared and ruined thousand of acres, a large number of farms and farm-houses.

The protection of the most exposed inundation areas has been one of the outstanding problems of the Hungarian Governments for many years. As early as 1874 and 1881 the Hungarian Parliament passed laws providing for the regulation of the inundation-areas of the Danube and the Tisza, and the results of these operations may be compared with the achievements of any other nation in the world. In order to illustrate the dimensions of these operations let us draw the following comparison: The total length of the Danube and Tisza dykes is 5.800 kilometres. The next longest dykes in Europe are those of the river Po, 525 kilometres, and the Loire, 483 kilometres. The total area encircled and protected by the Danube and Tisza dykes is 4.623.000 cadastral yokes, while the Po dykes protect an area of only 700.000 hectares and those of the Loire not more than 95.000 hectares.

These tremendous efforts of the Hungarian Governments are supplesected by the work of the various dyke companies, all of them bent upon warding off the peril of inundation in the Hungarian Plain. It is a notable fact that there are 35 *private companies* dealing with the protection of the *Tisza*, area, while the *Danube* area is being looked after by 32 *companies*. The total amount of money invested in the works of these companies is more than 400 million pengő. In additior to these, a number of private companies provide for the protection of the areas of the tributary rivers; the largest of these is the Körös-Maros-Tisza company, which provides for the protection of a huge area of 476.000 cadastral yokes.

Unfortunately, however, it has been impossible, so far, to find a solution for the entire flood problem as visualised by Count Széchenyi, the "Greatest Hungarian", last century. In the first place, the overthrow of the Hungarian War of Independence in 1849 and the absolutistic régime folowing that tragic event,

prevented the nation from attending to the problem; then in 1914, came the Great War and, four years later, the dismemberment of the country, when it again became impossible even to dream of the solution of this grave problem.

The fact, however, that the country was attacked by floods twice within a year this time, has induced the Hungarian Government as well as the nation as a whole to set themselves the task of completing the gigantic scheme of the great Count Széchenyi; and it is hoped that even though the world is now being devastated by the disasters of the present war, the Hungarian people will be able before long to change the vast plains of its land into a paradise.

BIRTH OF INDEPENDENT CROATIA

One of the most dramatic events in this age of rapid movements was the extinction of Yugoslavia, the last political formation created at Versailles. Quite recently it seemed as if the pro-Axis policy of the Stoyadinovitch Cabinet, continued and intensified by M. Tsvetkovitch's Cabinet, and then the signing of the Tripartite Pact on behalf of Yugoslavia, had gradually succeeded in guiding the ship of State out of the danger-zone, when all of a sudden an outbreak of the reactionary chauvinism of Old-Serbian public opinion precipitated her towards her ruin.

The State of the Southern Slavs, which had reckoned on the strength represented by the bayonets of the Serb soldiers, rapidly collapsed under the blows of the powerful German army and gave birth to the hitherto persecuted ideal of Croatian independence.

The Croat nationalists, who had taken shelter against Serb oppression in the countries of the friendly Axis Powers, have already returned to Croatia to take over the power.

On April 10th General Slavko *Kvaternik*, acting on behalf of Dr. Ante Pavelič, Head of the new State, announced the creation of an independent Croat State. In an interview with the Stefani Agency, Dr. Pavelič pointed out that the Croat State has a history of a thousand years, and that *it had never lived in political union with the Serb people*, except during the last twenty-two years. The river Drina not merely forms the frontier line of the two States, but it serves also as an eternal dividing line between East and West.

M. *Maček* himself, who was Deputy Premier in the Tsvetkovitch Cabinet, has instructed his party and the whole Croat people in general to obey the orders of the new leaders.

Dr. Pavelič proceeded at once to form his Cabinet — the first Government of Croatia — from among the foremost mem-

bers of the Croatian nationalist movement. The organization of the new State is in full swing already.

Hungary was the first country to express its heartiest congratulations on the birth of the new State.

FIRST AUTHORISED MEETING OF TRANSYLVANIAN REFORMED CHURCH DIOCESE

Transylvania is the easternmost outpost of Protestantism. Since centuries it has been washed on the south and east by the sea of Orthodoxy; but the Magyars of these regions stubbornly defend the traditions of Western Christianity and Protestantism. In the sixteenth century this little country, forestalling the civilized West by centuries, incorporated religious liberty in its laws. In the heyday of its princes' rule, and during the reign of the House of Austria, the Reformed Church of Transylvania was constantly in touch with the great centres of Calvinism in the West.

The Peace Edict of Trianon attached this easternmost outpost of Protestantism to Rumania, to a country that with all the passionate fanaticism of young nations espouses the cause of Orthodoxy. It was Magyar Transylvania that first placed in the hands of the Rumanian people the Bible and a liturgy in their own language, thereby setting in train a process that led to the emergence of their Neo-Latin national consciousness and resulted in their reaching a higher social and political level.

How have the Rumanians shown their gratitude for the invaluable service rendered to them by Transylvanian Magyar Protestantism? During the past 22 years the successive Rumanian Governments have done everything in their power to ruin the Magyar Protestants in Transylvania. More than 24,000 yokes of land worth 400 million lei were expropriated from their ancient parishes and schools, for which a mere 20 million lei was paid in compensation; expropriation was in fact equivalent to confiscation. One hundred and seventy schools were taken away from the Reformed Church, so that only one-third of the Calvinist children of schooling age were able to attend Magyar schools belonging to their own denomination; the rest were compelled to attend Rumanian State schools. The *congrua* (State grant) paid to the Calvinist pastors was a mere beggar's portion compared with the rich donations enjoyed by the priests of the Orthodox State religion. In this way the Reformed Church pastors, one of the strongest pillars of Magyar life in Transylvania, sank into the direst poverty.

Now that Northern Transylvania has been restored to Hungary Magyar Calvinism is able to breathe freely again. It counts its wounds and is making preparations for a new lease of life. The first major event marking its deliverance from

bondage was the special General Assembly convened on 29th March, at which it was announced with great rejoicing that after two decades of trials the Reformed Church diocese of Transylvania had now returned to the bosom of its beloved Mother Church. Besides Bishop John Vásárhelyi, Count Arthur Teleki, Moderator, and Counts George Bethlen und Nicholas Banffy, Chief Superintendents, there were present also the representatives of the Reformed Church of Hungary and the Hungarian Government, Bishop Ladislas Ravasz, Baron Daniel Bánffy, Minister of Agriculture, State-Secretary M. Tibor Pataky (of the Prime Ministry), State-Secretary M. Stephen Fáy, (of the Ministry of Education) and Count Stephen Bethlen, former Hungarian Premier.

After the opening addresses Bishop Vásárhelyi delivered an impressive speech. He spoke with the greatest appreciation of the self-sacrificing work that had been done by the Church, which during the difficult period following Trianon had never ceased to spread the Gospel and to foster a national spirit in schools, Sunday schools and women's societies and by means of the various branches of home mission work, and this although the Rumanian Government, especially during the past few years, had thrown many obstacles in the way of religious life and the teaching of religion. The Church had stubbornly defended national interests, of which it had become the only champion, and it had never ceased to work for the cultural, economic and social advancement of the people under its charge.

The Bishop cordially welcomed those who now for the first time after twenty years of exile were again able to visit Transylvania and enjoy the hospitality of the Transylvanian Reformed Church, in particular Count Stephen Bethlen, Bishop Ladislas Ravasz and M. Tibor Pataky. He then continued as follows: "But when we welcome those who are here with us, we must not forget that there are many who cannot be present. Let us think of those who are still compelled to fight a hard battle for their mothertongue and their faith; who must struggle strenuously in order to remain what God created them — Magyars and Protestants... The Psalmist of old, sitting by the waters of Babylon, sang thus: 'If I forget thee, Oh Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.' We, too, now say in the presence of the living God: 'If ever we forget Gabriel Bethlen's school, the orphans in Szászváros, the congregations by the Maros and the Küküllő and all the rest of you; if ever we forget your white-walled churches and schools, then let Him who is our right hand forget us'."

Speaking of the home mission work of the Church, the Bishop mentioned three tasks as of special importance: national education, social welfare work and the cure of souls in isolated places.

In conclusion Bishop Vásárhelyi enumerated the great moral principles upon which the economic and political future of Europe, including Hungary, must be based.

"Justice for the unjustly oppressed, equality for those who have been given unequal treatment, union for those who have been separated by force and against their will, and a place in the sun for everybody. These four principles may be summed up in one sentence, as they were summed up by our forefathers: The Church struggles in order that the law of Christ may rule upon earth."

When the Bishop's speech was ended, the General Assembly welcomed with great enthusiasm the statement that Count Stephen Bethlen, former Hungarian Premier, had been unanimously elected by the parishes as Chief Superintendent of the diocese.

Count Bethlen warmly thanked the Assembly for this honour and reminded them that Transylvanian Calvinism had always been a bulwark of the Magyars in times of storm and stress. He thanked Providence with emotion that he had been able to return to the bosom of the Reformed Church in Transylvania to which he had said goodbye a quarter of a century ago, not to suit his own convenience or lightly, but in order to be able to work for Transylvania in free Hungary. In every office and every post he had held he had always tried to be the advocate of Transylvania's interests. With this aim in view he had undertaken any and every kind of work, duty and office — with one exception. He had not accepted the honour of being Chief Superintendent of the Reformed Church in the mother-country. He had not done so because he felt that he could not be unfaithful to the Reformed Church in Transylvania in which he had been born and brought up. Count Bethlen then continued as follows: "Now I wish to do my share of the work of construction just beginning. We have lost practically everything. We must rebuild the institutions of the Church from the ground up, for they are the foundations of Transylvanian Magyar culture. Let us remember those who are still beyond the frontier — a frontier not drawn by the finger of God. Let us remember Nagyenyed, Torda, Dicső and the rest of the Magyar towns and villages. The Magyars of those places gaze at us with wistful eyes in the belief that a better morrow for them depends on the rapidity of our work. I pray for God's blessing first on those left outside Hungary, then on every member of the Church and on the work of construction which it is our duty to God and man to accomplish."

THE SITUATION OF THE MAGYAR NATIONAL MINORITY
IN RUMANIA

The Magyar national minority living in Rumania — roughly a million souls — is being subjected to the most inconceivable forms of chicanery and humiliation. We offer our readers merely a few examples by way of illustration: —

Although *the use of minority languages* is not officially forbidden in private life or in business, yet no one should attempt to speak Hungarian loudly in the streets or to use that language in shops, — not to mention the circumstance that in public offices everywhere there are notices forbidding the use of any language but Rumanian ("Vorbiți românește!"). The intolerance in this field is so great that even persons racially Rumanian are threatened if they dare to speak Hungarian. We would refer in this connection to an article of three columns appearing in a Rumanian paper published at Arad which indulges in violent abuse of the *Rumanian women* who have fled from the territories recently transferred and *who still speak Hungarian*. In the "STIREA", a Rumanian paper appearing at Arad, there was published recently an article headed "*Rumanianisation . . . if need be, with the help of the bastinado*" which said that in case of need the drastic, unchivalrous but effective method of retaliation by *the bastinado* must be resorted to. Further on the article again stressed that the only means of redress is the bastinado, adding that the present state of things cannot be allowed to continue.

At Arad and Temesvár — the measure being based upon the provisions of Order No. 1030 ex 1941 of the Rumanian Ministry for the Interior — the authorities ordained that as from March 20th all inscriptions and shop-signs in Hungarian should be replaced by Rumanian inscriptions and shop-signs. This measure is to a certain extent incomprehensible; for we can hardly believe that there is any town in Transylvania where Hungarian inscriptions or shop-signs are still to be found. For Rumanian chauvinism years ago got rid of all Hungarian inscriptions and shop-signs. At Temesvár the text of bills of fare in first-class restaurants may be written in Hungarian as well as in Rumanian and German; but *at Arad the Censor's Office cancelled the whole text even of the Hungarian obituary notices submitted for approval* under the pretext that such notices might be published in Rumanian only. The same fate is in store also for the Hungarian texts of biblical cards submitted for approval. But the Censor's Office at Arad has prohibited also the printing of the Hungarian printed matter required for its own use by the Ruman Catholic parish. This procedure is quite in keeping with the methods employed by the Arad Censorship, which has for years been notorious for its blind zeal.

Insults to Magyars are the order of the day in practically

every part of the territory of Transylvania left in Rumanian hands. On March 18th last, in the village of *Magyarszovát* (Suatu) in *Kolozs County*, a farmer of the name of *George Pálpeti Székely* residing there was so seriously mishandled by the Rumanian frontier guards that on March 22nd he died of his injuries. The Rumanian authorities had the dead body of the victim dissected, it being ascertained that he had been suffering from an affection of the kidneys and from rupture and that that had been the cause of his death. The strange thing about the medical certificate making these assertions is that *George Pálpeti* had never in his life been ill, and had never complained of any trouble. In the same village (*Magyarszovát*) the Rumanian gendarmes arrest and mishandle those Magyars whose relatives have fled to Hungary to escape the brutalities of the Rumanians. Thus, two farmers named *Michael Nagy* and *Gregory Csete* respectively, whose sons have escaped to Hungary, have been arrested and taken to some unknown place of confinement.

The Rumanian Government is striving to undermine the position of the undertakings which are still in Magyar hands by appointing so-called "supervising inspectors". *Not only the bigger undertakings, but also Magyar establishments of a quite insignificant character are harnessed with inspectors*, whose salaries the undertaking or establishment in question has the greatest difficulty in paying. Very characteristic is also the measure taken by Government in appointing a government commissioner of the kind to supervise the "*Déli Hírlap*", a paper appearing at Temesvár which is the only organ of the *Hungarian Ethnic Community* of Rumania, though here the undertaking concerned is not a commercial undertaking, there being in consequence no justification whatsoever for the appointment of a government commissioner or inspector. We would note in this connection that on March 16th, after a forced silence of six months, the "*Déli Hírlap*" was again allowed to appear by the Government. In the present case authorisation to direct the literary editorship of the paper, and to engage and dismiss employees, has been granted to *Liviu Bulea*, the journalist appointed to act as government commissioner. As things stand today, there are inspectors or supervisors respectively appointed to control 78 Magyar undertakings. Another circumstance illustrating the methods employed is that the honorarium of inspectors or government commissioners of the kind (which has of course to be paid by the respective undertaking) has been fixed a maximum of 25,000 lei a month, the object in view being to prevent individual profit-mongering. And the Magyar employees are being dismissed everywhere; for the industrial undertakings and commercial firms have been required to get rid of their Magyar officials and Magyar workers. Thereby the Magyars are being deprived of every chance of earning a subsistence.

Politically and culturally too the Hungarian (Magyar) minority is being robbed of its most elementary rights. There can be no question of any right of free assembly or association, though at the same time the Saxons of Transylvania and the Swabians of the Banate enjoy every form of privilege.

SLOVAK MILITARY TRADITION

The assertion that from a military point of view the Slovaks are inferior to any other race in Central Europe, is entirely without foundation. The Slovaks are an honest people; their social life is well-balanced, and they have instinctive leanings towards pure aims. They are also capable of self-sacrifice to attain such aims. They have always demonstrated their military virtues whenever weapons were put in their hands for the defence of the aims dictated by their own position; but they have never distinguished themselves in battle when called upon to fight for false interests. This was most clearly evident at the time when Czecho-Slovakia collapsed. In spite of its excellent technical equipment, the Czecho-Slovak army proved unable to fight. To many this was something incomprehensible, but its explanation lies in the fact that the several units of that army were united only in wearing the same uniform, while they lacked a common aim, and were not welded together by identical desires and endeavours. This being so, they disintegrated into their constituent elements at the first breath of danger. Before they were called upon to fight, they fell into as many groups as the number of nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia.

If we cast a glance at the records of their past history we shall discover innumerable instances showing the military virtues of the Slovaks. Even today King Matthias's Black Army is a living memory among them. Historical records prove that there were many Slovaks in that famous army of King Matthias, which at the time was symbolic of world power. Speaking in general, the Slovaks always took part in every Hungarian military action. After King Matthias's reign the Slovaks displayed the same bravery as did the Magyars in their defence of the border fortresses. In noble rivalry with the Magyars they developed military virtues and military prowess in their struggle against a common foe. From the time of the Turkish invasion we have innumerable soldier songs in both languages the texts of which are identical in Hungarian and Slovak. There is also a whole literature dealing with these Magyar and Slovak variations of the songs in vogue during the "Kuruc" era (the name — "Cousader" — given to the soldiers of Francis Rákóczi II who fought against Austria for Hungarian independence). In the battles fought by Rákóczi large numbers of the Slovaks of Upper Hungary took part. Their participation in the Hun-

garian Prince's struggle was so active that certain historians are inclined to describe the Rákóczi rising at the beginning of the XVIII century as a Slav rebellion. In the "Kuruc" war of independence Slovaks and Magyars fought shoulder to shoulder against Austrian oppression.

The same thing happened again about the middle of the nineteenth century, during the Hungarian war of independence. Contemporary historical records were discovered not long ago. From these records the numerical proportion of the Slovaks and Ruthenians who took part in the Hungarian war of independence emerges clearly. Of the 200.000 warriors who fought in the Hungarian army 40.000 were Slovaks or Ruthenians. The significance of that number is revealed by comparison with another number. For historical research shows that Hurban, the commander of the Slovak mercenaries who fought in the Austrian army, was not able to recruit more than 2000 men. The first figure clearly proves the spell exercised on the Slovaks by the aims of the Hungarian war of independence and the second as clearly shows that Hurban's attempt to recruit an army for an Austria bent on oppressing the Hungarian nation, was a failure.

At present much research work is being done in Slovakia to throw light on Slovak military virtues and traditions. On 14th March the semi-official "Slovak" published a bulky issue in commemoration of the second anniversary of Slovak independence. Many of the articles contained in that number deal with Slovak military traditions.

And what depressing reading those articles make!

The present Slovak ideologists attribute the origin of Slovak military traditions to Hurban's action. They describe that attempt, which was not only unpopular with the Slovaks, but also presented them in a reactionary light to the nations of Europe, as the beginnings of their military traditions.

The articles in question are illustrated with pictures. One of these pictures shows Baron Lewartovski in uniform as the first personification of Slovak military tradition. But who was this Baron Lewartovski? None other than the commander-in-chief of Hurban's mercenaries paid by Austria. As for his nationality, he was an Austrian subject of Polish birth.

At present public life in Slovakia is being reorganized on a purely ethnic basis. Everyone who does not conform a hundred per cent to Slovak ethnic standards is excluded from public life. It would be a good thing if Slovakia's present ideologists were to apply this principle more strictly to their work of unearthing Slovak military traditions.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

CROATIA

INDEPENDENT CROATIA AND THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF HUNGARY

For many centuries before the first Great War Croatia had maintained the closest economic relations with Hungary. After the creation of the united Yugoslav State these relations became very loose, because the Hungarian banks, as concerns Hungarian industry, were closed in Croatia. Previously the Hungarian bank: took a lively part in the economic life of Croatia, above all the *General Credit Bank*, through its branch institute, the General Credit Bank of Croatia, operating at Zagreb and Eszék (Osijek); among the other banks were the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest, the "Hazai" Bank of Pest, and the Hungarian Discount Bank. The largest Hungarian concern in Croatia was the Caniage Factory at Brod, which became a Belgrade-Zagreb concern. In the same manner, the *First Hungarian Paper Industry Ltd.*, also became a purely Croatian concern after the first Great War. The "Nasitz Holding" Co. is now the largest concern which still maintains close relations with Hungarian circles; this concern holds the largest forests — chiefly oak forests — in Yugoslavia. The prosperity of this holding company was largely due to the fact that the *Gutmann Timber Industry Ltd.*, of Budapest, which has large forests and timber works at Beliste in Croatia, has been able to increase the value of its shares on the Budapest Stock Exchange considerably. Similarly, the shares of *Danica Ltd.* — formerly an affiliation of the Hungarian Manure Factory — are also being quoted on the Budapest Stock Exchange, but this concern is now completely in the hands of Zagreb. The Hungarian money market and industry will no doubt resume their former close relations with Croatia, and this will certainly have a favourable effect on the relations of the two States in general.

HUNGARY

FIFTIETH AGRICULTURAL SHOW IN HUNGARY

The agricultural shows and fairs which are held in Hungary every spring serve the purpose of displaying the wide range of agricultural products from all over the country. On these occasions the various regions of the country send the fruits of their

labour and knowledge to the Capital. The show this year was an outstanding landmark, as it was the fiftieth of the series.

The principal purpose of the shows is to improve the standard of Hungarian farming by a regular display of the year's achievements. The brood animals, the agricultural machinery and the large variety of agricultural products, exhibited at these shows, all prove the high standard and variety of Hungary's agriculture.

At this year's jubilee show there was a remarkable exhibition of animals: 195 horses, 308 thorough-bred Simmenthaler, 59 Simmenthaler, 397 Hungarian-bred and 37 brown cattle were exhibited. The management of the show endeavoured to instruct farmers in the breeding of cattle and to induce them to take part in a useful competition. For this purpose the cattle show was connected with an exhibition of the finest breeds. Foreign countries, too, showed a great interest in Hungarian types of cattle, which possess remarkable stamina and are able to adapt themselves to changes of climate.

Besides large estates, smallholdings also took a lively part in the exhibition of animals. The majority of the 1903 pigs exhibited were sent by small-holders. Sheep-breeding has developed remarkably of late. 581 sheep were sent to the fair, and the manufacture of wool was also demonstrated at the exhibition. The excellence of prepared skins and hides showed that Hungarian furriers can vie with those of any other country.

The high standard of Hungaria poultry-breeding was demonstrated by a large number of varieties. There is hardly any poultry-farm in Hungary now which does the hatching without an incubator.

Hungary's agricultural industry endeavours to produce machines at a minimum cost, so that they may be easily available for all Hungarian farmers. Tractors, sowing and reaping machines, threshing machines, motor lorries, etc. are among the machines at the disposal of the farmers to make the production and transport of their goods as cheap and rapid as possible. In an agricultural country, industry, too, must assist agricultural production and combine its efforts with the other branches to promote the welfare of the nation.

This year the re-annexed areas of Transylvania also made their appearance at the show, for the first time since 1918. This province brought all its products to the show to demonstrate what it had been able to save in the course of the twenty years of foreign rule, and to prove that in spite of the hardships it has had to suffer it has remained a useful member of the Hungarian community. The Transylvanian pavilion, built in the characteristic style of that province, had its walls covered with huge boards showing the activity of the Hungarian Economic Society in Transylvania; this society has had a renaissance since

the return of northern Transylvania and has since extended its activity over 135 new farmers' societies. Transylvania also introduced a new feature in the programme of the show, — an exhibition of herbs, which are an important export article of that province. Moreover, the return of Transylvania has increased Hungary's production of maize, her timber industry as well as her peasant art. In this connexion special mention is due to the home-spun cloths and the embroidery of the district of Kalotaszeg.

RUMANIA

RUMANIA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

Having more or less settled her internal affairs after the revolution of last autumn, Rumania is now able to devote more care to the organization of her economic life. A whole series of new measures have recently been issued for this purpose. Among other things, Rumania has suspended the payment of her debts abroad. The Cabinet Council has also resolved to introduce further measures in respect of economic sabotage. The Government makes no secret of the fact that its predecessors' insane policy, — the permission of almost unrestricted slaughtering —, has nearly decimated Rumania's live-stock. It may also be mentioned that a law provides for the confiscation of the entire private property of Madame Lupescu; the explanation is, according to the text of the law, that she acquired her wealth through the humiliation of the Rumanian nation, because her conduct had prevented Queen Elena returning to the country. Lastly, we may mention that another law recently promulgated provides for the confiscation of Jewish property in the towns.

The Danubian Review is published monthly. — Editorial Offices and Management: Zrinyi-utca 1, Budapest V. — Responsible for the publication: **Dr. ANDREW FALL.** — Issued and printed by Sarkány 17911 Ltd. — Responsible for the printing: **A. and J. Wessely.**

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