

POLITICAL MOSAIC

HUNGARIAN PREMIER ON NATION'S TASKS

On 22nd October, before the autumn session began, the Government Party held a meeting at which, after its chairman, M. Béla Lukács, had given expression to the Party's devotion to the Regent and its appreciation of the Hungarian army, Premier de Bárdossy delivered an impressive speech about the duties of the nation. He said *the first task was to maintain political and social order and ensure that production continued undisturbed*. This task would be performed, as it had always been performed. Very soon two important Bills would be passed. *The object of the one was to develop agriculture, that of the other to develop industry*. Besides these two Bills Parliament would also pass a number of useful laws.

Premier de Bárdossy hoped that the reorganization of Europe in a spirit of right, justice and equity would be the foundation of lasting peace. The Hungarian nation must strain every nerve to prevent any disturbance in the system of production, and nothing must be allowed to spoil the harmony which ought to exist among all the Magyars. He quoted Count Stephen Széchenyi's famous words: — "*Order, intelligence and a little renunciation: these are the three elements with which harmony, peace and quiet may be maintained in this country.*" The Premier requested everybody to lay the greatest stress on the last of the three, on renunciation. The Hungarian nation had always known how to make sacrifices when necessary. It must be prepared to do so now, the more cheerfully in view of the fact that there is comparatively less privation in Hungary than in any other country in Europe.

The Premier's speech was greeted with loud applause by all present.

HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE SUBMITS "BUDGET OF WORK"

VALORIZATION OF WAR LOANS

On 23rd October, amidst manifestations of unanimous approval, M. Louis Reményi-Schneller, Hungarian Minister of Finance, submitted to the Parliament the Budget for the fiscal year 1941—1942, which he aptly called a "Budget of work." He expressed pleasure over the fact that for the first time since many years the revenues and expenses of the restored Eastern and

Transylvanian regions now figured in the Budget of the Hungarian State; those of the restored Bácska would be calculated at a later date. *In the new Budget* — he said — *expenditure was 3082.000.000*, which left a deficit of 173.800.000 pengő. In these abnormal times a deficit was unavoidable, and the deficit in the Hungarian Budget was much smaller, not only than the deficits in the Budgets of the countries at war, but also than those in the Budgets of most of the neutral States.

The Minister of Finance also introduced a Bill dealing with the valorization of the War Loans. *In terms thereof, 5% will be added to the nominal value of the War Loans issued during the first world war; in other words, for every bond of a nominal value of 1000 crowns a new bond of the value of 50 pengő will be issued. These new bonds will pay 3% interest and are to be redeemed within a period of forty years.* The valorization key for bonds with a smaller nominal value than 1000 crowns is to be 10%, and they are to be redeemed within ten years time. The original subscribers and all who count as such, as well as Church, cultural and public welfare foundations and legal persons, will participate in this valorization.

The Minister of Finance stated with satisfaction that taxes had been more promptly and punctually paid during the past Budgetary year than formerly. Ratepayers were probably encouraged to pay when they saw that their money was being put to a good use and also by the sight of a well-equipped army. In preparing the Budget the Government had been influenced by three major aims: *a further reinforcement of the army, a more extensive programme of social welfare and the effective development and organization of production.* Compared with last year's 386.000.000 pengő, 581.000.000 were being appropriated for the army, besides a sum to cover the cost of better equipment. The sum appropriated for social welfare was 210.000.000 pengő as against 130.000.000 last year. 800.000.000 pengő was to be spent on creating employment, as compared with 400.000.000 in last year's Budget.

M. Reményi-Schneller said that *it was not enough to maintain Hungary's industry at its present level; it would have to be considerably developed*, for industrialization meant a higher standard of life and would ensure to Hungary the leading position in the Danube Basin which she was entitled to hold. A new Bill dealing with the development of industry would largely contribute towards the achievement of this aim. Care would be taken that the Hungarian industries should primarily use domestic raw materials, and the Government would play a directing role to ensure that production should be up-to-date, profitable and of a better quality, though it had no intention of hampering private enterprise. A large number of new industries had been established, and in certain fields the use of artificial raw materials and

substitutes had proved a success. In Hungary, as in all the other countries of Europe, it was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain imports, but the Government had so far managed to cope with these growing difficulties that *Hungary's industrial production was hardly affected and the number of workers employed in factories, foundries and workshops had not changed to any noticeable extent.* It was the Government's intention to establish a State Labour Exchange and a Chamber of Labour.

The Minister was not afraid that there would be any serious trouble with supplies, but in order that the machinery should work smoothly, people would have to be content with less; they would have to practice thrift. We should make the necessary sacrifices proudly and bravely and discipline ourselves in the art of renunciation, the more so in view of the fact that in most countries the present state of emergency demanded much greater sacrifices than we had to make. The Government would do all it could to increase agricultural production. *It would be necessary to increase wages and salaries, but it was impossible to raise them as much as prices had risen, for that would lead to inflation and there would be no inflation in this country! The value of the pengő would be maintained firmly,* for while in the last war 95% of the cost of the war was defrayed by means of loans and only 5% by taxation, we were now able to defray 50% of our emergency expenditure from the taxes and needed loans only to cover the remaining 50%. The inflation that followed the last war was caused by the collapse, but now the recent growth of the country afforded a firm basis permitting of a larger expenditure. The Minister requested the banks to be chary of issuing loans that were not desirable from the standpoint of national economy, and warned the public against rash speculation. The abnormal rise in the prices of shares was — he said — unreasonable. *Despite the grave conditions the Hungarian State had every reason to be hopeful as regards the approaching financial and economic year.*

The Minister of Finance's exposé was loudly applauded by the whole House all Parties included.

WORK DONE BY HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT DURING FISCAL YEAR 1940/41.

The Hungarian Government Party — the "*Hungarian Life Party*" — has published a very interesting pamphlet entitled "*Results*" summarising the results achieved by the Hungarian Government during the fiscal year 1940/41. From the wealthy collection of figures there enumerated we would quote in illustration merely some of the more striking ones: —

For the relief of the losses suffered by war-loan bond holders during the budgetary year 1940/41 the Government allotted

the sum of 3.077.830 pengő to 39.760 persons and the sum of 821.600 pengő to 310 associations.

For the support of refugees — who numbered altogether about 15.000 — during the budgetary year 1940/41 sums amounting to 8.565.957 pengő were appropriated; since then the majority of these refugees have returned to Rumania and to the districts of Transylvania restored to Hungary respectively.

The National Social Insurance Institute provided holiday recreation free of charge in 1940 for 6500 and in 1941 for 8000 persons under age; the *Private Employees Insurance Institute* having done the same in 1940 for 1300 and in 1941 for the same number of persons under age.

During the budgetary year in question 41 new town (municipal) and 30 parish (village) health officers' posts were organised in the *re-incorporated districts of Eastern Hungary and Transylvania*.

Within the territory of Trianon Hungary the Government in 1940 distributed gratis 155 wagonloads of sugar and appropriated 2.770.000 pengő for the procural of milk supplies, while in the *re-incorporated districts of Eastern Hungary and Transylvania* in 1940 it appropriated 158.000 pengő for the supply of free milk, 57.000 persons having in 1940 in the latter districts received altogether 755.000 litres of milk gratis; and the Government granted sums amounting to over 1 million pengő in lieu of subsidies to the municipal and county authorities for the purpose of providing with food children attending elementary and infant schools in the villages.

The National People's and Family Protection Fund began the building in 376 villages of altogether 4783 family houses.

For the maintenance expenses of the *Children's Protection Institutions* already in existence the Government during the budgetary year in question appropriated altogether 14 million pengő.

For the purpose of supplementing the estates and leases of *dwarf and small holders* and of providing land for the landless, during the said budgetary year roughly 60.000 cadastral yokes of land were distributed in the form of freehold or small leases, the value of the land thus allotted amounting to nearly 16 million pengő; during the last five years altogether more than 211.000 cadastral yokes have been allotted to dwarf and small holders and to "landless" persons respectively.

During the budgetary year in question 5000 bulls, 2500 boars, 1500 rams, 3000 cows and heifers, 10.000 sows, 10.000 cow-calves, 15.000 ewes, 12.000 lambs and 20.000 head of poultry were distributed at greatly reduced prices among small holders, parishes and corporations (associations); 526 Siementhal brood cattle were imported from Switzerland, the majority of the same being allotted to small holders.

During the same budgetary year, *for the purpose of developing the production of plants*, 205.268 metric quintals of autumn wheat, 26.247 quintals of rye, 1366 quintals of autumn barley, 17.609 quintals of spring wheat, 66.103 quintals of oats, 81.807 quintals of spring barley, 39.185 quintals of potatoes, 38.718 quintals of maize, 7000 quintals of millet, 3000 quintals of panicum and 45 quintals of pearl barley were distributed as seeds at reduced prices — chiefly among small holders.

Rapid progress is being made with the construction of the *Árpád Bridge over the Danube* at Ó-Buda which is to be completed by the end of 1944 and is to cost 19 million pengő; the bridge over the Danube at Medve to be completed in 1942 at a cost of 5.3 million pengő is already nearing completion; this year the bridge over the Tisza at Polgár (to cost 3.3 million pengő) is to be finished: of the smaller bridges a new one over the Berettyó will soon be ready, as will also the bridges in Southern Hungary being reconstructed after having been blown up by the Serbians.

At the end of April, 1941, there were 54.981 motor-driven vehicles in working — 5835 more than in the previous year.

In the country aggrandised by the re-incorporation of the territories of Upper Hungary and of Sub-Carpathia 25 new *telephone exchanges* and in 22 villages not previously possessing telephones public telephone stations were established; in the *re-incorporated districts of Transylvania* 290 telephone exchanges and 27 public telephone stations, and in the districts of Southern Hungary recently re-annexed 147 telephone exchanges and 6 public stations were opened.

In the last quarter of 1940 the index figure reflecting the development of industrial production (taking the figures for 1929 as = 100) was 169.5; according to preliminary estimates *the value of the industrial output* of the year 1940 will amount to 4.2 thousand million pengő — as against 2.9 milliards in 1937, 3.05 milliards in 1938 and 3.6 milliards in 1939; while the *number of hands* engaged in December, 1940, was 802.000 — as against 789.000 at the corresponding period of the previous year.

ENTHUSIASTIC MANIFESTATION OF BULGARO-HUNGARIAN FRIENDSHIP

M. FILOV'S VISIT TO BUDAPEST

On 15th October M. Bogdan Filov, Bulgarian Premier and Minister of Public Education, arrived in Budapest for a three days' visit accompanied by Mme. Filov and his suite. The visitors were welcomed by a large and distinguished official delegation headed by the Hungarian Prime Minister. M. Filov's visit was taken advantage of by the Hungarians to demonstrate

their warm sympathy for Bulgaria in a particularly impressive manner.

The firm friendship between the two nations is very deeply rooted. The Magyars are linked to the Bulgarians, not only by the ties of a common racial origin, but also by those of their histories, which during the thousand years of their life in Europe have so frequently showed a surprising similarity. The Bulgarians have never forgotten that one of their most ardent champions at the time of the Berlin Congress, to which Bulgaria owes her independence, was *Count Julius Andrassy, the then Foreign Minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.* Nor can they forget that the *Tsar Ferdinand, the founder of the Bulgarian dynasty, had Magyar blood in his veins, his mother having been a descendant of the Hungarian princely family of Kohary, and that before his accession to the throne he was an officer in a Hungarian Hussar regiment, spoke Hungarian well and called himself the Duke of Murány after the historical castle of that name situated in the middle of his estates in Hungary.*

The identity of the historical destiny of the two peoples was felt most keenly, however, during the first Great War, in which *they fought shoulder to shoulder and after which they suffered the same injustice, when Hungary, the leading country in the Danuba Basin, and Bulgaria, the leading country in the Balkans, were mutilated by the Paris Peace Treaties.* This united them in a firm resolve to strive for revision. There is also a deeper significance in the fact that upon the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, who is one of the most learned men of his own nation, was conferred the degree of Honorary Doctor by the Budapest University as a fitting seal to the cultural agreement concluded by the two countries, for *there are many cultural links between them and so many Hungarian scholars have laboured on the history of the civilization of that kindred race.*

The identity of the historical destiny of the two people was nation on the tomb of the unknown warrior in the Town Park. There and all along the route he was cheered by large crowds. On 15th October the Hungarian Premier and Mme. de Bárdossy gave a dinner in honour of M. and Mme. Filov to which many distinguished people were invited. On this occasion M. Ladislav de Bárdossy made the following speech:

"Your Excellency. I welcome you to Hungary with warm and cordial greetings, such warm and cordial greetings as only old and tried friends are wont to exchange. It is an honour for me to be able to welcome Your Excellency, the head of the Bulgarian Government, the well-known scholar, and above all the representative of the Bulgarian nation. I sincerely regret the absence of M. Popoff, Your Excellency's Foreign Minister and valuable collaborator. This is all the more to be deplored since

he has been prevented from being here by illness. I send him my very sincerest regards.

"Our peoples are linked together by old, firm and vital feelings of friendship. The roots of that friendship are deeply implanted in the consciousness of our nations, and the minds of their leaders are greatly influenced by it. Perhaps that friendship is the call of the blood of our ancestors, which despite the differences of tongue has kept the feeling of belonging to one race and kin alive in the two nations. It is certain that our destinities, the similarity of our histories for many centuries and their effect on the people, have also helped to lay the foundations of that friendship.

"Where in the world do we find two nations whose histories have run so surprisingly parallel as those of our peoples? History has been a hard task-master to both. Our histories have been a record of bitter and incessant struggle for liberty and independence, for home and country. But these centuries of fighting were not without their good effects. They kept the flame of patriotism alight and gave our peoples unflinching strength to believe in fight and justice and to hope for the future. This ardent patriotism binding them to the soil, that courage and readiness of self sacrifice with which they were always able to defend their countries, and the strength of their firm faith in their future mission: these are the traits that the hard blows of fate have hammered into both our nations, linking them together with identical characteristics. We were made one by the similarity of the blows dealt us by Neuilly and Trianon.

"With these thoughts in mind, I should like to express the pleasure it gives me to welcome Your Excellency here as the representative of one of the countries that have joined the Three Power Pact, that have become members of the great new community whose aim is peace and work. It is my conviction that this contact will bring our two nations into closer fellowship, and that the pleasant duties we have undertaken to perform will ensure our peoples a future of peaceful work that will be of benefit to themselves and will serve the cause of the new European co-operation which is to guarantee peace and prosperity for a long time to the nations of Europe. I drink to the health of His Majesty King Boris III of Bulgaria, to the welfare and peaceful development of the Bulgarian people and to the personal happiness of Your Excellency and Mme. Filov."

M. Filov replied in the following words:

"Your Excellency, it is with heartfelt emotion that I thank you for the extremely cordial welcome extended to us. Your warm words of welcome find an equally warm response in the heart of every Bulgarian. I can assure Your Excellency that it has been a great honour and also a rare joy for me to visit this hospitable country, where every Bulgarian feels at home. In

particular it is a great pleasure that on this occasion the documents ratifying the cultural agreement between Hungary and Bulgaria are to be exchanged, which agreement we concluded in Sofia on 18th February with your honoured colleague, His Excellency Dr. Valentine Hóman. Thanks to that agreement, the contacts already existing between the two nations have been substantially enriched and strengthened.

„Your Excellency has laid stress on the friendship which has always existed between the Magyars and the Bulgarians. This friendship is deeply rooted in the hearts of our peoples. *No possible circumstance can ever disturb it, for it is not an artificial or chance growth. I hardly think there are two other nations in the world that have been in contact with one other for such a long period of time with so little friction.* Our two nations, which in ancient times sprang from the same stem, have for centuries fought parallel for their independence and their rights. Often we were called upon to make sacrifices for them, but nothing availed to divert us from our historical path, the immediate goal of which was to secure the place due to us in Europe and the ultimate aim of which was to devote our energies to peaceful, constructive work. *In recent years the friendship between Hungary and Bulgaria was strengthened by comradeship-in-arms during the first Great War and by the similar sufferings endured in the years following it.* Common was our fate, and common was also the firm conviction of our unswerving will.

“For these reasons I feel particularly happy that we who have joined the same Pact, the aim of which is, by inaugurating an era of understanding and co-operation among the nations, to establish a better and juster order in Europe, should be able to greet one other here. I drink to the health of His Highness Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, to the prosperity of the Hungarian nation and particularly to the happiness of Your Excellency.”

The Bulgarian Prime Minister was received in audience by the Regent. On 16th October the documents ratifying the cultural agreement concluded between Hungary and Bulgaria in Sofia last February were exchanged. When this had taken place Dr. Valentine Hóman, Hungarian Minister of Public Education, as President of the Hungarian Historical Society, handed M. Filov an illuminated address. Dr. Hóman spoke of the two nations and proudly stated that *neither Bulgaria nor Hungary had broken down during the bitter period of dismemberment and humiliation. They had risen to their feet again and secured their rights.* He expressed the hope that the spiritual links between the two countries would grow stronger and stronger.

In the forenoon the Bulgarian Premier paid visits to several scientific institutions and schools. A lunch was given in his and

Mme Filov's honour by the Regent and Mme Horthy. M. Filov also paid his respects to Archduke Joseph. The same day the Budapest Peter Pázmány University conferred upon him the degree of Honorary Doctor. At the ceremony the Chancellor of the University, Dr. Navratil, and the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Dr. Zambra, spoke of the important work done by M. Filov in the field of archaeology. M. Filov thanked the University for the honour conferred upon him, first in German and then in *Hungarian*. On 16th October he also saw the representatives of the Press, to whom he expressed his conviction that *the Magyars were a people endowed with a sense of order and a specially strong creative spirit*. In the evening the Hungarian Minister of Education and Mme Hóman gave a dinner in honour of the distinguished visitors, who were also present at the gala performance in the Royal Operahouse. Next day they made an excursion to Esztergom, where they paid a visit to the Cardinal Primate of Hungary.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK PROGRESSES IN SOUTHERN HUNGARY

Today, in all the countries of Europe endeavour centres on battling with the difficulties arising from the war and on procuring the materials to supply the daily needs of the population. *Hungary is perhaps, the only country where besides this a work of construction is being carried on*. The Hungarian Government and the nation are making incredible efforts to re-establish normal conditions in the areas lately restored. In Southern Hungary, which returned to the mother-country only a few months ago, the work of reconstruction is going on with such fervent zeal that those who were acquainted only with the work of the Serbs can hardly believe their eyes to see how roads have been built, how houses have sprung up, and how life pulsates in a region that barely six months ago was a sleepy Serb colony. Nothing escapes the notice of the Hungarian Government and the nation. There is no single aspect of economic and cultural life to which their attention does not extend, and no problem that they do not strain every nerve to solve.

The primary task of the Administration, of course, is to overcome the difficulties caused by the war, one of the most important of which is the question of supplies for Southern Hungary. The Government's first act was to organize its food supplies, lest that district where food is so plentiful should be left unprovided for owing to the increasing demands made upon it by other parts. Southern Hungary has no coal or wood, and its industry is undeveloped. *Provision has therefore been made to supply it with the most necessary raw materials and industrial*

articles. Today we may safely say that Southern Hungary has now been provided by the mother-country with the fuel needed in the winter months.

Besides supplying the needs caused by the war, the Government is also engaged in constructive work. The first, and perhaps the most important, task was to modernize agriculture. During the past twenty years the Yugoslavs, who were prepared that Southern Hungary would sooner or later return to the mother-country, pursued a cut-throat policy in that region. In many places, owing to this exploitation, the soil grew poorer, and the Hungarian Government's first duty was to improve it again. Agricultural experts were sent to inspect the soil and determine for which crops the various parts were best suited. To improve sandy soil dogwood was planted. *The cultivation of plants bearing oil-seed, which the country requires so much, was started. Landless peasant families were given the fields abandoned when the Hungarian troops arrived by the Serb peasants from the Balkans, who had been settled on them during the Yugoslav era.* Last month 146 peasant families received land at Zentaörs. The Hungarian Government is well aware that the lot of the agricultural population cannot be improved without developing industry and commerce and providing a network of roads. With this aim in view a trade office has been established at Szabadka, which will deal with all the produce of Southern Hungary, in order to ensure organized distribution and the best prices for the producers. A branch of the O. K. H. (Central Credit Institution) has been set up as an independent bank to provide the necessary credits. The building of railways and roads is proceeding. Last month a road between Kiskunmajsa and Szabadka costing 226.000 pengő was completed. Roads are also being made leading to the farms around Szabadka, while others that will soon bring the outlying farms nearer to their natural markets, the towns, will be constructed. The industrial tangle left by the Serbs has been straightened out. Measures have been taken to protect certificated craftsmen against unskilled rivals, and schools for apprentices have been established. Last month, to assist the industrial population of Southern Hungary, the Government arranged an exhibition of industrial articles made in those parts. At Zombor and Óbecse the building of houses for labourers has been completed. Poor workmen and peasants have received houses with garden-plots and out-buildings for their domestic animals.

The Government and the nation are doing what they can to raise the cultural level of the restored areas. In the Hungarian university towns colleges have been built where students from Southern Hungary can pursue their studies. In Ujvidék a college has been built for Magyar secondary-school pupils repatriated

from Zagreb and Serbia. In the villages, as for instance at Topolya, cultural institutes have been built to house the various societies. The University of Szeged will organize a course of lectures at Szabadka as part of its university extension movement. The Magyar Cultural Alliance of Southern Hungary has begun to organize lectures and concerts in all the towns of that region. Southern Hungary's one literary magazine, which was on its last legs, is being reorganized, and a new one is to be published in Szeged.

SOUND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN SUBCARPATHIA

The committee delegated by the Ministry of Industry has been making a study of the progress of industrial and commercial reorganization in Subcarpathia, and is very satisfied to be able to report that conditions are flourishing. The great bulk of the craftsmen and tradesmen have been able to make a comfortable living, and the financial results of their work are very satisfactory. After inspecting the various workshops and shops, the committee has reported that *the smaller village shops manage to make a monthly net profit of three or four hundred pengő, while larger stores in many cases make as much as seven or eight hundred a month. In several cases where the need was pressing the Önállósítási Alap* (a fund for establishing young men in business) issued small extra loans in order to ensure the independence of its protégés. Results prove that this Fund, which has issued loans to every branch of economy, from grocer's shops to furniture factories, has achieved the object for which it was created.

The endeavour of the Government to raise the standard of life of the population has also, as results show, been a success, thanks in the first place to the network of co-operative societies dealing with the products of the cottage industries. The assistance granted by the State has been usefully employed by all the small co-operatives. *In the various villages where a year ago the same committee found the merest beginnings of an attempt to do business, it now reports that these co-operatives are in full swing, and that the results are very satisfactory.* The co-operative societies of the carpet-makers of Gánya, the linen-thread spinners of Ilosva, the basket-weavers of Bereg, etc — in a word all the village co-operatives, which are directed by the intelligentsia — provide well paid employment for people who are not able to find any other work, sometimes for 10, sometimes for 20 or an even larger number of persons.

COUNT JOHN ESTERHÁZY DISCUSSES ACTUAL PROBLEMS
OF MAGYARS IN SLOVAKIA

At the meeting of the United Magyar Party of Slovakia held on October 5th, Count John *Esterházy*, President of the Party, presented his report of the situation. In the introductory part of his speech Count Esterházy paid tribute to the deceased members of the Magyar community of Slovakia; then in the main body of his speech he paid homage to the memory of the "Greatest Hungarian": and in conclusion dealt exhaustively with the latest development of Slovak-Hungarian relations, in this connection discussing the new situation of the Magyars of Slovakia. *He spoke also of the Magyar Memorandum submitted to the Slovak Government in July in which the actual demands of the Magyars were formulated.* He stressed that the Magyars of Slovakia were actuated by the principles of discipline, respect for the laws, peace and order, and that today, when in the East the greatest campaign in history was being carried on, — despite the prevailing unrest — *the Magyars of Slovakia were not open to even the remotest suspicion of subversive intentions.* This was being provided for also to an increased degree by the leaders of the Party.

The concluding part of Count John Esterházy's speech ran as follows: — "*We Magyars of Slovakia — however our destiny may shape itself — whether now in the immediate future or later on — will at all times cling loyally and unswervingly to our race and our nation. We are conscious of our duty towards the State, but we are equally conscious of our duty towards ourselves and our nation: and we shall live our life in keeping with that consciousness. We must gather self-confidence from the past of our Hungarian history. The diagram of that history has often reached a low point; and the members of our nation have suffered much in consequence. We have no reason to lose our self-confidence; and we shall hold our ground with the aid of organised discipline and obedience.*"

FRESH BROADCAST MESSAGE OF GENERAL NEDIĆ,
PRIME MINISTER OF SERBIA

The exceptional gravity of the situation into which Serbia has been plunged by the ruthless terrorism of the "Chetniks", komitadjis and other irresponsible elements, may be gathered from the latest broadcast message of the Serbian Premier, General Milan *Nedić*, addressed on October 12th. to the peasantry of Serbia. For the information of our readers we publish below a literal translation of the Prime Minister's broadcast message, which is of such interest from many points of view: —

"My dear farmer brethren! Recently I have received numbers of letters from cultivators of the soil — war comrades

of mine — who ask me what they should do and beg my assistance. One of these correspondents writes as follows: — *“Send your army and help us, for life is no longer safe from these bands of robbers. Today we are suffering more than our ancestors suffered after the battle of Kosovopolje”*. It is to these innumerable messages that I am replying today. I am speaking the language of the people, as I have always done during my public career of thirty-four years. When a month ago I was invited to form a National Preservation Government, I was perfectly well aware of the difficulty of the task I was undertaking. I had only two alternatives, — either to look on with folded arms while our nation bled to death in civil war and under the blows of punitive expeditions, or on the other hand to throw my whole authority and my conviction into the balance and do everything in my power to save my country from utter destruction. As a Serbian and a Serbian officer with whom my soldiers during the war shared good and evil alike I had not much difficulty in making up my mind to choose the second alternative and to place myself entirely at the service of the Serbian nation against murderers, pillagers and incendiaries. I refuse to allow the Serbian nation to disappear from the Serbian soil which has suffered so much. That is why I ask above all those who have been overcome by the power of madness, — What are you fighting for? Do you believe that you can really achieve anything? You can do nothing! *You will perish like fools, for there will be a succession of punitive expeditions and your villages and forests will be destroyed, and in this fight the innocent will suffer just as much as the madmen and the criminals*. What have you in store for the winter? Though you had millions of bayonets and thousands of cannon, you failed to hold the land, — your country; and now you believe that with a few rifles you can overcome the occupying Power which has beaten all the armies of Europe? *What is the use of all your foolish pillaging and incendiarism against numbers of divisions marching against you equipped with aeroplanes and tanks and guns and trench-mortars?* Has the unfortunate Serbian people been completely blinded by folly? On four occasions already I have warned you not to interfere in the feuds of the mighty. Today you can only lose. This purposeless recalcitrance can only lead to one thing in the end — to the extirpation of the Serbian people... Rouse yourselves! and defend your nest against the pillagers and robbers! *By the force of arms or without arms you must destroy the brigands* wherever you find them; for that is your sole way of salvation. Even if you fall in this struggle, you will save your home, your children and the Serbian people. God be with you; for it is He watches over Serbia. My troops shall hasten to your aid in order to save you and your children.”

WHAT IS THE "USTASHA"?

A short time ago Dr. Anthony Pavelitch, leader of the Ustasha and Head of the Croat State, celebrated his birthday. In the stormy history of the Croat nation Dr. Pavelitch is the man who has done most for his people, for, after 839 years of struggle and waiting, it was he who with the effective support of Hitler and Mussolini created an independent and free Croat State. *Croatia was never so large as it is today at the time of its late re-birth*, and it is with high hopes that the Croat people look forward to the future.

The founder of the new State, Dr. Anthony Pavelitch, was born in Bradina, a village in the Hercegovina mountains. His father was a poor navy worker who worked on the railway. Later, when the Bosnia-Hercegovina railroad was ready, he became a railway employee and had charge of a siding. His son attended the village elementary school, where he proved so much better a scholar than his class-mates that his father decided to send the intelligent little boy to the Jesuit secondary school at Travnik. There, too, he made great progress, and with steady application to his studies passed all his examinations well. From the Jesuit secondary school he went to study law at Zagreb University, where he took the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

It was when he was a lawyer's clerk that he first began to make his mark in politics. Already as a law student he decided that there was only one Party in Croatia in which he could find his niche, the Law Party; but he was not inclined to play an active rôle in it until he had completed his studies. The young lawyer's clerk — he was only twenty-two — was soon a well-known member of the youth of Zagreb, and although of a retiring disposition, with no ambition to play a leading rôle, thanks to his logical mind, perspicacity, diligence and self-sacrificing labour, he soon became a central figure around which gathered those of the young Croats who unselfishly and honestly wished to work for a Croat State.

The Croat Law Party was founded on 10th April 1861 by *Dr. Anthony Starchevitch, the great protagonist of the idea of a Croat political State*, and exactly eighty years later the free and independent State of Croatia was formed. From the very first Pavelitch was a member of the Starchevitch Party, and fate decreed that it should be he who was to realize the aims of Starchevitch, the "father of the country".

"Bog i Hrvati": God and the Croats, was not merely a form of greeting with Pavelitch and his young followers; it was a creed, a slogan which meant that the Croats did not expect help from anyone but God.

After the conclusion of the war of 1914—1918 Dr. Pavelitch saw with sorrow how things were shaping. He openly opposed the Serbs.

"The Serbs do not approach the Croats as brethren, but as unscrupulous exploiters who wish to destroy everything that is Croat" — he said.

Many there were who understood Pavelitch's warnings, but those who had the guidance of the Croat people in their hands chose the line of least resistance and acquiesced in the idea of union. This was how, contrary to the will of the Croat nation, the S. H. S. Kingdom came into being. In it Pavelitch was the first to sound the battle-cry:

"We shall oppose violence with violence. It is impossible to fight the Serbs on paper."

In 1919, at the age of thirty, Pavelitch, supported by a section of the Croat intelligentsia, started the first revolutionary movement against Belgrade. Among his supporters was Dr. Milan Sufly, a university professor who was murdered later on by the Serbs in the street in Zagreb. The first revolutionary movement failed; Pavelitch and his associates were arrested, but as soon as they were released from gaol, they immediately began to organize the Croat peasantry and the working classes. Pavelitch was extremely popular with the young people. All his predictions proved true: the Serbs did not treat the Croats as brethren but as the enemies of the country.

Dr. Pavelitch was in close co-operation with the late Stephen Raditch, the martyred leader of the Croat people, as long as Raditch was an avowed advocate of political independence. *But on 27th March 1925 Raditch on rather the Croat Republican Party, turned aside from the path marked out in the Party programme: the representatives of the Party went up to Belgrade and took office in the Government, thus recognizing the right of the Serbs to rule over Croatia. Pavelitch and his supporters were left in the lurch. They announced that they were not prepared to co-operate with the Karageorgevitch dynasty, whose rights and rule in Croatia they refused to recognize. It was on 27th March 1925 that the first Serbo-Croatian agreement was concluded. This agreement was opposed by Pavelitch, who launched a campaign against it. This made a rift between himself and Raditch. In 1926 Pavelitch joined forces with Dr. Anthony Trumbitch, a lawyer of Zagreb who was born in Spalato; and together they created the Croat Law Party and later on the Croat Bloc. In 1927 Dr. Pavelitch was elected member of Parliament for Zagreb by an impressive majority of votes.*

In parliament Pavelitch continued his fight against the Serbs, using scientific data to prove the falseness of the assertion that Serbs and Croats were one race.

"Serbs and Croats are totally different races" — said he — "they have nothing in common either in their racial characteristics, or spiritually, or in their political aspirations, much less as

regards their culture. For this reason alone the Croats cannot be compelled to live in one political State with the Serbs."

These were weighty and significant words, and they were heard more and more frequently in the S. H. S. Kingdom. The Serb authorities took no steps against Pavelitch himself, since he was protected by his privilege as a member of Parliament, but his Party and its adherents — the so-called "Francovatgians", or members of the Franck Party, — were persecuted, for the Serbs were well aware that the one aim of Pavelitch's followers was to bring about the disintegration of the State created in Trianon.

Pavelitch's pessimism was justified by the events of 25th June 1928, when Stephen Raditch and several other members of the Croat Peasant Party were assassinated in the Skupshtina. That their murder was deliberate was proved by documents found among Raditch's possessions after his death. The aim of the Serbs was clear to all thinking people, and on the day of the outrage Pavelitch, speaking to the people of Zagreb at the railway station, said: —

"Relations between the Serbs and the Croats cannot be settled except by the force of arms."

Foreseeing events, he created a revolutionary organization called the "Hrvatska Domobran" (Croat National Army) in 1928, and began the work of undermining Serb hegemony. Not all applicants were enrolled as members of this organization, only Croat men of tried integrity, gentlemen and peasants alike, to whom no sacrifice, not even the sacrifice of their lives, was too great when Croatia and the welfare and future of the whole Croat nation was at stake.

On 6th January 1929 a dictatorial régime was introduced. and despite the protests of the Croats the name Yugoslavia was given to the country by the King. His object was to crush the last attempts of the Croats to achieve independence and to break Croat resistance. Most of the Croat leaders either yielded and took orders from Belgrade or retired from public life, refusing to take part in any struggle. Anthony Pavelitch, however, was not intimidated by the dictatorship. He was the first who refused to yield, for he clearly realized that a bitter and bloody struggle between the Serbs and the Croats was inevitable, and that it was not to be avoided by any kind of compromise.

After the dictatorship had been proclaimed Pavelitch formed a revolutionary organization in Zagreb, the Ustasha. All members of the Hrvatski Domobran joined it in order to fight for the independence of Croatia. On 17th January Pavelitch and a few of his fellow-workers fled to foreign countries to escape from the agents of the Serb Police and to organize the Croats — in number about a million — scattered over Europe and America.

While he was engaged in organizing Croat public opinion in Europe and America, in Yugoslavia everything possible was being done to annihilate the individuality of the Croat nation. Innocent peasants and members of the middle-class whose only crime was that they loved their own nation, were cast into prison. Scarcely any Croat family escaped bereavement and martyrdom during the twenty-two and a half years of bitter struggle.

It was not only in the fields of politics and diplomacy that Pavelitch laboured. He devoted much attention to the Ustasha, to the organization of that distinguished Croat body. He intended it to play an important rôle in the free Croat State. *The Ustasha answered violence with violence, gave blow for blow and bomb for bomb.*

Many were the victims of its activities, but the end justified the means and the sacrifices demanded were not made in vain, for *the rising of 1932 showed the world that the Croats were determined to achieve their independence.*

Pavelitch's work of two decades was crowned with success on 10th April last. On his return to Zagreb he brought with him the recognition by all its neighbours of the new, free and independent Croat State in which at last only God and the Croats themselves rule. Pavelitch intervened in time to save the Croat nation from bloodshed and the Croat territories from the horrors and havoc of war. He has added lustre to the crown of King Zvonimir, which after 839 years will this autumn be placed on the head of King Tomislav II.