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M. LADISLAS DE BÁRDOSSY'S EXPOSE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In his speech on 21st November, during the debate on the Budget in the Hungarian Parliament, M. Ladislas de Bárdossy, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, amongst other things said:

"The debate on the Budget for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is taking place this year at a very significant time. It was a year yesterday that Hungary, forestalling every other country, joined the Three Power Pact in accordance with the decision taken by the Government on 28th September. The significance of the anniversary does not arise from any radical change in Hungary's traditional policy caused by her joining the Pact. *An intimate friendship and close ties have linked us with Germany and Italy for centuries. By joining the Three Power Pact, we merely gave expression to and laid emphasis on what, because of the geographical, economic, cultural and historical factors, knits us to the German Reich and the Italian Empire and through them to their great ally in the Far East.* Events of this nature are of real value — and this is what lends significance to yesterday's anniversary — if a living political reality takes form in them, and not if a form is created to which contents must be added later.

Three days ago the Kingdom of Italy also celebrated an anniversary, the sixth of the day when the League of Nations ordered economic sanctions to be applied to that country. In our hearts we also remembered that day. We had every right to do so, for *six years ago we were on the side of Italy*, and Hungary was one of the very few — we were only three in all — who, defying the resolution of the League of Nations, refused to apply economic sanctions to a friendly country.

The close and intimate friendship and comradeship-in-arms which find expression in deeds not words and whose genuine harmony is not disturbed, cannot be disturbed, by

anything are being sealed afresh with the blood of the Hungarian and Italian soldiers who are fighting for Europe's interests on the Eastern front. Our position in international politics is undoubtedly decisively affected by the struggle in which, on Germany's side, together with Italy and other European nations, we are fighting against the Soviet...

Never before did the political and military power directed by Moscow, a power which — we must make no mistake about it — is just as much Bolshevik as Panslav, stand on our thousand-year-old northern frontiers. This imperialism, which now in the spirit of Bolshevism and under Bolshevik leadership wanted to realize the aims that those obsessed with the Panslav dream so frequently attempted to attain, had never before succeeded in establishing itself in such an advanced position in Europe. Those who are acquainted with the facts of history know how often that imperialism, putting a rope round the necks of the Russian people, drove them to be butchered, and with what stubborn perseverance it attempted again and again to gain its ends...

After Panslavism's trial of strength in the first world war and the collapse of the Russia of the Czars, the vassals in Budapest of the new masters of Moscow gave us almost a fivemonths' taste of the horrors of Bolshevik anarchy. We could not fail to know what having the Soviet prowling around our borders meant. We did know it. When we had purged the red poison out of the nation's system, this country was the first in Europe to suppress the Communist Party. For a long time we had no dealings, not even diplomatic ones, with the Soviet, whose favours we never sought. And we were the first to join the Anti-Comintern Pact at a time when other countries that have since learned to think differently were staunch members of the political group in which the Soviet played an important role and which was formed in order to counteract and keep in check the awakening forces of the German Reich.

It did not escape our notice how Panslav Bolshevik imperialism was gradually, cautiously and perseveringly establishing military positions in preparation for a fresh attack on Europe. Soviet diplomacy began to be active for the first time in 1933 with the London Agreements. It was clear

that the Soviet's treaty of mutual assistance with Czechoslovakia in 1935, which made the hearts of so many Czechs and Slovaks beat faster, was concluded in order that the Bohemian Basin might be used when the time came as a bridgehead for Soviet Russia, or shall we say, a springboard for the far-reaching military plans of the Soviet.

Another thing we followed with close attention was the zeal with which Titulescu, supported by many of his fellow-countrymen, strove to ensure that for certain counter-services Rumania should allow her territory to be used by the military forces as a corridor towards the West between Russia and Czechoslovakia. All these treaties and plans of treaties which were born in that period of pactomania dissolved into nothing like the snows of yesterday when the German Reich attained the fullness of her strength. But the intentions and aims remained. They were merely adapted to changed circumstances, as we see in many places in Europe today. The events of 1940 and the way the Soviet gradually encroached, or tried to encroach, on her neighbours that year, disclosed Moscow's schemes, and also revealed that the men responsible for Russia's policy considered the time had come to act."

The Soviet's Aims and Hungary.

"It cannot be questioned that when the Soviet made her appearance and took up a position on the northern line of the Carpathians, she did so with the same intention that inspired the Russo-Czecho-Slovak Pacts of 1935 of preparing the way in the same direction though with different methods. In his speech on the Budget the Minister of National Defence told you what a powerfully equipped army the Soviet possessed for the realization of her aims.

"The whole world owes a permanent debt of gratitude to the Führer of the German Reich for his decision to forestall Russia. What the consequences for Hungary would have been had he not done so is perhaps unnecessary to state, for we have not forgotten the disastrous battle at Mohi of which this year was the 700th anniversary.

"The fact that the scattered remnants of the Russian armies are seeking safety in flight 1500 kilometres away

from the Carpathians and that danger no longer threatens us from the north signify a radical and lasting change of the position of our country which has been augmented with the addition of the restored areas and relies on a strong, well-disciplined and tried army...

"The danger which we took up arms to avert undoubtedly menaced the whole of Europe. It would be difficult to measure the extent of the danger to each country separately, to say which was more, which less, immediately threatened. But it cannot be questioned that not only were the non-Slav countries of South-Eastern Europe in danger, but that also — in the event of Moscow's plans succeeding — the Slavs within the circle of the Carpathians, who are enjoying the first years of their political independence, would be wiped off the map of Europe, as the Baltic States were wiped off in 1940 by the Soviet.

"The natural thing would be that the countries fighting together against Bolshevism should, in other respects too, draw the obvious conclusions from this co-operation. Unfortunately it would seem that some of them, although in their own interests they were able to revise their political views, are incapable of abandoning their old political methods. The strength, hatred and blindness of the old system still exist. Certain factors loudly proclaim that they wish to take part in the work of constructing a new order in Europe, but the moment there is any question of their having to adapt themselves to the new conditions established by reciprocal agreement, their zeal and good intentions flag. Yet self-seeking and passion may not be allowed to play a role in New Europe. And whichever country gives rein to them automatically excludes itself from the community of European nations and wantonly draws dangers upon itself. To the old system of political friendship belonged — though even at that time it was a disgrace to Europe — the way in which countries aggrandized by the Peace Dictates of Paris treated their Magyar minorities, who had lived in those areas for a thousand years. The ideas and methods of the old system continue to be enforced, and we are compelled to witness how the lot of our Magyar kindred across the frontier grows steadily worse. All our sympathy,

our hearts go out to the Magyars whose bitter trials only the greatest self-control and self-imposed patience enable us to watch without taking action. *Things cannot go on like this.*"

Redress of Wrongs.

"In the common interests of us all they cannot go on like this; *for there is a common interest, a European common interest to which we never cease to draw people's attention from this place.*

"Another fact that must be established is that those who for twenty years refused to allow the slightest enforcement of minority rights now, in order to make trouble and foster strife, invoke minority rights, usually as a bald pretext, where there can be no question of them. Advantages that never had any legal basis, that despite right and justice were enjoyed by certain people who obtained them either by violence or by compulsory methods or by ignoring and violating the laws of their own country, cannot be regarded as something to be protected by minority laws. For if they could so be regarded, then the ruthless deprivation of the civil rights of the Magyars, the violence and injustice of the past twenty years would be legalized and perpetuated. The fundamental principle of the new European order is redress of the wrongs suffered, and whoever opposes this wants to hinder the establishment of that order even if he does so to his own loss.

"I have deliberately decided not to say any more here about this question and the States concerned. But I should like to express the hope that independent Croatia, which with the warmest feelings of friendship we were the first to recognize and to whose people we were linked by 800 years of a common history and constitutional ties, will, when she has solved her internal problems of political construction, find ways and means of establishing relations with us that will serve the natural interests of the Hungarian and Croat nations. A description of our foreign political situation would be incomplete without mention of Bulgaria, to which country we are linked by ties of blood, of cordial friendship and of the memory of our common struggle in the first world war . . .

"Two years ago it was with sincere admiration that we watched the life and death struggle of our northern kindred, the Finns, against the Soviet giant. How sad we were when in 1940 Finland was mutilated, and *how sincerely we now rejoice over the liberation of ancient Finnish territories and the reinforcement of Finland's security.* They in the north and our sons in the south are fighting for the same ideals and against a danger that threatened both kindred peoples alike . . .

"Then I should like to say something to our kindred in overseas countries, especially in the large number of Magyars in the two Americas.

"Hence, from the Hungarian House of Parliament, I send this message to the Magyars living across the ocean: The policy of the Hungarian Government sanctioned by public opinion always keeps the interests of the country in view. The Hungarian Government, as the interpreter and executor of the nation's will, draws its strength from the nation's trust in it, and that trust would immediately cease were the Government to do anything against the nation's interests or neglect through carelessness or thoughtlessness to take advantage of any possibilities presenting themselves of serving those interests . . .

"We not only believe, we know that New Europe will emerge triumphant from the present gigantic struggle. And in that New Europe great tasks await the Hungarian nation. For a thousand years, here in the Danube Valley, we have lived not only racial life but also an organized political life. We accepted its glory and also its burdens. Here we stood defending Europe, maintaining equilibrium among the peoples of the Carpathian Basin. We were intermediaries between the West and the East and vice versa, never regarding our own interests alone, but always serving higher European aims. Our tasks were determined by Divine Providence when we were led to this land, by a Divine Providence which preserved us, strengthened us and blessed us.

"The tasks awaiting us in the future will be performed well or less well according to whether we shall have to overcome obstacles or whether fate will make them easy to

accomplish. But however that may be *our tasks cannot be performed by anyone else. They are ours alone, and every attempt to take them away from us has hitherto failed hopelessly.* Any arrangement of the Danube Valley that refused to the Magyars the consideration their strength and position demanded was doomed to fail. This was the fate of the clumsy experiments made by Austrian absolutism and this it was that made the system pieced together by the Paris Peace Treaties unstable, so unstable that it soon collapsed. The time for such bungling is now over for ever. *Today Hungary is again an unshakably firm and strong factor of European order and co-operation that stands prepared to make its moral and economic strength radiate far across the frontiers of Hungary."*

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

THE POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE MAGYARS IN YUGOSLAVIA

BY

Dr. ANDREW FALL

For more than 200 years the Serbs had a home in Hungary, where they lived in comfort, grew wealthy, preserved their national traits, their language, their religion, and were able to develop their culture freely, a home whence they could assist their brethren labouring under the Turkish yoke and spread their culture, highly developed in Hungary's western atmosphere, to their kin in the Balkans. For all this the thanks was that they fostered pan-Serb irredentism in Hungary, and when this pan-Serb dream was realized and Yugoslavia was created, they started a most ruthless campaign of extermination against the Magyars who had come under their rule. The most violent acts of terror, the most cruel instances of persecution, took place in the southern districts wrested from Hungary (the Voivodina and the lands around the river Mura), regions where culture was on an extremely high level. The Magyars and Germans who together were in the majority, had either to be driven out or ruined, in order that the Serbs should gain sole possession of what for a thousand years had been Hungarian. To achieve their ends they deprived the Magyars of their political rights, cut them off from their economic resources, and destroyed their culture. The Serbs, who had been treated with hospitality and given every material, moral and cultural support, turned on their hosts and paid for the many benefits received with base ingratitude. The way the Magyars were harassed for 22 years was wholly opposed, not only to the principles of humane behaviour, but also to the international treaties. It was, for instance, a flouting of the treaty for the protection of the minorities handed over to the S. H. S. State which was signed on 10th September 1919 at Saint Germain-en-

Laye and in which the Serb State undertook to recognize the provisions contained in Articles 2—8 thereof as constitutional laws to which no law, ordinance or official measure should run contrary and against which no law, ordinance or official measure should prevail. This international treaty concluded by the S. H. S. State with the Allied and Associated Powers, with its own allies that is to say, was never respected; on the contrary, all its provisions were flagrantly violated. That minority treaty had guaranteed equality of civil rights to the national minorities in the S. H. S. State, pronouncing that all citizens of that country were equal in the eyes of the law and would be equally protected by the authorities, and that the minorities would enjoy the right to free cultural and economic development. In point of fact, however, the successive Governments of the S. H. S. State deprived the Magyars of the most elementary rights of man, destroyed their culture and ruined them economically.

1. *The political oppression of the Magyars.*

From the very first days of Serb rule people's lives were no longer safe. Their safety was threatened by the Secret Police, the Dobrovolyatzi (war volunteers) and the authorities imported from Serbia proper. It may be imagined what the life of the Magyar minority was like if we think that the men set in authority were renegade priests, teachers who had grown tired of their jobs, discharged army sergeants and the leaders of komitadji bands. Men who, far from having any knowledge of legal matters or the law, could barely read and write, were made parish magistrates. They were considered sufficiently qualified to administer the communities if they were Serbs, members of the Radical Party, or war volunteers. These sinister gangsters persecuted everything that was Magyar and were determined to acquire riches without work in the shortest possible time. To mention one instance among thousands of a similar nature, a criminal gang was discovered in Óbecse the members of which were police and gendarmerie officials, who made a practice of arresting rich citizens on the pretext that they were "politically unreliable" or "communists" and then releasing

them for sums ranging from 10.000 to 100.000 crowns. Those who refused to pay got 25 lashes. In the eyes of the Serbs every Magyar was suspicious, and this led to the arraignment, arrest and murder of thousands. Old fathers of families, heroes of the war, eminent politicians, were beaten and tortured. For evidence of this we have only to read the questions put in the Skupshtina by minority members, the complaints of the Croat deputies and the Yugoslav newspapers which before the Dictatorship, when they could write more freely, contained accounts daily of the inhuman cruelties perpetrated by the local administrative authorities. In every issue of Stephen Raditch's paper, the "Slobodni Dom" (Free Country), we find an enumeration of these recurring acts of Balkan cruelty. The Serb authorities went so far in this respect that three or four Bills dealing with the suppression of corruption were introduced in the Skupshtina, but they were never passed. To intimidate the Magyars thousands of political trials were instituted on trumped-up accusations, and many of the people arrested were beaten to death. One of the best remembered of these trials was that of Dr. George Vargha, Julius Ignâcz and their associates, who died as a result of the tortures inflicted on them while it was in process. People have not forgotten how the bodies of Magyars who were done to death at the police station in Szabadka were thrown out of the building in a heap, it being stated that those miserable men had committed suicide by jumping out of the window. Nor has it been forgotten that the Magyars who fell into the hands of the police in Temesvár and were confined in the cellar of the Hungaria Hotel never left that place alive. But enough of these horrors. They are well remembered by all. The employees of the Hungarian State in the severed areas were discharged without pensions and driven out of the country. As a rule they had to leave within 24 hours, which in most cases meant that they were forced to leave all their property — movable and immovable — behind them, which in turn meant their utter financial ruin.

Until 26th January 1922, i. e. for three years, the Magyars lived in a state of complete uncertainty as regards their legal rights. Ignoring the international treaties, the

Yugoslav executive power adopted the attitude that until the period for opting had expired, every Magyar was free to opt for Hungary and that therefore the right of Magyar citizens to claim Yugoslav citizenship could not be recognized. When that period had expired, the Serbs purposely delayed attending to the petitions of the Magyars who wished to opt in favour of Yugoslavia, in order to prevent them exercising their political rights. That this state of legal insecurity never ceased was evident after the assassination of the King, when masses of Magyars were expelled from Yugoslavia.

After the change of rule the Serbs suspended the right of assembly, the freedom of the Press and the autonomy of the parishes and counties. The officials of those formerly autonomous bodies were thenceforward appointed by the Government, and their Magyar officials were all dismissed on the ground that they were politically untrustworthy. To begin with the political organization of the Magyars was not permitted, but finally in February 1922 this ban was raised and in September the Hungarian Party was formed; its activities, however, were constantly disturbed by irresponsible elements (Dobrovolyatzi and Chetniks). A memorandum of their grievances was drawn up by the Magyars and submitted to Premier Pashitch on 9th August 1922. In it we read: —

"We deeply regret to state that most of the administrative authorities in the Voivodina do not act towards the organization of the Hungarian Party in the spirit of the Constitution.

"For, although the central administrative authorities have placed no difficulties in the way of the political organization of the Magyars, the local authorities in the Bácska and the Chief Sheriff of Törökkanizsa are taking preventive steps and using every means of pressure to suppress meetings convened for the purpose of forming a Hungarian Party.

"In support of this statement we submit the following facts:

"The administrative authorities in Szabadka did allow the Magyars to convene a meeting for the purpose of form-

ing a Hungarian Party, but they prevented the meeting, which was to have been held on 7th May from taking place.

"When the day fixed for the meeting was made public, the Lord Lieutenant of Szabadka sent for the committee and invoking the higher authorities told them he would be pleased if the constituent meeting of the Hungarian Party were postponed to a later date and that it should be held not in Szabadka but in some other town of the Voivodina, otherwise the authorities would be compelled to withdraw the permission issued for the meeting convened for the 7th May. The committee of the Party agreed to postpone the meeting until after the Hungaro-Serb frontier delimitation commission had finished its work, but is very unwilling to agree to the meeting not being held in Szabadka, since Szabadka lies in the centre of the districts of the Voivodina inhabited by Magyars.

"In Zombor the Under-Sheriff and the Mayor are using every means at their disposal to prevent the organization and activity of the Hungarian Party. Citizens who have agreed to help with the organization of the Party and have accepted work on the committee, have been threatened with expulsion, with the dismissal of their relations from public posts, with the confiscation of their houses, with a withdrawal of their passports and of the authorities' protection, and many of these threats have already been carried out. And when despite the difficulties made by the authorities the Hungarian Party was formed, although 25 armed policemen and 4 police officials were present, the authorities allowed war volunteers to insult and maltreat those who attended the meeting and smash the windows of the Magyars of Zombor. When the Hungarian Party complained, the answer was that they should be glad that no greater damage was done. Since the Party was formed its members have been constantly exposed to threats and even persecution on the part of the authorities.

"In Zenta the authorities took cognizance of the intention to hold a constituent meeting, but made it impossible to be held by notifying the conveners of the meeting shortly before it was due to begin that no one would be allowed to attend unless they voluntarily stated their intention to

join the army of the S. H. S. State. The meeting was held later on, but only after a complaint had been submitted to the Minister for Internal Affairs.

"In Magyarkanizsa it happened that in the presence of the head of the Police Serb citizens broke up the meeting and destroyed the minutes.

"When the Hungarian Party notified the Chief Sheriff of Törökkanizsa that a meeting would be held in Csóka, he replied that he would not allow any organization of the Magyars in his district unless they were prepared to guarantee that they would join the Democratic Party *en bloc*. As this guarantee was not forthcoming he stopped the meeting with a telephone message which said that it was the time of field-work, and that the Magyars should work and leave politics alone. If they should try to hold the meeting he would have them dispersed by the gendarmes."

In the April of 1924 the Pashitch-Pribitchevitch Government dissolved both the Hungarian and the German Parties. This Ordinance was revoked by the Davidovitch Government that same year. For the first time the Hungarian Party took part in the elections on 8th February 1925, but thanks to the violence of the Serbs did not succeed in obtaining any seats. What those elections were like may be gathered from the fact that most of the citizens of Magyar nationality who had a right to vote were not entered on the lists of electors, and that many of those whose names were registered could not vote because their names were cancelled later on. In Zenta alone 6000 electors, or almost all the Magyars who were entitled to vote, were deprived of the right to do so. A few days before the election the headquarters of the Hungarian Party were closed, no Party meetings were permitted, the official organ of the Party, the "Hirlap", was suppressed, and the Magyar tellers were either forced to resign or were put in gaol. These were the political rights enjoyed by the Magyars under Serb rule.

For the purpose of eliminating the nationalities, or rather of absorbing them, the Serbs did away with the county system in vogue in the old Austrian and Hungarian areas and divided the country into 33 new administrative units or provinces (Oblast). With this the administrative unity of the

counties forming the Voivodina was sacrificed. The districts along the river Tisza and the upper part of the Banate were attached to the province of Belgrade, the lower parts of the Banate to the province of Szemendria (Szmederovo), while a new Bácska province was formed of the greater part of the Bácska.

In consequence of the reign of terror it was not until 1927 that the Hungarian Party was able to achieve any results. On the 23rd of January of that year it won 10 seats at the Provincial Diet elections. It was also successful in obtaining 3 seats in the Skupshtina at the Parliamentary elections held on 11th September of the same year. It is true that the Magyars had to wait eight years for these meagre results and be content with 3 seats instead of the 12 or 13 to which their numerical strength would have entitled them.

In 1927 the autonomy of the Voivodina was restored, but it was in vain that the Magyars elected their own members of the parish councils; the Serb authorities always managed to find some means of preventing the formation of those autonomous bodies in the Magyar villages, and in many cases the higher Serb authorities cancelled the election of Magyar municipal officials. The election of Magyar parish clerks (notaries) was cancelled on the pretext that they could not speak the official language of the country. In the Zombor constituency, for instance, the 11 Magyar parish clerks who had been elected by the villages were deprived of their posts. Only six Magyar parish clerks were left in the Voivodina, and of these the last two were discharged at the beginning of 1929. -Autonomy was merely a sham, but even such as it was it did not last long. With one stroke of the pen all public rights and constitutional guarantees, the freedom of the Press, the autonomy of the provinces and parishes, the right of association and assembly, were wiped out by the Dictatorship proclaimed on 6th January 1929, and all political Parties were dissolved. Committees were appointed to manage the affairs of the villages, army men and civilians imported from Serbia proper were placed at the head of the municipal and provincial administration. On 3rd October 1929 the country

was divided into 9 Banates, an arrangement distinctly against the interests of the Magyars. The Voivodina (the Banate, Bácska and Baranya) was attached to the Danube Banate in order to reduce the Magyar plus German majority. In this Banate, in which the Serbs were now in the majority, the use of the Hungarian language was forbidden in all public offices, the few Magyar officials remaining were dismissed, Magyar pensioners and war cripples were cheated of their dues, no passports or visas for Hungary were issued, only 2 seats on the Banate Council were given to Magyars, although they would have been entitled to 17 or 19, and so on and so on.

The list of Magyar grievances, of the wrongs done to them, was endless. It would scarcely be possible to enumerate all the horrible and barbaric acts perpetrated against them in the field of politics by the Dictatorship. But to give our readers some notion of them we shall quote from the memorandum submitted on 15th April 1930 to the League of Nations by Dr. Juraj Krnyevitch, member of the Skupshtina and former secretary-general of the Raditch Party, in which, addressing himself to "the whole civilized world", he said: —

"Political rights have been cancelled. The safety of life and property has ceased. The mere possibility of a free expression of opinion no longer exists. The yoke of absolutism has been placed on every public institution from the political communities to the chambers of commerce, for the parish magistrates and the chairmen of the chambers of commerce are now appointed, directly or indirectly, by the Minister of the Interior. The censorship of the Press is so strict that the threat of suppression hangs like a sword of Damocles over all the newspapers, whose editors go in daily fear of imprisonment. Political criticism is unknown. The press cannot publish anything about politics except what is issued by the Press Department of the Prime Ministry. Economic news, Press reports and statistics are usually untrue. Political arrests are the order of the day, men being interned without a hearing or any legal proceedings. A new, special, drum-head court composed of Serbs has been established to deal with political offences, against the findings of which

there is no appeal. On one single day sentences aggregating 166 years' imprisonment were passed by this court. Matchek, the president of the Raditch Party, for instance, was confined in a musty, unwholesome prison which no civilized person could be expected to enter, and physical and moral pressure was brought to bear on him to induce him to undertake in politics the role of a traitor to his nation."

When the Dictatorship collapsed, a pseudo-Constitution was framed which utterly refused to recognize the minorities and their rights. The new Constitution expressly forbade the minorities to organize. The autonomy of the villages was restored in 1933, when a few Magyars managed to secure seats on the parish councils, but the towns had to wait for autonomy till 1934, and even then no elections were allowed. The political life of the Magyars was thus wholly paralyzed. In 1931 only the Government Party could enter the elections with a general list. On this Government Party list one renegade Magyar secured a seat. The Germans, too, only won a single seat. The rest of the nationalities, Rumanians, Albanians, Bulgarians, etc., did not succeed in winning one single seat, and the Magyars were left without any representation in the Senate.

At the elections in 1938 again, instead of 12 only one Magyar representative managed to get a seat in the Skupshtina, and this one Magyar was brought in by the Government. One single Magyar Senator was also appointed by the Government. It would have been utterly impossible for even one Magyar to obtain a seat in the Senate by election. The chosen leaders of the Magyar minority, Dr. Imre Várady, Dr. Leo Deák and others, took every opportunity of making representations about the crushing political oppression of the Magyars to the Yugoslav Government, but as a rule they were sent away with promises instead of redress. This continued all through the Serb era, and it is a characteristic fact that by 1939 none of the Magyar grievances had been redressed. They were brought up in the Skupshtina on 6th March 1939 by Gerard Fodor, the only Magyar member, who said: —

"The half million Magyars in Yugoslavia are today out off from all possibility of development; they have been

culturally repressed and ruined economically to such an extent that it is as if they had been sentenced to death. On countless occasions the leaders of the Magyar minority have laid its complaints and rightful demands before the leading politicians of this country, but so far nothing but fine promises have come of those efforts.

"One of the most conspicuous of our political grievances is that there are no Magyar officials on the staffs of the Magyar towns and villages. Our young men with university degrees cannot find suitable work, because all the positions have been filled with Slavs, many of whom do not possess the necessary qualifications and are bringing those once flourishing places to the brink of bankruptcy... As things stand today there is not one single Magyar vil'age notary in the country. The Magyars therefore beg the Royal Government to appoint young Magyars with the necessary qualifications to posts in public offices in a number proportionate to the numerical strength of the Magyar minority.

"Officials and employees of Magyar nationality are being gradually ousted from their posts in private business. I have received many letters from minority citizens complaining that owing to the pressure exerted by the authorities they have been dismissed on the pretext of nationalization.

"The Magyars also beg that no judges should be appointed in the courts in the Magyar areas except such as are able to speak minority languages well. The Magyar minority furthermore complains that it has been made extremely difficult even for those who lived in the territory of present-day Yugoslavia before 1910 and had acquired rights of domicile there, to obtain Yugoslav citizenship. Another grievance of the Magyar minority is that it is very difficult for persons of Magyar nationality to obtain passports.

"In the field of economic policy one of the major grievances of the Magyar minority is the Ordinance, directed solely against the national minorities, which limits the buying and selling of land and houses. Today we have reached a point where Magyar cannot sell to Magyar because the deed of transfer will not be endorsed if the

purchaser is a Magyar. The express object of the Ordinance is to deprive persons of Magyar nationality of the possibility of acquiring land or houses.

"Magyar agricultural labourers do not enjoy the advantages of the Land Reform and nowhere have the Serb authorities given so much as a site for a house to the landless Magyars. The farm servants, crofters and small holders of Magyar nationality were treated in the same way when the large estates were being divided. These poor people are now in a terrible state of destitution. I wish to draw the Government's special attention to the sad condition of those people, who have thus been thrust into the greatest misery.

"In the sphere of culture our most bitter complaint is against the educational policy of the Government. The Magyars beg the Government above all to revoke the various name-analysis decrees. Owing to the ruthless application of name-analysis, in Horgos, for instance, only 6 of the 17 classes in the schools are being taught in the Hungarian language, despite the fact that 9500 of the town's 11.000 inhabitants are of Magyar nationality. We also beg that religious instruction both in the elementary and the secondary schools should be imparted in Hungarian and not in Croat-Serbian, whether the pupils attend the Hungarian parallel departments or classes in which the official language of the country is the medium of instruction. Another wish of the Magyars is that the teachers of Magyar nationality who have been transferred to the State schools should be re-transferred to the so-called Hungarian parallel departments and that the Magyar teachers who have qualified lately should be appointed as soon as possible, so that the Hungarian classes which were closed because of an alleged dearth of teachers might be re-opened. This refers particularly to schools in outlying districts in which teaching has been discontinued for years.

"Yet another wish of the Magyars is that a permanent Hungarian theatre should be established with the same privileges as regard taxes as those enjoyed by the Serb theatres. And lastly we beg the Government to approve the statutes of the non-political Magyar cultural societies. This

was promised to us more than a year ago, but so far that promise has not been redeemed."

This speech made by Gerhard Fodor clearly exposes the tragical situation and the sufferings of the Magyars in the spheres of politics, culture and economy during the 22 years of Serb rule. If further proof is needed we may quote Milan Grol, the president of the Democratic Party, who made a speech in Ujvidék on 24th April 1940 at celebrations held in commemoration of Ljuba Davidovitch, former Premier and one-time president of the Party. Amongst other things M. Grol said: —

"Ljuba Davidovitch saw that the Serbs of the Voivodina were allowed to sing their own national songs during the Austro-Hungarian era . . .

"Apart from Southern Serbia what caused Davidovitch the greatest anxiety were the developments in the Voivodina. He realized that its administration in the hands of strange officials was bad. Those officials did not understand the new mixed surroundings in which they found themselves, and they executed the Land Reform badly, with dire consequences. In the rich soil of the Voivodina corruption flourished. This plant, corruption, was something new to the Voivodina.

"In the first golden years after the formation of the State there was bread enough and to spare for all, for those who worked and those who didn't. But in the years of the economic crisis the Voivodina suffered greatly, because it was expected to bear heavier burdens than the rest of the country. With the same sternness with which he inveighed against the bad administration of Southern Serbia, Ljuba Davidovitch branded the régime in the Voivodina."

Later on Grol said: —"

"We shall never forget the touching scenes witnessed on the occasion of Ljuba Davidovitch's visit to the Voivodina in 1935.

"The people could not greet him except from behind the bayonets of the police. Ljuba Davidovitch, that grey-haired politician, set out on an electioneering campaign from Ujvidék, visiting Óbecse, Zenta, Kanizsa, Szabadka and Bács-topolya and returning again to Ujvidék. All along this route the picture we saw was the same: among the represen-

tatives of the authorities men from Serbia were in the forefront. 'It doesn't matter what they do to me' — said Davidovitch — 'but I am ashamed of the country from which they came'... In the market-square of Zenta we saw nobody but policemen. In Szabadka, as well as in Zenta, a state of siege was proclaimed because of our arrival. When we were leaving Szabadka the long streets in the suburbs were filled with people, who, when the carriage with Davidovitch appeared, knelt down on the stones and wept to take leave of the grey-haired leader of Democracy. Davidovitch's eyes also filled with tears to see how the authorities in Southern Serbia and the Voivodina had lowered the prestige of Sumadija (the Serb Piemont of pre-war times Ed)."

From all this it may be gathered how crushing the political oppression of the Magyars in Yugoslavia was during the 22 years of Serb rule.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

CURRICULUM OF SECONDARY AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS IN RESTORED SOUTHERN HUNGARY

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

The organization of education in Yugoslavia, a country that was itself to blame for its collapse, was such that the favoured German and, to a lesser extent, the numerically inconsiderable Rumanian minorities were granted certain meagre rights, but the rest of the minorities were very niggardly treated from the very outset. The Magyar national minority, for instance, did not possess one single board or technical school, and it was a well-known fact that in the two secondary schools (gymnasias) it was supposed to possess — the so-called parallel departments of the eight-class secondary school at Szabadka and the four-class one at Zenta — apart from Hungarian grammar and literature and now and then religion, all the rest of the subjects were usually taught in the official language of the State alone. *In the elementary and secondary schools where the medium of instruction was the official language of the State Hungarian was not taught even as an extra subject, clear proof that the Magyars and their language were not considered to be of any importance in the areas wrested from Hungary and attached to Yugoslavia.*

In contrast with this the Hungarian Government is pursuing quite a different policy, one of fair-play and understanding, in the restored Southern areas, as the following data prove.

Ordinance 58.500/1941, issued by the Hungarian Ministry of Education, contains a provisional timetable for all the secondary and technical schools in the restored areas of Southern Hungary, along with rules concerning the régime of those institutions.

This Ordinance applies to all secondary schools, thus

also to those in which the language of tuition is German or Serb, as well as to the teachers' training colleges, commercial schools and industrial secondary schools, including the mechanical and architectural departments, women's industrial schools and all boys' and girls' board-schools.

The timetable provides for the teaching of minority languages in Southern Hungary, and is so constructed that, besides acquiring a knowledge of Hungarian, the pupils will be able to make progress in the various branches of science. In secondary schools (gymnasia) in which Hungarian is the language of tuition Latin will be taught four times a week in every class. In the German and Serb gymnasia the teaching of Latin will begin in the third class. *In the Hungarian gymnasia the Serb language will be a compulsory extra subject in the first four classes and an ordinary subject in the four upper ones.* By making Serb a compulsory subject the Ordinance aims at preventing the children of the Serb populations of Southern Hungary from forgetting their mother-tongue and ensuring that on leaving school for positions in the administration they will be able to speak to the Serb nationals who have business to do in public offices in the latter's own language.

The above nationality clause applies only to schools in which Hungarian is the medium of instruction and has nothing to do with the curriculum of the Serb schools, which all through takes into consideration the educational requirements of the Serb nationals in accordance with the rights guaranteed to them in the laws of Hungary. How true this is may be gathered from the speech of Dr. Valentine Hóman, Hungarian Minister of Public Education, during the debate on the part of the Budget affecting his own portfolio on 11th November. Here we shall quote only one passage from it.

"The Government" — said the Minister — "must make provision for the nationalities, and the State must deal with their cultural requirements. The attitude of the Hungarian Government is clear and unambiguous, and is in conformance with centuries-old Hungarian traditions. *In Hungary the nationals are free to use their own racial culture. The citizens of non-Hungarian tongue who are living among us must be*

made to feel and given to know that they are not the step-children of the Hungarian State."

How and to what extent these principles are being applied in practice in the Bácska and the Baranya Triangle the following data taken from a report made by Dr. Ivan Nagy, Ministerial Councillor and University Lecturer, will show.

According to that report, besides 354 Magyar teachers, 282 Serb, 241 German, 46 Slovene and 35 Bunyevatz teachers were taken over from Yugoslavia by the Hungarian State. This is the more worthy of note if we remember that these Southern Slav male and female teachers were taken over by Hungary in wartime, when every State must be more careful than usual in its choice of the persons to whom the education of the coming generation is entrusted. This gesture on the part of the Hungarian Minister of Education is an unmistakable sign that Hungary has no desire for reprisals and that in the sphere of education, and culture in general, she wishes to give to the nationalities living in restored Southern Hungary the rights guaranteed, in accordance with the principles of St. Stephen, by the Hungarian laws and the Hungarian Constitution to all her non-Hungarian speaking but loyal citizens.

REPATRIATION OF SZEKLEERS OF BUKOVINA

BY
JOHN KASSAI

Quite recently the Hungarian Government eliminated the last traces of an old historical tragedy by bringing back to the mother-country the Szeklers who in 1764, after the "Massacre of Mádéfalva", were forced to flee first to Moldavia and thence to Bukovina. The cause of their flight was that the blind instruments of the Emperor's wrath destroyed Mádéfalva and massacred the Szeklers, of whom only 2687 managed to make their escape across the Carpathians.

It was not, however, merely the intention to right a historical wrong that led the Hungarian Government to take this step. It was also the circumstance that after the second Vienna Award the situation of those Szeklers, living as a minority in Bukovina, had become intolerable. They were at the tether end of their endurance, and to escape oppression and all the major and minor torments to which they were exposed, they had begun to flee back in batches across the Carpathians to the mother-country. The desperate straits of these increasingly large swarms of refugees induced the Government, after much consideration, *to establish on 9th May last a Commission entrusted with the task of repatriating the Szeklers of Bukovina.*

These Szeklers had been living in five Bukovina villages. According to the Rumanian census taken in 1930, the nationality statistics of those villages were as follows:

	Total Population	Magyars	Rumanians	Germans	Jews
Hadikfalva	4.939	4.534	129	129	84
Istensegits	3.239	3.045	34	105	38
Andrásfalva	2.557	2.280	93	110	64
Józseffalva	1.163	543	560	40	18
Fogadjisten	885	153	633	29	19
Total	12.748	10.555	1.449	413	223

REPATRIATION OF SZEKLETS OF BUKOVINA

These figures, however, did not show the real state of affairs, for the number of Szeklers in Bukovina was much greater than would appear from them. This minority group was a large demographic unit, but the difficulty of procuring a livelihood forced its members either to migrate from the settlements to other parts of the country or to emigrate.

The economic struction of the Szeklers of Bukovina was based on small holdings, ranging in extent from one to 30 yokes of land. There were no farms larger than 30 yokes. We find the following distribution of land among them:

holdings	from	0	to	1	yoke		499	owners
"	"	1	"	5	yokes		1.758	"
"	"	5	"	10	"		418	"
"	"	10	"	20	"		88	"
"	"	20	"	30	"		7	"

As we see, the largest number of farmers owned holdings of from 1 to 5 yokes. The only way to make a living on such small farms was by means of *intensive farming, by market-gardening and fruit-growing*. Produce was carted to the towns, especially to the market at Czernovitz. After the repatriation of the Szeklers those towns immediately began to suffer from a shortage of garden produce.

The Repatriation Commission which the Government established on 9th May under the direction of M. Nicholas Bonczos — the same M. Bonczos who as Government Commissioner for the flooded areas had rendered such signal services to the country and had shown himself a master-hand at solving problems of a practical nature — began its activity immediately, on 10th May. In seven weeks, by the 18th June, the following number of Szeklers had been settled in the places appointed for them in the "Bácska":

	2.921 families of Szeklers	containing	13.200 souls
	323 families of exservicemen	"	1.535 "
	18 families descendants of men killed in the last war	"	68 "
Total	3.262 families		14.803 souls

To understand the significance of these results the following facts should be borne in mind. First we must

remember that 13.200 people had to be brought home from a foreign land. Then about 1.600 had to be collected from every part of the country and sent to their new places of abode. Among those people were infants, children, and old persons, which, of course, made the task a more difficult one. Bearing this in mind, the five weeks seem a very short time, and that the work was accomplished in that short time *proves the efficiency of the Repatriation Commission and its organizations.*

The number of the Szeklers who had fled to Hungary by 10th May, on which date the Repatriation Commission began its work, was about 4.500. Thus the situation was that one-third of the Szeklers had come back of their own accord. Until they were settled they spent their days in a refugee labour camp. Then a more extensive repatriation by railway began. The first trainload of Szeklers from Bukovina arrived in the "Bácska" on 10th May. From that date trains arrived daily with returning Szeklers, *until in exactly 41 days the whole work of repatriation was completed.*

The following settlements were created in the "Bácska" by the repatriated Szeklers:

Name of Settlement.	Yokes of Land	Szeklers		Ex-Servicemen		Descendants of Men Killed in Action	
		Families.	Souls	Families.	Souls	Families.	Souls
Vajszka	2.399	= Settlements of exservicemen					
Bács-Vitézfalva	958						
Hadikszállás							
Hadikliget	788	52	210	—	—	—	—
Hadiklelke	1.700	11	61	1	6	—	—
Hadikmalom	—	26	98	3	5	—	—
Horthyvára	2.867	244	1.127	29	177	2	17
Hadikföldje	2.088	142	619	7	17	—	—
Hadikvára	2.060	169	726	8	42	1	4
Istenföldje	420	89	377	2	2	—	—
Istenkeze	844	16	61	5	21	—	—
Istenáldás	1.335	105	541	11	63	—	—
Andrásföldje	831	57	272	5	32	—	—
Bácsandrásfalva	1.691	181	827	16	22	2	9
(Unnamed settlement)	1.460	65	273	3	25	—	—
(Unnamed settlement)	517	24	105	2	10	—	—

REPATRIATION OF SZEKLEERS OF BUKOVINA

Bács-							
Józseffalva	4.188	150	746	27	61	—	—
Istenvára	—	138	593	—	—	—	—
Istenszeme	700	61	275	3	11	1	4
Andrásvára	1.415	127	548	5	14	3	14
Bácsandrás-							
szállás	1.573	123	597	7	19	1	3
Andráslelke	1.090	87	367	—	—	2	4
Istenhozott	775	55	288	6	17	—	—
Bácsistensegítség	2.675	287	1.222	26	125	—	—
Andrásháza	196	22	79	—	—	—	—
Istenvelünk	1.027	92	449	1	8	—	—
Hadikfalva	2.300	148	738	—	—	1	6
Hadikkisfalva	1.707	93	425	3	—	—	—
Hadikujfalva	1.189	305	1.330	5	25	1	4
Hadikvég	929	60	224	3	15	1	6
Total:	39.722	2.929	13.198	178	717	15	71

The most important problem in connection with the settlers was how to provide such a large number of people with a livelihood.

The basis of their livelihood is, of course, the possession of land, and realizing this the Government determined that none of them should be left without land. It was decided that in the first place every family should receive three yokes. To this minimum was then to be added one yoke for each member of the family living at home, whether in the ascending or descending line. This system takes the number of family members as the basis for the distribution of the land, on the principle that large families, especially where there are many children, should be provided with better prospects of a livelihood.

But the settlement of such a large number of people is not merely a mathematical problem. The Szeklers of Bukovina have been transplanted root and branch into entirely different surroundings from those in which they have hitherto lived. Here we see the truth of the Greek poet's words, that *only the sky changes over the wanderers' heads; their hearts remain the same*. Care had therefore to be taken that the whole form of life of the Szeklers of Bukovina should be transplanted to the mother country. The most important thing in this respect was to prevent repatriation disturbing the settler's established social order,

the basis of which undoubtedly was the differentiation into strata corresponding with the size of their former possessions of land. This it was proposed to maintain. To do so it was necessary to give more land in the new settlements to those who in Bukovina owned larger farms. The problem was solved by adding to the average amount given to each family extra land in proportion to the amount they had owned in Bukovina. In figures this worked out as follows: *the owners in Bukovina of farms ranging from 5 to 10 yokes received an extra 2 cadastral yokes; those who had owned from 10 to 20 yokes received an extra 4 cadastral yokes, and the owners of farms of from 20 to 30 yokes were given an extra 8 cadastral yokes. In this way the Repatriation Commission achieved its aim of enabling the Szeklers of Bukovina to feel at home in their new surroundings in the mother-country with comparatively little disturbance of their way of life.*

The Repatriation Commission was fully aware that the problems of the settlers had not all been solved by these grants of land. Even though the Commission had managed to place 18.000 cadastral yokes at their disposal instead of the 10.035 they had formerly owned, the new settlements still lacked the wherewithal to cultivate them. It must be remembered that apart from the barest necessities they had not been able to bring their moveable goods and chattels with them, the Rumanians refusing them permission to do so. With their bare hands, however willing, they could not have tilled the land. They brought no food with them either, so that for a considerable time the Commission had to supply them with provisions. Thus, besides settling them on the land, it was necessary to come to their assistance economically. Then again, it was not possible to establish them in private possession of their farms immediately, so that for the first agricultural year the land was tilled jointly and its produce distributed among them by the Commission. All these were problems that were hard to solve where 15.000 persons were concerned. *The chief problem was how to provide the settlers with adequate working capital and implements.* All the problems of detail faded into insignificance before the major task of putting these agricultural areas (the lots, that is to say, used for settlement purposes) in working order.

In the first place every family was given the quantity of bread cereals required for a year, as well as the quantity of maize produced on two yokes of land. Other agricultural produce (potatoes, beans, peas, etc.) was also distributed among them, and provisionally a sum of 30 pengő was given to each settler for the purchase of other necessaries. The Repatriation Commission, however, knew well that the most important thing was to provide the settlers with agricultural tools and implements and with loans to give them the working capital needed to set production going. To accomplish this task and solve all the minor problems the Commission drew up the following Estimates:

Expenditure

1. Food, wages, seed grain, agricultural implements, transport, medicine, legal costs, personal and material expenses	P.	1.446.357.37
2. Agricultural machines	..	640.000.—
3. Animals	..	250.000.—
4. Buildings	..	120.000.—
5. Working capital (100 pengő per head)	..	1.399.000.—
6. Loans for the purchase of moveable goods	..	400.000.—
7. Taxation	..	1.500.000.—
8. Unforeseen expenses	..	34.081.84

Total: P. 5.789.439.21

The sums figuring in almost all these items are to be devoted to setting the farms in working order. We see that provision has been made for the purchase of farming implements, animals and chattels, for building, and to supply working capital. *Here we would emphasize the point that the working capital received by the Szekler families is much more than at a glance it would appear to be according to the above Estimates, for it was doled out per capita, which meant that the larger the family, the more it got.* This corresponded to the system of land distribution, for, as we have seen, the amount of land granted increased with the number of persons in the family.

The sources from which the Repatriation Commission was able to draw were as follows:

Receipts

1. Rents received for part of the land handed over to the Repatriation Commission	P.	840.000.—
2. Sums accruing from the sale of wheat grown on the land jointly farmed	„	1.800.000.—
3. Sums accruing from the sale of maize	„	2.000.000.—
4. Sums accruing from the sale of other produce	„	179.000.—
5. Received from the Government	„	1.000.000.—
		<hr/>
Total:	P.	5.819.000.—

The above figures show that apart from the last item of 1.000.000 pengő the settlements were almost entirely self-supporting. The Repatriation Commission practically financed the great work of settlement from the sums received for the crops grown on the land granted for settlement purposes.

In order to obtain a clear and complete picture of the work of settlement done, a few details must be mentioned. In the first place it is important to point out that *the entire work was organized by a body consisting of 44 men*. This number was as small as the time at their disposal was short. Both things taken together are the best evidence of the splendid work done by the Repatriation Commission. But we must add a third point, namely, that the work was done very cheaply. All the expenses, including the legal costs of putting the settlers in possession of their holdings, did not average more than five pengő per yoke. In a word, the work was remarkable for its rapidity and its cheapness.

To complete the picture the following facts must be noted. It has already been said that the Szeklers were engaged chiefly in market-gardening in their old settlements. In Southern Hungary, on the other hand, they are at present growing cereals. But they still have leanings towards gardening, and they promise to turn their settlements into vegetable gardens in the course of a few years.

It is obvious that the new life of a people accustomed to live in a stabilized and organized community cannot be reorganized merely by providing them with land, working capital and agricultural implements. The communal life of the Szeklers of Bukovina was so highly organized as to form

a striking contrast to that of their neighbours. They were instinctively religious. *Religion for them was something that expressed and preserved their national character, as it so often does in the case of minorities far removed from their native land.* In the Bukovina settlements communal life was what preserved and helped to develop their cultural and spiritual assets. Their teachers and their schools — although it was scarcely possible to maintain Magyar schools under Rumanian rule — preserved practically unadulterated the spirit of Hungarian culture. With great wisdom the Hungarian Government from the very beginning of their transference to Hungarian soil provided that their communal life should be able to develop organically. Provision in being made for all their needs. The repatriation of these masses of people was welcomed with such enthusiasm by the whole country that teachers, infant-school teachers, Green Cross nurses, etc. flocked from all parts to offer their services. Schools have been opened in all the settlements, and besides schools, there are kindergartens that are almost over-crowded with little children. For babies crèches and day-nurseries have been established. Generally speaking the care of the young is the best organized branch of welfare work, and considering the large families of the Szeklers, it is one of the most important problems to be dealt with. Religious life has also been organized. The Szeklers were very sorry not to be able to bring their church-bells with them, but on Sundays the schoolrooms are turned into places of worship and altars carved with peasant *motifs* by themselves are set up, at which Capuchin friars celebrate Holy Mass. The great community of the Hungarian nation has taken the Szeklers to its bosom, and it may be affirmed now that they are an indivisible part thereof.

With the work of settlement processes have been started that will not be completed for some time yet. Such, for instance, is the process of redemption. The settlers do not receive their farms free and gratis. They will have to pay redemption for them; but the terms are very favourable, for the redemption price has been fixed at 40 times the net annual income of the land as determined by the Land Register according to the quality of the soil. Those who were

repatriated from a greater distance are to be allowed a 25% reduction of the redemption price, which must be paid within 45 years. What the Rumanian State owes them for their farms in Bukovina will be entered to their credit. The Hungarian Government hopes to come to an agreement by negotiations with Rumania concerning these claims.

This was how, after 177 years of bondage in a foreign land, the Szeklers of Bukovina returned to the mother-country. As we have seen, the Hungarian Government is doing all in its power to welcome back these people to the bosom of the nation.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN TRANSYLVANIA

BY

LADISLAS SZENCZEI

One of the most important problems of the districts of Northern Hungary re-incorporated in the mother country is *the regulation of the rivers*. Only quite recently destructive inundations swept through the valleys of the Szamos and the Körös, not only doing incalculable material damage, but also in many cases destroying human life. This was due chiefly to the fact that during the twenty-two years of Rumanian rule very little care was devoted to the work of river-regulation; but another cause of no less importance was that during the period of Rumanian occupation the forests were extirpated ruthlessly and unsystematically — a procedure which, as is well known, demands a serious penalty in the form of floods.

One of the most important tasks in this connection is *the regulation of the Sebes-Körös* in the vicinity of Csucs, Kissebes and Körösfeketető, — where last summer's inundations wrought the greatest havoc. The regulation operations were begun here shortly after the floods had subsided; and they are now in rapid progress. Regulation operations have been started in the valley of the brook Nádas within the confines of the villages of Egeres, Bogártelke, Nádas, Daróc, Sárd and Magyarszentpál. A beginning has been made also with the work of regulating the brook at Kapus. Regulation operations have been carried out on the brook Borsa above the villages of Kolozsborsa and Csomafalva with the object of restoring the productive capacity of the ploughed fields and pastures which were inundated. *The cost of these operations amounts to 120,000 pengő. The regulation works to be*

carried out on the Szamos in the vicinity of Kolozsvár have been estimated to require an outlay of 60,000 pengő.

The Ministry for Agriculture has also begun operations for the accumulation of rubble and the construction of dikes, and has further begun the afforestation of barren areas and of such areas as threaten to enhance the danger of inundation.

There has been a very considerable improvement in the possibilities of communication in the re-incorporated districts of Northern Transylvania and in particular of Széklerland. On the narrow-gauge branch line between Szászlekenye and Kolozsnagyida *there are already 44 engines and 430 cars and trucks engaged in dealing with the traffic.* And to negotiate the traffic between Beszterce and Szászrégen the "MAVAUT" (Hungarian State Railways Road Car Co.) is running 200 motor-lorries, each able to carry on an average 3 tons a day. In addition the "IBUSZ" (Tourist Traffic Co.) has organised a service of 400 Székler carts to deal with the traffic between Szászrégen and Sófalva. As a result of these measures the problem of traffic between Széklerland — which area was previously cut off from Hungary proper — and the mother country has been satisfactorily solved provisionally — until the extension of the trunk line between Déda and Magyaró (which is being built with the utmost possible speed) has been finished and the railway system of Széklerland completed. *On this extension the State Railways are spending 18.6 million pengő on sleepers only — the bulk of the material required being procured in the exceptionally richly-wooded districts of Eastern Hungary.* As a result of the improvement of the possibilities of communication the health-resorts of Eastern Hungary and Széklerland this summer had a record number of visitors. The sum accruing to Northern Transylvania under this head *amounts to several million pengő;* and this amount will without doubt contribute

very considerably to strengthen the financial position of the region impoverished during Rumanian rule by artificial means.

Particularly important as a factor in the development of the agriculture and the furtherance of the work of industrialisation in Transylvania is *the establishment in County Háromszék of a spirit-distilling plant under the management of the Spirit Régie*, which will render possible the industrial utilisation of the surplus stocks of sugar-beet and potatoes of the Székler counties. In addition initial steps have been taken for the establishment of several plants for the manufacture of flax too.

As a result of the succesful efforts of the co-operative societies affiliated to the "Hangya" which have been established in Transylvania, *provision has been made for the supply to consumers in the mother-country* of some of the valuable mineral waters of Széklerland — those of Előpatak, Bodok and Székelyszalvátor. The commercial organisation established for this purpose has already begun to operate, its efforts having so far been crowned with success.

Very useful work has been done in the development of the districts of Eastern Hungary previously so backward in commercial and industrial respects by the National Fund for encouraging craftsmen and artisans to set up for themselves in business, which in the course of a single year has enabled *more than 500 craftsmen and tradesmen to start independent existences*. The total amount distributed for this purpose in the form of loans exceeds *1,500,000 pengő*.

The building works undertaken by the Rumanians in Northern Transylvania were relatively unimportant; and a large part of the buildings begun were left in a half-finished state. In one of the outlying quarters of Kolozsvár, for instance, the foundations of a building of large dimensions were laid, but the building was never completed. The

Hungarian Government immediately took steps to complete the buildings thus left unfinished as rapidly as possible, the big building in question being destined to serve as the headquarters of the army corps command. The enormous sum appropriated for the purpose is already making its beneficial effect felt among the craftsmen and industrial establishments of Kolozsvár.

In the field of public welfare too work of a noteworthy character is in progress. For the purpose of encouraging the building of house-settlements for the workers of the industrial undertakings, negotiations have for some time past been under way between the Ministry for Industry and the National House-Building Credit Co-operative Society established by the banking companies. The Social Insurance Institute, the Private Employees' Insurance Institute and the National Family Welfare Fund are all to take part in the building scheme. As a consequence, very shortly the building of houses is to be begun in several Transylvanian towns. This work will be participated in also by the several local government bodies: the town of Marosvásárhely, for instance, has decided *to take up a loan of 250,000 pengő for house-building purposes*, an apartment house with 20 flats to be built out of this amount on a site belonging to the Corporation. The town of Marosvásárhely has in any case taken the lead in the work being undertaken for the purpose of repairing the omissions committed during the period of Rumanian occupation, having for instance ordered machinery and building materials from Germany for the modernisation of the town waterworks — *appropriating the sum of 300,000 pengő for the purpose.*

Initial steps have been taken also for the development of the intellectual life and popular education of the province. At Kolozsvár, for instance, a *Workers' College* has been opened the object of which is to enlist the assistance of the

Francis Joseph University of Sciences in the national and scientific education of the working classes. The College was opened on October 29th. and is to continue its work until the April of next year. The course is to be closed with an examination, the students passing the exam. to receive certificates.

On November 10th., in two Székler towns (Csík-somlyó and Kézdivásárhely), *the popular colleges for girls* maintained by the Catholic Women's Alliance of Transylvania were opened. These schools serve two purposes: on the one hand they are intended to supply the national training which Hungarian girls were prevented from obtaining during the long period of Rumanian occupation, while on the other hand their object is to provide the villages with young girls trained in household economy (housekeeping), children's upbringing and agriculture.

In this connection we would note that in one of the most Magyar counties of Transylvania — County Csík —, in which the proportion of inhabitants of Rumanian nationality is quite insignificant, *38 elementary schools using Rumanian as the medium of instruction have been established.* That is how the Hungarian State is providing for the cultivation of the languages and cultures of the non-Magyar nationalities.

On November 9th., after a silence of twenty-two years, the *Kolozsvár National Theatre* was re-opened, — that institute which was the second most important theatre in the country after the National Theatre of Budapest. It was at Kolozsvár, more than 120 years ago, that the first stone theatre in the country was built; no wonder that the Hungarians have always looked upon the Transylvanian Capital as the mother of their theatrical culture. During the days of adversity under foreign rulers the Hungarian theatre found a temporary refuge in the summer "arena" in the Promenade, though there were two other buildings in the

town suitable for the purpose which might have been placed at the service of the Magyar Muses, — one being the new theatre-building opened in 1906 and the other the older National Theatre in Farkas-utca. The foreign rulers, not content with exiling the Hungarian Muses from the splendid new theatre, refused to tolerate them even in their ancient home in Farkas-utca.

And now History has at last given the Hungarian Muses satisfaction: and *on November 9th., 1941, the Hungarian language was once more heard on the stage in Hunyadi-tér, our actors being able to continue the performance of "Hamlet" at the point — the great soliloquy, "To be or not to be . . ." — at which, twenty-two years ago, the flash of Rumanian bayonets had forced them to break it off.* In the evening of November 9th., 1941, the auditorium clothed in purple, gold and marble — the public crowding the stalls, boxes and dress circle and gallery — joined the actors on the stage in acclaiming with heart and soul their opening words — "To be . . .!"

The audience present at the gala first-night included Archdukes *Joseph* and *Joseph Francis*, Dr. *Valentine Hóman*, Minister for Education, Baron *Daniel Bánffy*, Minister for Agriculture, M. *Denis Ghyczy* and M. *Stephen Losonczy*, Under-Secretaries of State, Count *Béla Teleki* (representing the Lower House) and Count *Nicholas Bánffy* (representing the Upper House of Parliament). Many other notabilities were present too. After the National Anthem and the Rákóczy March had been played, M. *Francis Táray*, Director, delivered his inaugural address; then the curtain rose, and the public followed the programme with patriotic enthusiasm.

HUNGARY AND SLOVAKIA

BY

LEWIS KARPATI

We have already recorded the fact that the Slovaks of Hungary recently founded a Party of their own, which has set itself the object of developing the cultural, social and political organisation of the Slovaks living in Hungary. The formation of the new Slovak Party has been received with delight everywhere among the Slovaks of Hungary. The work of organisation is being carried out freely and on a large scale, wherever there are any persons belonging to the Slovak ethnic group.

Quite recently further successes were achieved in connection with the cultural and political development of the Slovaks living in Hungary. This time in connection with the Press.

The Slovaks of Hungary have established three weeklies — the “*Slovenskó Noviny*”, the “*Nasa Zastava*” and the “*Slovenska Jednota*”. The first of these three papers is the organ of the Slovaks who have been living in Hungary proper for some time past, the second being the organ of the Eastern Slovaks, and the third representing that section of the Slovaks of Hungary which recently returned within the framework of the Hungarian State. Of late the wish has been expressed that the “*Slovenské Jednota*” should be developed into a daily. Seeing that the Slovaks have shown a readiness to support this undertaking, the Hungarian Government has granted permission for the paper to be changed in character as desired. This means a material re-inforcement of the Slovak Press of Hungary, for *the potency of the “Slovenska Jednota” will be increased by 700% as a consequence of its being converted into a daily.*

This expansion of the Slovak Press has exercised on the Slovaks a favourable influence similar to that resulting from the organisation of the political party. The Slovaks of Hungary feel that their community life is becoming more perfect and already denotes an acceptable form of existence.

The Slovak Constitution provides that a nationality ethnic group may establish one party only, and that only one party may claim the right to represent the ethnic group in question. It is through their parties that the ethnic groups are enabled to participate in the work of directing the affairs of the State. But this possibility is made conditional on the Slovak Ministry for the Interior registering the parties of the ethnic groups.

Immediately after the establishment of Slovakia as an independent State the Magyars of Slovakia founded their own party — the Magyar Party. This organisation was the representative and the expression of the political will of the Magyars living in Slovakia. During the first three years of the existence of Slovakia as an independent State, however, the party founded by the Magyars was not registered by the Ministry for the Interior. As a consequence, the Magyars of Slovakia were unable during these first three years to assert their will in the conduct of State affairs. But now, as reported in the November 9th, 1941, issue of the Slovak daily, "Gardista", the registration of the Magyar Party too has been published at last in the Slovak Official Gazette.

The following changes have ensued recently in connection with the Magyar (Hungarian) Press of Slovakia. The November 7th, 1941, issue of the "Gardista" and the November 8th issue of the semi-official "Slovak" both published a report announcing that *the "Esti Ujság", a Magyar daily appearing in Pozsony, had been placed under embargo. The Magyars of Slovakia originally had two dailies of their own published in the Slovak Capital, — the "Uj*

Hirek" and the "*Esti Ujság*". The latter contained a wealth of material; its programme included the taking of steps preparing the way for a cultural *rapprochement* between the Magyars and the Slovaks. It opened its pages to the most eminent intellectual leaders of the Magyars, and at the same time published excellent Hungarian translations of the most valuable creations of Slovak literature. So successful was the paper in furthering the cause of a cultural *rapprochement* that for their work on behalf of that object the editors and contributors *were on several occasions spoken very highly of by Boleslav Lukács, the eminent Slovak poet, in the columns of the "Elan", a Slovak literary journal.*

All the more surprising is the report that the appearance of the "*Esti Ujság*" has been prohibited. The surprise is increased when we read further in the "*Slovak*" and the "*Gardista*" that the editorial offices of the paper have been subjected to a domiciliary visit and 18 members of the editorial staff taken into custody. The embargo placed on this paper is extremely prejudicial to the Magyar ethnic group of Slovakia. That group has lost one of its widely-read dailies; and *now it has only a single daily of its own — the "Uj Hirek", an organ containing altogether only 4 pages.*

SUCCESSFUL WORK IN UPPER HUNGARY

BY

BARBARA JENDRASSIK

The restoration of Upper Hungary and Subcarpathia has greatly facilitated the modern development of our agriculture in so far as it made a general solution of the problem of irrigation possible. At a lecture arranged in Kassa the *Royal Hungarian General Irrigation Bureau* explained the Government's extensive plans, which when completed in a few years' time will make irrigation possible on three hundred thousand cadastral acres. For the erection of irrigation barrages alone 80.000.000 pengő have been appropriated. In order to counteract the great summer droughts 250.000.000 cubic metres of water will be stored in the reservoir in the Tarac Valley, and much more than that along the Visó in Northern Transylvania, where from this valley, the length of which is five or six kilometres, about 1000.000.000 cubic metres of water will be conducted to the thirsty fields of the Great Plain. In a short time Hungary will have made great strides in her effort to keep pace with the agricultural progress of the Western States of Europe.

The Administration is devoting much attention to perfecting the network of roads in the restored areas. In the Budget for 1942 of County Abauj-Torna road-building figures with 1.352.034 pengő. To repair the damage done to Kassa by the Soviet air raid in June the town has received an emergency grant of 40.000 pengő, which brings the sum total of the emergency grants made to it up to 240.000. Thanks to this generous provision the repairs will soon be completed.

Besides this the town of Kassa is preparing to invest much larger sums than last year in keeping the streets and squares in good repair and also in beautifying the town. For these purposes 873.000 pengő have been appropriated in next year's Budget, a sum equivalent to 13.35% of the

total expenditure of the town. *Gas will gradually give place to electric light*, so that by next year the streets will all be lighted by electricity.

But the Municipal Council of Kassa is not concerned solely with improving externals; with a keen sense of the gravity of the social problems it has decided to spend considerably more on poor relief, and next year's Budget sets apart 430.000 pengő — or 100.000 more than last year — for this purpose. The Ministry of the Interior has made a grant of 17.000 pengő to County Abauj-Torna for the winter soup kitchens, and *the Green Cross health service will provide 480 poor children with food for 100 or 120 days from the middle of January.*

Realizing the requirements of our age, the Municipal Council has appropriated nearly 300.000 pengő in next year's Budget for public health services. Much importance is attached to the extension of the so-called prophylactic institutions, to the establishment of institutes for the care of tuberculotics and persons suffering from venereal diseases, to the systematic protection of mothers and babies and to dentistry in the schools. Considerable sums are to be spent on the maintenance of daynurseries and crèches as well as on summer holidays, free meals and milk for children.

It was partly thanks to the self-sacrificing generosity of the people of the County that Kassa was able to send out the first Hungarian itinerary consulting station. This modern motorized dispensary will be used to examine persons suffering from lung diseases, and with the aid of the perfectly equipped central institution in the town itself, it will meet all requirements. *By means thereof the County will be able to keep an eye on the health of the populations of 219 villages* where it would otherwise be impossible to attend to the sick for lack of funds to establish separate and permanent institutes for the care of tuberculotics.

The villages around Szikszó are organizing a district health patrol with Szikszó as headquarters. This is eloquent proof that all classes of society are beginning to realize that health institutes are indispensable.

One of the most considerable items of Kassa's next year's Budget is the sum set apart for cultural purposes.

Since 1939 cultural expenses have risen by 300.000 pengő, so that for next year 662.000 pengő have been appropriated for them. Besides maintaining schools and museums, subsidizing the denominations and assisting the theatres, it is proposed next year to repair the theatre and the steeple of the Cathedral and publish ancient documents belonging to the town.

The Ministry of Religion and Public Education has issued a grant of 25.000 pengő for building purposes to the Roman Catholic parish at Tornyosnémet, another of 4500 pengő to the village of Jászmindszent for the repairs and expenses of the State elementary school and 400 pengő for repairs to the State elementary school at Jánok. A new, roomy boardschool at *Abaujszántó* will also be built with the help of a State grant.

The Hungarian Administration gave further proof of its generous attitude towards the nationalities when it made provision for the Ruthenian theatrical company of Subcarpathia. *Thanks to the generosity of the Government Commissioner for Subcarpathia the Ruthenian theatrical company received a subsidy of 32.000 pengő.*

Much attention is also being paid by the Ministry of Education to the literary requirements of the Magyars of Upper Hungary. To meet them the Minister this year made a gift of 4540 volumes of fiction to the village libraries in Abauj-Torna.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

BENEŠ'S LATEST ENDEAVOURS

Recently, on 10th November, in the news in Czech the London wireless broadcast announced some astonishing information. Namely that the emigrant Czechs and Poles were planning a Central European confederation into which they were generous enough to be willing to accept Hungary too. On the other hand the condition on which Hungary would be allowed to join was that she must return the areas received as a "gift" from Germany in the two Vienna Awards.

As regards this plan there are two things to which we have something to say. The one is the confederation itself, the other the question of a "gift".

As to the first, it is impossible to imagine a formation of the kind suggested. Once already Beneš was successful in throwing dust in the eyes of the Western Powers with a similar scheme, which, of course, he never realized, although for two decades he had ample opportunity to do so on a smaller scale in Czecho-Slovakia.

Let us first examine the material obstacles. No sound confederation is conceivable unless the federated nations are able not only to preserve, but also to develop their own economic and social lives. But in this respect what did we see in Czecho-Slovakia? *The Czechs ruined all the minority industries in the Republic, Their policy was particularly fatal to industry in the parts wrested from Hungary.* Whole districts were ruined by their industrial policy. Towns became depopulated, the means of industrial production were scrapped, workmen and the industrial intelligentsia were thrown on the streets overnight, and their only hope of escaping from the dismal ranks of the unemployed was to leave their homes in swarms and emigrate to other countries. When the Czechs had thus ruined big industries and factory production in the nationality areas, they turned their attention to small industries. To what an extent they persecuted and ruined small industries by excluding them from production is amply proved by the conditions that obtained in the shoe-making industry, where *the Batya concern alone ruined 60.000 shoemakers and forced them to abandon their trade.* Then the masses of industrial unemployed and the craftsmen who had lost their means of subsistence turned to agriculture for a living and this created an economic crisis among the land labourers. In addition, the anti-minority trend of the Czech Land Reform was responsible

for depriving the agricultural poor belonging to the nationalities of the possibility of making a living on the land. Destitution became a permanent institution in Czecho-Slovakia, especially in the nationality regions. Nationality workmen began to look for work in the factories in Bohemia, where they were given the hardest work to do. *The nationality regions thus sank to the level of colonies of which Bohemia was the master.*

No state with internal economic troubles of that nature could be expected to survive long. It is a mistake to attribute the liquidation of Czecho-Slovakia to the forces of international politics alone. Let us see what the symptoms of internal disintegration were. It will be enough to draw attention to the fact that *by the time Mr. Runciman arrived in Prague 1500 factories were rusting in the Sudeta German areas alone and large masses of the unemployed were starving. In other nationality regions things were no better.* Bitterly the minorities remembered how Edward Beneš, the most characteristic political adventurer of modern times, had given a binding promise to the Great Powers at the Peace Conference that he would make an Eastern Switzerland of Czecho-Slovakia. And now this was what his Eastern Switzerland looked like.

We would ask what trust can be placed in Beneš's latest plan of a confederation when with two decades at his disposal he failed so signally, and with such tragic consequences to the nationalities, to carry it through in Czecho-Slovakia? Is there a single responsible statesman in the world who with a knowledge of Czecho-Slovakia's internal development could for one moment put any faith in his promise of a new confederation?

The post-war economic evolution of Central Europe also presents material obstacles to a confederation. In all the States concerned considerable industrial progress has been made. The growth of industry gave a fillip to the growth of the towns. What would happen if the industrial policy of the Czechs was applied to Central Europe?

The imperialistic and anti-Central European aspects of the new manoeuvre are clearly revealed by the condition subject to which Hungary is to be allowed to join the confederation. "Hungary must return the areas received as a 'gift' from Germany in the two Vienna Awards." This statement is mendacious to an extent of which only Beneš with his falsehoods and conjuring tricks is capable. The leader of a State of yesterday, who with all his compulsory measures was not able to ensure the existence of his arbitrary political creation for longer than twenty years, makes these two decades the basis of a historical claim against a country that for ten centuries existed and prospered in the Basin of the Carpathians. But let us leave the question of historical right, for it would be ridiculous to defend the historical right of a thousand years against that of twenty. Let us examine

only objective facts. *The Hungarians proved capable of organizing a stable political State in the Basin of the Carpathians.* The basis of its stability was not compulsion relying on violence. There were economic guarantees of that stability. Hungary was able to organize the agriculture of her plains and the industries and production of raw materials of her mountains into one harmonious whole. The different parts of the country complemented one another. Within the confines of the Carpahtians Hungary was a real little confederation both in an objective and a subjective sense. The objective aspects were supported by subjective ones, by the methods of government and rule. St. Stephen's principles ensured the same prospects of self-assertion and the same place in the country to all its peoples. Where the self-assertion and development of the different peoples was concerned we see no signs of the nationalistic selection which in the 20 years of Czecho-Slovakia's existence ensured the domination of the Czech elements. In the sphere of government, in intellectual, scientific, social and religious life every nationality in Hungary had equal chances. Had Hungary adopted the same imperialistic and nationalistic principles as Czecho-Slovakia for only half a century or even less, then the Magyars would have filled the whole extent of the country themselves, there would now be one or two races less in the region of the Carpathians, and Beneš would not have been able to throw Central Europe into the throes of war by means of his bogus Czecho-Slovakism. *Hungary peacefully educated her nationalities, cherished them so to say, and then from the mists of obscurity comes an adventurer without any political sense who disposes of the peoples of Central Europe as if they were so many lifeless objects.*

Before the first world war Czech emigrants made the Western Powers believe that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a hotbed of trouble that would lead to war. Their success was due to the careless indifference of the Western Powers, who had no idea of conditions in Central Europe. Their ignorance was so great that at the Conference Beneš and his associates compiled a set of statistics *ex abrupto* about the races living here. It happened that six contradictory statistics were submitted about the same question to different people according to which suited their purposes best. Thanks to Beneš Central Europe was so irrationally organized that it was bound to lead to the present conflict. It seems the lesson was not enough and that there are still people who lend an ear to the man alone responsible for the present situation in Central Europe. *It is certain that an attempt to realize Beneš's latest scheme of a confederation would sow rapidly growing seeds of a fresh conflict in the heart of Europe.*

It must also be stated that Hungary neither received nor expected any sort of "gift". After the close of the world war,

by means of a flagrant violation of the Armistice Treaty of 1918, territories were wrested from Hungary that for a thousand years had been an organic part of the Hungarian State. Part of these territories was given back to Hungary and part she took back herself, but under no circumstances can she be said to have received a "gift". It was in the autumn of 1938 that the first redress of some of the injustices of Trianon took place, and that by way of arbitration between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, which country also recognized the binding nature of the award. Even from a Czech point of view, therefore, there was no question of a "gift". When the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia collapsed, the Hungarian army took possession anew of Ruthenia, which for a thousand years had been an organic part of Hungary. It was with the greatest relief that the Ruthenian people welcomed the change, the more so because for 20 years Ruthenia had been so terribly poor that it was known as the blackest starvation zone in Central Europe. In the August of 1940 the Award pronounced by the arbitration committee at the Belvedere in Vienna forced Rumania to restore part of Transylvania to Hungary. Hungary never asked anyone to make her a "gift", she merely demanded a redress of the injustices perpetrated by Trianon.

The London radio declared that Hungary would not be able to keep her present territories. Here we must establish the fact that *Hungary possesses no territories that had not been part of the Hungarian State for a thousand years; she owns nothing that by right belongs to somebody else.* Misleading those who were the masters of Europe's destiny at the time, a handful of people broke out of the little Bohemian Basin and forced their way for 800 kilometres into the heart of Central Europe. With the forces of the Great Powers behind them they were able to maintain their rule, but only for 20 years. And now this little State of yesterday comes forward with claims as if it were the only sure foundation of Central European reconstruction. But these arguments are not likely to stop Beneš from throwing dust in the eyes of the world.

HUNGARIAN HEROES WELCOMED FROM RUSSIA

The Hungarian soldiers returning home from the Russian front to be relieved by others, were welcomed by the nation with the greatest affection.

The welcome of the members of the Hungarian Air Force took place on 8th November at the Mátyásföld aerodrome, and on 9th November General Bartha, Hungarian Minister of War, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, met the returning heroes belonging to the Subcarpathian Mountain Brigade at Akna-szlatina, a place near Hungary's northern frontier.

"Owing to the sudden illness of our Supreme Commander, His Highness the Regent, I have been delegated" — said General Bartha — "to convey his warmest greetings to the brave regiments of the Mountain Brigade returning home from the Russian front. Every single man of the Hungarian regiments that fought in Russia not only performed his duty as laid down in the oath sworn to our Supreme Commander, but, greatly in excess of that, all of them fighting bravely, showed the world that the martial spirit of the Magyars is still alive in them.

"The gratitude and appreciation of the whole Hungarian nation are due in the first place to those who heroically sacrificed their young lives for their country, setting a shining example of patriotic duty to the generations to come. An equal measure of gratitude is due to the wounded, who have patiently suffered pain for their country. *The Hungarian nation wishes to make suitable provision for the war cripples and the families of those who were killed in action.* I have the honour on behalf of our Supreme Commander to hand the decorations to those who in battle have proved most worthy to receive them."

A very touching scene followed. One by one — according to the degree of decoration conferred — the men to whom the Regent had sent medals for their bravery in the war against Bolshevism were called up by name. The Minister of War shook hands with each one of them and handed them their medals. The soldiers gave the military salute and then returned to their places in the ranks with the medals in their hands. During this ceremony one name was called to which there was no response. After a moment's silence an officer stepped forward and reported that *the owner of the medal was dead — killed in action.*

When the ceremony was over the band struck up and the march past began. It was headed by the men of the 1st Regiment. Soldiers with youthful faces — even most of the officers seemed to be quite young — marched past the Minister of War with heads held high and firm steps. *None of them showed any sign of weariness or fatigue.* The hard road rang to their steps. It seemed incredible that they had just crossed the Carpathians, up to the knees in snow in the Tartar Pass. Who would have imagined that they had just returned home after six months' service at the front? There were no signs of the struggles of war, the excitements of battle and the effects of nerve-racking experiences in their outward appearance.

*Hungarian Regent at Nyiregyháza Addresses
Cavalry Brigade on Return from Front.*

On November 17st, at Nyiregyháza, the Regent of Hungary received the cavalry brigade returning from the front. The Regent addressed the following words to the National Defence troops and to the people of the country:

"Early in the summer I was compelled to command our troops to advance to the territory lying beyond the ridge of the Carpathians and to avenge the dastardly attack made on Kassa and the whole of Hungary by the Bolsheviks. The first detachments of our troops returning from the front to be relieved I was unfortunately unable — owing to an illness — to receive personally.

"All the greater is my delight that now I am able to see you face to face and to welcome you with cordial affection on your return home after arduous and glorious fighting. In the hard ordeal of battle you held your ground in a manner fully worthy of the ancient Hungarian glory. With deep reverence for their memory I now think — and the whole nation joins me in thinking — of those of our brave sons who, faithful to the very last to their oaths, have given their lives in this struggle. May their memory be clothed in glory!

"It is with feelings of proud affection that I stand here before you, who have so nobly done your duty on the field of battle and — thanks to the God of the Magyars! — have now returned in safety to your homes, — before you who, in these days of motorised armies, dashed on horseback over that road more than a thousand kilometres long by which our ancestors in days of yore came to the foot of the Carpathians in search of a homeland. You have shed fresh brilliance on the ancient glory of the Hungarian cavalry and have won fresh laurels also for the horse, the faithful and noble companion of the Magyars without which our ancestors would never have been able to fight their battles of conquest, and which on the present occasion too was always to be found where it was most needed. Bad weather, boggy soil, infamously bad roads — these could not obstruct its progress. And it has been proved that cavalry when judiciously employed is today still an indispensable unit of an army. You have kept order in the territories occupied by you by force of arms and have dealt humanely — like true Magyars — with the conquered enemy.

"I therefore welcome you with delight and cordial affection on your return to your homeland; and I know that I can at all times reckon on your well-tryed energies, either in peaceful work or under your glory-crowned colours if there should again be need of your help as soldiers."

LARGE-SCALE OPERATIONS IN TRANSYLVANIA TO CONNECT TWO IMPORTANT RAILWAY LINES

The Second Vienna Award cut off the exceptionally important Székler "circle railway" from the railway trunk line between Budapest, Kolozsvár and Beszterce. After the re-incorporation of Northern Transylvania the National Army, with a rapidity redounding to its credit, built the narrow-gauge railway

line ten kilometres in length connecting Szászlekenca and Kolozsnagyida and thereby to a very considerable extent facilitated the traffic in goods of Marosvásárhely and environs, which had been cut off from Kolozsvár. A more arduous task was that of *establishing a connection with the more distant part of Széklerland*. And that is the object of the ordinary-gauge railway line 48 kilometres long which is now under construction.

The new railway line will give employment for two years to 8000 workers. On this line two tunnels are also being bored — the length of the one being 496 and that of the other 936 metres. *The latter will be the largest tunnel in the country,* — roughly 300 metres longer than the long tunnel just outside Kolozsvár on the Budapest—Kolozsvár main line. In addition 12 large and 53 smaller bridges and 113 culverts are being constructed on the new line. The building operations involve the removal of some 2,000,000 cubic metres of earth; and the dimensions of those operations are revealed by the fact that provisions had to be made also for the erection of the station buildings, warehouses, engine-sheds, dwelling-houses, signal-boxes, barracks for the accommodation of engineers and labourers (veritable small villages) required on the line and for three temporary gendarme barracks.

The operations are progressing over the whole length of the line at high speed. The surveying operations were begun already last November (1940); and it proved possible already last April to start the work of staking out the line. The greatest of all the operations — the boring of the large tunnel — was begun this autumn. The building of the railway is very considerably hampered by two circumstances. On the fringe of the "Mezőség" (savannah) region along which the line runs, the land is extremely clayey and muddy; and that makes the soil slippery, *there having in consequence been a soil-slide over a length of 50 metres:* this renders more difficult the solution of the technical problems. The other principal difficulty is the question of the supply of provisions. A veritable separate organisation had to be established for the purpose of supplying with provisions the army of 8000 labourers, engineers, officials and gendarmes. Another difficulty due to the war is the supply of building materials; and this difficulty is aggravated by the problem of transport. Several hundreds of motor-lorries are employed to cope with this task. It should be noted, further, that for a stretch of 50 kilometres along the new line what is practically a new road had to be built, the older road having been only a bad cartway.

The railway line under construction shows a slight curve turning southwards between Szeretfalva and Monorfalva; from the latter point it runs in a straight line as far as Déda. The line until it reaches Monorfalva has an up-gradient averaging 12 metres per kilometre and reaches its highest point in the large tunnel on the eastern boundary of the village of Monorfalva.

The permanent way rises 225 metres until it reaches the middle of the tunnel, then between that point and Déda falls roughly 100 metres.

The earthwork is already half completed; and the first section of the line — over a length of 18 kilometres, from Szeretfalva to Nagysajó — will be ready by Christmas. A beginning has been made at both ends with the building of the two tunnels. A whole little village has come into being round the opening to the tunnel — the barrack-dwellings of the labourers and engineers; and a separate factory has been built for the manufacture of concrete. In the case of the large tunnel the operations are already in an advanced stage. The drill borers have already pierced through all but 264 metres out of a total length of 936 metres; and *January is expected to witness the great event — the meeting of the two sets of borers advancing from either end.* The operations for the building of the smaller tunnel are not yet in so advanced a stage; for the work here was begun later. Minister *Joseph Varga*, accompanied by Secretary-of-State *Paul Algyay* and Secretary-of-State *Stephen Horthy*, has visited and inspected the whole length of the railway line under construction.

SYMPATHY FOR HUNGARY IN ADDRESS TO THE THRONE OF BULGARIAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION

On November 7th the *Hungarian Telegraph Bureau* reported from *Sofia*: — "The Address to the Throne drafted in answer to the Speech from the Throne by the Bulgarian Parliamentary Commission in one place refers to Hungary too as follows: —

"We are delighted that the Three-Power Pact unites us also to Hungary, an old friend of Bulgaria. *Our relations with Hungary are marked by absolute confidence and sincerity, — as was fully demonstrated on the occasion of the Prime Minister's visit to Budapest.*" "

MEASURES TO INCREASE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

In the following budgetary year the Hungarian Government proposes to introduce extensive measures calculated to increase the volume and improve the quality of our agricultural production. Continued efforts are being made *to improve the productive capacity of the soil*; assistance is being given to encourage small farmers to make greater use of artificial manures, and large sums have been appropriated for the improvement of poor and barren land. The country's own needs and the economic and military importance of maintaining the present level of our exports of animals make larger demands on cattle-breeding; and one of the most urgent tasks confronting the Government is to

increase the capacity of that branch of agriculture. In order to raise the level of cattle-breeding *the Government is devoting 5 million pengő to providing sires of good stock for the village herds, thus improving the quality of the animals owned by the peasants*, and also to bringing about a gradual elimination of poor-class live stock by making it possible for small farmers to obtain first-rate brood animals, which are to be distributed to them by the State. The Government also proposes to effect a systematic organization of cattle-breeding farmers and to encourage small farmers to take up rational and profitable cattle-breeding. In the course of the following year about 50.000 brood animals are to be distributed on easy terms by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Local Government Cattle-breeding Fund ensures that from next year on the municipalities shall also take a systematic part in encouraging cattle-breeding. The "cattle-breeding communities", an institution subsidized and controlled by the Government, have proved to be an innovation of particular inherence. By means of them an eye is kept on the huge number of animals owned by the peasants, and small farmers are institutionally initiated into modern methods of cattle-rearing. Within the framework of this work of organization provision has been made by the Government for an extension of the system of local advisory boards to further a regular training of the farmers in the art of cattle-breeding, in the rational production and use of fodder, in the proper methods of keeping and fattening animals and in the best way of marketing them. Special attention will be devoted to horse-breeding. The large quantities of *game and fish* in the restored areas justify the Government in devoting larger sums to these two sources of national income.

In connection with the modern development of agricultural education, dairy schools have been established at *Munkács* and *Marosvásárhely* to ensure increased milk-production in Subcarpathia and Transylvania and to see that it is properly manufactured into dairy products. These schools will have a beneficial effect on the production of butter and cheese in the outlying districts. The training of women in domestic science and farming is also to be encouraged. *For this purpose a new school of household economy is to be established* in the near future, and to reach the masses *the number of itinerary courses of domestic science is to be increased*. In every county it is proposed to establish one such popular itinerary course. A new type of school is also contemplated by the Ministry of Agriculture, — viz. an itinerary winter school of agriculture. These itinerary schools will change their headquarters every two years.

For the purpose of marketing and storing agricultural produce the network of granaries is to be extended. At Békés a large granary and 8 or 10 smaller ones each capable of storing

from 80 to 100 wagon loads of grain, are to be erected. Cold-storage buildings and packing-houses are to be established to deal with fruit.

The establishment and maintenance of stock herds have proved a valuable means of improving cattle-breeding. The *sine qua non* of more profitable poultry-farming and larger exports of poultry is that peasant poultry farmers should keep, on the one hand, *fowls of a larger breed* and, on the other, *fowls that lay more and especially larger eggs*. To encourage poultry-farming among the peasants courses of instruction are to be organized at every important marketing centre. *Models and pictures of proper henhouses are to be distributed to the small farmers*. In spring, in order to provide the domestic markets with early chickens, poultry farmers are to be taught how to hatch early by artificial means. New incubator depots are to be established, the funds for which are provided for in the Budget.

The poorer sections of the population are beginning to realize the value of rabbits as food; and in foreign trade there is a growing demand for their skins. The requirements of the fur and hat trades and of the knitting and weaving industries, as well as the increasing demands of the foreign markets, can only be partially met by our domestic breeders. *An extensive development of this branch of agriculture might lead to considerable exports in this commodity*. For this reason the Ministry of Agriculture has decided to establish rabbit farms and provide prospective breeders with animals and model hutches at reduced prices

POLITICAL ECONOMY

BULGARIA

BULGARIA'S ECONOMIC BASIS EXPANDS

Bulgaria has now reached one of the turning-points in her history. As a consequence of the re-adjustment of Europe a Greater Bulgaria considerably aggrandised territorially is coming into being; though the predominantly agrarian character of that country will not be changed by the territorial changes. 73% of the population of Old Bulgaria live by agrarian production, 17.7% of the inhabitants being active in other branches of production. In the part of Macedonia formerly belonging to Yugoslavia — where 78% of the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture and only 12% in commerce and industry — the predominance of agrarian production was even greater.

The former Yugoslav part of Macedonia very considerably increases the agrarian production of Bulgaria; for its soil yields good crops of vegetables and fruit too in addition to all kinds of cereals. The fruit-production of the Banat of Vardar embraces all kinds of European fruit; while in the southern section of this territory we occasionally find also sub-tropical fruits — such as figs, almonds, pomegranates, lemons, etc. *Owing to their excellent quality the most important products of this fruitgrowing territory — e. g. plums, apples and in particular walnuts — enjoy great popularity and are much in demand in foreign markets.*

One of the most important results of the re-adjustment is that the position occupied by Bulgaria in the tobacco trade has been very considerably reinforced. Her original tobacco-growing areas are now being increased by the addition of new areas in Western Thrace, in Southern and Eastern Macedonia, in the region flanking the Egean between the Maritza and the Struma and in Western (formerly Yugoslav) Macedonia. As a consequence of the annexation of the tobacco-growing areas formerly belonging to Greece. Bulgarian tobacco production includes also the exceptionally valuable Greek brands, which are superior to even the best Bulgarian brands. The annual production of these highly valuable — so-called "oriental" — brands of tobacco ranges from 112,000 to 150,000 tons; it so far represented roughly one-half of the total European production. *Previously the quota of the total European production of tobacco falling to the share of the Bulgaria deprived of her best tobacco-growing areas was 26.67%, that claimed by Greece being 40% and that of Turkey 33.33%. The*

relative tobacco-production of the three Balkan countries will in the future show a quite different aspect. According to official estimates, in the future the annual production of tobacco will show the following development: — Bulgaria, 71,750; Turkey, 48,000; Greece, 15,750 tons. As a consequence, Bulgaria, hitherto third in order among these countries as grower and exporter of tobacco, will take the lead.

The multifariousness of agrarian culture in the territories restored to Bulgaria, intensive agricultural cultivation and the exit to the Egean at long last secured by that country, — all these are calculated to act as important factors and guarantees of the large-scale economic development and wellbeing of the Bulgarian people. (*"Bulgarische Wochenschau"*, October 28th, 1941.)

CROATIA

CROATIA'S SUGAR INDUSTRY

Yugoslavia was one of the countries in Europe with the smallest consumption of sugar, and during the past decade sugar-beet production grew steadily less and less profitable. *In 1929 10.950.000 quintals of sugar-beet were produced on 58.667 hectares; in 1937 only 21.237 hectares were sown with sugar-beet, and the quantity produced was 5.041.000 quintals, a decline of 66% in area and 63% in production.* It was therefore found necessary to increase the area sown with beet, in order to supply domestic needs, and in 1938 and 1939 that area was increased to 29.500 and 46.100 hectares respectively, but in 1940 it had decreased again to 42.100 hectares. Yugoslavia had six fairly big and two quite small sugar-refineries (five of them being in Serbia and the Danube Banate), besides one that was closed down. The average capacity of each of these refineries was 4500 wagonloads a year, that at *Becskerek producing 3000*. Croatia has only one sugar-refinery, at Eszék, which belongs to the sphere of interests of the Czech Živostenska, to which belonged also the sugar-refinery and distillery in the Uzora district, which, however, have now been closed down for several years. During the past two years the quantity of sugar produced by the Eszék refinery was 1500 and 1600 wagonloads respectively; but with more land sown with sugar-beet it would be able to produce 2000 wagonloads annually. Even this quantity would only be half as much as Croatia requires for domestic consumption, so that, in order to eliminate the necessity of importing sugar from abroad, *Croatia will be compelled to establish new refineries.* For the present she is importing sugar from the Cservenka and

Ujverbász refineries in Hungary. The town of Susak has been chosen as the site of a new refinery; but difficulties arise from the circumstance that Croatia does not possess sugar-beet fields of a size large enough to supply a big refinery with the required amount of raw material.

CROATO-SWISS ECONOMIC CONNECTIONS

On September 10th, at Zagreb, there was concluded between Switzerland and the independent Croatian State an agreement dealing with trade in goods and clearing arrangements, which agreement will serve as basis for the adjustment of the economic connections between the two countries. Switzerland previously maintained a good economic connection (though on a modest scale) with the Yugoslavia of former days: the exchange of goods with Yugoslavia during recent years showed the following development: —

	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Total Value</i>
	(in millions of Swiss francs)		
1936	8.7	9.2	17.9
1937	13.9	10.3	24.2
1938	11.1	10.9	22.0
1939	19.0	4.9	24.9

Croatia's quota of the above figures was roughly two-thirds. The most important of Yugoslavia's export articles were firewood and timber. In addition that country exported also poultry, eggs and fodder to Switzerland. Yugoslavia imported from Switzerland textile goods (wool, woolen goods and linen goods), as well as machinery, watches, chemicals, etc. The Croato-Swiss economic agreement provides for trade in the current year of a value of 500,000,000 kuna — i. e., roughly 43,000,000 Swiss francs. Payments are to be effected in free foreign exchanges, the rate of exchange fixed being 1 Swiss franc = 11.59 kuna. From this it may be seen that *already in the first year the Parties reckon on a trade turn-over which represents a value double that of the trade formerly carried on between Switzerland and Yugoslavia.* Great Britain having declared that she is extending the intensified blockade to include Switzerland too, the economic circles of Switzerland have realised that it is only by expanding their trade with the Continental countries that they can save their State from the danger of unemployment. Swiss economic circles are particularly interested in procuring brown coal, for which there is a lively demand in that country. ("Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien", Zagreb, October 29th, 1941.)

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT ISSUES TRANSYLVANIAN
PREMIUM LOAN OF 100,000,000 PENGŐ

In recent years the Hungarian Government has had to cope with gigantic tasks in order to be able to provide for the requirements postulated by conditions. *The amount appropriated for the investments and national defence programme — originally estimated at 1,000,000,000 pengő — has already increased to 4.5 milliards, 2.3 milliards of this amount having actually been paid out, — 1.1 milliards out of tax receipts and 1.2 milliards out of loans taken up for the purpose.* Conditions have impelled the Government to appeal direct to the population of the country *when issuing the 100,000,000 pengő Transylvanian premium loan and to request the payment of this sum — a relatively small sum as compared to the enormous items enumerated above — in the form of a direct loan.*

Apart from securing the current requirements and the war expenditure, the Government has at the same time to continue the work of equipping the national defence army and of replacing the equipment used up in the war. Social problems have also to be solved. In addition, provision has to be made for the development of the economic resources and for the organic re-union of the re-incorporated territories with Trianon Hungary in respect of public administration and of cultural and social matters too. It was when faced with problems of the kind entailing exceptionally great sacrifices that the Hungarian Government appealed to the population of the country with a request the fulfilment of which will enable that Government to solve a task in which every Hungarian is deeply interested — *the re-construction of Transylvania.*

Since the re-incorporation of that province Hungary has made considerable sacrifices on Transylvania's behalf. *On behalf of Transylvania the Hungarian Government this year undertook the burden of a deficit of 279 million pengő — at a time when the Estimates for 1941 drafted for Hungary without including the items relating to the re-incorporated parts of Eastern Hungary and of Transylvania, showed a deficit of only 32 million pengő.* In order to further the improvement of transport conditions in the re-incorporated districts of Eastern Hungary and Transylvania the Hungarian State Railways have spent 99 million pengő on investments; the sums spent on the repair and upkeep of the roads aggregate 48 million pengő; and 22 million pengő have been spent for social purposes. For various buildings required by the public administration the sum of 29 million pengő and for the financial strengthening of the co-operative societies the sum of 42 million pengő has been appropriated.

The work thus begun must be continued. That is why the Hungarian Government is issuing a premium loan to further

Transylvanian objects. *The loan is to be issued for a nominal value of 100,000,000 pengő; it will bear interest at the rate of 4% per annum, the interest to be due for payment already as from November 1st, 1941.* The face value of the bonds is 200 pengő each; but in order to enable also persons not possessing any considerable capital to take their share of the work of reconstruction, half and quarter bonds are to be issued too. *The bonds are redeemable within a period of 20 years — at their face value.* Amortisation is to begin as from the third year; but the drawing of prizes will begin already on January 2nd, 1942. During the twenty years nearly 26,000 prizes will be drawn — the total value of the same aggregating more than 46.5 million pengő. *The prizes will include seven premiums of 1,000,000 pengő each, four premiums of 750,000 and 14 premiums of 500,000 pengő each.* The drawings of the prizes will take place twice a year, early in the months of January and July respectively. Provision has also been made for the banking companies to assist in the work of subscribing the loan; *they are to grant loans not exceeding 50% of the amount subscribed.* This of course refers only to subscriptions of larger amounts.

RUMANIA

PROBLEMS OF RUMANIAN AGRARIAN PRODUCTION

Professor Michael Antonescu, Deputy Premier of Rumania, at a meeting of the Association of Agrarian Trade Unions gave his audience an opportunity of realising the problems facing Rumanian agriculture.

In his speech the Deputy Premier revealed the causes which had been responsible for the agrarian reform announced and carried into effect in 1921 failing to come up to expectations. What had this failure been due to? The Deputy Premier in the first place pointed to the fact that about the middle of last century Rumania had with precipitate haste adopted the legal system of the West and organised the free sale and purchase of property without taking into account the social conditions and the conditions of production prevailing in the country.

"The 1921 agrarian reform" — said the Deputy Prime Minister — *"far from relieving the crisis ruling in Rumanian agriculture, had actually aggravated that crisis, though the situation of the country's agriculture had already given cause enough for anxiety. The chief fault of the agrarian reform was that it attempted to solve the agrarian problem, not on an economic and general national plane, but by serving as a means of national recompense and reward calculated to provisionally tone down the explosive feelings brought from the front which was creating such a tension among the landless peasants who had served in the army."*

An agrarian reform the principles underlying which are not

safeguarded by a general, well-considered plan, being indeed inspired solely and exclusively by political opportunism, was bound to yield only bitter fruit. In Rumania prior to the first Great War the situation of the agrarian proletariat was more wretched than in any other country in Europe. A bloody peasant rising of unparalleled dimensions — that of 1907 — had shaken the very foundations of the whole political and social structure of Rumania. The social convulsion which had then burst out with the violence of an earthquake reminds us of the violent and bloody peasant revolutions of the close of the Middle Ages. These anything but ideal preliminaries were then crowned by the experiences of the Great War; and it was for the solution of this chaos of misery and blood that the expedient "*improprietărire*" — the allotment of landed property to the peasantry — was resorted to. This surgical intervention did not cure, but on the contrary decomposed and mortified the agrarian problem of Rumania. The large *latifundia* previously managed each by one hand and as single units were cut up into thousands of small holdings, the agrarian machinery, implements etc. available being also divided in proportion. But, whereas the *latifundia* even with such meagre means of labour proved able somehow to cultivate the soil, the quota of the inventory thus scattered piecemeal which fell to the share of a small holding was absolutely insufficient to maintain the productiveness of the soil at least on the level of that of the large estates. This was why there ensued a situation in which the peasantry, though indeed possessing land, did not possess the requisite means of labour — still less the capital needed — to enable it to cultivate the land allotted to it. The further splitting up of landed property resulting from the process of inheritance led to a continued crumbling of the units.

The consequence of this state of things was that during the two decades of the "Trianon period" Rumanian agrarian production declined gradually both quantitatively and qualitatively. Today there is scarcely any country in Europe where landed property is suffering to such an extent from the troubles incidental to an unsound policy of land-distribution on so excessive a scale and where as a consequence agrarian production as a whole is so exceptionally low. Whereas in Germany, the average yield of maize per hectare is 2020 kilogrammes and that of wheat 2100 kilogrammes, in Rumania — a country with much more fertile soil — the average yield per hectare of land is only 950 kilogrammes in the case of wheat and 1110 kilogrammes in that of maize.

The Antonescu Government is endeavouring to rouse Rumanian agrarian production from its lethargy in two ways. On the one hand it is attempting to prevail upon the Rumanian peasantry to accept the idea of so-called "village communities" (or, to give them their Rumanian name, "*obstii sătești*"). These

"village communities" are in reality variants of the "colchos" adapted to Rumanian conditions. The Government called upon the peasantry to form work-communities (associations) to facilitate the carrying out of agrarian operations (ploughing, sowing, harvesting) and in particular to further the procural of harvesting machinery. The Government is endeavouring to secure the marketing of the harvest yield also by community methods. We see, therefore, that the Rumanian Government is trying to find an expedient to replace co-operative organisation by suggesting the idea of "village communities". The other expedient which the Government is anxious to employ is the encouragement of medium- and large-sized estates. In the speech already referred to the Deputy Premier of Rumania emphatically stressed that in the Rumanian agriculture now about to enter its renaissance an important role will be played by medium-sized and large estates. These two categories of landed estate — to which in the statements made by them so far Rumanian politicians and economists have referred in terms of haughty depreciation — will be set the task, first of leading the way in ensuring a greater volume of production, that being easier for them as a result of the greater possibilities within their reach, and in the second place of setting a good example to the masses of small-holders. The medium-sized and large estates must take their full share of the work of training the peasantry.

We Hungarians cannot help wondering why the competent factors of our eastern neighbour have found it necessary to brand as feudal toriyism the circumspect agrarian policy pursued at all times by the Hungarian Governments. For here we have a confession from the lips of the most competent factor admitting that the agrarian reform which the propaganda of our eastern neighbours extolled as the greatest social achievement of the twentieth century, was nothing more or less than an overhasty display of a merely opportunistic character the bitter fruit of which is only just showing its real flavour!! On the other hand we have the Hungarian agriculture vilified as "feudal", the productive capacity of which is more than 50% in excess of that of Rumanian agriculture. It is the irony of fate that Rumania should have chosen to re-allot to the much-abused *latifundia* an important role at a time when Hungarian agrarian policy is striving with a well-considered progressive spirit in keeping with the Hungarian national character to eliminate the social drawbacks of the system of *latifundia*.

NEW GERMAN UNDERTAKINGS IN RUMANIA

To further the development of the trade in goods between Germany and Rumania two new large-scale undertakings have been established in Rumania. One of these has begun operations

under the title "*Balkan Commercial Co. Ltd.*" and has a share capital of 3,000,000 lei. This undertaking has set itself the object of furthering the export trade in Rumanian agrarian and oil industry products and the import trade in German industrial products. The Bucharest affiliation of the well-known Berlin firm *Röchling* just established is to further the trade in and importation respectively of steel and iron goods. The share capital of the latter undertaking has been registered at the amount of 2,000,000 lei.

SERBIA

REORGANISATION OF SERBIA'S BANKING SYSTEM

With the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the accompanying economic reorganization, Serbia's banking system has undergone a great transformation. Yugoslavia's Governments strove to make Belgrade the economic and financial centre of the country, so they centralized all the banking institutions in that town. It was a well-known fact that the banks and banking institutions in Belgrade were strongly favoured by the Government as compared with the country banks. It is therefore to be understood that the big banks all strove to establish themselves in Belgrade. This often unnatural centralization led to a number of abuses. *Very many hole-and-corner banks arose, and those who were foolish enough to trust them suffered severe losses.* Now all this has been changed. Councillor Dr. Mayer, the financial adviser to the Command of the German troops occupying Serbia, has elaborated a detailed plan for the reorganization of Serbia's banking affairs. *In future Serbia will enter into a close economic co-operation with Germany, and in consequence her banks and banking system must change accordingly. Naturally consideration is being paid to the special conditions obtaining in Serbia, and therefore the German banking laws will not be copied letter by letter, but will be applied in a modified form.*

The basis of the Serb Banking Ordinance will nevertheless be the German banking laws. This among other things means that the Serb National Bank is no longer on the gold standard, and as Germany's example has been followed here, so will that example be followed in all other branches of banking life. The control of the banks is regarded as the most important task to be accomplished. For this purpose a special Bank Controlling Bureau will be established whose head will be appointed by the Serb Minister of Economy in agreement with the German Economic Commissioner for Serbia. In future the functioning of banks will be conditional on a special permit; the operations of the banks will be regulated in order to eliminate all unsound and harmful competition; banks and banking establishments will be members of one or more alliances, and, should necessity arise,

measures will be taken to make it possible to apply disciplinary sanctions to banks.

The Bank Controlling Bureau will work in conjunction with the Serb National Bank, not with the Ministry of Finance. Its task will be to examine and supervise the balance-sheets of the banks; it will be entitled to demand an insight into their operations; will issue orders concerning their management; fix the rate of interest; settle cases of rivalry between banks or cause them to be settled; perform special tasks in connection with credits; collect membership fees from its members, and impose disciplinary fines. *This Bureau will organize an alliance first of the banks and then of the savings-banks, and will also reorganize the alliance of credit co-operatives.* Banks already established must again apply for a licence to function. Exceptions to this rule are the Serb National Bank and the State Mortgage and Agrarian Banks, which will be allowed to function without a renewal of their licences. Licences issued may be withdrawn if, for instance, the banks in question are not properly managed. Banks and Savings-banks may not engage in any business except such as is compatible with the word "bank" and "savings-bank". It will be impossible in future for small banks to keep large shops. This was quite common in Yugoslavia. To ensure the solvency of the banks they must possess several times as many liquid assets as the value of their registered capital. Reserve funds will not count as capital. No loan larger than 10% of the bank's capital may be issued to a single applicant. This applies also to concerns. No bank may purchase its own shares, nor may they buy real estate beyond their own requirements in the way of premises or houses for their officials. The new Serb Banking Ordinance also regulates the issue of loans on security. Loans on gold may not exceed 100% of the value of the gold as determined by the National Bank, and loans on commodities may not be greater than 50% of the market price of the commodity in question. *The system of passbooks bearing a password instead of a name will cease and in future every passbook must bear the full name of its owner.* This is necessary in view of taxation. Banks and banking establishments must prepare annual, semi-annual and monthly balance-sheets and submit them to the Bank Controlling Bureau. The so-called "*family banks*" belonging to large firms will be allowed to remain, but they must not accept deposits from private individuals.

The object of the new Banking Ordinance is to create healthy conditions where Serbia's banks and banking establishments are concerned. It is probable that many minor banks will close in consequence, which will be a source of loss to many private individuals, but authorities on the question consider it necessary to settle it radically, for until this takes place there is no possibility of effecting a reorganization of Serbia. ("Reggeli Ujság", November 7.)

SERBIA IN THE LIGHT OF ECONOMIC STATISTICS

Serbia, as she was before 1912, and as she is now, following the collapse of Yugoslavia, under the administration of the Belgrade Government, has an area of 49.500 square kilometres and a population of 3.500.000. The extent of her agricultural land is now 4.000.000 hectares as compared with Yugoslavia's 7.600.000, which means that 32.9% of Yugoslavia's arable land remains to Serbia.

The average density of the population in Yugoslavia was 66 to the square kilometre, in Serbia it will be 70. But this number will grow larger in consequence of the steady influx of returning refugees. The quota of agricultural land per inhabitant is 1.14 hectares, an ample amount even if the standard of life is high.


The number of freehold farms in Serbia is estimated at 600.000, which means on an average an area of 6.66 hectares of agricultural land per farm, of which 4.16 hectares are arable land.

The area of Serbia's agricultural land is large enough, but *the number of her draught animals is small in comparison*. In the whole of present-day Serbia there are no more than 140.000 horses, or only one-eighth of Yugoslavia's entire stock. The number of horned cattle is 1.100.000. In effect this means that 60% of Serbia's farms lack the animals necessary for the cultivation of the soil. It is true that the German military command is selling horses to the Serb farmers, which will be some help, though it is not enough.

Even with her present system of extensive farming Serbia will be able to produce 1.500.000 tons of wheat as compared with Yugoslavia's 2.800.000 tons. Besides this, she can produce 2.000.000 tons of maize (Yugoslavia produced 4.000.00), while her barley crop may be estimated at 170.000 and her sugar-beet crop at 196.000 tons. *These figures show that Serbia's agricultural production is not only sufficient for her own inhabitants, but she will also have a certain surplus to export*. Systematic methods of farming, the use of more manure and a better quality of seed, would improve production. This in turn would raise the standard of life of the agricultural population, augment the volume of Serbia's exports, and increase the buying power of the farmers: all moments that would help Serbia to take a more active part in international trade.

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