

# DANUBIAN REVIEW

## (DANUBIAN NEWS)

A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE  
DANUBIAN BASIN

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Vol. VIII. No. 1.

JUNE, 1940.

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BUDAPEST  
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# THE PRINCIPLES OF EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION

BY

ANDREW FALL

**E**urope, which for wellnigh three decades has been stewing in the ferment of its own bitter juice, has now reached the great turning-point. The moment when in the autumn of 1939 the engines of the warplanes began to hum, when armoured cars took the field and when the first cannon were fired, a gigantic struggle set in between the old world and the new, a war of the peoples to decide the fate of Europe, its new form of existence and the future of the nations. The tragic effort to ensure natural possibilities of existence to the peoples had been in process for over twenty years in the fields of politics, propaganda and ethics.

The time for a universal reorganization was ripe at the close of the last war. But the Western Powers neglected to make use of the historical possibilities at their command. The reason did not lie in any lack of physical strength. The Central Powers had collapsed; their armies were disarmed; opposition there was none. Had the victors then produced plans for a general all-embracing reconstruction, the future of Europe might have been mapped out for centuries to come. But such plans would have had to take into consideration the legitimate interests of all the nations of Europe; to serve the cause of economic co-operation and the lofty aims of a Europe rebuilt by a united effort, and above all the eternal laws of justice which alone can be the cornerstone upon which all honest reorganization must rest.

It cannot be denied that several well-meant attempts were made, e. g. Wilson's 14 points and the creation of the League of Nations; but these plans were not sufficiently all-embracing, and even the principles which were reasonable, useful and feasible in them were scrapped in the Peace Treaties as well as in practice later on.

In the plan of reconstruction advocated by the Allies the settlement and solution of the three great problems of our times, the social, economic and nationality questions, was lost sight of. The existence of these problems was clearly recognized by the Allies, and plans for their solution were indeed made, treaties to protect minorities were even framed, but those plans and treaties were only half-solutions; they did not keep pace with the spirit of the times, and their failure was therefore inevitable.

It was the social problem that led to the outbreak of the war of ideologies which opened an impassable chasm between certain nations in Europe and created a cleavage between the different classes within the framework of the same political State.

A denial of the social principle struck at the roots of economic progress. The crushing burden of reparations gave rise to economic anarchy, was the cause of widespread unemployment, led the nations to resort to autarchy, and helped to make European tension increasingly acute.

The semi-solution of the nationality problems, or their evasion, made it absolutely impossible for the nations to live together in peace and amity. That no due consideration was accorded to geo-political factors or historical evolution, much less to the requirements of economic life, when the problem of the minorities was being solved, resulted in setting the nations one against the other. The sufferings and complaints of the oppressed minorities embittered the lives of the peoples otherwise desirous of peace.

The Allies won the Great War, but what they had won was lost again during the process of reorganization by the bad Peace Treaties.

Europe, about which so much has been said, which has been so much discussed, is now again called upon to face a disastrous crisis. The great struggle has begun for the spiritual, political and moral being of this Continent, for the existence of its nations, peoples and States. The greatness of the aim in view is in correspondence with the magnitude of the task. The wall behind which ancient European antagonisms lurked for centuries, must be broken down. A new world is in process of creation, and the next Peace Conference will decide whether it is to be a world of peace and tranquillity in which European civilization and culture will be able to proceed from peak to peak, or whether everything that the words Europe and European stand for is to crash in ruins.

It is not the side that wins this new war that will be the victor, but the one that reorganizes Europe in keeping with the interests of that Continent and of mankind as a whole. Reconstruction will not save Europe from utter ruin unless its foundations rest on the granite rock of justice.

The Peace Conference must, in the first place, endeavour to eliminate those obstacles to co-operation between the various States of a new Europe which hinder social progress. A reorganization based on an ethnic foundation must also make it possible to effect a solution of the social problems within the framework of each State separately. All this cannot take place unless the new Peace Conference is guided by a noble and humane spirit of forgiveness and of European co-operation, instead of by an ignoble spirit of revenge.

The second important and lofty task of the Peace Conference will be to organize the whole economic life of the Continent in a manner conforming with the social idea. A

great economic concert of the European nations must be created, which, on the one hand, would organize and direct production and sale in conformity with Europe's interests, and, on the other, would eliminate all the antagonisms that raise obstacles in the path of economic co-operation.

The nationality problem must be settled once for all. This will be the most important task of reconstruction devolving upon the Peace Conference. The ideas and concepts hitherto put forward have all failed. Those of them that were responsible for the creation of unviable forms of States which collapsed at the first breath of the storm, must be rejected. The only way to ensure peace is that, when the map of a new Europe is being drawn for good, due consideration should be given to historical evolution, the geo-political factors and the postulates of economic life. Naturally, too, all the preliminary conditions of racial existence must be fully ensured within the framework of each State.

These are the social, economic and nationality principles and the principles of justice upon which the new peace of Europe must be based. If the next Peace Conference adopts these principles and puts them into practice, the wars, struggles and sufferings of the past and the present will not have been in vain. Life in Europe will be better, more nearly perfect. But if they are again denied, European civilization is doomed to perish utterly, and the complete downfall of the white races is bound to follow.

# HUNGARY AND EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

BY

GEZA FEJA

In Paris there was published quite recently a work on Hungary by an unknown author entitled "*Un état dans l'espace vital: Le Pangermanisme à la conquête de la Hongrie*". I feel that I am qualified to give Western public opinion my views about this book. I have always — quite irrespectively of European events — advocated Hungary being independent and self-reliant. I have at all times been conscious of the ancient and unbreakable ties binding the Hungarians, not only to Latin culture, but to "Latinity" in the old-world, classical meaning of the term, — Latin having indeed been for centuries the second language of our country. *I have always been — and still am — in favour of popular democracy, not only in Hungary herself, seeing that to my mind popular democracy is destined to be the future form of life in Eastern Central Europe generally.* In my humble opinion the tranquillity, peace and productive order of this region of the world must be founded upon a union of peasant democracies. Only the popular democracy of the various peoples of Eastern Central Europe will be able to bring into being the common experiences and elements of unity indispensable to an honourable adjustment and lasting equipoise of the relations between the nations. My opinion on this point is not likely to differ from that of any Westerner who thinks seriously and has the future at heart. For that reason I feel it peculiarly incumbent upon me to rectify the undoubted, deliberate misrepresentations of the book in question and to reveal the truth about my country, Hungary.

*The book in question* deals with my works, though more particularly with the works of some of my contemporaries and fellow-writers (Gyula Illyés, Zoltán Szabó, etc.), refers

to them, cites data from them, but at the same time *disguises the historical relevance of the books and data in question*. The author takes data at random, — data that are elements in one and the same broadhorizoned outlook —, this haphazard selection *making those data calculated to falsify the full significance of our works*. I must protest against this procedure, for we have all alike — I myself and my contemporaries and literary predecessors too — written down our experiences without reserve; so no one is entitled to make an improved edition of those experiences merely to serve his own interests, — interests which cannot under any circumstances be identified with those of my people and my country.

During recent decades "refugees" have on many occasions made their way West from Hungary. In most cases the reason for their going was that they had come into conflict with the public opinion of the nation and were too weak to take the field openly against public opinion in defence of the supposed justice of their cause. And indeed these men *should not be called "refugees" at all, but rather "deserters"*. The men leaving Hungary during the last year have for the most part gone of their own accord, because they were not inclined to face the trials of what to them seemed a rather hopeless period. By their action *they dishonoured their own cause* — deserting the supposititious truths they had proclaimed; for *there can rarely be any respect for or love of truth without sacrifice*. If I am not prepared to make sacrifices on its behalf, I am unworthy to be the advocate of truth and justice. *The Hungarian "refugees" are not by any means recruited from among the Hungarian intellectual élite* — or indeed from among the more distinguished representatives of Hungarian intellectual life. It is therefore quite comprehensible that it is no use our endeavouring to trace in their statements made in the West any tokens of the fanaticism of a love of justice; what we find there is rather the vindictiveness of the weaker man due to the failure of his career. We who have remained at home, have struggled and are still struggling, have undertaken and are still undertaking, and see that our honest perseverance is bearing its fruit, look with a natural contempt

upon those who have escaped in order to be able to show "courage". I believe Western public opinion will understand our attitude and will with the full force of its high moral judgment endorse our action.

*I would earnestly beg Western public opinion to draw from pure and genuine sources when it is in need of information about Hungary.* My request is, I believe, fully justified, because Hungary has always followed this course when it was a question of the West. Almost all Hungary's greatest sons have made pilgrimages to the West; her writers have regarded it almost as a duty to translate into Hungarian the outstanding products of Western literature. The intellectual and moral West — the West that has created human culture and human civilisation — has always had its eminent intellectual followers in Hungary. We would therefore request that the West should also refrain from taking data and knowledge respecting Hungary from suspicious sources such as it refuses to allow to spring in its own soil — such as indeed in critical periods it very quickly finds means to silence.

The book under review deals with Hungarian independence; and it keeps continually echoing the charge that Hungarian society does not do enough to preserve its independence. Hungarian history proves that our people have at all times bled and been decimated in a struggle for independence; and Hungarian society — without distinction of classes — has never acknowledged any human value as higher than the independence of the nation and of the individual. In this struggle — in this series of struggles — Hungary has on very many occasions looked to the West for support. In the seventeenth century *Nicholas Zrinyi*, the poet and military leader, sought the alliance of France. *Francis Rákóczi I.*, the Hungarian Prince who put himself at the head of the Hungarian "kuruc" ("Crusader") insurgents fighting for the independence of their country, carried on the venturesome fight he had undertaken as the ally of France. The leaders of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848—49 who were driven to flee the country appealed to the support of France, Britain and Italy in their endeavour to indicate the independence of their Hungarian fatherland.

These "refugees" did indeed represent the public opinion of the *élite* of the nation; but at the same time they were the last company of exiles from their native land of which the Hungarian nation is able to think feelings of gratitude and sympathy.

To me it seems inopportune to adduce detailed historical data. But the fact must be pointed out that the "refugees" leaving Hungary after the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848—49 — who had desired to introduce Western democracy into Hungary and after dethroning the House of Habsburg to achieve the absolute independence of their country — entertained also schemes for the re-adjustment of Eastern Central Europe. Louis Kossuth, who had previously been Governor of Hungary, and his representatives carried on negotiations with representatives of the Rumanians and Servians, their object being to bring into being a sincere federation of the Danubian peoples to replace the Habsburg Monarchy, of the inevitable dissolution of which they were convinced. The Habsburg Monarchy was still however strong; and, though they clutched at every European ideal and change, the Hungarian refugees proved unable to set in motion European forces capable of breaking up the Habsburg Monarchy into its elements in time and creating among those elements a human order of a juster and more tolerable character.

*It is not our fault that the struggle for independence carried on in the middle of last century against overwhelmingly superior Austro-Russian forces and two decades of vindictive cruelty and a regime of terror were followed by a compromise with the Habsburgs — by our throwing in our destiny with that of the Monarchy as an independent and autonomous partner. This action was taken by us at a time when it had become manifest that the European constellation was anything but favourable to the cause of Hungarian independence. Of course we proved unable subsequently to solve the questions of decisive importance for us to the extent to which we could have solved them had we remained independent. After the overthrow of the movement the leaders of our struggle for independence of 1848—49 obtained the greatest popularity in foreign countries too — a*

popularity due, not merely to the tragic character of their lot, but also to their sublime spirit and world of ideas. During the closing months of the struggle for independence these statesmen had concluded an honest agreement with the non-Magyar nationalities living within the territory of Hungary, thereby laying the foundations of the re-adjustment of the Danube Basin. Apart from defending the national cause these statesmen laid the foundations of Hungarian democracy by liberating the serfs (peasants). The work begun by them could not be continued after the overthrow of the Hungarian struggle for independence. Older Austria — *the Austria of the Habsburgs* — at all periods ruled on the basis of the principle "*divide et impera*", always using the various "nationalities" as foils to one another. *But this Austria pursued the policy of "divide et impera" also in the internal affairs of Hungary, consistently refusing to solve the social questions and merely playing the discontent of one class of society off against another class;* the primary object in view being to weaken the Hungarian national element by broaching the social questions. Austrian imperialism persisted also in continuously throwing obstacles in the way of the development of Hungarian industrial life, thereby preserving in Hungary out-of-date feudal forms and frustrating any rapid development of popular democracy.

The representatives of Hungarian progress indeed left no stone unturned — attempting even to establish connections with the non-Magyar nationalities and the peoples living round Hungary. But in these endeavours they found themselves confronted with a gigantic obstacle — the divergent character of the historical development of these peoples. The first King of the Hungarian State already warned his nation that this territory was inhabited by peoples of divers races and tongues with which that nation would have to establish a human understanding. We see, then, that *at its very birth the Hungarian State was a political organisation with federative leanings;* and, so long as our independence remained a fact — until the Habsburg Empire made us feel the weight of its retrograde influence — we never had any trouble with the "nationalities" or with the peoples living round us; indeed, reciprocal intellectual, political and economic con-

nections developed between us on a very considerable scale and of a very beneficial character. This historical tradition the Hungarian people has uninterruptedly preserved in the persons of its most eminent sons and in its folk-soul. The peoples living round us, however, which organised their independent national States far later than the Hungarian people, did not possess the advantages of the thorough historical school through which we had passed. This is not meant as a disparagement, but is merely the determination of the periods of development. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century these peoples were swept into the stream of a highly intensive chauvinism which in places was of a most biassed character. This chauvinism did not originate from the popular classes, but from the leading classes which, having only just risen to power, for that very reason indulged in excess, and were still too young to be able to afford to replace the principle of chauvinistic imperialism by the principle of human co-operation. These leading classes refused to hear of any human conciliation or of the co-operation of nations, on the contrary interpreting national self-interest in a spirit of extremism absolutely untenable in a region the population of which is racially and linguistically so diverse and so mixed.

Whereas the champions of Hungarian progress dreamed of the conciliation of the Danubian peoples and of their creative co-operation, endeavouring to build up the future upon the foundations of human agreement and co-operation, of a reconciliation of nationality principles and of federation, the younger national States and the "nationalities" continuously subjected by the Habsburgs to disquieting agitation cherished schemes of an unconditional racial imperialism and an intolerant chauvinism. From the European point of view the question at issue was therefore *whether their schemes would succeed, in which case the chauvinistic and imperialistic principles of less developed national States would gain the upper hand of the more ancient Hungarian State which could boast of a profounder experience and was at bottom federative in its organisation.* Matters were brought to a decision in 1918, when the Hungarian people too was

liberated from the often fatal grasp of the Habsburg Empire and might well have asserted its real historical traditions. A nation started on its way to shake off the fetters of foreign influence which had paralysed its movements for centuries and to delete from its memory the records of that past; but events paralysed its development and reduced its country to a sorry trunk without limbs.

The Hungary thus dismembered was faced with problems of enormous gravity. Let us set these problems in order: —

1. *The complete organisation of the new independent national State.* This has been brought to a successful conclusion.

2. *The preservation — despite its dismemberment — of its original federative spirit and the Danubian mission devolving upon it in consequence — i. e. the maintenance of the national and individual consciousness in face of the dangers of degradation into a tribal status. The work to be done in this field too has been effected.*

3. *An unceasing struggle for the protection of the most important vital interests of the millions of our racial kin (Magyars) wrested from us.* This struggle too has been carried on without a break.

4. *A rapprochement with the other peoples of Eastern Central Europe on the basis of our ancient federative spirit.* Except where confronted with unsurmountable obstacles, we have done yeoman work in this field too. Sufficient proof of this fact is afforded, by our connections in recent years with Poland and the present relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary.

5. *The solution of social questions and the creation of a popular democracy.* We have done much in this field too, — having put into force two agrarian reform bills and numerous social and public hygiene measures, completely solved the questions affecting our industrial workers and continued intensively the work of solving the questions affecting the agricultural labourers. The intellectual world and Hungarian literature have for years been struggling courageously to further a satisfaction of the social claims of the people, public opinion also declaring more and more in favour of that policy.

5. *An unceasing struggle against foreign influences and against the attempts of determined small internal groups aiming at dictatorial power or at least at causing internal disorder.* It will be the work of the future to ascertain the circumstances under which and the degree to which we have succeeded in meeting this problem, which we have faced with the utmost resolution, without however having had recourse to illegal means or to measures that might be dubbed barbarous.

7. *There is in process of development a young Hungarian intellectual élite anxious to solve our destiny in conjunction with the solution of the destinies of the other peoples of Eastern Central Europe* — a generation, therefore, which betrays a manifestation of the federative instinct combined with an up-to-date force and sense of realities. This body of men are fully aware that, when the popular advance to the vanguard ensues in these centuries, the working masses obtaining a share in the work of directing life in every State, this federative instinct and the idea of human co-operation must gain the upper hand in the whole of Eastern Central Europe. We are happy and reassured to be able to admit that similar ideas have come to the forefront in present-day Yugoslavia too.

We have done all this without having in any way prejudiced our Hungarian character. *We have not abandoned our legitimate national demands and shall not abandon those demands in the future either. But these demands in their present form are interwoven with the federative concept and with the idea of human co-operation, being indeed evidence in support of the latter.* For, were we rashly to abandon our legitimate national demands, would European public opinion be entitled to rely upon us to hold our ground or to fulfil our historical mission? *The honest satisfaction of legitimate national demands is a sine qua non of federation and extensive human co-operation, such satisfaction involving the removal of the thorn of national antagonism.* This is clearly realised today, I believe, by Western public opinion too.

The men who today figure as "refugees" take a delight in bringing another charge against us — that based upon

the two Jewish Laws recently put into force. They declare that there was no Jewish question in Hungary, and that the putting into force of these two laws was due solely and exclusively to outside influence. No judgment can be passed on this question without a knowledge of the peculiar conditions prevailing in Hungary, this question being quite different in character in Hungary from what it is in the West. Between 1910 and 1920 there was a Radical "bourgeois" movement in Hungary the intellectual leader of which was Oscar Jászi, a man of Jewish extraction who after the Great War filled the office of Minister for Nationalities in the revolutionary Government of Michael Károlyi and subsequently emigrated to America. This radical group founded the Radical Party, organising a separate association — the Sociological Society — for the cultivation of sociology. In their discussions and publications these men, besides dealing in theory, followed closely every Hungarian question of material importance — *inter alia*, also the Jewish question. They asked all the prominent persons in Hungarian public life what their opinion of the Jewish question was, and then — in a voluminous publication — collected these opinions and made them public. On this occasion declarations were naturally made also by the leaders of the Radical Party and movement who were of Jewish extraction; among others by Oscar Jászi and Ervin Szabó, a gifted and highly cultivated man of Jewish origin who played a leading role in the intellectual direction of the Social Democrat movement. In their declarations these men all stressed that *there was a Jewish question and that this question needed solution*. Baron Louis Hatvany, a member of the Hungarian "sugar dynasty" who went voluntarily into exile after the revolution and has just taken the same course again, — also of Jewish extraction —, emphasised in the same publication that the Jews should without delay divest themselves of their Judaism. These declarations betray the fact that *in Hungary there was some hitch in respect of the assimilation and social development of the Jews. This fact was admitted by the best intellectual representatives of the Jews themselves.*

For centuries there was a constant influx of Jews into

Hungary — principally from the direction of Poland and Galicia, a province belonging to the Austro—Hungarian Monarchy. In the second half of last century this influx — which at first had been of a sporadic character — assumed ever-increasing dimensions. In 1849 our struggle for independence was choked in blood. Between 1849 and 1867 we lived in a state of complete suppression; the Austrian Government ruled the country, filling the public offices with foreign officials — Austrians and Czechs. During this period the real Hungarians were driven to live in the country. In 1867 we made a Compromise, but the foreign bureaucracy was left almost to a man in Hungary, seeing that the Hungarians, who had so far been subjected to oppression and driven to live in the country, were not able at once to replace the foreign officials. The Compromise was only a half-solution; it did not restore the whole of our independence, the political *entourage* of the sovereign still continuing to regard the Hungarians as unreliable, rebellious elements. From Vienna — the Capital of the Monarchy — a powerful tendency swept over Hungary — a tendency which strained every nerve to ensure that the real Hungarians should receive as few places as possible in the offices and economic positions of decisive importance, leaving no stone unturned to push foreigners. And the majority of the Hungarian people disapproved of the Compromise, remaining true adherents of the exiled Kossuth; and as a consequence the Hungarian Governments which represented the ideas of the Compromise found themselves in constant political conflict with the pure Hungarian districts and with the popular masses. The half-solution represented by the Compromise had destructive effects.

It was then that capitalism developed in Hungary. *Austrian and Jewish capital* flowed into the country; and this capital employed the Jews and the foreign elements of the bourgeoisie in the initial work of adjusting its own administrative and controlling organisation. The Hungarian (Magyar) race — and in particular the peasantry — continued to live amid uncongenial economic conditions; while the Jewish immigrants rose suddenly to a high level

of wellbeing. Assimilation can only be effected from below, in the working classes. The Jewish immigrants, however, developed socially by leaps and bounds, assimilating not downwards, but upwards. They served the Habsburgs, the feudal elements and all the powerful factors of public life, endeavouring in return to obtain an increasing number of economic monopolies. The sons of Jewish immigrants purchased Hungarian baronies, — those who had to content themselves with lesser roles bought patents of nobility — from the Habsburgs, and strained every nerve to obtain an *entrée* into the ruling classes. A few eminent Jews observed this process, and raised voices of warning; but they were excommunicated by the Jewish „*arrivés*”, who in case of need actually persecuted them.

The Western nations have for centuries past been absorbing their Jews; for they have from the very outset been able to live an independent national life and have by means of their decided national attitude been enabled involuntarily and naturally to absorb the Jews living among them. They have therefore no Jewish question. Our Jews, however, after having occupied the leading positions in our economic life already in the days of the Habsburgs, never became absorbed intellectually in the Hungarian people, but began a “race-defence” policy of their own, admitting to places in the banks and other economic institutions almost exclusively persons of Jewish extraction. They lapsed into an excessive “power policy” — their aspirations provoking an ever-increasing antipathy on the part of the Hungarian bourgeoisie owing to the Jews having shown that they had exploited Hungarian liberalism for purposes favourable to the interests of their own race.

The Jewish question had come to a head; that is why it had to be solved. The Hungarian Jewish Laws have not deprived a single Jew of his country, their object being merely to provide for the restoration of the equilibrium in respect of the distribution of national wealth. The Jews have to undertake a larger share of the labour of productive work in place of mere speculation and brokerage work and are required to identify themselves with the historical attitude

of the Hungarian people. This is what we require. For we have never been the devotees of the racial idea; we have not believed — and we do not believe — in the blood myth or in the other new-fangled mythological inventions; by *"race" and nation we mean historical attitude*. In Hungary the Jews have remained a self-contained and compact separate group in the body of the nation simply because they have not become assimilated from below and have failed to mingle with the working masses; and in consequence they have formed an economic and an intellectual ghetto. They must escape from this ghetto and begin their lives afresh from below; they must identify themselves intellectually with the Hungarian people and adopt the attitude of that people. This means that the Jews will have to become democratised, abandoning their habit of trying to find easy work in every field and of endeavouring to monopolise certain branches of the economic life, and trying to mingle with the whole working class of society. So far the Jews have carried to excess their tribal unity, having preserved and cultivated their separate tribal soul as a holy relic sufficient in itself. (In the West there is already no trace of anything of the kind; Western life has long absorbed the tribal restrictions of the Jews and their spiritual barriers: but in the East, that is how things stand with our Eastern Jews). There must be an end of this; the Jews must become more Hungarian and more European too. The Jews must not take the Jewish Laws tragically, rather regarding them as fingerposts of Fate; they now have an opportunity to prove that they belong to the Hungarian community and are ready to undertake the work of becoming assimilated from below and to become absorbed in the life of the working classes of society as a whole.

Many people make capital against us out of the fact that today in Hungary there are certain groups which keep stressing the racial idea. This again is nothing mystical, merely a human idea interpreted in its widest sense. The real, genuine Hungarian (Magyar) race is the peasantry. The whole younger generation of intellectuals and literary men, as well as every single Hungarian political party, are

today working *with the object of enabling the genuinely Hungarian (true-born Magyar) peasantry to make headway in every field of life and to obtain suitable rôles.* This is not merely a racial movement or a social endeavour. The Hungarian peasants desire a popular democracy; they are unswervingly attached to self-government; they have always shown understanding towards the sons of other races and other nations; and their strongest bent is that towards co-operation. They possess a highly-developed individuality; but their economic organisations based on voluntary association are a great success. They have always clung resolutely to the ideas of free life and Hungarian independence, — even when those ideas have been abandoned by the sons of higher social classes. *The Hungarian peasants are the finest representatives of the great historical virtues of the Hungarian people; and these virtues are not racial specialities, but profoundly human virtues. The advance of the Hungarian race — of the Hungarian peasantry — is a sine qua non of the further development of Hungary's position in Europe.*

Our development has been an arduous one, for after 1526 we were always haunted by the incubus of foreign oppression in the shape of the Habsburg Empire. And ever since that date too we have had to struggle continuously and at the cost of enormous sacrifices of human life to maintain our national independence and the original historical intentions guiding us in the undertaking of our European mission. This inner force, this historical persistence, is a reality — is indeed the true reality. Events must have convinced the West of the *need of building up the life of Eastern Central Europe upon realities.* The greatest realities in the life of the peoples are the capacity to organise and maintain a State and the unselfish defence of historical aims. A White Mountain battle and the momentary appearance of superior odds proved sufficient to plunge the Czechs into centuries of slavery and to prevent them from rising again by their own efforts. And what happened in the past has happened in the present too. The Czechs never owed their independence to their own vitality or to their historical fitness, but to the smiling support of the European constellation of the moment.

We Hungarians have always been a State-building people. Our State and our constitution is the most ancient in this region of the world. No historical whirlwind has ever proved able to sweep away our constitutional sentiments or our sense of independence. Our federative leanings were expressed already by our first king, St. Stephen. From the very outset we have been intellectually wedded to Latin culture; and we are a people of Latin leanings in the intellectual field. *These are historical realities upon which the whole of Europe must build and which deserve a better fate than to be presented before the great culture of the West as shown in the distorting mirror of deserters.*

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

# NEW RUMANIAN SETTLEMENT ACT

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

**T**he new Settlement Act (*Lega asupra colonizărilor*), which was unanimously passed by 120 votes in the Rumanian Parliament on 17th April last and by a majority of 125 votes to 2 by the Senate on 19th April, was ratified by the King on April 22, and having been promulgated in the Rumanian Official Gazette (*Monitorul Oficial*) on April 25, has now become law.

This new Settlement Law is not an isolated act of legislature but an organic part of the series of laws the aim and object of which is *to further Rumanian national interests, and these alone, in every sphere of economic life*. In recent years two laws in particular have served to ensure a ruthless assertion of Rumanian national interests in the fields of commerce and industry; first, the Act of 16th July 1934 enjoining a discrimination in favour of persons of Rumanian nationality in all private enterprises. This law prescribed that 80% of all classes of employees engaged by private commercial and industrial undertakings in Rumania and 50% of their boards of directors and supervisors must be Rumanian. And that by "Rumanian" not "Rumanian citizens" were meant, is clearly shown by the instructions as to how the law was to be enforced, which ordered the enterprises to prepare statistics of the ethnic origin (*origina etnica*) of their employees. On 16th September 1937 the then Rumanian Minister of Commerce, M. Valerian Pop, sent a circular to 72 minority undertakings in Transylvania, ordering them to bring the proportion of their employees of Rumanian ethnic origin up to 50% by the end of the year. This law and the ruthless way in which it was enforced have deprived many thousands of minority workers of their means of livelihood. Its aim was, and is, to destroy

the higher level of economic development of the Transylvanian minorities. The second law which of recent years has aimed solely at furthering Rumanian national interests by elbowing the national minorities out of the national economy was the Act of 15th December 1938 relating to the registration of firms. This law made the incorporation of firms owned by individuals or companies conditional on their having previously obtained a licence to engage in commerce. This licence is issued on the recommendation of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry by a special committee, whose decisions are binding upon the Courts and the Board of the Firm Register alike. Naturally no minority tradesman is ever allowed to sit on these special committees, which have been formed in the capital towns of all the provinces.

The new Settlement Act, by ensuring the acquisition and ownership of land to the Rumanian elements, *serves the same aim* as the two above-mentioned laws do in the spheres of industry and commerce. In the Acts of 21st March 1927, 16th June 1939 and 18th November 1939 (which regulate the State's prior claim to the purchase of land, the reorganization of the "*Casa Rurală*" and the financing of the State's purchases) we find important provisions dealing with the marketing of land in the frontier districts inhabited by minorities and in the villages of a mixed ethnic population (*comunele etereglote*) and with the settlement of Rumanians in those areas. Article 4 of the new Settlement Act appropriates the areas left at the disposal of the State after the execution of the Land Reform, the object of which is frankly admitted to have been the Rumanianization of those parts, as well as the lands acquired by the State by right of pre-emption or in any other way, for settlement purposes, and creates out of them a real estate settlement foundation (*Fondul imobiliar al coloni zării*). We must not forget that in Transylvania the Land Reform expropriated 3.118.570 cadastral yokes and that 87.16% of the confiscated estates were in Magyar hands. It should also be borne in mind that the allotments granted to claimants of Rumanian ethnic origin for settlement purposes were twice the size of those apportioned to other claimants. The first extremely striking provision of the new Settlement Act (Article 5) is

that the Ministry of Agriculture and Domains (*Ministerul Agriculturii și Domeniilor*) must choose the settlers solely from among the "Rumanian inhabitants" (dintre locuitorii romani). In other words: it is not for the settlement of Rumanians *but for that of Rumanian nationals* that the law makes provision. It is with the latter — as M. Jinga Secretary of State for Agriculture, emphasized during the debate in Parliament — that Rumania wishes to consolidate her frontiers, for, as we see, with the exception of the Dobrudja, which lies south of the Danube, it is along the western borders of the State that settlement operations are being carried out. As Article 1 states, the work of settlement will not be confined solely to the act of placing the settlers on their farms, but will also extend to *their economic, social and cultural organization*. Besides the ordinary facilities to be granted to the settlers, the Ministry of Agriculture is empowered to provide the settlement centres with public institutions, schools, churches, cultural halls, waterworks, etc. (Article 3). For the building of dwelling-houses and of these cultural institutions Article 4 appropriates an annual sum of 40.000.000 lei. The ordinary size of a settlement farm has been fixed by Article 10, at 10 hectares of arable land, in addition to which the owner is also to receive a site for building and a plot for a garden in the nearest settlement village. It is only in quite exceptional cases that the law allows the size of a farm to be less than 10 hectares, but there is no ban on the creation of settlement farms of 50 or even 100 hectares (Article 10, last paragraph but one). Since the failure of the settlements hitherto created was due to the elements chosen not being the right ones, one of the conditions laid down in Article 5 is that agriculture must be the main occupation of the settlers. By means of special privileges Article 6 encourages the settlement of Rumanians from across the frontier. Article 8 contains restrictions applying to village craftsmen, minor officials, priests and teachers, inasmuch as it does not allow of more than 5 such persons owning farms in one settlement, and limits the aggregate size of their holdings to 10% of the total area of the settlement. As regards the price of the settlement farms and the terms of payment,

Chapter IV provides that *the total value of the farms is to be paid interest free in 25 years, while the loans issued for building purposes must be repaid free of interest within a term of 30 years (Articles 14 and 16)*. Chapter V very precisely determines the legal status of the settlement estates. Article 15 thereof says that a settlement farm is an economic unit, indivisible both as a property and as an undertaking. It may never pass into other hands. It may not be divided even on the death of its owner, for only one of his heirs may inherit it, who will indemnify his co-heirs. The reversion to the State of farms whose owners die without heirs or relations is provided for by Article 28. Only the banks and co-operative societies designated by the Ministry of Agriculture or the banking establishments enumerated in Article 20 are authorized to issue mortgage loans on the settlement farms. The law authorizes the Ministry of Agriculture to dispossess any settlers who do not comply with these conditions (Article 30). In such a case the entire estate of the settler, including his dwelling-house and other buildings, becomes the property of the State. To all settlers Article 43 ensures the great privilege of being exempt from paying any State or provincial taxes for 10 years. And lastly, to encourage the development of settlement centres Article 49 allows the municipalities, villages, public and private institutions and societies to exercise patronage over the settlements, provided they bind themselves to further the spiritual and material welfare of the settlers.

## SLOVAKIA'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES

BY

LOUIS JOCSIK

Slovakia is finding it increasingly difficult to provide her population with food. Of late, as we learn from the "Slovenska Politika" and the "Slovak", there has been a great shortage of leguminous vegetables. This is indicated by the rapid rise in their price. Hitherto Slovakia imported large quantities from Rumania, but since the latter reduced her exports, the shortage in Slovakia has become increasingly alarming. *The price of lentils, for instance, has risen from 4 to 12 crowns a kilogramme; peas instead of being 5 are now 14 crowns, and millet costs 6 crowns instead of 2.* Imports of rice have fallen off to a remarkable extent. Slovakia cannot pay Italy for the rice required, and the Slovak papers are urging the population to use pearl barley instead. At the present moment, four pearl barley factories are being equipped, in order to supply the people with a sufficient quantity of that commodity to take the place of rice. In the last economic year the bean crop in Slovakia was very poor, and all the stocks accumulated in previous years have in consequence been used up. A kilogramme of beans costs about 6 Slovak crowns. The potato supplies suffered from the frost this cold winter. As a result, the price of potatoes has now risen from 25 to 80 crowns per quintal. So far as certain other foodstuffs are concerned, the situation is so grave that Slovakia is obliged to consume what was set apart as seed. *In April there were practically no supplies of lard or bacon in the country.* Slovak circles complain, for instance, that Yugoslavia is not willing to export lard and bacon to Slovakia when she can get a better price for these commodities from England. The April 24th issue of the "Slovenska Politika" states with some bitterness that "the price of Yugoslav bacon went up

2 dinars per kilogramme last week." In this connection the "Slovak" remarks that the country's requirements of lard and bacon had to be supplied by the pigs fattened at home, while "the goods imported were stored away." In the month of April Hungary exported 87 wagon-loads of pigs to Slovakia. Hungary also came to Slovakia's assistance with leguminous vegetables. *It is interesting to note that at the very time when the Slovak Press was engaged in a campaign of the most violent anti-Hungarian propaganda, Hungary supplied Slovakia with 20 wagon loads of Victoria and Express peas, as an advance on the next economic year's quota.*

As stated above, the circumstance that it was only by means of the most strenuous efforts that the Government was able to supply the inhabitants with lard and bacon during the past months has given rise to growing anxiety in the country. The population was made entirely dependent on domestic production, and the fat imported was carefully stored away against the lean years to come. The situation is aggravated by the circumstance that *the Schicht factory has reduced considerably the amount of vegetable fats it used to export to Slovakia.* Up till 15th December that factory accepted all the orders placed with it by its Slovak customers, but after that date it stopped practically all its exports. With a view to improving the situation Slovak economic circles entered into negotiations with the management of the factory in an attempt to ensure at least a fraction of Slovakia's former imports. The "Slovak" of 19th May reports that in April Slovakia managed to procure 10 wagon loads of vegetable fats from Germany. *This quantity was handed over to the various Prefectures with official instructions to distribute it equally among the centres of industry in the country.* Responsible Slovak authorities are now trying to improve the situation by encouraging people to grow sunflowers for their seed. On 12th May the "Slovak" published an article containing expert advice on the subject. According to that article, if 2000 villages were to engage in the cultivation of sunflowers on at least 24 cadastral yokes per village, 5000 wagon loads of sunflower seed would be produced. Reckoning that sunflower seed contains 30%

of oil — says the "Slovak,, — this would yield 1500 wagon loads of fat annually. In this manner Slovakia tries to find a way out of her difficulties. Rumour has it that the first Slovak vegetable fat factory is already under construction in a village on the river Vág.

Because of these difficulties with the food supply, or rather on account of the increasing difficulty of obtaining imports, prices are rising rapidly everywhere in Slovakia. The rise in prices has reached such enormous dimensions throughout the whole country that it has been found necessary to establish a so-called "Price Bureau". This measure has not, however, been effective in checking the upward tendency. Commerce having failed to adhere to the prices fixed by this office, a flood of proceedings were instituted by the courts of justice against price-raisers. Day by day, the Slovak papers publish reports of proceedings against offenders in every corner of Slovakia. Despite the Price Bureau and the activities of the law courts, things have come to such a pass that it has been found necessary to organize so-called "flying committees" for the purpose of controlling prices by surprise visits. A lengthy article in the "Slovak" of 9th May describes the work being done by the Price Bureau. We learn that *one of the flying committees imposed fines amounting to 140.000 Slovak crowns in Nyitra alone on one single day.* There were cases where the flying committee established a rise of 200%. The authorities everywhere are simply trying to cure the symptoms, but do nothing to strike at the root of the evil, namely the lack of commodities. This explains why the measures instituted have not been productive of the good results expected by Slovak official circles.

It is the poorest section of the Slovak population that feels the pinch most. The industrial labouring-class in particular is called upon to make the greatest sacrifices. Employers refuse to take the greatly increased prices of everyday necessities into consideration when fixing the wages of their employees. The old prices, which exist only on paper, are still taken as the basis of their calculations. The workers, who feel the pinch of poverty caused by changed conditions, are forced to put up a fight for an

increase of their wages proportionate to the higher prices of the necessaries of life. The leaders of the campaign for higher wages are the textile workers. *The "Slovak" of 12th May reports that when negotiating the new collective contracts the union of the textile workers demanded a 20% increase. The same demand was made by the metal workers.* Much unrest has been caused among workers and employers alike by the Government's failure to settle the wage question in a uniform manner. The workers are restless and movements are on foot among them. In certain isolated cases employers have shown more sympathy for the working people than has the Government. The "Tibergien" textile mill at Trencsén, for instance, is now paying 15% more to its hands, and the Pozsony metal industries are also making an extra allowance to meet the increased cost of living. It is true that in view of the unrest among the workers employers are well-advised to make concessions.

The Pozsony Chamber of Commerce has also taken steps to cope with the situation. It convened a meeting which, according to the "Slovak" of 16th May, was attended by a large number of the representatives of commerce and industry. There it was established that *"the sternest possible measures must be taken to combat the unreasonable rise in prices, but at the same time, a decent profit must be ensured to legitimate enterprise and the normal activity of industry will have to be guaranteed."*

# CROATIAN PARISH COUNCIL ELECTIONS

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

In 625 of the 711 villages in the Banate of Croatia the Parish Council elections were held on 19th May, in accordance with the Act of 15th April 1933. On the recommendation of the Ban of Croatia the Council of Regency to a certain extent amended this law by way of an Ordinance applying only to the Banate of Croatia, which appeared in the "Narodne Novine" of 13th April last.

One thing is certain: *the paragraph (No. 26) providing that voting is to be open has been left unchanged*, although since 1931 the Croatian Peasant Party has been loudly insistent on a return to secret ballot as a means of ensuring the purity of the elections.

The Press of the Croatian Opposition was muzzled months ago; the leaders of the Croatian National Opposition were either interned or imprisoned, and its adherents have been deprived of the right of assembly. *In view of these circumstances the Croatian National Opposition appealed to its adherents to refrain from voting. The result of this appeal was that not even half of the roughly 840.000 electors took part in the Parish Council elections.*

The elections ended in a great victory for the Croatian Peasant Party and its ally, the Independent Serb Democratic Party. According to the official report issued by the Banate Office, the results were as follows: *in the 625 villages where elections were held victory was won in 425 by Macek's Croatian Peasant Party, in 133 by the Peasant Democratic Coalition (27 of those seats were won by the Independent Democratic Party), in 4 by the joint lists of the Croatian Peasant Party and the Moslems, in 1 by the joint list of the Croatian Peasant Party and the Germans, in 1 by a combination of the Peasant Democratic Party with*

*various other groups, in 1 by the Independent Democratic Party allied with other Serb Parties, in 20 by the Yugoslav Radical Community (Government Party), in 1 by the joint list of the Government Party and the Farmers' Party, in 8 by the united Serb lists, in 18 by non-party Serb lists, in 2 by separate Moslem lists, in 2 by non-party burgher lists, in 2 by independent lists (most of these votes were cast by adherents of the Croatian Peasant Party), in 1 by the Left Wing, in 1 by the Farmers' Party, in 3 by the German lists and in 2 on the lists of other nationalities (Magyars).*

As we see from this official report, no fewer than 18 different Parties or groups and their coalitions received votes. This is a striking refutation of the official assertion that there was no political rivalry at the elections and that they were simply an administrative function ("Obzor", May 23) which had become imperatively necessary in view of the fact that the mandates of the Parish Councils elected for the term of three years stipulated in the Act of 1936 had expired six months before.

No mention whatever was made by the official report of the rôle played and the results achieved at the elections by the national minorities, in particular by the Magyar minority, which — even according to official Croatian statistics — numbers well over 62.000 souls, but lacks organization. All that the newspapers say is that in many places the Magyars supported the Croatian Peasant Party, and won a certain position and some seats on that scored. In a few places they tried their luck with independent lists of their own, while in two villages they joined forces on a joint list with the German minority. The number of seats won by the Magyars of Croatia is certainly much smaller than they would have been entitled on a numerical basis to expect.

## „RUMANIAN STATISTICS AND THE MAGYARS IN TRANSYLVANIA“

On February 20th, 1940, Dr. Alajos Kovács, former director of the Hungarian Statistical Bureau, gave a lecture in the Hungarian section of the International Demographic Union under the title: *“Rumanian Statistics and the Magyars in Transylvania”*. It will be useful to discuss a few points of this highly interesting lecture, which was published in *“Kisebbségvédelem”* (Minority Protection), the review of the Péter Pázmány University Institute for Minority Rights (Nos. 1—2., 1940).

Dr. Kovács, who is a statistician of high international repute, sums up his criticism of the Rumanian census statistics of 1930 as follows:

“It is to be considered as a distinct sign of improvement that the Rumanian census of 1930 accepted the idea of the “mother-tongue”, in addition to the principle of “ethnic origin.” In relation to the Magyar population of Transylvania the acceptance of the former criterion means the inclusion of 127.000 more Magyars, so that on this ground even the Rumanians have to admit that the Magyar population of Transylvania amounts to nearly a million-and-a-half (1.481.000). It has also shown the utter impossibility of the census based on the principle of “ethnic origin”, particularly in respect of the figures relating to Jews and Gipsies, which were evidently absolutely wrong and miscalculated. Since, however, the Rumanians observed an obviously anti-Hungarian tendency in the treatment of the problem of mother-tongue, they succeeded in decreasing the number of Magyars (i. e. those whose mother-tongue was Hungarian) by something like 197.000 in all. This fact may be proved by the figures of the statistical records concerning the members of the various denominations. The exact figures showing the relation between mother-tongue and the denominations are well known to Hungarian statistics, and it is most unlikely that there should have been any essential change. Since it is hardly possible to suppose that the figures concerning denominations should be false

or forged, we have to admit that the Rumanian element has made a considerable progress in Transylvania, owing partly to immigration from the Regat (the Old Kingdom) during the Rumanian régime; on the other hand, the Magyar population of Transylvania shows a declining tendency, particularly on account of considerable emigration since the beginning of the Rumanian régime, but even so its actual number in 1930 could not have been less than 1.678.000, which — in view of the natural growth of the population — must now have risen to at least 1.800.000. Moreover, if we add those 200.000 Magyars who were driven out of *Transylvania* by the Rumanian régime. — but who would no doubt return there in the event of a change of the present political situation — as well as the many thousands of Magyars living in Bucharest and several other places in Rumania, *the number of Magyars in Transylvania must be well over 2 millions now.*

It is also evident from the records of the Rumanian census that the Rumanians have endeavoured in every way to efface the Hungarian character of the towns in Transylvania; nevertheless, they were obliged to admit — in 1930 — that in respect of the mother-tongue the Magyars still represent the *relative* majority among the populations of the towns, and that their number exceeds that of the Rumanians by 101.000. We, on the other hand, are able to prove — on the basis of the denomination statistics — that in 1930 the Magyar town-dwellers still held the absolute majority in the towns of Transylvania. This is where the strength of the Magyar element in Transylvania actually lies; in the economic as well as the intellectual life of towns the Magyars still occupy a leading position; nevertheless, in view of the future this state of affairs is dangerous and detrimental too. The population of towns is always less prolific than that of the provinces, moreover it is continually fluctuating and, since it is not so completely bound to the soil and its place of abode, it is easier for the régime to deprive it of its national character. The decade between 1920 and 1930 is already a sad token in this respect.

*Dr. Kovács* draws his conclusions from a suitable grouping of statistical records; we would draw special attention to calculations concerning the actual number of the Magyars in Transylvania; his calculations are based on the records concern-

## RUMANIAN STATISTICS

ing denominations; as it has been the experience of Hungarian statisticians for many years that there is a close connection between denomination and nationality.

Denomination	No. of inhabitants in 1930, acc. to Rum. stat.	% of Magy. acc. to denom in 1910.	No. of Magy. in 1930, acc. to this %
<i>Roman Catholic</i>	947.351	63.9	605.000
<i>Greek Catholic</i>	1.385.445	6.8	94.200
<i>Greek Orthodox</i>	1.932.356	1.3	25.100
<i>Calvinist</i>	696.320	98.4	686.000
<i>Lutheran</i>	274.415	13.7	37.600
<i>Unitarian</i>	68.330	98.9	67.000
<i>Jewish</i>	192.833	73.5	141.800
<i>Others (unknown)</i>	51.313	39.8	20.400
<b>Total:</b>	5.548.363	30.2	1.677.700

The above calculation, then, shows that the Magyar population of Transylvania under the Rumanian régime must be at least 1.678.000. This figure exceeds the result shown by the Rumanian census — on the basis of the mother tongue — by 197.000, while it is not less than 325.000 more, if we consider the figure based on the principle of "ethnic origin" (which is 1.353.000).

# POLITICAL MOSAIC

## DECLARATION OF RUMANIAN MINISTER FOR MINORITIES

M. Dragomir *Silviu*, the Rumanian Minister for Minorities, recently made a tour of the provinces inhabited by minorities. Of the numerous statements which the Minister made on this occasion, the most important one was that which he made at *Arad*. In reply to the address of a delegation of the Lutheran community in this city — on which occasion the delegation again asked for the recognition of the Hungarian Superintendency of the Lutheran Church — the Minister made the following declaration: "It has given me great pleasure to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this affair, though I had to overcome great obstacles. It is with deep gratitude that I think of those days when the noble mind of Baron Eötvös (the first Hungarian Minister of Education) accorded such liberal treatment to the minority churches in Hungary, and enabled — among others — the Rumanian Church to lead a free and independent life of its own. As a native of Transylvania I am sincerely glad to have been able to repay this liberal treatment by means of a similar treatment of the Magyars in Rumania."

The "*Magyar Kisebbség*" (*Hungarian Minority*), the political review of the Magyar minority published at Lugos (No. 10, May 16th, 1940) comments on the above statement as follows:

"In this statement the *Minister for Minorities* no doubt referred to the *Hungarian Act of Parliament* in which Baron József Eötvös, then Hungarian Minister of Education and Public Worship, enacted the establishment of an independent Rumanian Metropolitan Archbishopric, which enjoyed the same status as the Serb Metropolitan Archbishopric; furthermore, the same Act raised the Rumanian Bishopric of Transylvania to the status of an Archbishopric, and by this means it secured complete autonomy to both Greek Orthodox churches in Hungary."

The review then quotes a passage from the parliamentary speech made by Baron Eötvös on July 11th, 1843: "It is our sacred duty to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the church problems, and this not by particular institutions, but in such a way that there should never arise any more doubt or conflict between us with regard to those principles on which this settlement is to rest, whereby not only the peace of our

Protestant brethren but our own peace of mind shall ultimately be secured."

On the same occasion on which the *Rumanian Minister for Minorities* expressed his admiration for the liberalism of Baron Eötvös, he also made another very important statement. He said that "the Minority Act was not opportune just now. The *Rumanian Government* continued to treat the problems of the minorities on the basis of the existing laws." The above mentioned article of the Hungarian review comments upon this statement as follows: "When on November 28th, 1939, the Prime Minister declared that a Minority Act was to be passed, many of us were of the opinion that it would be better to adjust those minority problems the settlement of which not only contradicts the spirit of the existing laws but is actually provided by them. We have also pointed out that it is not from written laws but from the spirit of understanding that we may expect the solution of our problems. If every member of the Rumanian Cabinet will follow the example of M. Dragomir Silviu, if they will all come to understand the traditions of our national past, and if they will all listen to our complaints and endeavour to redress them, then a minority law well never be opportune, because it will not be necessary to pass a law in order to bring about the spirit of understanding and cooperation at a time when we are faced with the tragic fate of small nations suffering over the ruins of liberalism."

### MAJORITY OF POPULATION OF TEMESVAR STILL MAGYAR

In several Hungarian newspapers it has been reported that according to the figures of the *Temesvár Municipal Statistical Office*, the population of that town on 31st December 1939 was 106.471, 33.369 being Rumanians, 27.584 Magyars, 27.652 Germans, 2.498 Serbs, 12.746 Jews and 2.632 others. We have no knowledge of a Census having been taken in Rumania at the end of the past year; it is therefore very probable that the Municipal Statistical Office simply quoted the nationality figures of the 1930 Census, making certain allowances for a natural increase of population and for its increase by migration. However this may be, the reason why these figures were blazoned abroad was to convince the world that the majority of the population are Rumanians. But at the best these figures merely show the ethnic origin of other inhabitants; from a language point of view — which is what has been accepted as the criterion of nationality by Hungarian statistics, as it was by the Rumanian statistics when the Census was taken in 1930 — they do not tally with the facts of the case. For in the statistics published by the *Temesvár Municipal Statistical Office* the Jews

are taken en bloc as a separate nationality, whereas they ought to have been registered as belonging to different nationalities according to what they profess to be their mother-tongue. This was the method adopted by the 1930 Rumanian Census, which for the greater part divided the Jewish population among the various columns representing the mothertongues of the population. A proof of this is afforded by the fact that according to the 1930 Census 10.989 Jews were registered in the whole county of Temes-Torontál (*including the town of Temesvár*), but only 619 figure separately as having a mothertongue of their own. The others are registered as Magyars, Germans and perhaps Rumanians, as they ought in fact to be. We have no means of determining how many were counted as belonging to the one or the other nationality, but we know from the 1910 Hungarian Census that in that year the mother-tongue of 65.3% of the Jews in Temesvár was Hungarian, while 33.6% stated theirs to be German, so that only 1.1% of the Jewish inhabitants professed other mother-tongues. We must assume that so far as language is concerned conditions among the Jews of Temesvár are practically the same now as they were then. If therefore we divide the 1.746 Jews registered according to that percentage, the number of Magyars will rise to 35.907, that of the German to 31.935, while the number of Rumanians is not likely to undergo any noticeable change, seeing that in 1910 only 4 Jews declared their mothertongue to be Rumanian. From these figures it is clear that even now the relative majority of the population of Temesvár are of Hungarian mother-tongue (35.907), then come the Rumanians (33.369) and the Germans (31.935).

Another interesting fact is revealed by the figures of the Temesvár Municipal Statistical Office, namely, that even without the inclusion of the Jews, the Magyars and Germans in Temesvár are practically equal in number, although in 1910, when the last Hungarian Census was taken, there were 3000 more Germans in the town than Magyars and Jews together. And if we deduct the number of the Jews from those of both the Germans and the Magyars, there were 5000 Germans more in Temesvár in 1910 than Magyars, whereas now their numbers are about equal. From these statistics we may infer that the town has grown more Magyar in character, at least in relation to the Germans. That this is very probable may be concluded from the circumstance that when in 1918 the Serbs were in possession of the town and took a Census, they found 41.979 Magyars as against 20.342 Germans, 6.053 Rumanians and 2.715 Serbs, and this although 2.175 Jews were registered separately (this could only have been a small part of the Jews then living in Temesvár). Compared with the 1910 Census, the Serb Census found an increase of 13.000 Magyars and a decrease of 11.000 Germans, which at the time may have been due to the desire of

the patriotic German population *to preserve the town for Hungary* by declaring themselves Magyars. There is no doubt that the Rumanian régime have attracted large numbers of Rumanians to Temesvár by the inducement of various privileges (in 1910 there were only 7566 in the town) and that the officials and soldiers transferred from the Regat have greatly helped to swell the Rumanian population, but all the same it is certain that if we examine the population purely from a language point of view, the Magyars still constitute a relative majority.

### HOW THE MAGYARS OF SLOVAKIA LIVE

There was published recently in *Pozsony* a small book by *Count John Esterházy*, leader of the Magyars of Slovakia. The title of the book is "The Life of a Magyar Family in Slovakia." It will not be uninteresting to learn from one who knows best what minority life is like in the circumstances under which the Magyars of Slovakia, numbering one hundred thousand, live, and what problems they have to cope with. In the introduction we read: — "*The lot of none of us is easy. But we can and will endure it. It is a hard task to be a Magyar, but every one of us is ready to undertake it, proudly and consciously, for we all feel that an ancient nation which has given so much that is of value to culture and civilization in general, is fulfilling a lofty mission merely by preserving its national traits and qualities in the place where destiny has set it.*"

A group of people is to be regarded as a nation when they are imbued with a firm and resolute desire to live as one community. John Esterházy's statement makes it clear that the Magyars of Slovakia are firm in their determination to be regarded as belonging to the community of the Hungarian nation. They refuse to be separated from the historical past and future of that nation by the dividing force of political frontiers.

Count Esterházy says: — "We can and will endure it" — it being the lot of a minority. What is of primary interest now is the struggle being waged by the minority Magyars to make that lot bearable. In March, 1938, Slovakia made its own internal arrangements on the principle that it was a national State. The Slovaks took possession of the State, to the total exclusion of everybody else. Of the various nationality groups, the Germans alone succeeded in securing a more tolerable position. Backed up by the Reich they managed to obtain privileged treatment. This is clearly shown by the legislation dealing with the nationalities. The Magyars, on the other hand, are by no means a favoured ethnic body. They are being incessantly obliged to concentrate all their strength on major efforts. Since the formation of an independent Slovakia, the chief aim of the Magyar minority has been to create the framework of its own

political party. This has been a hard work. Other ethnic groups have been allowed to conduct their own affairs without interference; but an attempt has been made to subject every phase of Magyar minority life to pressure from without, — says Count Esterházy. Although all the Magyars of Slovakia belong to the United Hungarian Party, this Party, thanks to Government, is not adequately represented in Parliament. The Slovak Parliament comprises 67 members, *only one of whom is a Magyar. In the Prague Parliament there were 14 Magyar representatives, 9 out of 300 in the Lower House and 5 out of 150 in the Senate.* The ratio fixed, by law in Slovakia is one Deputy for every 40.000 inhabitants. On this basis the Magyar minority would be entitled to 3 or 4 seats. As things are — to quote Esterházy — “one single Magyar” has to make Sisyphean efforts to protect the interests of the minority Magyars in the Slovak Parliament. The whole Magyar minority is engaged in a similarly desperate struggle against vastly superior odds. “That the work we are doing is often of a Sisyphean nature is due to circumstances. That we are suffering for something in which we have no part, and can have no part, is perhaps also the consequence of conditions still in a state of ferment. As I once said: *we must endure and wait patiently.*” This is what Count Esterházy says.

The picture of Magyar education in Slovakia presented in Count Esterházy's book is a very depressing one. The Magyars have only 36 elementary schools all told, with only 103 classes. *There are no Magyar secondary schools except in Pozsony;* and all the Magyar secondary school pupils from every part of the country must go to that town for their education. All over Slovakia the Magyars are grouped in, or around, the larger towns, as, for instance, in Pozsony and Nyitra and their surroundings, and more sporadically on the frontier between Pozsony and Nagymihály. But, no matter where they live, they are dependent on the capital, Pozsony, for secondary school education, there being not one Magyar secondary school anywhere else in the country.

As regards social policy and social welfare, the Magyars of Slovakia are entirely dependent on their own efforts. The Administration gives them little or no support. By their own unaided efforts the Magyars of Pozsony have established a boarding-school for Magyar girls and boys. In the villages kindergartens and crèches have been established, where poor Magyar parents can leave their little children to be cared for while they go about the task of earning their bread. Slovak education does not afford minority youth the experience and the knowledge required. This circumstance impels the Magyars to organize extra-mural popular education and training for their own young people. The *Magyar Cultural Society of Slovakia* is the body competent to undertake this task. Or rather, the

Society would be competent to provide for extra-mural popular education, were it not for the fact that about a year ago the Government suppressed the activities of the Society. As a consequence its duties are being performed only by the local cultural societies, each working — if it works at all — separately, since Government has made organized cultural work impossible for the Magyars. Besides representing political interests, the United Hungarian Party also does social policy work, acting as a labour exchange, rendering assistance to the unemployed, etc. Sometimes the sums involved are quite trifling — money for the soling of a pair of shoes, for instance. *“Ours is no ostentatious charity; it is systematically organized work. It extends to Magyar babies in the cradle, infants under schooling-age and school children of all classes, to mothers and to the most unfortunate of all unfortunates: the people who are able and willing to work, but cannot find employment. Alas! there are many of our Magyar brethren who are in this pitiable situation.”* — says Count Esterházy.

Despite their desperate position the Magyars of Slovakia have not sunk into the slough of despond of little nations. They do not regard themselves as a mere fragment, for they know they are an inseparable part of a great nation. It is wonderful to see how this wretched situation has given birth to the finest form of national consciousness, which helps to sustain the Magyars of Slovakia. Count Esterházy begins his work with a quotation from Széchenyi, the creator of modern Magyar national consciousness: — *“Let everyone strive after perfection according to the attributes and individuality given him by God. And let each of us, from the highest to the lowest, be the defender and supporter of his own nation. But nevertheless let none of us become an enemy of mankind.”* This is also Count Esterházy's motto. He concludes his work with the following sentences: — *“We desire to believe in and are convinced of mankind's higher nature, which must direct all human effort towards Divine justice. And because our faith therein is unshakable, we, even now in this time of trials, look forwards with hope to the future — to a brighter future for the Magyars.”*

During the era of the Czecho-Slovak Republic it was this belief and the hope of a fairer future that gave courage to a million minority Magyars. Their dream of a fairer future has come true for some of them, who have returned to the mother-country. We hope that the faith of the Magyars of Slovakia in happier days to come will also be justified.

#### FRESH REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF MAGYAR MINORITY

Quite recently Senator Dr. Emery Várady, vice-president of the Government Party organization in the Danube Banate, saw

M. Beshlitch, Minister of Transport, and urged him to keep his oft-repeated promises to the Magyar minority. He also saw M. Mihaldzhitch, Minister of the Interior, from whom he requested permission to form a General Magyar Cultural Alliance, the statutes of which he then and there presented for approval. After so many fruitless requests the Magyar minority is now curious to see whether these recent representations will lead to any positive results.

## MILAN GROL ON THE SITUATION IN THE VOIVODINA

On 21st April celebrations were held in Ujvidék (Novi-sad) in memory of *Ljuba Davidovitch*, a former Yugoslav Prime Minister, the founder and one-time chairman of the Democratic Party. At the impressive celebrations a speech was made by the present chairman of the Party, M. Milan Grol. In this speech with ardent words, he praised M. Davidovitch's exemplary unselfishness, noble spirit and unfading merits. The part of his speech that concerns us is where he spoke of Davidovitch in connection with the Voivodina, the gist of which, as particularly illuminating, is given below.

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

Next to Southern Serbia, the developments in the Voivodina were what filled Davidovitch with the greatest anxiety. *He saw that the way this territory was administered by strange officials was bad.* Those officials did not understand their new, heterogeneous surroundings; *they had carried out the Land Reform badly, and that had led to unfortunate consequences. Corruption, like a noxious weed, had thriven in the Voivodina, where till then it had been unknown.*

In the first golden years after the formation of the Yugoslav State everybody had had bread enough and to spare — those who did not work, as well as those who did. *At the time of the economic crisis, however, the Voivodina suffered much, for its burdens were greater than those borne by the rest of the country. Ljuba Davidovitch had criticized the regime there as sharply as he had the administration of Southern Serbia...*

M. Milan Grol then went on to extol Ljuba Davidovitch's honesty and love of fair play. *"Davidovitch — he said — fought for equality and the liberty of every man in the Voivodina,* but he never lost sight of the interests of that territory as a whole.

"We shall never forget the touching scenes we witnessed when in 1935 he visited the Voivodina.

"Behind the ranks of policemen armed with bayonets the people cheered Davidovitch. At the time of the Parliamentary

elections in 1935 that grey-haired politician set out from Ujvidék (Novisad) and visited Óbecse (Staribeč), Zenta, Kanizsa, Szabadka (Subotica) and Bácskatopolya, returning again to Ujvidék. Everywhere he went he saw the same picture: *the worst of all the authorities were those imported from Serbia. I do not mind — he said — how they treat me, but I am ashamed of the country from which they came. The Square in Zenta was empty except for policemen. In Szabadka and Zenta a state of siege had been proclaimed on this occasion. When we were leaving Szabadka, the people of the town flocked to the long suburban streets, and when Davidovitch's car appeared, they fell on their knees and, weeping, cheered the greyheaded leader of Democracy. Davidovitch's eyes were also full of tears, for he saw how greatly the authorities in Southern Serbia and the Voivodina had undermined the prestige of Sumadja. His one desire was to see a free and active life that would strengthen the prestige of the authorities.*"

The audience listened with appreciation to M. Milan Grol's speech. Any comment on the extremely interesting and illuminating statements of the Minister of Education and present chairman of the Democratic Party would — we think — be superfluous.

## THE HOME-RULE MOVEMENT IN THE VOIVODINA

In addition to the Serbs, the Bunyevatz and the Germans, a considerable number of Magyars are also taking part in the political campaign conducted for the purpose of securing home-rule for the *Voivodina*. At a recent meeting of this Magyar group *M. Ivan Nagy*, one of the representatives of this principle, explained the motives of the "home-rulers" as follows:

"Like every other form of minority campaign, our campaign, too, endeavours principally to achieve complete equality of rights. We have always protested against the present dictatorial form of government in this country, and have invariably professed to be the champions of democracy, because our object has always been to overthrow this dictatorial régime and secure a happier future for our people with the methods of democratic government. A bitter struggle is now being waged for the reorganization of the State, and it is our firm conviction that both for the Magyar and for the other nationalities living here the best solution is the complete self-government of the *Voivodina*. It is impossible to outrule oppression and exploitation and to secure our equality of rights, if we ourselves do not take part in the government of the State. The bitter experiences of the last twenty years have made us understand that without the home-rule of the *Voivodina* our rights would still remain mere paper forms and our very existence would still depend on the whims of the authorities."

# HOW MINORITIES LIVE

## RUMANIA

### COMPLAINTS OF MINORITY PENSIONERS

In a memorandum to the Ministry of Minorities the Magyar Racial Community demanded a redress of the wrongs suffered by minority pensioners. These grievances were enumerated under four headings, as follows: 1. In determining the pensions of widows and orphans only the pension proper of the deceased husband (father) had been taken as a basis and the additional sums allowed by the "*Consiliul Dirigent*" in consideration of the higher price level were ignored, so that, instead of receiving 50% of their husbands' pensions, many widows get only 15, 20 or 25 per cent. 2. This outlines the situation of the so-called M. A. V. (Hungarian State Railways) pensioners. Two pension bureaus had fought a battle over the question of the pensioners of the former Hungarian State Railways, the upshot of which was that the latter were sent away empty-handed, both by the General Pension Fund (*Casa Generala de Pensuni*) and by the special Railway Pension Fund. The General Pension Fund did pay out some pensions later on, but only to those retired employees of the former Hungarian State Railways who had applied to the *Supreme Court* of Appeal. Measures would therefore be necessary that would allow those people whose petitions had been definitively rejected to submit them afresh to the General Pension Fund. 3. The third heading deals with the pensions of denominational teachers. Here it is urged that on the principle of equality these teachers should be allowed to apply for a revision of their pensions, those having been fixed by the General Pension Fund on the basis of their pensions proper without the extras allowed in consideration of the rise in prices having been added. It was not until recently that by order of the State Audit Office certain teachers were paid their full pensions. 4. This heading deals with the right of pensioners in the areas attached to Rumania to expect the war years to count double. ("Magyar Lapok", April 28.)

### SENDING OF BIRTH, DEATH AND MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES BANNED BY THE PREFECT OF SZATMARNEMETI

According to an official notice issued by the Prefecture of County Szatmár, all priests and clergymen who send birth, death or marriage certificates to persons living outside the frontiers of Rumania will in future do so under pain of punishment.

### MINORITY SPORT CLUBS MAY NOT TAKE PART IN RUMANIAN CHAMPIONSHIPS

The *General Sport Organization* has sent a notice to all the sport associations stating that as from 1st August 1940 no team may compete in official matches and championships but those the majority of whose members are of Rumanian racial extraction. Teams composed of minority players cannot compete except in friendly matches. A special committee is to determine the nationality of the players and certify it on the basis of original documents. Rumanian representative teams taking part in international matches must be at least 75% Rumanian. (*"Néplap"*, April 27.)

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

## YUGOSLAVIA

### TRAGIC LOT OF MAGYAR MINORITY IN SLOVAKIA

This paper has always followed with close attention the events in Central Europe, and assiduously strives to discover methods of solution that would bring tranquillity to this restless region. Ever since the conclusion of the Peace Treaties, the unsolvable nature of the minority question has been the source of most of the trouble in Central Europe. When the new Slovak State was created, we watched with increased interest to see how the young State would solve also the problem of the minorities. To our deepest regret nothing very noteworthy has been done. *The lot of the Magyar minority in Slovakia has become so grave that Count John Esterházy, leader of the Magyars there, has been repeatedly compelled to raise his voice in protest and warning in the Slovak Parliament.* It is a fact worthy of note that *for twenty years the Magyars of Czecho-Slovakia worked in collaboration with the Slovaks, with the present leaders of the new Slovak State.* What more natural, therefore, than that after the Vienna Award *the Magyars of Slovakia should have offered*

*to co-operate to their utmost with the Slovak Republic?* They argued that, having for twenty years been the comrades — in — arms of the Slovaks in their struggle against Czech oppression, they could not be the enemies of the independent Slovak State. At the outset everything appeared to justify this assumption. Twice in the Slovak Parliament Count Esterházy has described at length the work done by the Magyars to consolidate the internal life of the new State on the one hand and, on the other, to improve relations and promote friendship between Slovakia and Hungary. More than once Count Esterházy has intervened with the Hungarian Government on behalf of the Slovak minority in Hungary. It was due to his intervention that *the Slovaks settled on the expropriated Magyar estates received full compensation when they left the part of Czechoslovakia restored to Hungary.* He also intervened on behalf of the Slovak civil servants of those regions who, in the early unsettled days of Slovakia's independence, thoughtlessly abandoned their posts. *It was thanks to the intervention of the Magyar leader that the Members of the Slovak Government were able to exchange their "residue estates" situated in the areas restored to Hungary for estates in the hands of Hungarian citizens living in Slovakia.* And until quite recently the Parliamentary representative of the Magyars of Slovakia voted for every Bill introduced by the Slovak Government.

We are, nevertheless, regretfully compelled to establish the fact that this loyal attitude of the minority Magyars has not led to any satisfactory results. Today the Magyars of Slovakia are being subjected to a series of chicaneries and injustices. "We cannot hold Party meetings. It is only rarely that we can meet at all, and then these gatherings must be of a cultural nature or for some charitable or social purpose, and wholly non-political. We retire modestly into the background; we do not interfere with anyone, and yet it is always the Magyars who are made to suffer. Sad to say, we know of an ordained Catholic priest, who instead of preaching reconciliation and serving the cause of peace, conceives it his duty to incite the people against the minorities. *Incidents of this kind, which are extremely offensive to the Magyars and threaten their lives and property, usually take place under the aegis of the Hlinka Guards.* It is the Hlinka Guards who throw stones at the windows of peacefully sleeping citizens. Today we are tempted to indulge in a historical pun: the Bach era was followed by compromise and a period of general prosperity, the Mach era will be followed by reconciliation and a period of welfare." — Thus Count Esterházy, who then continued as follows:

"Speaking of our grievances, I must mention that on 30th April last the Ministry of Education served two worthy Magyar secondary school teachers, *George Mészáros* and *Gabriel Orbán*,

with notices that they had been dismissed from the service of the State. They had been in its service for 28 and 35 years respectively, and neither had ever been subjected to disciplinary measures. No reason was given for their dismissal. They were simply discharged without any disciplinary proceedings having been instituted against them, and have lost their posts without any claim to a pension."

In his second speech in the Slovak Parliament on 18th May, Count Esterházy spoke of grievances even more serious than the above. Here follows a passage from that speech: —

"It sounds incredible that what I shall now relate should really have taken place in a country the head of which is a Catholic priest and the Premier of which is a zealous Catholic who goes to confession frequently. As we all know, *there is a concentration camp at Illava. Many innocent people have been interned there and left to languish in the greatest misery for weeks and even months, until in many cases their health broke down. I do not approve of concentration camps myself, my point of view being that if a man is guilty of a crime against the laws of the land, he must be arrested and punished by the criminal courts. But to throw a man into a concentration camp, keep him there for weeks or even months without a hearing and then release him, but only after he has signed a revocation of his political principles, is unworthy of a Christian régime.* It is calculated to shake our faith in legal justice and add to our feeling of insecurity. That Catholic priests have been interned in concentration camps almost passes belief, and yet it is true. For weeks John Dobranszky, rural dean and Papal Chamberlain, an old man of seventy who since 1935 has taken no active part in politics, was left to languish in the camp at Illava. Are the members of the Slovak Parliament aware that no mass is celebrated in the Illava camp on Sundays, although spiritual ministrations would help the prisoners to bear their lot with greater fortitude and contribute to preserve their mental balance? There is a church in the camp, but the Catholic priests imprisoned there are not allowed to celebrate mass. M. Zachár, a Roman Catholic parish priest who was kept at Illava for months, was not permitted to celebrate mass once all the time he was there. Slovakia is a preponderantly Catholic State; we ought to respect and revere our priests, and it is our duty to uphold their prestige. Let the authorities take steps to redress these grievances."

In his speech Count Esterházy also spoke of the Bill dealing with Party registration. He refused to accept it, on the ground that *it offered the State ample possibilities of dissolving the parties of the minorities in Slovakia simply by passing a resolution to that effect.* The Bill — he said — must be regarded by the Magyar minority as a fresh grievance.

## YUGOSLAVIA

LEGITIMATE PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT'S  
POLICY TOWARDS MAGYAR MINORITY

In one of its recent issues, "A Nép", the organ of *Dr. Ivan Nagy*, leader of the Magyar racial group co-operating with the Croatian Peasant Party, states that in spite of the promises frequently made by Government and by many Government Party politicians, most of the grievances of the Magyar minority are still unredressed. *Permission to form a Magyar cultural association extending to the entire area of the Voivodina has not yet been granted, nor has it yet been made possible for the Magyars to create an economic organization embracing all the Magyar economic associations. Name-analysis is still practised in the schools; the legitimate demands of the Magyar agricultural workers who did not benefit by the Land Reform have not yet been satisfied, and the restrictions on the marketing of real estate continue to weigh — a heavy economic burden — on the Magyar population.* The excuse made by Serb politicians for not doing anything to improve the lot of the minority Magyars was always that relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary were not good enough, the atmosphere not friendly enough, to justify the Serbs showing any consideration. But by now a *rapprochement* has been effected between the two countries in the field of economics as well as of culture, so this excuse no longer holds good. It is not, however, upon these improved relations alone that the Magyars base their claims; they also, apart from all international aspects of the case and *with due respect for the laws of the land, demand their rights on the principle of equality.* ("A Nép", May 11).

## ANOTHER LAND REFORM IN CONTEMPLATION

As was stated in our April issue, *M. Chubrilovitch*, Minister of Agriculture, is seriously engaged on the drafting of a new agrarian reform. According to the first rumours, the maximum area of landed estates is to be reduced from the present 521 to 174 cadastral yokes. Now the "Jugoslavenski Kurir" publishes a report, based on information received from an authentic source, that the new reform in preparation will not fix the maximum at less than 300 (!) cadastral yokes, and that the 270.000 yokes of agricultural land thus obtained by the State are to be used for the purpose of creating more war-volunteer settlements. At the same time, several State model farms would also be partitioned for the same purpose, amongst others the large estate consisting of many thousand yokes at Bellye which once belonged to Archduke Frederick. This estate was expropriated without compensation after the change of rule. The aim of the

proposed new agrarian reform is obviously to settle as many war volunteers and other extremist national elements as possible in the northern frontier areas adjoining Hungary, in order to intimidate the non-Slav, especially the Magyar, autochthonous inhabitants and definitely decrease their economic weight and their influence in public life. Here it should be noted that *the price of the land expropriated in the course of the first Land Reform was fixed at such a low rate by the relevant laws of 1931 and 1933 that it did not amount to more than from one-fifteenth to onetenth of the market price. In fact, if we consider that the actual value of the State-guaranteed bonds issued to the expropriated landowners in lieu of compensation is only about 50% of their nominal value, it will be seen that they did not receive more than from one-thirtieth to one-twentieth of the market value of their estates. This in other words means that the Magyar landowners alone whose estates were expropriated in the course of the first Land Reform have suffered a loss of several million dinars according to the present price of land.*

### GRIEVANCE OF MAGYAR SOCIETIES

The Municipal Corporation of *Ujvidék (Novisad)* voted a sum of 195.000 dinars for the support of local cultural, social, charitable and other societies. Of this sum, three of the expressly minority societies, viz. *the Magyar Citizens' Choral Society, the Magyar Citizens' Casino and the "Frohsinn" German Choral Society* received 2000, 1000 and 1000 dinars respectively. *The two Magyar societies thus received a mere 1.53% of the sum in question, although the Magyars of Ujvidék constitute one-third of the population, and on the principle of equality would therefore have been entitled to expect 65.333 dinars.* The wrong done to the two minorities by this unjust treatment is only to a very small extent offset by the fact that 10.000 dinars were allotted to those of the denominational associations the majority of whose members are Magyars or Germans. The Serb *Matica Srpska*, a very wealthy society, received 24.000 dinars, or almost twice as much as all the non-Serb Pravoslav societies together. ("Napló".)

# POLITICAL ECONOMY

## HUNGARY

### INCREASE OF WORKING CAPITAL, SAVINGS AND CURRENT ACCOUNT DEPOSITS

According to the report issued at the end of May by the *Central Corporation of Banking Companies*, the institution entrusted with the control and supervision of all Hungarian banks, the number of Member Banks at the end of 1938 was 396. In 1939, 22 new Members were admitted, some of them becoming Members of the Central Corporation through the restoration of the areas of Upper Hungary. Despite this the number of Members sank to 394 in the course of the year. The aggregate working capital of the banks under the control of the Central Corporation was 4291.9 million pengő in 1939, an increase of 307.7 million pengő as compared with the previous year. Of this increase 263.8 million pengő fell to the Budapest and 43.9 million to the provincial banks.

The aggregate amount of savings and current account deposits at the end of 1939 was 1712 million pengő, an increase of 169.3 million pengő as compared with the previous year. Of this increase 118.8 million fell to the Budapest and 80.5 million to the provincial banks.

## RUMANIA

### RUMANIA'S OIL EXPORTS IN 1939

In 1939 *Rumania's* oil production amounted to 6.240.000 tons, 370.000 tons less than in 1938. 4.177.571 tons of this quantity were exported, i. e. 67%. Home consumption amounted to 1.784.750 tons, i. e. 28.6% of the total production. Particulars of exports are as follow:

	1939	1938
Germany:	848.569 t.	704.342 t.
Czechoslovakia	436.584 t.	294.898 t.
Italy:	634.984 t.	556.535 t.
Albania:	1.776 t.	3.940 t.
Great Britain:	618.894 t.	540.431 t.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY

### British Dominions & Colonies:

	1939	1938
Gibraltar:	10.037 t.	31.649 t.
Cyprus	419 t.	4.270 t.
Ireland:	6.294 t.	576.350 t.
Palestine:	18.880 t.	66.136 t.
India:	8.452 t.	401 t.
Egypt:	85.885 t.	283.305 t.

Oil exports to the French Empire were distributed as follows:

	1939	1938
France:	238.662 t.	289.338 t.
Syria & Lybia	41.831 t.	79.770 t.
Tunis:	82.967 t.	76.582 t.
Algeria:	500 t.	16.264 t.

Rumania's oil exports to Britain and France show an increase between 1938 and 1939, while outside Europe they have decreased. In relation to Germany, Rumania's exports in 1939 were 8% less than in 1938, except in the month of December, when they were slightly more than in 1938.

The Balkan States participated as follows:

	1939	1938
Yugoslavia:	149.769 t.	153.156 t.
Bulgaria:	93.744 t.	79.768 t.
Greece:	75.293 t.	200.215 t.
Turkey:	30.424 t.	53.616 t.

These records show that while *Yugoslavia* and *Bulgaria* have increased their imports of oil, *Greece* and *Turkey* reduced those imports in 1939.

*Constanza: the port for shipping English-French Exports; Giurgiu: for shipping German Exports.* Rumania has exported 2,757.662 tons via Constanza, 1,204.471 tons via Giurgiu, and 179.744 tons via Ploesti. (*Excelsior, Apr. 27, 1940.*)

## YUGOSLAVIA

### YUGOSLAV-HUNGARIAN EXPORT RELATIONS IN LAST TEN YEARS

The trade negotiations just concluded at Belgrade mark the dawn of a new period in the trade relations of the two countries. It is to be hoped that these negotiations will lead to a more lively development of the trade between Yugoslavia and Hungary, as Hungary's exports from, and imports to, Yugoslavia have shown a decidedly declining tendency in the course of the last ten years.

HUNGARO-YUGOSLAV TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN  
1929 AND 1939:

Year:	Imports:	Exports:	Balance:
	(million)		
1929	53.9	61.3	+7.4
1930	42.	51.8	+9.8
1931	38.6	32.7	-5.9
1932	17.2	20.2	+3.
1933	19.3	21.3	+2.
1934	14.1	11.8	-2.3
1935	24.7	10.3	-14.4
1936	19.	11.7	-8.4
1937	23.9	12.7	-11.2
1938	21.7	15.6	-6.1
1939	23.4	14.1	-9.3

In the last ten years Yugoslavia's economic situation has undergone an overwhelming change. The country has employed every possible means to change from a primarily agricultural country into an industrial one; it has placed even its exports of raw materials at the service of this purpose. This systematic procedure has enabled Yugoslavia to buy machines and other industrial equipment in exchange for its agrarian products, its products of forestry and cattle breeding, thereby laying the foundations of its industrial life.

This systematic economic policy of Yugoslavia has, of course, had a marked effect on her relations with *Hungary*, which may be seen from the records relating to the export trade of the two countries in the last three years, during which period Hungary's exports to Yugoslavia have decreased considerably. The principal reason was that the favourable development of Yugoslavia's industry has made itself felt more and more in the home consumption of Yugoslavia; moreover, Hungary's export trade has found it more and more difficult to cope with foreign competition, especially with that of *Germany*.

The present situation, however, especially in respect of the international stock market, is such that — apart from the increasingly friendly character of the relations between them — *Yugoslavia* and *Hungary* may be able to induce a favourable change in their economic relations too.

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The Danubian Review is published monthly. — Editorial Offices and Management: Zrinyi-utca 1, Budapest V. — Responsible for the publication: Dr. ANDREW FALL. — Issued and printed by Sárkány 16225 Ltd. — Responsible for the printing: A. and J. Wessely.

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