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FOR EVER AND EVER

BY

FRANCIS HERCZEG

With a blare of trumpets, glowing faces and sparkling eyes, proudly and joyfully the armed youth of this country marched into Southern Hungary. Good friends were greeted with embracing arms, enemies with a hard fist. Anyone who seeks the inward meaning of historical events must involuntarily think of the old saying that the mills of God grind slowly. They grind slowly, but given time, they are able to grind even rocks to powder.

It is plain that St. Stephen's Realm, which was destroyed with diabolic hatred, is being rebuilt by the Grace of God. According to an unseen Will, an unseen hand is laying brick upon brick, and we present-day Hungarians, who play the part of workmen, rejoice to see the proud edifice rising higher and higher. *That Hungary would one day be great again, none of us doubted. What came as a surprise was the time at which this occurred.*

In any case all rational people who studied European politics must have known that Hungary would seize the first favourable opportunity of regaining what Trianon had wrested from her. The Hungarian nation never made any secret of this intention; during the past twenty years revision was the sincerest and most popular political slogan in Hungary: over and over again it has been declared in books and newspapers; a thousand times it has been announced in Parliament and at public meetings, that no moral veto would be able to restrain the nation if once the hour of liberation of the occupied areas struck.

The Governments of the neighbouring States were well aware that all Magyars regarded Hungary's dismemberment as a temporary trial to which no honourable Magyar would ever resign himself. Our neighbours knew that all Magyar school children prayed daily for the restoration of Hungary's thousand-year-old frontiers.

During the preliminary negotiations preceding the Treaty of Friendship with Yugoslavia official Hungary emphasized the point that the country sustained her territorial claims, and this was tacitly accepted by Belgrade. It may be that it was accepted with a concealed smile of amusement... The States of the former Little Entente knew very well that the prey assigned to them by Trianon would be theirs only so long as they were able to keep Hungary in a state of weakness and isolation. *Their major efforts were therefore directed towards weakening and slandering this country.* To this end they laboured in Geneva, for this end they armed and concluded military alliances, to further it they robbed the Magyar minorities by means of Land Reforms, framed inhuman educational laws and brazenly violated the minority treaties.

In view of all this it is astonishing that the Press and Radio in certain foreign countries should have taken objection to the liberation of *Southern Hungary* as an "unchivalrous" act. Those who did so apparently believed that Hungary had forgotten how the Serbs gained possession of the Banate, the Bácska and Baranya. They did not acquire those regions by military conquest, but by a shameful bargain. A brilliant *French* author, *Henri Pozzi*, published in one of his books a detailed account of the haggling that took place at *Corfu*, where *Tardieu* and *Scotus Viator* were the hucksters. He also gives precise figures of the baksheesh running into millions which was paid out to its chivalrous friends by the *Belgrade Government*. We wonder what the word chivalrous is supposed to mean.

But let us stop playing with words, and let us establish the fact that by joining the *Three Power Pact Hungary* openly and honourably took sides with the Axis Powers. In view of her centuries-old historical traditions and the geographical situation of the country she had no other choice. The *Belgrade Government* was naturally fully aware of this. When *Yugoslavia* concluded a treaty of friendship with Hungary, she did so with the intention of approaching the Axis. But then came an unexpected and staggering turn of events, which was described by ex-Premier *Tsvetkovitch* in the following words: "*In one single night twenty muddle-*

headed officers plunged Yugoslavia into ruin." It would however seem that not only these twenty officers were stricken with fatal blindness, for people who were in Belgrade in the days preceding the outbreak of hostilities say that the entire capital was seething with a warlike spirit. The inhabitants were loudly clamouring for war against Germany, for a war in which Yugoslavia had nothing to gain and everything to lose. The clever and brave Serb nation was ruined by its gigantic conceit, the same conceit which usually proves the undoing of adventurers.

The Treaty of Perpetual Friendship between Hungary and Yugoslavia was rendered invalid, not by Hungary, but by Yugoslavia's inconsistent behaviour. It became invalid when over-night Yugoslavia repudiated everything that she had faithfully promised the day before. It was not Hungary that broke faith with Belgrade; it was Belgrade that broke faith with Hungary. An honourable man will stick to his ally through thick and thin, but he cannot be expected to follow him in a mad escapade or to a suicide's grave. Today the Serbs themselves realize that the path along which a handful of muddle-headed generals led them was the path of madness and ruin. *The problem for Hungary was a serious one, a question of life or death, the life or death of the Hungarian nation, and we could not afford to leave its settlement to foreign newspapers and broadcasting companies.*

We Hungarians are fully aware that the first, the most sacred and unceasing, duty of each succeeding generation is to hand down the heritage of St. Stephen uncurtailed to the following generation. This centuries-old law is above all else, it takes priority over any other law or veto, because it is the vital law, the creed, the honour of the Hungarian nation.

Restored Southern Hungary today is certainly the dearest, the favourite child, of the mother-country, for it was the part of Hungary that remained longest under alien rule and suffered most. For it must be clearly understood that although certain manly and military virtues characterizing the Serbs are recognized and admired by the Magyars, the Serb Governments have always cruelly and wickedly

oppressed the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia with a view to exterminating it.

In the good old days it was said of Southern Hungary that not only the sky, but also human nature there was bright and gay. Southern Hungary was the classical home of Magyar vital force and the joy of life. We believe that the past decades have made the soul of *Southern Hungary* more serious and harder, as they have that of the mother-country. If now *Budapest* and *Szabadka*, the capital town of that region, clasp hands, they will be able to read the traces of past sufferings and fears in each other's eyes. They will also be able to read a determination to advance together towards a fairer future, a future that must be wrung from fate with hard work.

With hopes of a fairer future Hungary has welcomed back the people of the Southern regions. She has welcomed her Magyar, German and Bunyevatz brethren. And she welcomes the Serbs of Southern Hungary, who are also returning to the old country which was their home for centuries. Let them remember that in the past they were well treated in Hungary, and let them strive to understand that their future in this country depends on their own behaviour: if they so desire, they will again be the beloved sons of Hungaria. *But they — and the whole world — must realize that Southern Hungary, now that it has awakened from the nightmare of Balkan rule, belongs to Hungary for ever and ever.*

"HISTORICAL" AND OTHER "GROUNDS" OF YUGOSLAV TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST HUNGARY

BY
IMRE PROKOPY

Of the so-called treaties of peace drafted in Paris after the first Great War the Peace Edict of Trianon is undoubtedly the most cruel and the most unjust. In that Edict the drafters of the Versailles Peace punished most severely and most ruthlessly the Hungary which had no part in provoking the war and refused to entertain any idea of conquest whatsoever. And this ancient State with a thousand-years' past was nevertheless dismembered and enclosed in the iron ring of the three Succession States so immeasurably augmented territorially — the Little Entente of later days — in order (so the Peace Dictators of Versailles imagined) that she should never again be in the position to go to the assistance of her former Allies.

The Trianon Peace Edict drafted in a spirit of boundless vindictiveness under the influence of the insatiable demands of the small neighbouring peoples thirsting for spoil and booty, cut into pieces the Hungarian Kingdom, the only State in Europe which from the sixteenth century onward had never followed a policy of expansion, merely desiring to defend and preserve intact its own possessions; more than two-thirds of its territory of a total area of 324,413 sq. kilometres and three-fifths of its population of altogether 20,886,487 souls having been cut off and incorporated — solely and exclusively by right of the sword and of brute force — in the so-called Succession States.

An abundant share of the spoils thus divided was allotted also to the newly-established Kingdom of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes (Yugoslavia), which received territory of an area of 63,490 sq. kilometres out of

the unexpectedly rich booty — territory inhabited by 4.126,516 souls. These figures include also the former Associate Country forming part of the Hungarian Kingdom, Croatia-Slavonia, with an area of 42,543 sq. kilometres (7.392,431 cadastral yokes) and a population of 2.621,954 souls, the constitutional representative assembly of which country (the "Sabor") on October 29th, 1918, proclaimed separation from Hungary and incorporation in the Southern Slav State about to be formed. The Hungarian nation — though with sincere regret — took cognizance of the *one-sided* (!!) dissolution by the Croatians of the political union which had existed for 800 years; and it has at all times respected the wish of the Croatian people, having quite recently offered eloquent proof of this fact in having been the first to recognise the independence of Croatia and welcome the independent Croatia established after the collapse of Yugoslavia.

In justification of the other territorial claims against Hungary the Serbians — apart from the fait accompli brought about by force of arms — in the memorandums submitted to the Peace Conference referred also to "historical rights".

The first of these titles adduced in support of their claims by the Serbians was that *the Serbians were autochthonous inhabitants* — a claim respecting which the most eminent historians and statisticians agreed in establishing that the Serbians were never original inhabitants of Hungary. In his standard work dealing with the Hungary of the days of occupation by the Magyars Professor *John Melich* summarises the results of researches carried out in the fields of linguistics and ethnography in the irrefutable statement that "*in the days of the Magyar conquest of Hungary the territory belonging to the sphere of interests of Byzantium — i. e. the Banate of Syrmia, the region between the Danube and the Tisza, the district enclosed by the Maros, the Trans-Tisza district and Transylvania — was inhabited by Bulgar-Turkish and Southern Slav peoples, the latter being however Bulgars and not Serbians*". — The same question is treated in respect of the Banate lying to the East of the Tisza, which was also for the most part incorporated in the "Voivodina", by Professor *Eugene Horváth*, in a work

published in English which was based upon far-reaching researches; in this work the professor says that "*when the Magyars appeared in the country, in 895, a Bulgar-Slav prince, Glad, ruled in the region enclosed by the three rivers (Danube, Tisza, Maros). There were no traces of any Serbians in this region, despite the assertions to that effect made subsequently by Serbian propaganda...* As the Greek Emperor Constaninos Porphyrogenetos tells us in his work entitled "De administrando imperio", "the Magyars settled in the region of the three rivers (this was the name given to the territory later figuring as the Banate), where no Serbians or Romans or Rumanians were to be found" (p. 6).

The influx of the Serbians only began much later. Apart from the insignificant infiltration of Serbians recorded during the reigns of the kings of the House of Árpád, the first large-scale immigration of Serbs into Hungary dates only back to the days of Sigismund and Matthias; the Serbs fleeing from Turkish oppression after the fateful defeat on the field of Kossovo in 1389 and the consequent collapse of the Serbian State moved northwards and took refuge on Hungarian soil. The influx of Serbians en masse continued in the decenniums following the disaster at Mohács; but these immigrants appeared in the country, no longer as refugees, but as freebooters accepting service as Turkish mercenaries. The last important Serbian invasion, which was preceded in 1687 by the immigration of the Bunyevaci, was due to the intervention of Leopold I., who after the disastrous issue of the campaign against the Turks, in 1690 offered homes in Southern Hungary to the Patriarch of Ipek, Arzen Cernović III., and his followers — 36,000 families in all. That these Serbian newcomers were regarded, not as permanent settlers, but only as temporary "guests" ("hospites"), is proved by the following passage of the "Diploma" issued in 1690 by Leopold I. — which was addressed to the Patriarch and adjusted the questions of certain privileges to be enjoyed by the Serbian refugees and of the sphere of jurisdiction of the Patriarch himself: — "We shall use every endeavour, when the opportunity comes, with the help of our victorious arms and of God, to repatriate the Serbian people invited to Our country as soon

as possible in its old home and to drive the enemy out of that home".

This first Diploma was followed immediately by the "*Privilegium Diploma*" issued in the August of the same year by which the Emperor-King Leopold I. extended the suzerainty enjoyed by the Patriarch in respect of Church and certain secular matters to all Members of the Greek Oriental Church living in Hungary and Croatia, in Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the same time exempting the refugee Serbians who had been settled provisionally in Southern Hungary from the payment of military taxes and tithes and from the obligation to provide quarters (*Béla Nádasdy, "Délszlávok", Budapest, 1934, p. 39*). In return, on the other hand, the Serbians were required to undertake the obligation to take up arms in case of emergency against the Emperor's enemies. The request submitted by the Serbian followers of Černović that a *permanent* place of settlement should be appointed for them, was not complied with until 1694; while the request submitted by them to the effect that the territories inhabited by them should be combined into a single large administrative unit subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch both in Church and in secular matters, was flatly refused, and the political dignity of the Serbian Woywode was simply abolished.

The Serbian settlers, who never ceased to show unrest and discontent, did not however abandon the struggle for the realisation of their extravagant demands, which were entirely devoid of legal or historical justification; that struggle — which at all times enjoyed the support of the Magyarphobe Vienna Court — culminated in the resolutions of the so-called "Illyrian" (Serbian) Congress convened by Leopold II. to meet at Temesvár in 1790 and later on in the notorious 10 Points of the "*Serbian National Assembly*" held at Karlovitz on May 13th.—15th., 1848 Among the things demanded by the "*Serbian nation*" (sic!) represented at the "Temesvár Diet" was *the complete separation of their political territory and of the public administration of that territory*, besides the adjustment of the material affairs of all the Serbians who after the fulfilment of the demands formulated by the Congress "would be compelled to continue

to remain under the rule of the Hungarian Constitution". This resolution passed with the approval and encouragement of Vienna appeared in an enlarged edition later in the resolution of the "*Serbian National Assembly*" held at Karlovitz on May 13th.—15th., 1848, the anti-constitutional, revolutionary and even treasonable attitude of which is shown *inter alia* by the fact that the Assembly was attended, not only by the Serbians of Hungary, but also by Serbians from the vassal Serbian principality, the latter including representatives of the university youth, and indeed — particularly as a result of the encouragement offered by Colonel Mayerhoffer, Imperial Consul in Belgrade — by armed volunteers too. But the National Assembly was attended also by John Stefanović, the confidential agent of Colonel Hess, Chief of the Vienna General Staff, as well as by a large number of Austrian officers of high rank who were by race Croats and Serbians and were serving in the march district, — that circumstance being evident proof of the absolutely open agreement existing as between the Vienna and the Serbian "nationality" of Hungary then preparing to rise in insurrection. On May 15th., the third day of its deliberations, the "*National Assembly*", referring to ancient privileges, elected Archbishop Joseph *Rayčić* to the office of Patriarch and Stephen *Suplikać*, an Austrian Colonel, to that of Serbian Waywode (Point 1.); then, in Point 2. of the resolution, the Assembly declared that the "Serbian nation" of Hungary, though subject to the House of Habsburg, was living as a politically free and independent nation within the framework of the Holy Crown of Hungary. In Point 3. the Assembly proclaimed the Banate of Syrmia, together with the march district and the district of the Tittel batalion, and the Banate, together with the march district and the privileged district of Kikinda, a Serbian Waywodeship ("*Voivodina*"). Point 4. proclaimed a political alliance between the Serbian Waywodeship and the united kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia on the basis of liberty and absolute equality of rights; while in Point 6. the Assembly proclaimed the national independence of the Rumanians of Hungary (*Quo jure?*) And finally (Point 10) a special committee was elected to represent the national

interests of the Serbian at the Slav Congress to be held at Prague!

*It is manifest that the resolutions of Karlovitz involved the Serbians of Hungary in a revolutionary step, those Serbians having voluntarily offered their services in defence of the House of Habsburg and of the "Gesammtmonarchie" idea — and in the interest of their own nationality — at the expense of the territorial integrity of Hungary. (Dr. Joseph Thim, "History of the Insurrection of the Serbians of Hungary in 1848/49", Budapest, 1940, pp. 93—94). That this offer of their services and this asseveration of loyalty to the dynasty was not sincere, is shown *inter alia* by a letter addressed by the new Patriarch Rayaćić, "caput nationis", to Hrabovsky, Government Commissioner at Pétervárad, in which that prelate threatens that in the event of their privileges not being acknowledged and of their not being adequately supported by the Imperial Court and the Austrian Government, the Serbians will be compelled to throw themselves into the arms of the Russians and the Turks. But that prelate also threatened Hrabovsky that "the frontier guards fighting in Italy would be recalled, the Slav peoples would be summoned to their assistance, the Serbians would make an alliance with the Italians and would appeal to Europe" (Thim, op. cit., p. 179). Another document showing the untrustworthy and double-faced character of this people is the letter addressed by the Patriarch Rayaćić, after the reverse sustained by General Jelaćić in Trans-Danubia on October 20th., 1848, to Danilyevsky, Russian Consul-General in Belgrade, in which letter that prelate writes *inter alia* that "In the present situation I do not see any way of escape for the Serbian people. What must Great Russia think of us? . . . We could feast on the crumbs that fall from her table. If she only speaks a single word, we are saved. Why could not Russia take us under her protection, if the Austrian Emperor is unable to offer us his? For us it would be better after all — following the example of the Serbian principality — to bear the Turkish yoke as protégés of Russia than to submit to that of the Hungarians!" (These words were written by the Serbian Patriarch about the Hungary which in Act XX. of 1848 ensured the Serbian*

nationality living in Hungary a Church and educational autonomy far exceeding that comprised in the "regulamenta" of Maria Theresa such as was without a parallel — particularly at that time — in Europe).

The duplicity with which the Serbians of Hungary masked their intention of uniting with the Serbians of the Serbian principality was not observed by the Austrian Government and the Vienna Cabal, who in their infatuation and blind hatred of the Magyars went so far as to persuade the young Emperor-King Francis Joseph — after his accession to power — on December 15th., 1848, to address to "*the Serbian nation of Hungary*" a proclamation in which the Emperor "rewarded the loyalty to the dynasty by approving of the title of Patriarch of Karlovitz and by confirming the election of a Waywode, and at the same time declared that he sanctioned an internal organisation ensuring the national development of the Serbian nation, and that after the end of the war he would grant that nation a national internal administration of its own on the basis of the equality of rights of all nationalities of the Monarchy" (*Dr. Joseph Thim, op cit.*, p. 271).

We see, then, that the endeavour of the Serbians of Hungary to secure the formation of a separate province was not realised until after the overthrow of the Hungarian struggle for independence in 1848/49; then, for the purpose of keeping the defeated Hungarians under control, the region known as the "*Voivodina*" was established as one of the provinces of the "*Gesammtmonarchie*" — a province consisting of the Bácska and the Banate which was administered from Vienna and after a precarious existence of barely ten years was already in 1860 re-incorporated in Hungary.

As may be seen also from this historical sketch of events, the territory of Serbian settlement was never a *corpus separatum* politically, being merely a territory which according to the development of political conditions was subject either to Hungarian or to Turkish overlordship and after the expulsion of the Turks was *for a long time under the control of the "Hofcommission"; "Hofdelegation" and Illyrian Chancellery functioning in Vienna and later — as*

a military frontier district — a military command, until finally it became incorporated once more in the Hungarian State both politically and administratively.

And this fact reduces to their proper value (or rather insignificance) also the "historical claims" to the possession and annexation of the southern districts of Hungary which Serbian historians and the Serbian memorandums submitted to the Peace Conference adduced and put forward in connection with Ban Belus, brother-in-law of the Hungarian king Béla II., with the despots George Brankovich and Vuk, with the rôle played by *Crni Ivan* or Jovan (Ivan the Black), as also with the settlement of *Cernović's* followers, with the Temesvár Serbian National Assembly of 1790 and with the Serbian insurrection in 1848/49.

II. ORIGINAL SCHEME OF A COMMON YUGOSLAV STATE

The political idea of a union of the Serbians and all Yugoslavs in a common State was first suggested by the bombastic Illyrism of *Gaj Ljudevit* and the Pan-Serbian movement started by *Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić* with the slogan "*Srbi svi i svuda*" (Serbians All and Everywhere), but was first given a definite and decided form in 1844 by a Serbian statesman, *Illje Garašanin*, who served as Minister of the small Serbian principality during the reign of *Alexander Karageorgević* and later during that of *Michael Obrenović*. The scheme proposed by *Garašanin* included *Old Serbia*, *Macedonia*, a part of *Albania*, *Bosnia*, *Herzegovina* and — as regions to be severed from Hungary — *Syrmia*, the *Bácska* and the *Banate* too, — i. e. practically the whole territory out of which after the end of the Great War the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes was created. This eminent political leader of the Serbian principality — then still weak and helpless — was for decenniums responsible for the control of the foreign policy of the Serbians. He was no mere dreamer, but was at the same time a fanatical nationalist; for — as he tells us in his voluminous *Memoirs* — he was fully aware that the proposed union of the Southern Slavs under the leadership

of the Serbian principality — a union to be established on the basis of the "nationality principle" and of Serbia's "historical rights" (*sic!*) — was calculated to endanger also the possessions of Austria, and that Austria would therefore be compelled to fight against the realisation of the proposed union with all the means at her disposal. With this fact in view, he from the very outset regarded as hopeless every attempt to bring about an agreement between Serbia and Austria; for "thereby *Serbia would be placing the noose on her own neck*".

In the sixties of last century Prince *Michael Obrenović* made *Garašanian's* scheme a constituent element of his programme as ruler and head of the Government. This programme was taken over by the Old Radical Party established by *Pašić*; and after the assassination of *Alexander Obrenović* on June 11th, 1903, when Russian influence assumed the whip-hand, also by King *Peter Karageorgević*, — for the moment, however, only *pro tunc interno*, seeing that an open proclamation of the scheme of Yugoslav union would have involved consequences of a grave character endangering the very existence of the State and of the new dynasty.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

III. STRUGGLE TO REALISE THE YUGOSLAV IDEA

The Serbian territorial demands and the catchword of Southern Slav national integration first became loud after the annexation in the autumn of 1908 of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serbian Press agitating wildly to further the popular ferment; for the Serbians had always regarded these two provinces as their own, both racially and in principle. The Serbians of Hungary were not greatly affected even by this intensive national ebullition. But the situation changed radically when Serbia emerged from the Balkan War of 1912/13 as victor, having greatly increased her territory and her prestige. *Then the Serbians of Southern Hungary propagated among themselves everywhere the slogan proclaimed by Belgrade that after the removal of the Turk, "one of the sick men of Europe", the time would shortly come to settle accounts with the other "sick man" — the Dual Monarchy!* Then the outbreak of the first Great War

finally let loose the passions which it had proved so difficult to keep under control; and when Pasic, at the meeting of the Skupshtina on December 7th, 1914, read the Manifesto of the Government — which was adopted with unanimous enthusiasm by the National Assembly — stating that "the Government regarded as its principal aim — its only aim in these fateful days — to ensure the successful issue of the great war, which the moment it began became a war also for the liberation and union of all our Serbian, Croatian and Slovene brethren who today are not free". The Southern Slavs who had fled from the territory of the Dual Monarchy began their underground work of intrigue. The first body to be formed — already in December, 1914, — was the Croatian Committee, which did not however have much to say and was already early in 1915 absorbed by the Yugoslav Committee formed under the presidency of Dr. *Ante Trumbić*, who later on was the first Yugoslav Foreign Minister. This Committee — working in the Entente States in agreement with the Czech Committee functioning under the leadership of *Masaryk* and *Beneš* — started a campaign of unbridled agitation and — as the results achieved show — initiated an effectual campaign of propaganda carried on with the utmost deliberation, enthusiasm and perseverance which is practically without a parallel and proved a great credit to its initiators.

IV. STATISTICAL WIZARDRY

Point e) of the first memorandum presented by the Yugoslav Committee — submitted to the French Government on May 6th and to the British Government on May 15th, 1915 — defined as "*Yugoslav national territories*" the part of Southern Hungary beyond the Drave (i. e. the southern parts of the *Counties of Vas, Zala, Somogy and Baranya*) and the former Serbian "*Voivodina*" (the *Bácska* and the *Banate*), advancing the plea (which is an absolute perversion of the truth) that "*in this whole territory our people is living in compact masses, practically without any admixture of other races (!?!)*" "The heterogeneity in evidence in the outside peripheries has resulted from intercourse with the

neighbouring peoples or is the artificial product of a hostile policy — a circumstance which does not however in any way prejudice the national character of this territory". And a little later the memorandum continues: — "In Hungary, to the north of the Mura, between that river and the river Raab, there are a further 100,000 Slavs, while to the north of the Drave and the Danube there are roughly 800,000 Serbo-Croats. This people, which is for the most part well-to-do and is in possession of fertile estates, cannot protect itself against the attempt to magyarise it by force expect by union with its racial brethren. By defending itself, it will also hold for the benefit of all the other Yugoslav territories the downs of the Bácska and the Banate, their indispensable granary."

This memorandum is a typical example of the unscrupulous machination and gross falsifications undertaken with a view to supporting the territorial "claims". The Bácska and the Banate are spoken of as a compact Serbo-Croat ethnical area, whereas in the Bácska, the Banate and the part of Baranya allotted to Yugoslavia the Serbian quota of the population in 1918 was only 28.9%; even inclusive of the Bunyevaci spoken of consistently as "Croats", the vast majority of whom were however at that time Magyars in feeling, and of all other Southern Slavs, the Slav element numbered only 451,590 souls (not 800,000) and represented only one third (to be quite exact, 34.1%) of the total population of 1,320,679 souls. Even if we add the 151,525 Croats and Vends living in the regions flanking and beyond the Mura, together with the Serbians, Croats, Bunyevaci, Shokatz and Vends left within the territory of Hungary as dismembered by the Treaty of Trianon, — the number of the same being according to the 1920 Hungarian Census altogether 77,224 —, the number of Southern Slavs living in pre-Trianon Hungary in the territories to the north of the Drave and the Danube did not exceed 686,339. And the memorandum speaks of forcible magyarisation in a region in which the Serbians enjoyed the most ideal Church and educational autonomy, in addition to what was veritable the privilege of "pocket posts" in the public administration. In this connection it should be noted, further, that in order to make more effective the territorial demands based upon the

nationality principle, the memorandums submitted later on, as all other propaganda material, — *inter alia* the memorandum presented in February, 1918, at the opening of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and also signed by Trumbić — carried their falsification of the data relating to the ethnical distribution of the population of Hungary so far as to make the quota of Magyars figure as merely one-third of the total population — as against the 54.5% shown by the 1910 Census (Professor *Ladislav Buday*, "*La Hongrie apres le traité de Trianon*", Paris, p. 46).

V. SHARP PRACTICE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION

Great importance was attached, in connection with the motivation of the territorial demands, to the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples, which combined with the results achieved on the battle-field to play what was practically the decisive part in dissolving the Dual Monarchy. The Corfu Agreement concluded on July 20th, 1917, between the Serbian Prime Minister, *Pasić*, and Dr. *Ante Trumbić*, President of the Yugoslav Committee, — which may be regarded as the original charter of the Yugoslav Kingdom —, in justification of the Yugoslav territorial claims bases its motivation in essence on the principle of self-determination. "*Our nation with three names*", — says the Declaration — "*which has suffered most from brute force and injustice and has made the greatest sacrifices on behalf of its right of free self-determination, has welcomed with general enthusiasm this sublime principle as the chief aim of this terrible war... Our nation does not demand anything that belongs to others; it merely demands what is its own, desiring its complete liberation and union. For that reason it rejects deliberately and decidedly every form of detailed motivation of its liberation and union. Our nation regards as an indivisible whole the problem of its liberation from the yoke of Austria-Hungary and its union with Serbia and Montenegro. In the light of the principle of the free self-determination of the peoples not a single part of this whole*

can be legally separated from the rest and annexed to any other State without the consent of the people itself."

We find argumentation of a similar character also in the Geneva Declaration containing the Agreement concluded between Premier *Pašić*, Anton *Korošec*, President of the Zagreb National Council, and Ante *Trumbić*, President of the Yugoslav Committee functioning in London, respecting the fundamental principles underlying the organisation of the Yugoslav State: — "*the frontiers between our country and the neighbouring States must be demarcated on the basis of the principle of self-determination*".

This was the attitude adopted also by Svetozar *Pribičević*, Vice-President of the Zagreb National Council, — who acted together with *Trumbić* as *spiritus rector* of the whole separatist movement — in the address made on November 9th, 1918, by him to the Hungarian Delegation sent to Zagreb: — "*We shall be delighted if the Hungarian Government makes possible, on the basis of the Wilsonian principles, the restoration and maintenance of the sincerest friendly relations with the neighbouring State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes, which must include the whole ethnographical territory of our people.*"

As to the manner in which the principle of self-determination was applied in practice, two weeks later we saw in the conduct of the "Great National Assembly" which proclaimed the separation from Hungary of the Hungarian South. This "*National Assembly*" was held on November 25th, 1918, at Ujvidék, on the initiative of the Serbian National Committee of Ujvidék; it was attended exclusively by so-called "representatives" of the Serbians, Bunyevaci and other Slavs, to the exclusion of the Magyars and Germans (representing 54.8% of the total population) and of the Rumanians (5.6%), who were also seriously concerned in the question of the Banate, — that meaning that altogether 60.6% of the inhabitants concerned were not represented at all. According to the report of the *rapporteur* of the committee of scrutineers, the protocols and powers of attorney received showed that 211 villages and towns in the Banate, the *Bácska* and the County of *Baranya* were represented

(out of a total number of 325) by 757 delegates, — that meaning that one-third of the villages and towns of the territory in question were excluded in advance from the deliberations and prevented from taking part in the passing of the resolution. Of the 757 delegates 583 were Serbians (the quota of population claimed by the Serbians would have entitled them to only 211 votes), 79 Bunyevaci, 3 Shokatz, 2 Croats, 62 Slovaks, 21 Ruthenians and — to at least to some extent give plausibility to the much stressed principle of self-determination, which was however never taken seriously — 6 Germans and 1 (*say, ONE*) Magyar!! This Magyar (see *Spomenica oslobodjenje Vojvodine* 1918, Novisad, 1929, p. 151, and *Peter Pekic*, "Povjenje Hrvata u Vojvodine do 1929 godine" — History of Croats of Voivodina down to 1929 —, Zagreb, 1930, p. 229) had not the remotest idea why he had to go to Ujvidék and take part in the "Great National Assembly". Composed as it was, the "Great National Assembly" represented only 39.4% of the total population, — though that did not prevent it unanimously, and in the name of the whole population, accepting the following resolution: — "The Banate, the Bácska and Baranya, within the frontiers demarcated by the Balkan Army of the Entente, this twenty-fifth day of November, 1918, at the "Great National Assembly", on the basis of the sublime principle of the self-determination of the peoples, declare themselves independent and proclaim their separation from Hungary alike as a State and both politically and economically. As a consequence the Great National Assembly herewith establishes the Great National Council, the executive organ of which shall be the National Government office."

It is in any case characteristic of the spirit and general construction of the peace edicts that this Yugoslav conspiracy carried out in defiance of the right of self-determination of the peoples and to the exclusion of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the "Voivodina" — as was the case with the other similar floutings of law and equity — did not in the least embarrass the persons responsible for drafting the Peace Edict of Trianon when, in the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand they ventured to include — by way of justification of the territorial provisions — the plea (devoid of all moral

and legal justification) that "it was superfluous to ordain any plebiscite, seeing that they were convinced that any appeal to the people, though it might ensure an absolute sincerity of opinion, would not lead to any other result, than that which the Powers had been impelled to adopt after a thorough investigation of the ethnographical conditions and national aspirations of Central Europe. *The will of the peoples* was manifested in the months of October and November, 1918, — at the time of the collapse of the Dual Monarchy — when the nationalities that had so long been oppressed united with their racial brethren."

For the purpose of illustrating even more strikingly the abuse of the principle and the perversion of the right of self-determination and the flouting of justice, it will suffice to cite a few characteristic passages from the various representations submitted by the National Government Office to the Belgrade Government: — "The population of this territory has consented to union with the Serbian Kingdom, not only because that was the natural wish of a people the vast majority of which are Serbians and Croats (!?!), but also because the democracy of the Serbian Kingdom and the settled state of that country's agrarian conditions is the best guarantee that this people will finally and definitively be liberated from the rule of the privileged classes and will be able to begin a new life in freedom and in an enlightened democracy. The attraction exercised on the people of this territory by the democratic system and settled agrarian conditions of Serbia, is shown also by the constantly repeated declarations made by the Magyar and German inhabitants of the Bácska, the Banate and Baranya, all of which are in favour of incorporation in the Serbian Kingdom and in the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes". It is really superfluous to add that this assertion regarding the Magyars and Germans is merely what is usually called a "fabrication".

Special interest attaches to the representation made by the National Government office on December 4th, 1918, in which that Office — apart from communicating the declaration of separation and announcing its own accession to office — requested the Government of the Yugoslav Kingdom (in order to ensure the uninterrupted conduct of public affairs

and to procure the support of the occupying Serbian troops and of the troops of the Allied Powers) to acknowledge the National Government Office as the administrative authority in control of the Bácska, the Banate and the occupied territory of Baranya and — in order to ensure uniform procedure — to inform all the commanders of the Serbian, French and British troops of the fact. The reason why particular significance attaches to this document is that it provides palpable evidence of the fact that the provisions of the Armistice concluded by General Diaz on November 3rd, 1918, and of the Belgrade Military Convention of November 13th *stipulating that the civil administration of the occupied territories should until the conclusion of peace remain in Hungarian hands*, were thrown to the winds with the knowledge and the approval of the Entente. The nationality principle was flouted and the right of self-determination of the peoples trampled under foot; and in like manner this provision of the Convention — the most important of all from the Hungarian point of view — was treated as a mere scrap of paper. But even more serious still was the absolutely arbitrary military action by which the Serbians, defying the measures taken by the boundary commissions which should have been binding on them, effected forcible adjustments of the frontier to the advantage of the Southern Slav State by force of arms.

Equally serious was the injury to the interests of Hungary in respect of the question of the Vend region re-christened "Prekomurje". As stated in the essay on the "*Past and Present of the Vends*" by Alexander Mikola, (pp. 18, 24, 25 and 28) — this essay being based upon an article by Dr. Ivan Zolger, Yugoslav Delegate to the Peace Conference, published in the June 2nd, 1921, issue of the "*Slovenski Narod*" —, this territory originally allotted to Hungary by the Supreme Council was played into the hands of the Yugoslavs by M. Tardieu, the relevant decision being arbitrarily modified for the purpose, — and that despite the fact that in the autumn of 1921 the Boundary Commission had proposed the re-incorporation in Hungary of 34 of the 100 villages in question.

THE RUMANIAN INTERNAL SITUATION STRAINED TO BREAKING-POINT

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

An issue of the "*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*" that appeared about the beginning of May contains an article, entitled "The End of the Iron Guard", dealing with the situation in Rumania. It states that the days of that organization are numbered. The article declares that the Iron Guard is slowly falling to pieces, and that its leaders expect judgment to be pronounced on it very soon.

But the Swiss paper's correspondent is too optimistic in his opinion of the Rumanian situation. The fact is that *the internal situation in that country has again taken a critical turn*. It cannot be denied that after the Iron Guard rebellion in January was quelled, or rather, after the success of the plebiscite, there was every sign that General Antonescu was master of the situation. For two and a half months nothing occurred to disturb the work of construction. During this time, however, General Antonescu failed to create another political organization to take the place of Legionism, — nor has he succeeded in doing so since, — although many attempts were made to establish co-operation with the National Peasant Party (by way of Mihalache) and the National Liberal Party (by way of Bratianu). When it became known that Horia Sima had again offered to co-operate with Antonescu and that the latter, in his reply, which was made public, had stated his refusal to have anything more to do with "the betrayers of the State", unrest again broke out in Rumania, and now General Antonescu has been forced to open hostilities against the political Party with which for five

months he has managed Rumania's affairs. *Today the Iron Guards consider Antonescu as much their enemy as they did King Carol formerly.* Antonescu has gone into action all along the line against this fresh wave of Iron Guard terror. It has been officially announced that new conspiracies have been discovered and that the number of subversive pamphlets has assumed gigantic proportions. Antonescu's recent proclamation to the people and the fact that the Iron Guards who were arrested were put to death without mercy, have caused smouldering passions to flare up anew. The Iron Guards have again begun to organize throughout the whole country and the threat of civil war again menaces Rumania.

Day by day the internal situation produces exciting events of an increasingly curious nature. A strict summons was issued publicly by the Supreme Military Court calling upon Horia Sima and his associates — the former Iron Guard Ministers included — to appear within three days of issue before the Military Court to clear themselves of the accusations levelled against them. In an announcement published in all the Rumanian newspapers, the military prosecutor stated that the accused had failed to make their appearance and this was regarded as a confession that they were guilty of the crimes against the State attributed to them; they have therefore been pronounced guilty of participation in the Iron Guard rebellion of January last. *Some of the Iron Guard leaders on the Prosecutor's list are in hiding in Rumania, but the greater number have fled to foreign countries. The announcement has created a great deal of excitement throughout the whole of Rumania.*

Other things that gave rise to much unrest were certain Government measures and proclamations destined "to ensure public order", one of which was a Law threatening with condign punishment all Rumanian subjects who do not pay due respect to the Rumanian flag. This decree affects

the Germans of Rumania in the first place, for it is well known that they are not in the habit of hanging out the Rumanian national flag. Another Government pronouncement that made a curious impression was the statement that "it is an untrue and malevolent report that famine threatens Rumania". An event also that took place at the Jubilee Celebrations on 10th May has caused uneasiness. For at the celebrations in Bucharest university students sang prohibited Legionist songs. Report has it that one hundred students were arrested and that the Government has threatened to close the University and the colleges.

According to the above, the political barometer in Rumania is again standing at "stormy". The crisis, however, is not confined to internal politics; *Rumania's foreign policy is also of a contradictory nature*. Virulent attacks against the Vienna Award continue to appear in the Rumanian Press. In his speech on 10th May General Antonescu again encouraged the people to rebel against that Award. *What he said was: "Since national unity was created this is the first 10th of May that is marked by a sense of humiliation, sacrifice and pain. But we must not fall into despair. Let us look at ourselves, our friends and our foes and declare that the Rumanian nation cannot perish."* He then called upon the army to be brave and self-sacrificing and help to rebuild Rumania. When King Michael was invested with the rank of a general, Antonescu handed the marshal's baton to the young King with the following words: "On behalf of the Rumanian Army I hand your Majesty the marshal baton of your Majesty's unforgettable grandfather King Ferdinand. Today it is the symbol of unity, tomorrow may it be the symbol of the union of all Rumanians."

It should be mentioned as typical of the situation that an official day of mourning has been prescribed for all schools in memory of Yorga by the authorities under whose

administration Yorga and Madgearu were assassinated. Nor can we let pass without comment the pamphlet recently published by Vasile Netea, a Rumanian schoolmaster. To this pamphlet entitled "Este Istoria Transilvaniei un Studiu inutil?" (Is the study of Transylvania's history a superfluous subject?) a preface has been written by Professor Lupas, an authority on the history of Transylvania and a member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences. The author insists that the history of Transylvania must be taught in much greater detail in the schools that was customary in the past, and he lays emphasis on the points of view according to which it must be taught. Here it must be added that the history of Transylvania is being taught solely from the point of view of Rumanian revisionist propaganda. This is proved by the instructions issued under Order No. 238.853 of 26th November 1940 by the Rumanian Ministry of Education, in terms of which "*Rumanian history and geography are to be taught in classes III, IV and VII, without regard to the present arbitrarily drawn, unjust and temporary frontiers. A consciousness of our right to the detached areas and the hope of the restoration of the old frontiers must be instilled in the pupils, as well as a determination to struggle for the realization as soon as possible of that aim*". Thus, in the Rumanian schools Transylvanian history is not regarded as an educational subject but as a means of propaganda.

HUNGARIAN EDUCATION IN SLOVAKIA

BY

LOUIS KARPATY

Another major grievance, incalculable in its consequences, has been inflicted on the Magyars of Slovakia. The Hungarian Teachers' Training College in Pozsony is being closed.

In the present political circumstances the closing of a school is not a great event; but for the Magyar minority in Slovakia, which numbers over a hundred thousand souls, it is *a vital matter of the greatest importance*. We must therefore note it and discuss it, and must clearly point out the consequences it is likely to have for the Magyars of Slovakia.

Hitherto the Magyars had two higher-grade schools, the grammar-school and the State Teachers' Training College in Pozsony. But these schools were very far away from most of the Magyar settlements. The Magyars of Eastern Slovakia were scarcely in a position to send their children to those schools for education in their own mothertongue. For this reason the two schools in Pozsony were practically dependent for their support on the Magyars of Pozsony and its surroundings. But only about one-third (some 40.000) of the Magyars of Slovakia live in or near Pozsony. The rest, the people of Nyitra and Nagymihály and their surroundings, were debarred from sending their children to Hungarian secondary schools. The major problems of Hungarian minority education arose from this fact. How would it have been possible to solve the problem of education in their mother-tongue for the children who could not go to Pozsony? *The solution would have been to establish Hungarian secondary schools in Nyitra and Nagymihály. But for this to happen the Slovak Government would have had to adopt a different minority policy, instead of which it persisted in the old one.* When it came to solving its cultural problems, the Government wholly ignored its hundred thousand Magyars. It even

went farther, for the anti-minority attitude of the Slovak Administration has made it impossible for the Magyars to keep the schools supported mainly by their own generosity. This is the position in the case of the Pozsony Hungarian Teachers' Training College too, for it should be known that that school was maintained primarily by minority Magyars, the Slovak Government merely playing a secondary rôle in its maintenance. *The State, then, instead of promoting and encouraging minority education by establishing new schools, is closing those in existence.*

In the present instance the school being closed is one the importance of which for the Magyars of Slovakia is wellnigh incalculable. It was in this school that minority Magyar teachers for the elementary schools were trained. If now it will be closed, it will not be possible to replace the Magyar teachers who die or retire. It logically follows that the Magyar pupils who go in for teaching will have to obtain their certificates in a Slovak college. They will not be taught in their own tongue, and we may well ask how they will be able to teach the Magyar elementary pupils in Hungarian. In these circumstances the next stage will be that Slovak teachers who do not speak Hungarian at all, or speak it badly, will be sent to the Magyar elementary schools. The result of this will be denationalization, assimilation, and assimilation in its most ruthless form, which operating in the schools will, by tearing the children away from the Magyar sphere of culture, reduce the numbers of the Magyars of Slovakia.

How great is the danger expressed in figures?

Before replying to this question it should be stated that *the number of Magyar children who for lack of Hungarian schools are forced to attend non-Hungarian ones is already very great.* Now for the question itself. The Magyars of Slovakia numbering over a hundred thousand souls have only 36 Hungarian elementary schools with 103 classes. These schools are all overcrowded, and the teachers have to make superhuman efforts to cope with their work.

And now, *the step taken by the Slovak Government is in point of fact an attack on these 36 schools, which in Slovakia are the last outposts of Hungarian culture.*

The gravity of the position and the cruelty of the Government's measure is doubly emphasized by the circumstance that Hungary grants the fullest liberty in cultural and other fields to all her minorities, including of course the Slovaks of Hungary. Whereas therefore the Slovaks of this country are free to establish schools and maintain cultural institutions, in Slovakia a death sentence has been pronounced on Hungarian education.

The joint Parents' Society of the Hungarian grammar-school and Teachers' Training College in Pozsony met on 3rd May to discuss the problem of the training of Magyar teachers. The conclusion arrived at by the meeting throws a very sad light on conditions in Slovakia. When the president announced that in future there would be no Hungarian Teachers' training college in the country, consternation was naturally general. The matter was debated and in principle it was decided that representations should be made to the Government demanding that the school should be maintained. The general opinion, however, was that it was useless to do anything, for the Ministry of Education was determined not to maintain it on any account. When the College has been closed all its assets will pass into the possession of the Slovak Teachers' Training College.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

HUNGARIAN LIFE BEGINS AGAIN IN SOUTHERN HUNGARY

The lion's share of the credit for the liberation of Southern Hungary from Yugoslav rule is due to the Hungarian army. It was but natural, therefore, that the regiments returning home after the campaign were welcomed with scenes of wild enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Budapest and other Hungarian towns. With surprise, delight, admiration and a sense of relief they saw that the unselfish generosity and self-denying efforts of the nation had been successful in creating in so short a time such a well-equipped army, despite the distress for which Trianon was responsible. All through the country there was rejoicing to see that *Hungary is no longer a little country even from a military point of view; that her soldiers are no longer an army without weapons; that they are an army well-equipped with all modern devices, an army personifying to an increased degree all the ancient Magyar military virtues.*

In regained Southern Hungary military administration paved the way for the arrival of the civil authorities. In the towns and villages where a few days previously bands of fanaticized, murderous Chetniks had robbed, plundered and assassinated the inhabitants, *order was restored on the day that the Hungarian army marched in.* The trams were set going, the water-works and lighting plants repaired, the shops opened, and normal life began again. For the first time since twenty-two years, on 27th April the first passenger train to the Bácska that had not to cross the Hungarian frontier reached its destination, and this despite the fact that a few days earlier dislodged rails and blown — up railway bridges witnessed to the destruction wrought by the Serbs. For the present pontoon-bridges are doing duty for those destroyed. *Already on the third day of the Hungarian occupation tugs and barges started down the Danube from Budapest. On 12th May 12 fiscal offices and 99 post offices opened in the region between the Danube and the Tisza, 1 fiscal office and 33 post offices in the Mura district and 23 post offices in the Baranya Triangle. Telegraphic communication was also established, and a few days later the parcels post and telephone service began to operate.*

As soon as military administration was established, public supply offices were opened. Measures entirely free of red tape were immediately taken to provide industry with the needful raw materials. *It was announced that no reduction in wages would*

be permitted. Industrial works began to produce again and agricultural labourers were provided with occupation. Fortunately live stock is plentiful in the regained areas, the granaries are well filled, the amount of sown land is normal, crops promise to be good and damage by floods is minimal. The Hungarian Government at once began to pay the salaries of public officials and the pensions of retired employees and war cripples, for the present according to the scale prescribed by the Yugoslav laws.

PIERRE DOMINIQUE'S ARTICLE ABOUT THE REGENT OF HUNGARY

Pierre Dominique, former chief of the French Press Service, published a very interesting article in the May 2nd issue of the "Journal". In it among other things he establishes the following facts: —

"In 1918 Hungary had a great naval commander. *He was the only man in the whole Dual Monarchy who could boast of successes on the seas.* That man was Admiral Horthy, the same whom in 1941 we find at the helm of the Hungarian State, and to whom Hungarian unity owes its existence. He has been the ruler of the country for twenty-two years now. This fact explains the results. "Our army has marched into Yugoslavia" — was announced by the Hungarian wireless. Yes, it marched into Yugoslavia, as in 1938 it marched into Czecho-Slovakia, and marched into Transylvania a few months ago. All these three actions were peaceful conquests, for the Regent of Hungary, though himself a military man by profession, does not desire military glory. *What he desires is results.*"

After these introductory remarks Pierre Dominique proceeds to describe the various phases of Admiral Horthy's activities. He shows that the restoration of the Hungarian areas was the natural consequence of the Regent's policy. The article closes with the following passage: —

"The Magyars are returning by slow degrees to their ancient national fireside . . . This is how things stand today. The historical lesson of the past twenty-two years is that no nation is ever vanquished so long as it clings patriotically to its traditions, is capable of choosing a leader and, having chosen him, of following him loyally. Admiral Horthy knows how to lead his people and the Magyars have proved capable of following him loyally. *It is almost twenty-three years now since Hungary was forced to sign the Treaty of Trianon.* Since then the country has gone through much, including a Bolshevist revolution with all its bloodshed and terror. Hungary, which in the Middle Ages was called the bulwark of Christianity, which fought the Turks for such a long period of time, and which dared to make a stand even against Jenghis

Khan, preferring to be trampled under foot rather than surrender, has borne everything and recovered from everything. How was this possible? It was possible because at the bottom of the abyss into which it was cast there was a man who seized it and slowly — I repeat the word — slowly carried it with him out of the slough of despair. The patience of Admiral Horthy has made it possible for a new generation to take part in the work of reconstruction. This new generation, that knew nothing of a defeat which is gradually fading away in the historical perspective, is now, led by a few veterans, on its way towards the South, as six months ago it marched towards the East. The whole, I venture to say, has been a masterpiece. *A masterpiece of brains and patience*, a great political achievement that will be remembered by history as a lesson to nations and their leaders."

ONE OF THE MOST MODERN HEALTH INSTITUTES IN EUROPE

When throughout the whole of Europe war rages and the frontiers around us are ablaze, it is with particular pride that we report the opening in Kassa of a new health institute representing peaceful development and humanitarian progress. This new institute is merely one link in the chain of the splendid work being done *through the instrumentality of the Green Cross* by the Government, with the generous support of the population, to improve the health of the Hungarian villages. The Green Cross has been labouring indefatigably to this end for ten years now. Scattered all over the country there are 600 health institutes with 800 physicians and over 1000 nurses, who care for the health and welfare of the people under their charge. The Kassa health institute is not only the largest and most modern of the kind in this country, but is also without a rival in the whole of Europe. It is an important stone in the edifice of public hygiene. Its organization extends to all fields of human life. Besides consulting-rooms, observation wards and first-aid departments there are a series of offices for those who are engaged in spiritual, legal, psycho-technical and social work. The medical care of school-children, medical advice about sports, the care of the indigent, advice concerning the choice of a career and to those about to be married, are among the most modern social requirements of everyday life. All the latest triumphs of technical medical progress have been installed in the departments for the treatment of venereal diseases and tuberculosis and for the care of mothers and infants, as also in the dentistry department. A day-nursery for children whose parents are forced to leave them when they go to work, has also been established in the Kassa health institute.

Thanks to the same splendid social movement that erected this new health institute, the number of infants who died in 1940 was 25.000 short of the infant mortality figures 20 years ago, and 11.000 fewer people died of tuberculosis. It is also due to this movement that *a much smaller number of children die of diphtheria in Hungary than in any other country in Europe.* At the opening ceremony the Mayor of Kassa was fully justified in proudly announcing that "We want to have as few rickety children as possible, and instead of pale and wan faces to see the roses of health glowing on the cheeks of the little ones."

THE SUMS LENT DURING THE PAST FOUR YEARS TO
SET YOUNG MEN OF THE EDUCATED CLASSES UP IN
BUSINESS APPROACH 17.000.000 PENGŐ

Four years ago the Hungarian Government created a National Board, the task of which was to issue to deserving young men of the educated classes loans that would enable them to set themselves up in independent businesses. It is interesting to note *that the number of loans requested by university graduates and the holders of secondary-school leaving certificates is gradually decreasing, while more and more are being asked for by young men with lower-grade certificates.* In 1937 the percentage of applicants with lower-grade certificates was 15, the year after it was 57 and during the past year and a half it has reached 80 per cent. During this last year and a half the Board has granted an aggregate sum of 4.600.000 pengő to 1176 applicants, 724.000 to university graduates, 1.060.000 to holders of secondary-school leaving certificates and 2.800.000 to young men with lower-grade certificates.

In the Budget for 1941 Parliament voted a sum of 2.400.000 pengő for this purpose. Besides this, the Government has empowered the Treasury to take up a loan of 5.000.000, so that *this year the sums available will amount to about 7.500.000 pengő, and the total since the action was started four years ago will approach 17.000.000.* The entire loan of 5.000.000 is to be spent on setting non-Jewish men of the restored areas up in business.

The action has considerably exceeded its original dimensions and is now playing an important rôle throughout the country in establishing a new class of non-Jewish commerce. The work being done in Subcarpathia by the Government Commissioner is worthy of special attention. A detailed register of the entire province has been compiled and the work of organizing non-Jewish trade is being successfully carried on. During the past eighteen budgetary months over 46.000 petitions were received by the Board and 65.000 letters despatched from its office.

ORGANIZATION OF THE YOUNG RUTHENIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

A notable movement has been inaugurated in the public life of Subcarpathia. The young Ruthenian intelligentsia have begun to organize, in order to introduce freshness and vitality into Ruthenian public life. In this movement the racial consciousness and creative power of the Ruthenian people, which had been dormant for the past twenty years, have been awakened and are now striving to effect a social reorganization and promote the free development of Ruthenian culture. Any movement of this kind was naturally crushed by the authorities during the era of Czech occupation, but in the past few months the youth of Ruthenia have been discussing their programme of work with a growing impatience to begin it. The leaders of the movement, teachers, physicians, lawyers, etc., have created an independent organization of the educated youth of Subcarpathia. *The movement itself is based on the St. Stephen conception of the State; its standpoint is that Ruthenian and Magyar interests are identical; it does not occupy itself with current politics, but confines its activity solely to social and cultural affairs.*

On 30th April the leaders of the movement paid their respects to the Hungarian Premier. In the name of the delegation M. Stephen Fodor addressed M. de Bárdossy, who replied as follows:

"I cannot tell you how pleased I am with your visit and with the words addressed to me by your spokesman on behalf of the youth of Ruthenia. In those words I hear an echo of the tones of Rákóczi's Ruthenians, of the people known to us as "*gens fidelissima*". I am also touched by the fact that no alteration of the name was made in the address on the paper containing your signatures which was intended for my predecessor. *In that fact I see a symbol of your loyalty.* That paper was intended as a gesture addressed to the nation by way of its Premier. It was not addressed to his person, but to the nation as a whole, which gladly welcomes your intention and determination to support the Government in all its endeavours. I greet you with brotherly love, and with my whole heart pray that God's blessing may rest on your efforts, intentions and labours."

The Premier's words were loudly applauded by the whole delegation.

RUMANIAN SCHOOLS IN TRANSYLVANIA

An article recently published in "*Le Temps*" (March 24, 1941) under the title "*La vraie Roumanie*", from the pen of a certain M. Leon Thevenin, is a curious piece of Rumanian propaganda, particularly as the French newspaper has hitherto

always been able to preserve a certain unbiased attitude in spite of its express sympathy for Rumania. We do not wish to enter into a discussion of such empty phrases as, for instance, the following: "It is particularly in Bukovina and Moldavia that you find peasants who can be proud without ever telling a lie and show respect without a tendency to flattery". Nor do we wish to criticize the author's remarks concerning the autumn revolution in Rumania, by which he endeavours to relieve the Rumanian element from the burden of responsibility. We propose to confine ourselves to the subject of minority schools in Rumania and to compare the author's description with the actual situation.

Among other things, the author states that during the Hungarian régime the Rumanians were not allowed to have more than one single secondary school and one teachers' college, but no institution of an academic grade; whereas, he says the Magyars in Rumania had 17 secondary schools, 25 colleges, 649 elementary schools, 6 teachers' colleges, agricultural schools, 3 commercial schools and 4 theological colleges, in spite of their comparatively small numbers in proportion to the other elements of the population. In this connection we would note that as early as 1754, when in Rumania proper there were not even elementary schools, in Hungarian Transylvania — at Balázsfalva — the Rumanians already had a secondary school of their own. And before the Treaty of Trianon the Rumanians in Transylvania had 6 secondary schools (at Balázsfalva, Belényes, Brád, Naszód and 2 at Brassó), 6 teachers' colleges, 4 senior schools — i. e. altogether 16 institutions of secondary grade — and 7 theological colleges. As regards the number of elementary schools, let us quote from Prof. Ghibu's book, published in 1915 under the title "Viata si organizatia...", where we find that in 1914 the Rumanians in Hungarian Transylvania had 2901 public elementary schools.

For the sake of justice we hasten to admit that in the year 1936—37 the Magyar minority in Rumania had 17—18 secondary schools (grammar schools and high schools), 4 commercial schools, 5 teachers' colleges, 3 training colleges for infant-school mistresses, 4 professional schools (all of them denominational, though) and 764 elementary schools (out of these: 250 Roman Catholic, 475 Reformed, 33 Unitarian and 6 Lutheran schools). Besides these there were 44 State schools provided with a Hungarian section. It must be added also that even the notoriously inaccurate Rumanian statistics admit that the number of Magyars in Transylvania was over a million and a half; which means that a million and a half Magyars had the above number of schools. On the other hand, the re-annexed areas of Transylvania contain 1,200,000 Rumanians, who have 1,345 elementary schools, 5 secondary schools (Naszód, Beszterce,

Nagyvárad and 2 in Kolozsvár), 1 high school for girls (Nagyvárad), 3 teachers' colleges (2 at Szamosujvár and 1 at Nagyvárad) and, lastly, one household school for girls at Kolozsvár.

THIRTY-TWO HEALTH INSTITUTES OPENED IN TRANSYLVANIA

Much thought is being devoted by the Hungarian Government to the organization of public health arrangements in the restored parts of Transylvania. Public health institutions are now being organized. Combatting the diseases common among the peasantry confronts the Administration, especially in the restored areas, with a difficult task. The medical officers of *Nagyvárad, Szatmárnémeti, Zilah, Kolozsvár, Dés, Beszterce, Máramarossziget, Marosvásárhely Csíkszereda, Sepsiszentgyörgy* and *Székelyudvarhely* have now completed their lists of health institutes. Altogether 32 have commenced work in the restored areas of Transylvania within the last few days. The lighting and heating of the premises is supplied by the capitals of the counties, the towns and the larger villages.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE YEAR FROM 10TH APRIL 1940 TO 10TH APRIL 1941.

A report dealing with the situation in the economic year ended on 14th April 1941 has been issued by the Hungarian Institute of Economic Research. In the introductory part of that report it is stated that the international economic situation has been seriously changed by the war, in consequence of which Europe is suffering from a dearth of raw materials, while at the same time the majority of the markets in overseas countries are adversely affected by the difficulties attending the disposal of their surplus stocks of raw materials.

In Hungary decisive factors in the economic situation are: a lack of raw materials, poor crops, large investments in armaments and the increasing control of economic activity. Because of the poor grain crops the country for the past few months has been badly provided with agricultural produce; fodder has also been scarce. In consequence the fattening of animals for the market and the supplies of meat, etc. have suffered in every branch of animal farming.

Although the price level of agricultural produce and the products of animal breeding rose by 36 per cent compared with the year before in the first quarter of the economic year now ended and by 41 per cent in the second, the income of the agricultural population was 9 per cent less in the third quarter of the year 1940/41 and 6 per cent less in the last quarter than it was in 1939/1940. Besides bad crops and the unfavourable aspects of animal breeding, another thing that contributed towards this decline was that the transport of produce to the markets was much slower than in the preceding year.

In spite of the difficulty of obtaining raw materials, industrial production — taken as a whole — *improved during the last months of the economic year. In the last three months of 1940 the index number representing the volume of industrial production (1929 being taken as = 100) was 169.5, which was only a trifle below the index number for the last three months of 1939, when it reached its peak point — 172.0.* This satisfactory result was due to the circumstance that the more or less sharp decline of production noticeable in certain industries (the cotton industry, the rubber industry, certain branches of the chemical industry, etc.) and caused by the dearth of raw materials, was counter-

balanced by increased production in a few other branches of industry. *In the greater number of industries it was possible to maintain the high level of production, or at least prevent its falling off by more than a trifle.*

In the last three months of 1940 activity in the building of dwelling-houses was 50 per cent greater than in the same period of the previous year. The production of building materials had risen very considerably; mines were also producing more, and it proved possible to increase production in certain industries engaged in the manufacture of articles of consumption, especially in those that used raw materials easily acquired either at home or from neighbouring countries. There were also branches of industry which, independent of the trade boom and despite the dearth of foreign raw materials, were able to largely increase their output. The manufacture of beer and other spirituous drinks, for instance, owed its prosperity to the disastrous failure of the vintage and the consequently high price of wines.

After reaching a peak point in the middle of 1940 production in the heavy industries fell off by 5 per cent by the end of the year, but even so in the last quarter of the year it was only 3 per cent lower than during the same period in 1939.

Employment of labour developed very satisfactorily; the highest level of employment in the manufacture of factory and hand-made articles was reached in the June of 1940, when 845.000 persons were employed in the Trianon areas of Hungary. *In the December of 1940 that number was 802.000 as compared with 789.000 in the previous December.* It must, however, be noted that from the middle of 1940 on the hours of work in certain branches of industry were shorter and that the amount of overtime work done in others was less.

The satisfactory state of industrial employment, the voluntary raising in the second six months of 1940 of the standard wages of the workers employed in certain branches of industry, and the compulsory raising thereof in October, resulted in a nominal increase in the earnings of the urban populations. *With a 3 per cent rise in the number of employed the aggregate normal income of the labouring classes in the first quarter of 1940 was 11 per cent larger than a year previously, while with a 6 per cent increase in the number of persons employed in clerical work, the income of commercial clerks was 18 per cent higher.* As, however, the cost of living had risen out of all proportion to the nominal increase in emoluments, the actual value of the earnings of the labouring classes has declined by 5 per cent, while that of the clerks has risen slightly. The purchasing value of the salaries paid to State employees had also declined by 5 per cent, so that in the aggregate the real income of the urban populations was 4 per cent less than it was a year earlier.

The execution of the armaments programme was principally

responsible for the boom in industry that has been steady since the middle of 1938. Besides this, another thing that up to the middle of 1940 contributed to increase industrial production was that the demand of both the urban and agricultural populations for manufactured articles was growing with their increased earnings. In the second six months of 1940 the armaments programme continued to supply industry with at least an undiminished number of contracts, but the other factor, the increased demand of the population for manufactured articles, no longer contributed to maintain the high level of industrial occupation. For by then the real value of the earnings of the urban populations had sunk and the real value of the income of the agricultural populations had fallen by 15 or 20 per cent, partly owing to the above-mentioned decrease in the sale of agricultural produce, partly because certain articles important for agriculture had grown dearer.

In the present circumstances it is very difficult to predict how the economic situation is likely to develop. It is probable — according to the findings of the Hungarian Institute of Economic Research — that owing to the floods and subsoil water agricultural production this year will not show any improvement, and that there will be a falling off in the manufacture of numerous industrial articles because of the dearth of foreign raw materials, the stocks of which are becoming exhausted. It is however hoped, that the inevitable decline caused by the scarcity of raw materials will be to some extent checked by the use of synthetic materials, an increase of orders due to an extension of the five years' plan, the investments made necessary by the revival of the manufacture of hand-made articles and the growing demands of other European countries. It is not very probable that there is any danger of a greater decline in industrial production, for the Government is making various plans to cope with any danger of unemployment by means of large public orders.

GREAT SUCCESS OF THE BUDAPEST INTERNATIONAL FAIR

On 2nd May the Budapest International Fair was opened as usual. The high standard attained by this rich and impressive exhibition is again proof that *Hungary's efforts to keep pace with modern progress have not been in vain*, and that the troubles and difficulties with which a Europe in the throes of war has to contend were not able to check that progress. It is also proof that Hungarian industry is able to provide for the wants of an enlarged country, and that Hungary is prepared to cope both with the tasks devolving upon her owing to the war and

with the new, increased demands of economy in peace-time. Budapest is the natural centre of the Danube Valley, and *this Fair has drawn the attention of the producing countries of the world to its increasing economic and cultural importance.* What most impressed visitors to the Fair was the section allotted to the restored areas of enlarged Hungary, the rich variety of high-class goods from Upper Hungary, Subcarpathia and the restored parts of Transylvania. *A place was even assigned to the industry and commerce of Southern Hungary, which had returned to the mother-country only a few days before the opening of the Fair.* M. Charles Szendy, Mayor of Budapest, was fully entitled to say in his opening speech that this Fair was of greater significance than those preceding it, *because it gave the Hungarians an added sense of confidence to see that the country was able to turn out so perfect an exhibition even in those troublous times.*

This year's Fair, which represents the efforts of a population of almost 15.000.000, surpassed all preceding ones both in dimension and the quality of its exhibits. The finest of Hungary's industrial products were placed on exhibition by 1500 firms. It was admitted by foreign visitors that *few international fairs have ever offered so spectacular a sight and such a rich variety of exhibits as did this year's Budapest Fair.* A whole town, with paved streets, laid out squares and large buildings, was created for this 11 days' exhibition. The chief building in the "Square of Nations" was the German pavilion. This pavilion cost the most to build — each square meter of its site represented an expenditure of 100 pengő. In it over 60 German firms exhibited their extremely tastefully arranged and ingenious wares. This year the Soviet was represented for the first time. The Russian pavilion was the largest of all, covering an area of more than 1000 square meters. The contents comprised agricultural machines, seed, leather goods, furs and minerals. Very ornamental and interesting were the two Italian pavilions built in the Fascist style, with their rich and valuable contents. A beautiful model, 18 meters long, of the famous railway station at Milan was also on exhibition. The Swiss pavilion in its classical simplicity was reminiscent of the Engadine, and the Slovak pavilion, built solely of wood, housed a select collection of exhibits.

In the "Street of Ministries" the most striking buildings were the pavilions of the Ministry of Economics and the Tourist Office. In the latter, which was most tastefully furnished, models of the sights of Transylvania were on view. An interesting innovation was the "Street of Centenarians" in which no firm was allotted a place except such as could boast of having been established for over a century. In the „Square of Present-day Industry" all the valuable products of Hungary's highly developed and flourishing industries were on exhibition. Another group that scored a well-deserved success bore the inscription

"Economy of raw materials in the building trade." The aim was to show how to be as economical as possible with the raw materials imported from abroad. The "Hall of Industry", covering an area of 13.000 sq. meters, contained a choice selection of articles of mass production.

RATIONALIZED FORESTRY IN TRANSYLVANIA

Rumania never had any great hopes of being able to keep permanently the areas assigned to her by the Peace Treaty of Trianon; she therefore sought to exploit them to the full. This was particularly true of Transylvania's greatest asset, her vast forests. *The forest area in the restored part of Transylvania was reduced from 2.730.000 yokes to 2.400.000 by the Rumanian Land Reform, which expropriated 600.000 yokes for its own purposes, 240.000 of which were turned into pasture land.* Owing to a lack of skill in the art of forestry the new plantations for the greater part threaten to be a failure. *It was chiefly in the Magyar counties that the forests were ruthlessly cleared. In County Szilágy 26 and in Csík and Udvarhely 25 per cent of the forests were felled.* A much greater quantity of timber was cut by the Rumanians than natural growth and plantation were able to replace. In Széklerland this quantity amounted to what is usually cut in a period of 30 or 40 years, in the other parts of the restored areas it corresponded to the normal wood-cutting for 20 or 30 years. But, as we have said, it was not only that they ruthlessly cut down the forests; they also neglected to replant them or did so in a very superficial way. The consequent loss is estimated at about 410.000.000 pengő.

The work of repairing these deficiencies has been begun with great energy by the Hungarian Administration. The first matter to receive attention has been the re-planting of the areas threatened with denudation. Millions and millions of young trees have been supplied to the villages concerned. At the same time care is being taken to keep up the normal tempo of timber production. To ensure this the Government has arranged for the banks in Transylvania to supply the undertakings dealing with timber production with credit amounting to 5.000.000 pengő.

Parallel with the inauguration of rational forestry management the question of the afforestation of the woodless areas of the Mezőség has also arisen. This district situated in the centre of the Transylvanian Basin is very poorly wooded; therefore, both in order to improve the soil and to prevent the danger of denudation, it would be of great importance to plant trees there. Here a Government Ordinance, which has now been made operative in Transylvania too, and which decrees that *the pupils of each of the eight classes of the elementary schools must plant*

at least one tree every year, is likely to be of great service. The schools are to receive the young trees for plantation free and gratis from the Woods and Forests Office. The pupils of the Transylvanian elementary schools are joyfully performing this pleasant duty, and, according to the quality of the soil, have this year planted lime-trees, oaks, acacias, willows and pines around the schools and churches, along the high-roads and even on private property. The children are obliged to look after the trees the whole year round. It is to be hoped that in a few years time fruit and other trees will flourish in the hitherto barren Mezőség.

RUMANIA

A BITTER AWAKENING

Thanks to the Treaty of Trianon, Rumania, which had an area of 138.000 square kilometres, became aggrandized to 295.000, or more than double its original size. The creators and friends of Greater Rumania had high hopes of the development of the Rumanian nation "united for ever within its natural frontiers". It was loudly blazoned abroad that the Rumanians, set free from the yoke of alien oppressors, would give irrefutable proof of their economic and political maturity and of their inherent national strength which till that time had been curbed by adverse political conditions.

In reality, however, they gave proof of something else, of something entirely different from what the apostles of the Daco-Rumanian theory had been prophesying for two decades. Today there are unbiassed Rumanian economists who confess that the economic development of the Rumanian people has taken such a wrong turning, has deviated so widely from the right path during the past two decades, that in this we must recognize the cause of the recent great national disaster. The sinister hieroglyphics of Rumanian social and political development have, for instance, been deciphered by Christian Leu, whose exhaustive essay in the May 11th issue of the "Excelsior" reveals with no ordinary clarity of judgment the economic abyss in which Rumania plunged blindly in the years following the first World War.

In the years from 1905 to 1914 the aggregate volume of Lesser Rumania's exports was 39.900.000 tons, of which 28.200.000 — 76.6% — consisted of grain. From 1920 to

1940, or in almost twice as long a period, Greater Rumania exported 142.700.000 tons, only 37.300.000 of which represented cereals. A comparison of the two figures clearly shows how thoughtlessly Rumania neglected to develop her agriculture, a branch of economy that in her geographical position was of fundamental importance.

Let us examine some statistical data; the figures will speak for themselves.

In a particularly good year, 1911, Lesser Rumania, with 5.045.000 hectares of sown land, exported 4.180.000 tons of cereals, while during the 20 years of Greater Rumania's existence, with an average of 10.500.000 hectares of sown land, she never succeeded in reaching the record export figures of 1911. In 1931, for instance, a peak year her exports of grain did not exceed 3.445.000 tons, or 82% of the quantity exported in 1911.

What had happened to Rumanian agriculture? Can it have been that domestic consumption had largely increased or that the State had acquired possession of areas deficient in cereals? This can hardly have been so, for the standard of life in Rumania does not show any considerable improvement and as regards the second assumption, we must remember that *even if Transylvania was deficient in cereals this was amply outweighed by the plentiful crops in the rich Banate, the fertile district of the Körös and the Szamos, and the wide Bessarabian plain.*

What actually took place was that *Greater Rumania stepped off the firm foundation upon which King Carol I. and the Bratianus had with prudent foresight based the future of this little Danubian Kingdom, — a foundation that insured the stability of that small country at home and its prestige abroad — and eagerly entered upon a path of unsystematic, unmethodical, absolutely immoral economic management.* It is certain that one of the causes contributing to the decline of agriculture was the unparalleled ignorance with which the Rumanian Land Reform was carried out (Christian Leu describes this land reform, of which Rumanian propaganda was wont to boast so loudly, as chicanery pure and simple), but there can be no doubt that the chief cause of it is to be sought in the sudden, immoderate, and immoral

acquisition of wealth, that fell into their hands, in the dangerous belief that their enlarged country and its natural resources would support them without work.

The course of this progress may be traced by an examination of the figures of Rumanian oil exports, which grew at the expense of her grain exports. Oil exports reached a peak in the year 1936, when 6.900.000 tons of the 8.700.000 produced were exported. For fifteen years the masters of the country and their well-paid confederates pursued such a cut-throat policy with Rumania's oil that ever since the index of production has been declining sharply, and there are no measures that can be taken which would be able to check a further decline. Cut-throat forestry has resulted in a shortage of the precious water from the slopes of the Carpathians, and the Rumanian people, victims of an illusion that they had inexhaustible natural resources to draw upon and could enjoy all that capitalism had to offer without labour, are now in a fix. Their plight is all the more serious because, trusting to their oil-wells, for two decades they utterly neglected agriculture, the branch of production for which their climate, their geographical situation, the fertility of their soil and their whole social and economic system best fit them. *The level of agricultre in Rumania is much lower than in the adjacent countries, Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. For this reason in twenty years Rumania has produced 80.000.000 tons of grain less than she might have done, a loss of the export value of 350.000.000.000 lei.* The real cause of Rumania's poverty and the collapse of her social order is that the wealth which thanks to geographical factors she enjoyed for a time, has vanished as quickly as it was easily come by. How insecure was the prosperity based on oil is shown by the following figures, which reveal the foreign trade quota in gold dollars falling to each inhabitant of Rumania. Compared with the adjacent countries the figures are:

Greece	. . . . .	26.6	gold dollars
Yugoslavia	. . . . .	13.1	" "
Bulgaria	. . . . .	12.0	" "
Hungary	. . . . .	27.4	" "
Rumania	. . . . .	13.08	" "

More depressing still is the picture if we compare the average quota per inhabitant in the years 1920—1940 with figures for 1913, the last year of peace.

Greece	. . . . .	11.9	gold dollars
Yugoslavia	. . . . .	7.9	" "
Bulgaria	. . . . .	11.2	" "
Hungary	. . . . .	38.6	" "
Rumania	. . . . .	33.2	" "

In other words, whereas in 1913 the quota per inhabitant of the value of Rumania's foreign trade was 33.2 gold dollars, in the years 1924—1938 it was only 13.8, when at the same time the quota per inhabitant had risen in Greece from 11.9 to 26.6, in Yugoslavia from 7.9 to 13.1 and in Bulgaria from 11.2 to 12.0 gold dollars.

Little Bulgaria was able to maintain and even slightly improve her position in foreign trade at a time when, with more than double its former economic resources, Rumania's foreign trade had shrunk to 42 per cent of its pre-war volume.

More eloquent still are the statistical data which reveal the terrible disproportion between the value of Rumania's exports and imports: whereas Hungary during the Trianon era paid on an average 30.2 gold dollars per ton for her imports and received 55.4 gold dollars per ton for her exports, Rumania paid 154.4 gold dollars per ton for her imports and received only 16.8 gold dollars per ton for her exports. *The ratio of value per ton was bad enough in 1923, when Rumania paid 83 gold dollars per ton for her imports and received only 28.5 gold dollars per ton for her exports.*

In the decades during which the loudly proclaimed unity of all Rumanians lasted and Rumania self-complacently played the rôle of a Great Power in South Eastern Europe, boasting to the whole world of her wealth and prosperity, that ratio had grown more than three times worse than it was in 1913.

Christian Leu, the author of the illuminating and, for Rumania, surprisingly frank article in the "Excelsior" accused "avaricious capitalism" of being responsible for

Rumania's economic bankruptcy, but he does not forget to lay down: —

"A small minority, ruling in the background, by means of bribery, threats and an illegal censorship of the Press and relying on a complicated system of gold parity, was always able to prevent an investigation into its affairs.

It is here and not in "avaricious capitalism" that the source of Rumania's economic tragedy is to be sought. In 1920, thanks to the Peace Treaties, a ruling class of Levantine mentality, prodigal and rotten to the core, laid hands upon an exceedingly rich area 300.000 square kilometres in extent and administered it for two decades, greedily, extravagantly and wastefully, complacently imagining itself suprematic. Rumania's masters dealt prodigally with her oil, the molten gold of modern times, and thought that, instead of working, all they had to do was to dip their hands into the cornucopia of the country's riches. There is only one other parallel in history to Greater Rumania's economic collapse, the bankruptcy of Spain, the inheritor of the treasures of the Incas, who thought that she could live for ever without working.

SLOVAKIA

SLOVAKIA'S ECONOMIC CONNECTIONS WITH HUNGARY AND THE PROTECTORATE

Proofs have read more than once in this paper that unsound economic connections have developed between Slovakia and the Czech provinces. At the close of the first World War the Hugarian highlands were detached from their economic frame, but the attempt to fit them into the economic system of the Czech provinces met with no success. We see proof of this now in Slovakia's economic relations with the Protectorate. One of the clearest proofs is that Slovakia's clearing account with the Protectorate is still swelling, so that artificial methods of liquidating it have to be devised. This makes the liquidation of Slovakia's clearing account with the Protectorate a serious problem, if not one of the most serious problems with which Slovak economic and financial circles have to deal. *The clearing account between the two countries should in point of fact have been closed by 1st October 1940, when, that is to say, the Protectorate was attached to the German customs area. According to the original plan that account should have been liquidated by 1st January 1941. This term, however, was prolonged on 1st January*

for three months because the Protectorate's counter-claims on Slovakia were inadequate, in other words, because the former had not been able to place a sufficient quantity of goods in Slovakia.

We get an interesting picture of the situation if we examine the growth of the clearing account in Slovakia's favour as mirrored in the weekly reports issued by the Slovak National Bank. In the December of last year it was 399.000.000 Slovak crowns, in January 1941 it was 405.000.000, in February 414.000.000, on 15th March 413.000.000 and by the 1st of April again 414.000.000 Slovak crowns. Something had to be done about the matter, in order to do away with the difficulties already noticeable in economic life caused by the effect of those frozen credits. On 27th March a Cabinet Council meeting discussed this serious problem. It is characteristic of the situation that the only method of liquidating those frozen credit discovered was the following. *Within the limits of his Budget and of the financial possibilities the Slovak Minister of Finance was authorized to employ every means at his disposal in order to effect a liquidation of the frozen credits. The method agreed upon was that securities covering the sums frozen in the Protectorate should be issued to Slovak exporting firms, on which the Slovak National Bank would be authorized to issue lombard loans and which might be used to pay off arrears of taxes.* In plain English this means that *the Slovak National Bank takes over their frozen claims from the Slovak exporters.* These frozen claims represent in fact part of the Slovak industry's floating capital; and to have a clear idea of their importance we must remember that the entire floating capital of Slovakia's industries amounts to about 1.500.000.000 Slovak crowns. Now, in order that Slovak industry should not lose its power of production because its capital is frozen in the Protectorate, the National Bank is going to return that capital to the Slovak tradesmen and merchants until such time as the frozen claims can be made liquid again.

Slovakia's economic relations with Hungary are of an entirely different nature. *It may safely be said that they are exactly the opposite of what we have seen her economic and commercial dealings with the Protectorate to be.* At the beginning of 1941 Hungary concluded a new commercial treaty with Slovakia. In the old treaty the value of the goods to be exchanged between the two countries was fixed at 260.000.000 Slovak crowns. In the new one this has been raised to 400.000.000 a very considerable percentual increase. In practice it means that Slovakia's scope of operations in the Hungarian markets has been extended by over 100 per cent. Besides this, the new commercial treaty has introduced a large number of facilities in the exchange of commodities between the two countries. The beneficial effect of this measure has led to the result that from

being third in Slovakia's foreign trade Hungary now occupies the second place and takes precedence of Italy. That country has, namely, fixed the quota of her participation in Slovakia's foreign trade — exports and imports — at 300.000.000 Slovak crowns.

Besides these general arrangements, there are countless detail agreements and contracts which are all intended to further the development of economic relations between the two countries. The question of tourist traffic has, for instance, been reciprocally settled outside the framework of the commercial treaty. In the same way, independent of the treaty, the liquidation of the Magyar banks in Slovakia and the Slovak banks in Hungary has been accomplished. By means of a reciprocal agreement the Slovaks in Hungary and the Magyars in Slovakia were given each one minority bank. By mutual agreement the liquidation of the assets of the Slavs settled in the restored areas of Upper Hungary during the Czecho-Slovak era, was also effected. And in the same way the question of Church property was also settled by means of a reciprocal agreement.

One of the most important items of the new commercial treaty is Hungary's agreement to export pigs to Slovakia. Hungary has undertaken to supply Slovakia with about 20.000 fattened pigs. *This was undertaken at a time when, on the one hand, Hungary would have no difficulty in disposing of all her stocks of meat and fat in the domestic markets and when, on the other, it would be easy to find other markets for Hungary's export surpluses.* In this fact lies the significance of this item. *It also clearly shows the obliging attitude of the Hungarian Ministry of Commerce that part of the 20.000 pigs promised will be supplied from the stocks in the restored Bácska.*

Another circumstance worthy of note is that Slovakia's first appearance on a larger scale in the international markets took place at the Budapest International Fair. *The Slovak pavillon was a centre of attraction to visitors.* A comparison between it and the Hungarian pavilion revealed that the two countries are rich in natural resources and that their prosperity is ensured if the deficiencies in each are supplied by means of reciprocal understanding.

These aspects are an exact measure of the value of Slovakia's economic relations, on the one hand, with the Czecho-Moravian Protectorate and, on the other, with Hungary. They clearly show how important for the new State its economic gravitation is. And that gravitation points towards the south. let politics and propaganda think what they will.

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