

DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE
DANUBIAN BASIN

Editorial Board :

ELEMÉR SZUDY
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Dr. ANDREW FALL
MANAGING EDITOR

Vol. VI. No. 7.

DECEMBER, 1938.

The future of Ruthenia and the right of self-determination
By **Dr. ANDREW FALL**

**Minister Petrescu-Comnen's "Nationality Exchange" Scheme
and — The Facts**
By **BÉLA DE KENÉZ, LL. D.**

**Ruthenia After the Carrying into effect of the Munich
Agreement**
By **E. TARJÁN**

Hungary's New Northern Frontiers

The Re-Construction of the Czecho-Slovak State

Political Mosaic

How Minorities Live

Books

Political Economy

Price 50 Fill.

Subscription one year 6 Pengő.

THE FUTURE OF RUTHENIA AND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

BY

Dr. ANDREW FALL

European public opinion follows with increasing interest and growing sympathy the heroic struggle of the Ruthenian people to obtain the right of self-determination expressly guaranteed them nearly twenty years ago by the drafters of the Paris Peace Treaties, which right was placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

The moment the Munich Four-Power Agreement had accepted the right of self-determination as the principle to be followed in reconstructing the arbitrarily and artificially created Czecho-Slovak Republic, the desire to escape from the Czech yoke awoke with elemental force in the oppressed and starving people of Ruthenia. They now demand the application to themselves of the principle of self-determination, which was denied to them in 1919, although it was preached by President Wilson at the end of the war as the basis of equitable peace and was accepted as such by the Entente Powers. For, at the close of the war, on 11th February, 1918, President Wilson in his third message to the United States of America set forth under four points the conditions of lasting peace. These points were:

1. The postulates of justice must be kept in view.
2. Peoples and provinces cannot be pushed arbitrarily from one State to another like chessmen on the chessboard.
3. Territorial questions must always be settled in accordance with the interests of the inhabitants concerned.

4. Nationality claims must be satisfied in the fullest measure.

In these four points President Wilson expressly advocated the right of self-determination; and this attitude of his was adopted in full by the Entente Powers.

Nevertheless, the Peace Treaties entirely ignored the principle of self-determination. For instance, the Ruthenians were detached from Hungary against their will and without even their wishes being consulted. The resolution adopted in Scranton on 12th November, 1918, by the National Council of Ruthenians in America, cannot be regarded as the expression of the will of the Ruthenian people, since it was passed, not only by Ruthenians from Hungary, but also by Ruthenians who had emigrated to America from Galicia, Bukovina and Russia. The most important of the Ruthenian National Councils existing in Ruthenia in the November of 1918 was that formed in Ungvár, the capital of the province, and this Council decided in favour of remaining in Hungary.

At the outset the Czechs had not thought of acquiring possession of Ruthenia. Beneš's sixth memorandum to the Peace Conference says: — "The Ruthenians of Hungary have never belonged to Czecho-Slovak regions and the Czecho-Slovak Republic cannot lay claim to their territory." (*Les Ruthènes de Hongrie n'ont jamais appartenu aux régions tchécoslovaques et la République tchécoslovaque n'émet pas de prétentions sur leur territoire.*)

But when Beneš saw that he could get what he wanted in Paris, he misled the Peace Conference with false statements. Thus, to gain possession of Ruthenia, he made use of the Scranton resolution, and the Czechs became masters of that province. Articles 10—13 of the treaty concluded on 10th September, 1919, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye between the Allied and Associated Powers and Czecho-Slovakia, which came into force on 6th June, 1920, deal with Ruthenia and guarantee that province the full measure of autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State.

For this autonomy, guaranteed by treaty, the Ruthenian

people have been struggling in vain for the past twenty years, for the Czechs have resorted to all sorts of 'subterfuges to avoid having to grant it.

At the conference held in Munich on 29th September of the current year the four leading Great Powers of Europe adopted the principle of self-determination, and on the basis thereof decided on the liberation of the nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia. In accordance with this principle Germany obtained the Sudeten German districts and Poland the areas with a Polish majority, while on the strength of the Vienna Italo-German arbitral award Hungary has received the predominantly Hungarian territories. The Great Powers, however, forgot to provide the population of Ruthenia with an opportunity of expressing their will freely.

The Prague Government again refused to entertain the idea of a just solution of the question of Ruthenian autonomy. Without consulting the Ruthenian people, it appointed Ignatius Párkány Governor of that Province, and to throw dust in the eyes of the world, quickly formed a Ruthenian Government with Andrew Bródy, a Member of Parliament, as Premier. This took place on 10th October.

The Ruthenians immediately realized that the Government's intention was merely to mislead foreign opinion and to make the world believe that the Ruthenians were now free and independent. Remembering the lessons of the past, they clearly understood that the Ruthenian Government appointed by Prague was only of ephemeral significance and had no practical value whatsoever. They did not believe in this pseudo-freedom, and immediately inaugurated a struggle for independence. Ruthenia became the scene of bloody battles — a second Macedonia. As a result of the pressure brought to bear on their Government by the people, the former, on 22nd October, discussed the question of Ruthenia's final frontiers, and on the same day 386 Ruthenian villages lodged a petition with the Great Powers, asking to be allowed to decide the question of their independence and choose for themselves the State to which they wish to belong.

The Prague Government was anything but pleased to see this serious attempt on the part of the Ruthenians to achieve independence, and on 26th October Premier Andrew Bródy was deprived of his office and August Volosin appointed Premier instead. The appointment of the latter was made by telephone.

On 27th October the Prague Government, flouting the principle of self-determination, arrested Andrew Bródy, who 17 days earlier had been appointed Premier by that same Government and whose only crime was that he had demanded self-determination for his people. On 29th October Andrew Bródy was taken to Prague, where he was thrown into prison. This real leader of the Ruthenian people is still a prisoner in a Prague gaol.

The appointment of Premier Volosin was another outrage on the principles adopted by the Munich Four-Power Conference, for Volosin has always been a leader of the panslav and Bolshevik trend and an enemy of Ruthenian interests.

The European Great Powers — in the first place Germany and Italy, the champions of self-determination — cannot stand by with folded arms and see the Ruthenian movement for independence being strangled by Prague. Both Herr Hitler, Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich, and Signor Mussolini, Italy's Prime Minister, have on more than one occasion spoken in favour of the principle of self-determination, and for this very reason the people of Ruthenia look to these two powerful statesmen to support them in their struggle for independence.

For twenty years the Ruthenians have suffered economic, cultural and political oppression at the hands of the Czechs. They were forced to allow Ruthenia to be turned into an air-force basis for Bolshevik Russia. Against the interests of the Ruthenians the Prague Government has always encouraged Czech and Ukrainian culture. In the field of politics the Ruthenian people have not been allowed to assert themselves. And the measure of the economic destitution to which they have been reduced may be gathered from the appalling picture

of Ruthenian poverty painted by M. Ulman, the Ruthenian director of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross, in his report of 30th September, 1932, which we published in the November issue of this paper. This report gives a full description of the economic oppression of the Ruthenians.

The peace of Europe demands that the Ruthenians should at last be allowed to enjoy liberty and to forge the economic links without which their prosperity is inconceivable. Their only possibility of development lies in their attachment, with full independence guaranteed, to Hungary. Even from the report of the Czech Red Cross director, M. Ulman, it may be gathered that the Hungarian nation did everything possible to ameliorate conditions in Ruthenia. The forest area of that province and the Great Plain of Hungary complemented each other from an economic point of view. The people of Ruthenia were always able to earn a livelihood in the Great Plain, and the Lowlands were supplied with timber from the mountainous regions.

The people of Ruthenia long for peace after twenty years of suffering. One after another the villages of Ruthenia announce their desire to separate from Czecho-Slovakia, and they expect support in their just struggle from Germany and Italy. Neither those two countries nor the rest of Europe can deny the people of Ruthenia the right to make their own choice in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

— y —

MINISTER PETRESCU-COMNEN'S "NATIONALITY EXCHANGE" SCHEME AND — THE FACTS

BY

BÉLA DE KENÉZ, LL. D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST,
DIRECTOR OF THE MINORITIES RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF THE
„PETER PÁZMANY" UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCES

The December 2nd. issue of the "Daily Mail" publishes a telegram from Bucharest containing a statement made by the Rumanian Foreign Minister, M. Petrescu-Comnen, in an interview with Mr. Ward Price. The article was introduced by characteristic headlines — "Rumania Has Plan For Minorities", "Exchange With Hungary" — and contained the following remarks on the Hungarian minority question by M. Petrescu-Comnen.

The Rumanian Foreign Minister recalled that it was he who had presided over the negotiations the result of which was the Bled Agreement of August last, when the Governments of Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania agreed to waive the prohibitions placed upon Hungary by the Peace Treaty to possess anything more than a miniature army.

"That concession on our part was meant to be not an end but a beginning," he said. "We want to be on good terms with Hungary."

In reply to the inquiry as to whether Rumania were prepared to recognise the principle of ethnical frontiers laid down by Germany for Central Europe, M. Comnen declared that the Hungarian population of Transylvania, the province

annexed by Rumania from Hungary, was largely concentrated in the towns, and was lost to view in a solid block of Rumanians, and that, though there might be groups of Hungarian population mixed up with Rumanians and other minorities, Hungarian claims for revision could not be satisfied.

"The Hungarians," he declared, "do not claim a few square miles along the border; they want nothing less than the return of the whole of Transylvania, which no Rumanian statesman could ever contemplate."

The statement made by M. Petrescu-Comnen, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, is a veritable surprise in view of the Munich Agreement, which by asserting the validity of the ethnic principle denoted a considerable progress towards an alleviation of the strain between the countries concerned. The Rumanian Foreign Minister has now openly defied this principle, as well as the logic of history, refusing to take cognizance of the ethnic reparation effected in Czecho-Slovakia or to learn the useful lessons involved, and has actually flouted the facts demonstrable even with the data of the Rumanian official statistics, finally coming forward with a proposal which cannot be taken seriously to the effect that the Rumanians in Hungary should be exchanged for the Magyars in Rumania.

The Minister's statement certainly is right in noting that the Magyars in Transylvania are town-dwellers. All the culture, science, literature and art radiating from the towns of Transylvania is really due to the work of the Magyar and Saxon inhabitants of the Transylvanian towns. But, if he investigates the statistical data, the Minister will have to acknowledge the following facts: —

1. In the territory lying between Ugocsa and Nagyvárad, in the area between Cséffa and Kisjenő, and in the environs of Arad and Pécska, — in direct connection with the Magyars of the Lowlands of Trianon Hungary and not

separated from those Magyars by any natural frontier —, there are living today under Rumanian rule more than 400,000 Magyars representing more than 84% of the total population of these areas (476.000 souls). And by way of parenthesis I would note that these 400.000 Magyars would mean an addition to the population of Hungary practically speaking just as important relatively to the strength of the population as the incorporation of the Sudeten German districts meant to Germany. The re-incorporation of this territory of only some 5000 sq. kilometres would not involve any material territorial loss to Rumania, but would contribute very largely to relieve the ethnic tension, a circumstance which would certainly be of advantage to Rumania also from the point of view of the political atmosphere prevailing there.

To give the exact data, the five zones of the character described subjected to Rumanian rule represent a total area of 5230 sq. kilometres and contain 220 townships and villages with an aggregate population of 509,563 souls. Racially this population is divided as follows: —

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| Magyars | 413,804 = 81.0% |
| Rumanians | 61,784 = 12.1% |
| Germans | 17,324 = 3.4% |

2. In the compact area comprising the Székler Counties (Csík, Háromszék, Udvarhely, Marostorda) and the adjacent areas there are at least 600,000 Magyars, the bulk of the latter not merely forming an urban island in a Rumanian language ocean, but being the inhabitants of a huge compact language area of great vitality consisting of extensive tracts of arable land, mountains, and valleys. And this language area could be connected easily with the Magyars of the Hungarian Lowlands by means of a comparatively short corridor not including any persons of other nationality. The force of ethnic community is a powerful and eternally active

factor the attraction of which — as recent events also show — is stronger than that of a will working under the influence of prejudice or passion.

The Minister believes that the ethnic principle might be enforced by exchanging the Rumanians living in Hungary for the Magyars living in Transylvania. Apparently the Minister is not aware that the number of Rumanians living within the territory of Trianon Hungary is only altogether 16,000, whereas the number of Magyars living in Rumania — is 1,800,000, it being computed at 1,400,000 even by the rather unreliable official Rumanian statistics. Not to speak of the arithmetical disproportion and of the physical and material obstacles precluding the removal and re-settlement of such a mass of people, we cannot but regard as opposed to all human feeling and as in defiance of the philosophy of history the very suggestion of removing hundreds of thousands of human beings from the soil of their ancestors and from the places where they have secured a subsistence and wiping off the surface of the soil a people which has lived and toiled there for ten centuries and has engraved its name in letters of gold on the pages of history.

RUTHENIA AFTER THE CARRYNG INTO EFFECT OF THE MUNICH AGREEMENT

BY
E. TARJÁN

In terms of the Vienna award of the German and Italian Foreign Ministers Hungary occupied that part of Ruthenia which was allotted to her. As a consequence, Hungary re-incorporated — apart from the southern areas of Ruthenia inhabited almost exclusively by Magyars — the towns of Beregszász, Munkács and Ungvár.

When the Hungarian Government requested the Governments of the German Empire and of Italy to act as arbitrators in the matter, it undertook to accept the finding of the arbitrators as binding on itself. And it goes without saying that the Hungarian Government abides by its undertaking, though a considerable number of Magyar inhabitants have remained within the frontiers of the Ruthenia to which Prague under compulsion has granted a mock autonomy. It would be a difficult matter to determine the extent of Ruthenia and the composition of its population, seeing that the boundaries of that province within the Czecho-Slovak-Ruthenian Republic have not yet been demarcated.

Of what has been going on in recent weeks before the eyes of the world the only thing that is indubitable is that Prague has not yet been able to come to an agreement even with those leaders of the Ruthenian people whose authority it is willing to acknowledge. A fact without precedent is that the Prague Czech Government still keeps the first Prime Minister of Ruthenia appointed by General Sirovy — M. Andrew Bródy — a prisoner; the charge against him being that he proposed to let the Ruthenian people decide for itself by plebiscite to which State it desires to belong. Another Member of the Bródy Government — Dr. Stephen Fencsik —, being resident in Ungvár and therefore a Hungarian citizen, is already a Member of the Hungarian House of Deputies.

The Sirovy Government is compelled to establish order in Ruthenia, seeing that the Ruthenian people, exposed as it is to the danger of starvation and deprived of every opportunity of

work and of earning a livelihood, has risen in insurrection against the Volosin Government which is in the pay of Prague.

Serious as is the importance attaching to the circumstance that the refusal to allow the Ruthenian people to exercise the right of self-determination acknowledged as in force in the case of Ruthenia by Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini is a grave political error too, nevertheless the primary cause of the discontent of the Ruthenian people is of an economic character. The application of the ethnographic principle restored to Hungary the southern part of Ruthenia inhabited by Magyars through which the trunk line of the former Kassa—Oderberg Railroad passes on its way to the station of Jasina (Körösmező) on the Polish frontier. The western section of this railway line — from Oderberg to Čaca — has come into the possession of Poland, the result being that the eastern part of Czecho-Slovakia has lost its direct connection with Prague, which is today accessible only by the Vág valley, via Tepla and Brünn. The annexed railway map of Ruthenia makes it quite clear that all the railway lines running from the south to the centre of the province join some trunk line situated in Hungarian territory. A line of this kind is that running from Mezőlaborc via Legenye to Alsómihály, which has branch connections with the Trebišov-Vranov and Bánovce-Ungvár lines. The southern terminus of the Csap—Ungvár—Uzsok line lies in Hungarian territory, as do those of the Bátyu—Munkács—Lavocne and the Beregszász—Kušnyice lines; from the station of the latter at Chmelnik a line leads to Sevljuš (Nagyszöllös), whereas the trunk line, after reaching the Hungarian frontier at Halmei (Halmi), is entirely cut off from Slovakia and therefore has no direct connection with Bohemia proper.

The railway lines enumerated above lie east of the river Ung, which has so far figured as the officially fixed frontier of Ruthenia. The Ruthenian people however — quite rightly — insists on the ethnographic basis accepted by the Great Powers as decisive in respect of the adjustment of the territorial questions, and therefore demands the allotment to Ruthenia of the northern part of present-day Slovakia (as far as Poprád) inhabited by Ruthenians.

There are only two means of ensuring the subsistence of the people living in Ruthenia. The first is a rational exploitation of the natural treasures of the country (in particular of its rich abundance of timber); the other is the undertaking of harvesting work in the summer months in the Great Lowlands of Hungary. In pre-War days too the only means the Ruthenian people had to obtain a livelihood was to earn the corn it required for the whole year by work in the Great Plains of Hungary, earning a living in the winter by lumbering operations. The third alternative — emigration — is practically precluded by the prevailing international conditions.

During the days of the Czecho-Slovak régime, as a consequence of the unfortunate geographical position of the State, there was a decided decline of the possibility of earning a livelihood by lumbering. The Czecho-Slovak Government — for political reasons — refused to allow the inhabitants to travel to the Hungarian Lowlands, the result being that there was an exceptional deterioration of the standard of life of the Ruthenian people.

The struggle for independence which has burst so violently into flame in Ruthenia, is merely the manifestation of the Ruthenian people's sound instinct of self-preservation. This people has become conscious that all it has to look forward to in the changed situation is a state of desperate misery and destitution, and that the only way of escape from that issue is incorporation in Hungary, of which country Ruthenia forms a perfect complement, geopolitically, economically and by virtue of its natural resources.

There is no power on earth able to deprive the Ruthenians living in Ruthenia — roughly half a million souls, of whom 72% are engaged in agriculture — for any reason whatsoever, whether political or strategical, of its natural right to live. These Ruthenians have at all times fought strenuously and bitterly for their existence. According to the official statistics for the year 1929 the harvest yield in Ruthenia was altogether as follows: 100.000 metric quintals of wheat, 200.000 quintals of rye, the same quantity of oats, 400.000 quintals of maize and 2.9 million quintals of potatoes. It is impossible for the moment to calculate the quota of that yield left in the territory remaining to Ruthenia after the severing of the Magyar areas. It is however indubitable that the flat districts suitable for agricultural cultivation have come into the possession of Hungary and that the only yields of any significance in the hilly regions of Ruthenia that are in any case not in the least suitable for the production of agrarian produce, will probably be those of oats and potatoes.

As things stand today, therefore, the population is unable to grow its own supply of foodstuffs in the territory left in its possession, and is indeed quite incapable of purchasing the same, seeing that the lack of opportunities of work have so enormously reduced the possibilities of earning that there can scarcely be any talk of importing food. On the other hand we have no reason to presume that the Ruthenian people will in the future too, for the sake of Prague, be prepared to sacrifice itself to Czech imperialism by suffering the pangs of starvation and famine. Under such circumstances, therefore, we can hardly expect any consolidation of conditions.

The greatest natural treasure of Ruthenia is the forest-land 570,000 hectares in area. Its agrarian production is backward and

its live stock is insignificant both quantitatively and qualitatively. According to the statistics for the year 1930 its industry employed altogether 10.000 persons, 5000 of this number being engaged in the building industry, 3000 in the wood and timber industry and 1000 in the chemical, earthenware and glass industries. The only possibility of development for the vast bulk of the population is that offered by a rational exploitation of the country's forestry, — a possibility which — as a consequence of the great distances — can be realised only by selling the output in Hungary. Owing to the immense distances to be traversed the timber could not meet the railway freight charges, and the marketing of the output would have to be effected at the cost of the prices received; whereas in the event of the output being marketed in Hungary the cheap water route offered by the Tisza and its tributaries is available.

But the Hungarian market is the only one able to ensure the vitality of the chemical industry and trade too. I believe nothing could illustrate the untenability of the present situation more strikingly than the fact that the Prague Government has provisionally suspended operations even in the State salt mines at Aknaszlatina, the unfavourable railway connection having made it impossible to transport the salt when mined.

The public opinion of Europe must realise that the Ruthenian question was not satisfactorily solved either in Munich or in Vienna; and surely the public opinion of the world will be incapable of looking on with folded arms at the continuous struggle against the evils of starvation and famine which 500.000 Ruthenians are being compelled to carry on.

HUNGARY'S NEW NORTHERN FRONTIERS

The Four-Power Agreement concluded on September 29th. accepted the ethnographic basis as decisive in respect of the German, Polish and Hungarian territories to be re-incorporated in the mother countries. In respect of the Sudeten German territories to be surrendered to Germany by Czecho-Slovakia the 1910 Census was accepted as decisive evidence, with the proviso that the territories inhabited predominantly by Germans were to be incorporated in the German Empire, a plebiscite to be taken in the "doubtful" areas. In any disputes that might arise the decision was to rest with the German-Czecho-Slovak Commission established in Berlin for that purpose. The principles governing the awarding and the annexation of the territories to be ceded to Poland were the same. No plebiscite was held anywhere, the Prague Government not being prepared to undertake the risk involved.

As is well known, at the outset Hungary was not granted possession of even the undisputed territories; and it was only after the finding of the Foreign Ministers of the German Empire and of Italy sitting as arbitrators in Vienna that Hungary was enabled to take possession of these territories.

The Four-Power Agreement concluded in Munich made no difference in principle between the procedure to be followed in deciding the question of the territories to be surrendered to Hungary, Poland and the German Empire respectively. Consequently the ethnographic principle should have been applied to the Hungarian territories and those areas with a predominantly Magyar population — i. e. areas in which the Magyars represented more than 50% of the total number of inhabitants — should have been incorporated in Hungary without delay, the inhabitants of the disputed territories being left to decide for themselves by plebiscite.

Unfortunately the criteria employed in respect of the territories to be adjudged to Hungary differed from those enforced in the other cases; a procedure which has inflicted heavy penalties, not only upon the inhabitants of the territories re-incorporated in Hungary, but also upon the Slovak and Ruthenian peoples, For, apart from their running counter to the ethnographic principle,



HUNGARY'S NEW NORTHERN FRONTIERS

RAILWAY-MAP OF RUTHENIA

the new northern frontiers of Hungary have been demarcated without regard for economic interests and have therefore brought about a situation which must sooner or later involve whole districts in economic phthisis.

In agreeing to accept a decision by arbitration the Hungarian Government not only made an enormous sacrifice to save peace, but at the same time undertook an exceptionally heavy responsibility towards the inhabitants of the re-incorporated territories. For the unsatisfactory demarcation of the new frontiers places the Hungarian Government under an obligation to provide new possibilities of economic subsistence in particular to the towns which have been deprived of their hinterland. In all probability the only way to solve this problem will be by means of a scheme of industrialisation carried into effect very rapidly.

Equally great are the disadvantages involved by the Slovak regions having been cut off from the Hungarian economic centres, — the serious consequences of this procedure being already in evidence. A mere cursory glance at the railway system of Slovakia and Ruthenia shows beyond doubt that the railway lines of the Slovak and Ruthenian territories (in particular of those adjoining the new Hungarian frontiers) almost without exception converge on towns incorporated in Hungary. The *Leopoldov Vág-szered—Galánta, Nitra* (Nyitra)—*Nagysurány—Érsekújvár, Hroskáb-Breznica* (Garamberzence)—*Léva (Levice)—Párkány-Nána* (Parkan), *Zvolen* (Zólyom)—*Krupina* (Korpona)—*Ipolyság* (Sáhi) lines all alike pass through Hungarian towns before joining the old trunk lines. The situation is the same in the case of the *Zvolen* (Zólyom)—*Losonc* (Lučenec), *Losonc—Romavszká-Kokova* (Rimakovka), *Feled—Tisovec* (Tiszolc)—*Pelsőc* (Plešivec)—*Murán* (Murány), *Pelsőc—Slavošovce* (Nagyszlabos) und *Pelsőc—Rozsnyó—Dobsina* railway lines. The only railway connection between Mecenzéf, a township in Slovakia inhabited by Germans, and the outside world is via the Hungarian township of Sepsi; and the situation is the same in the case of practically all the railway lines in Ruthenia.

The town of Léva is so near the frontier that the boundary of Slovakia actually touches one corner of the cemetery: at Ipolyság the frontier is within a few hundred yards, while at Losonc the frontier line actually crosses the courtyard of one of the houses, the well being on the Hungarian and the house on the Slovak side. At Rimaszombat the town park and the cavalry barracks are in Slovak territory; while the northern boundaries of Kassa, Ungvár and Munkács are only a few hundred yards distant from the town.

The demarcation of the new frontiers must necessarily involve a set-back in the trade between these towns and their hinterland, even in the event of both Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia showing the greatest generosity in respect of the provision of transport facilities. As a consequence of the new political frontiers the customs formalities in force on both sides of those frontiers must naturally prevent

the trade in goods being carried on on the scale postulated by the natural interests of the inhabitants. There are territories which have no outlet at all except by way of Hungarian territories. In these areas there has already ensued a noteworthy slump in the prices of certain agrarian products. There are Slovak villages in which milk is sold at 10 Czech fillér a litre, this being due to there being no possibility of disposing of the milk elsewhere: and so far the price of milk has been about 1 Czech crown. Phenomena of a similar character are in evidence, not only in the case of other agrarian products, but also in that of the raw materials required by agricultural and industrial plants.

Although only a few days have passed since the demarcation of the new frontiers, yet we already see that the ignoring of economic considerations has not only inflicted serious material losses on the persons concerned, but has also in many cases made it doubtful whether they will be able to maintain a standard of life ensuring a merely human subsistence.

It would appear as if the Slovak and Ukrainian Governments were making the same mistakes as were made by Prague in the days following the Great War. Prague too left out of account Czecho-Slovakia's economic interests in order to dazzle foreign countries with a parade of political vitality. It is by mandate from Prague, not as trustees of the Slovak people, that the Tiso-Volosin Government is controlling the destinies of Slovakia and Ruthenia. That circumstance explains why they are not making any effort to serve the economic interests of the Slovak and Ruthenian peoples by a *rapprochement* with Hungary, but are actually sacrificing those whose interests it is their duty to defend in an endeavour to maintain their power.

THE RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE

After the decisions taken by the Great Powers in Munich and Vienna the Sirovy Government handed over to Germany, Hungary and Poland respectively the territories designated in those decisions and then concentrated its efforts on the endeavour to prevent the Slovak and Ruthenian peoples being able to exercise their right of self-determination. For Prague is of the opinion that it is better to choose the lesser of two evils, convinced as it is that the application of the right of self-determination would mean the complete dissolution of the Czech State. So it has had recourse to the lesser evil — by granting a form of mock autonomy. When adopting this attitude it was inspired primarily by the endeavour to gain as much time — as long a breathing-space — as possible.

The first meeting of the Czech legislature held since the outbreak of the great crisis was that convened by the Sirovy Government to assemble on November 18th., 1938, for the purpose of passing the new Constitutional Law comprising the provisions for the autonomy of Slovakia and Ruthenia. This Law consists of two parts. Part I. is divided into seven Chapters, Part II., which contains the amendment of the original Constitution (Charter), being divided into five Chapters. The Preamble establishes the fact that the Czecho-Slovak Republic was brought into being by the will of two sovereign peoples, stressing the circumstance that the Pittsburg Convention guaranteed the Slovak people self-government. Part I. of the new Law provides that the validity of the laws framed prior to the constitution of the Slovak Diet shall extend also to the territory of Slovakia, unless legislative measures be taken to provide otherwise.

In terms of Article 5 of the new Constitutional Law the elections required for the constitution of the Slovak Diet must be held within two months after the coming into force of the Law. Every person who is 21 years of age on the day of the

election in entitled to vote. All persons already over 30 years of age — with the exception of Jews — are eligible for election. There is to be one seat for every 20.000 electors, it being provided that in constituencies where there is a fractional number of supernumerary electors the minimum number of votes required for the granting of an additional seat shall be at least 15.000. The Slovak Diet is to be convened by the President of the Republic. The Provincial Government is also to be appointed by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the President of the Slovak Diet.

Part II. deals with the amendment of the Constitution (Charter) now in force and declares that Slovakia is an autonomous part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Consequently the language of instruction used within the territory of Slovakia shall be Slovak, though citizens of the State of other nationality may also employ their own mother tongues in their dealings with the authorities. As was the case previously too, the granting of citizenship is made dependent on the possession of rights of domicile (*pertinenza*). We see, therefore, that this injurious provision is maintained in force by the new Constitution too, though it is a well-known fact that it previously proved a mere pretext for depriving large numbers of the inhabitants of Czecho-Slovakia of their rights of citizenship.

The new Law provides further that the validity of the laws passed by the Prague National Assembly in regard to all matters relating to the new Constitution and in all questions in which the Common Government and its executive organs are competent, shall extend to the whole territory of the State. Questions coming under this provision are foreign affairs, the right of declaring war and making peace, — this provision is not to apply however to treaties which refer exclusively to the territory of Slovakia. The question of national defence also belongs to the sphere of authority of the Prague National Assembly, it being provided however that in times of peace a certain number of Slovak troops shall be quartered in Slovak territory. To the sphere of authority of the common Prague National Assembly are to belong the questions of citizenship, emigration, customs and transport, the post office, telegraph and telephone administration, the questions of public debts and taxation, the question of dues, of monopolies and State undertakings, — with the exception of forests, mines and watering-places, the administration of which shall be reserved for the Government of that part of the country in the territory of which they are situated. The above description of the contents

of the Constitutional Law makes it quite evident that the Czechs have not yet renounced their centralistic endeavours and that what they are guaranteeing the provinces of Ruthenia and Slovakia is merely a mock autonomy. Did the new Constitution really restrict the connection between the Czech, Slovak and Ruthenian territories to "common" affairs, it would acknowledge the independence of the three Parties — an independence similar to that of the two Members of the pre-War Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. But that is not what the Prague Government is doing; it has indeed referred questions of citizenship, emigration and transport — and even the administration of the postal, telegraph and telephone services — to the sphere of authority of the common Prague National Assembly, thus depriving the Slovak and Ruthenian peoples of every sign of independence; and the fact that questions of taxation and dues and of the State undertakings are being reserved for the common Prague National Assembly shows that the central Government is depriving those territories of even those factors of power which should be comprised in the most restricted form of self-government. It is therefore absurd to talk of the independence of Slovakia and Ruthenia or even of those provinces possessing an extensive autonomy; for the Slovak and Ruthenian Governments will at all times be at the mercy of the Prague Government.

A new point in the new Constitutions is the provision that the central Government must enjoy the confidence of the majority of the deputies elected in Slovakia, who may — if the motion is supported by one-third of their number — present a motion of no-confidence in Government. The deputies and senators elected in the territory of Slovakia may not exercise their right to vote except in matters belonging to the sphere of authority of the National Assembly as a whole. In all other matters relating only to Slovakia the right of legislation is reserved for the Slovak Diet.

The Sirovy Government also got the legislature to pass the Bill providing for the autonomy of Ruthenia. The legislature declared that the Law relating to Slovak autonomy shall be applied in full to Ruthenia too, the only change in the text being that the name "Slovakia" is to be replaced by the name "Carpatho—Russia" as applying to Ruthenia, the expressions "Slovak Government" and "Slovak language" to be replaced by the expressions "Carpatho—Russian Government" and "Ukranian language."

"Carpatho—Russia" — hitherto known as "Ruthenia"

— is on the present occasion too treated to a slight *differentiation*, — as compared with Slovakia, it being provided that the elections shall be held, not two months, but 18 months after the promulgation of the new Law.

The Sirovy Government itself is fully conscious of the absurd situation brought about by its having — in the new Constitutional Law — created measures very superficially adjusting the conditions governing the future development of a State divided into three parts, and more particularly by its having had the Law passed by a "Rump Parliament" elected under quite different circumstances. The only rational and honest way of providing the new machinery with the required moral basis in a State the representatives of which still delight in using the catchwords of democracy (though indeed the phrase employed today is "totalitarian democracy"), would have been a plebiscite. But a plebiscite is what the Prague Government is most anxious under all circumstances to avoid. In defiance of the provisions of the Munich Agreement that Government shrank from an appeal to the people even in the territorial questions.

The Prague Government therefore has endeavoured to save its face by simultaneously passing a law authorising the President of the Republic on the unanimous proposal of the Government to issue an edict amending even the new Constitutional Law. On the other hand the Government may also issue orders in council to replace the Law even in cases in respect of which the Constitutional Law postulates an adjustment by ordinary legislation. In such cases the consent of the President of the Republic must also be obtained.

The explanation of the conciliatory attitude shown by Prague towards the Slovak and Ruthenian demands offered by the Czech Press is to the effect that this is the only way to create the necessary feeling of confidence between the peoples concerned. Events, on the other hand, show that there is no confidence of the kind in evidence in the case of the Slovaks, while the discontent prevailing in Ruthenia has already led to insurrection and bloody encounters. For the economic re-construction of Slovakia the Slovak Government has no intention of enlisting the help of Czech capital and Czech industry, but — as may be seen from the visit to Berlin undertaken by Minister Durcsánszky — is negotiating with Germany in the matter of the industrialisation of Slovakia. Twenty years of bitter experience in their "co-operation" with the Czechs naturally explain the aversion to the Czechs and the lack of confidence in that people shown by the Slovaks.

The comedy being played today for the benefit of the outside world has nothing to do with the will of the Slovak people, but is merely the patchwork creation of a few Slovak politicians whom an exceptional stroke of luck has put in possession of the political power. The present state of things cannot by any means be regarded as final and definitive, for, to judge by what it has done so far, the Tiso Government will be quite incapable of consolidating conditions in Slovakia.

That the Czech Government has not the remotest intention of observing even the most elementary postulates of constitutionalism, is shown by the first measures taken by it in the matter of the elections. For on November 27th. it appointed the elections of deputies in Slovakia to be held on December 18th. and issued posters informing the general public that nominations had to be handed in by noon of the following day, the said nominations to be provided with the signatures of 100 electors certified either by a court of law or by a notary public. And all this was done before any attempt had been made to settle the questions of citizenship and opting, the result being that no one knew who had the right to vote; nor were any measures taken to decide which constituencies — and how many — were to remain. And the time left for certifying signatures was so short that — in the villages in particular — it was impossible to obtain the necessary counter-signatures either of a judge or of a notary public. As a consequence the only lists (nominations) submitted in the several constituencies were those of the Government party or of parties which co-operate with the Government party.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

HUNGARY'S EXCEPTIONALLY WARM AND RESPECTFUL RECEPTION OF LORD ROTHERMERE

In our last issue we reported that in response to the invitation of the Hungarian Regent and the Hungarian Government Lord Rothermere visited Hungary in November. He stayed with us from the 6th till the 12th and his reception by official Hungary and the people was a manifestation of the well-deserved affection and respect entertained by the Hungarians for their great friend, who was the first to champion Hungary's just cause, the first to give a directive to the Hungarian movement for revision. It was felt by all that our joy would not have been full had he not been with us to share the first triumph for revision, had he not been at the side of the Regent when, amidst the hosannas of the crowds, the latter made his entrance into the largest of the liberated Hungarian towns. An account of the celebrations has already been given. Here we merely wish to supplement that report with two speeches made by Lord Rothermere.

In reply to the toast proposed by the Mayor of Kassa at the banquet given in that city on 11th November Lord Rothermere said:

"Words fail me to express the pleasure with which, at the kind invitation of the Hungarian Government, I came today to Kassa to take part in these celebrations, for which Hungary, conscious of the justice of her cause, has waited patiently for many years. These happy hours are a recompense to Hungary and the Hungarians of Kassa for twenty years of suffering. The Hungarian colours are flying again on the walls of this ancient Hungarian city. I can assure the Hungarians of Kassa that their British friends are with them in spirit this great day. With the aid of her two great friends, Germany and Italy, Hungary has regained possession of Kassa, the pearl of Upper Hungary, and I am sure that you will never lose it again.

"For many years I worked in my own country to obtain justice for Hungary, fully convinced that this day was bound to come.

"Thanks to the kind invitation of His Highness the Regent

and the Hungarian Government, I am able to be here now, and I beg liberated Kassa to accept this flag from me as a token of my friendly feelings. It is my conviction that with the aid of my powerful foreign friends and the self-sacrificing labours of her own people, Hungary may regard the future with new hope. Today, my dear friends, the whole world rejoices with you and celebrates with you the happy day of your deliverance."

At the banquet given in his honour on 12th November by the town of Budapest Lord Rothermere said:

"It is strange thing to make a funeral a day of rejoicing. And yet, yesterday, I had the honour to rejoice with tens of thousands over the death of Trianon. That treaty was the work of malevolent men, who wished to bury Hungary. Now Hungary has buried Trianon. Yesterday, in Kassa, I was a spectator of the magnificent celebrations which showed that not even the arms of the whole world were able to crush this noble nation or trample down this sacred land. The crown of St. Stephen cannot be broken to pieces. The Hungarian spirit and heroism inherited from your ancestors cannot be exterminated.

"This evening you recalled that twenty years ago I carried the cause of downtrodden Hungary before the conscience of the nations. It is true that when first I raised my voice Hungary was practically without a friend in the world; but in a short time others — and very important people — also began to listen to you. Now an instalment of justice has been paid. I say an instalment, for I firmly believe that the restoration of the northern territories is merely a beginning.

"Mr. Mayor, today you are the head of the capital of a country of ten million inhabitants. Heaven grant that their number soon increase. Budapest was not called upon to share the hard lot of Kassa and the rest of the exiled towns. Nevertheless Budapest has had much to suffer since the crime of Trianon was committed. I am well aware that the problems of the Hungarian question and especially those of the capital, Budapest, are still very great. These problems will be solved in time — and they will be solved by the same virtues which in good and bad fortune made your people so great in the past.

"For my own part, I shall continue to do my utmost to be of service to your nation with the same readiness as heretofore. After the touching welcome I received last week and your cordial greetings tonight, I really feel that the ties linking me with Hungary are very strong. Had anybody asked me at the time what induced me to raise my voice on behalf of Hungary, I should have replied: a love of justice. But were the same question put to me today, my answer would be: love of justice and of Hungary. Since Budapest, with its great natural and artistic beauties and its historical interest is a symbol of the beauties and traditions of the whole country, I send a message through

you to the entire Hungarian nation. I thank you all for your affection and pray God to bless you in the happier future which now opens out before you." — y —

REGENT OF HUNGARY ADDRESSES THE SLOVAKS IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE.

When Admiral *Horthy*, Regent of Hungary, entered Kassa on 11th November he was welcomed on behalf of the Slovaks by Bishop *Charsky*. The latter's address, delivered in Slovak, ran as follows:

"Your Highness, Graciously permit me to convey to you the homage of your Slovak subjects. I am here to express the esteem and affection they feel for Your Highness, whom they regard as their father who has led them back to their mother-country. On behalf of my Slovak brethren I promise that we will be loyal to the country to which Divine Providence has again attached us. We wish to work for the good of our common land, for the prosperity of the Hungarian State. I humbly beg Your Highness to take your Slovak subjects to your fatherly heart and to ensure them the free exercise of their cultural and lingual rights in their new homeland. I beg Her Highness, Madame *Horthy*, to receive the new subjects of the Hungarian State with gracious kindness and to extend her good-will to them. May this country be happy and prosperous!"

In his reply to the various speeches Admiral *Horthy* addressed the Slovaks in their own language.

"Although my knowledge of Slovak is slight," said the Regent in his deep voice, "I learned to speak Croatian during the happy years I spent in the Navy, and so the Slav languages are not quite unfamiliar. I greet you with warm affection, who this day have returned to your thousand-year-old homeland. In the past you not only co-operated with us to till its soil, you also helped us to defend it. You may rest assured that the sympathy and affection of the whole Hungarian nation will guarantee a higher standard of life as well as the free development of Slovak culture and the Slovak language." — y —

HUNGARIAN ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES IN THE RESTORED AREAS

Social Measures.

As soon as the Hungarian troops crossed the frontier, measures were inaugurated by the Hungarian Government to further the social welfare of the inhabitants of the restored territories, and steps were immediately taken to provide a supply of all the neces-

sities of life. In a short time lists of those necessities were made out and articles of primary importance were despatched to the new Hungarian areas. The most important commodities were sugar, salt, flour, pulse, rice, bacon, potatoes, firewood, coal, petroleum and matches. Tickets were issued by the district military authorities to the indigent, who were the first to receive supplies of those important necessities. Hitherto about 100 wagonloads have been distributed, thanks to the thoughtfulness of the Hungarian Government. In order to prevent any hitch in production steps were taken without delay to provide the farmers in the regained territory with seed grain and hireable tractors to do the work of the farm-horses requisitioned by the Czechs, and to eliminate the difficulties arising in connection with cattle-breeding and dairy-farming. The Trans-Tisza Chamber of Agriculture has already organized branches, which are doing what is necessary in this respect on the spot.

Administration.

Special attention is being devoted by the Government to public hygiene and child-welfare. No one is to lose his or her claim to a pension, and the unanimous standpoint of the Government is that the inhabitants of the restored areas are entitled to the vacant posts in the civil service of those parts. In general teachers belonging to the autochthonous population have been left in their posts, and vacancies will be filled primarily with people who were dismissed by the Czechs because of their national feelings, or were forced to emigrate for political reasons. Having been employed during the Czech era will not count against anybody, and only those who abused their authority and dealt cruelly with the autochthonous inhabitants have reason to fear reprisals.

Land Reform.

Nothing will be done to alter the results of the Land Reform. The Hungarian, Slovak and Ruthenian peasants who received land will continue to own it after the restoration, no matter to whom it belonged formerly. On the other hand the villages of Czech settlers established in purely Hungarian areas by the Czech Government provide possibilities of giving land to those of the autochthonous inhabitants who were prevented from enjoying the benefits of the Land Reform because of their political opinions.

Judicature.

The edict issued stresses the point that the measures inaugurating Hungarian jurisprudence must respect the provisions of the law insuring the use of minority languages in public offices. In the sphere of civil law the order is that the laws in force in the restored territories will continue to be valid in the civil courts,

naturally with the exception of those which in the nature of things can no longer be applied owing to the change of State. For these will be substituted the corresponding laws in force in Hungarian judicature. All sentences will be pronounced in the name of the Holy Crown of Hungary.

Public Education.

The Hungarian Minister of Education has issued, as a general guiding principle, an order that the curriculum used before the restoration shall be adhered to in all grades and kinds of schools until the end of the present school-year. During this period no change may take place in the ownership of schools, that is to say, the Hungarian schools maintained by the Czech Government will become Hungarian State schools and the bodies maintaining non-state schools will remain in possession of them. No change will take place in the subjects taught either, but a patriotic Hungarian spirit must be introduced without delay into the teaching of national subjects such as Hungarian reading, literature, history, geography and political science. The teaching of Slovak and Ruthenian in schools attended by Slovak and Ruthenian children will naturally continue.

School-books Gratis.

The school-books introduced by the Czechs will — if the subjects are not national ones — continue to be used, but the books dealing with national subjects will — if on examination they prove unsuitable — be exchanged for those used in the mother-country. To facilitate this exchange the Minister of Education will present the schools in the regained areas with 50 per cent of the books required free and gratis.

Elementary Education.

Immediate steps were taken to close the State schools in purely Hungarian districts, if the language of tuition was not Hungarian. In mixed villages instruction will continue in the schools as heretofore, but provision will be made for separate instruction in Hungarian for pupils who speak that language — possibly with the co-operation of the teacher employed, should he prove suitable. In such villages, though the language of tuition, providing it was not Hungarian, will remain unchanged in the schools, Hungarian must immediately be introduced as a subject. In purely non-Hungarian places the language of instruction will remain unchanged, but here too Hungarian must be taught as a subject. Teaching in secondary and technical schools will follow the usual curriculum in the language hitherto used. Should Hungarian not have been taught in them, it must now be introduced. Special care must be taken that the pupils of those schools should suffer no disadvantages in connection with their studies even if forced to attend other schools in consequence of the restoration of Upper

Hungary. This applies in particular to students who were attending non-Hungarian schools — possibly in places that were not given back to Hungary — and who now would like to continue their studies in schools situated in Hungary. The Hungarian State will maintain an adequate number of non-Hungarian schools in the restored areas and the vacant places caused in them by a probable exchange of the population will make it possible for the non-Hungarian students who have hitherto attended non-Hungarian schools to pursue their studies without interruption.

If in consequence of the restoration of the Hungarian areas certain students are obliged to change schools, and therefore apply for admission to schools of a similar grade in other places, the headmaster of the school to which application has been made shall, if there is room enough, admit pupils over and above the regular number allowed. It is only if there is no possibility of providing room for them that the applications of students who, whether they had formerly attended a Hungarian or a non-Hungarian school, now desire to attend one nearer to their homes and situated in a district that before the restoration belonged to Dismembered Hungary, may be refused. The Minister of Education is prepared to deal with special cases separately and in such instances students are advised to submit their applications with the necessary data and documents direct to the Minister himself. — y —

KASSA THE CITY OF MAGYAR-SLOVAK FRIENDSHIP

The Czech press has repeatedly published reports accusing Hungary and the Hungarian authorities of oppressing the Slovak national minority living in the re-incorporated territories. The said reports have alleged that the Hungarian authorities do not respect the promises contained in the Slovak speech made by the Hungarian Regent in Kassa. In order to prove the unfounded character of these charges and to give them an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the real situation, the Chief of the Hungarian National Defence General Staff, in his capacity as supreme head of the military administration of the re-incorporated territories, invited representatives of the Hungarian and foreign press to visit the villages and towns situated in the re-incorporated areas of Upper Hungary and to personally convince themselves of the unfounded character of the charges made by the Czech press.

The Hungarian journalists, accompanied by forty representatives of foreign journals, arrived in Kassa at noon on November 25th. They were received at the station by the Mayor, M. Ladislav Tost. First of all they were taken to see the cultural institutions of the city. The first of these institutions to be visited was the reformatory — as institute similar to that at Aszöd. The sight that met the visitors when they entered this institute equipped for the

accommodation of 700 juvenile offenders was unforgettable, — Cossack vandalism at its worst! The Czechs had dispersed the inmates and had carried off the furniture and equipment, leaving only the bare walls and — dirt everywhere. The State printing works showed signs of similar vandalism. The Czechs had scattered the type at random and crushed it under foot. They had removed the machinery of the most up-to-date printing works in Upper Hungary — carrying off four type-setters, seven (printing) presses and four envelope-cutting machines, as well as all the other valuable articles of equipment. Apparently the Czechs had no time to dismantle and carry off the equipment of the tobacco factory. Consequently, the latter has resumed operations. The factory employs 297 hands — 224 women and 73 men. When the Czechs evacuated Kassa only 11 men and 1 woman left the factory. The workers in this factory are all without exception Slovaks.

The journalists were then taken to see the industrial high school, in which the work of teaching has already been resumed. This is due to the Magyar and Slovak teachers remaining in Kassa having concluded an agreement with the Czech authorities in terms of which the latter were entitled to remove only those articles which had been purchased subsequently to 1918. The school contains a Hungarian and a Slovak section. The journalists visited the Slovak classes in succession and by direct conversation with the Slovak boys were able to ascertain beyond a doubt that the pupils could choose freely and without constraint in which language they desired to be taught. It is worth noting that the Slovak boys almost all speak Hungarian fluently, while a Magyar boy of the name of Andrew Kiss is learning in the Slovak section.

In the postmen's (sorting) room in the General Post Office the journalists talked with the rank and file of the post office employees. The Hungarian Post Office Administration has taken over all the employees remaining in Kassa (altogether 133 officials and 89 postmen), although the staff of employees actually required by the Hungarian postal service in Kassa is only 88 officials and 79 postmen. The persons thus taken over include Slovaks who do not know a single word of Hungarian. There is a Czech employee too — a woman of the name of Mary Smrekovska, who is employed in the despatch department and, though she only knows a few words of Hungarian, is anxious to remain in Kassa. The employees who do not know Hungarian have taken the oath of allegiance too in Slovak.

The journalists then visited the broadcasting office. The Hungarian broadcasting corporation has taken over the only male and the two female employees remaining in Kassa. The manager of the office told the journalists of the terrible havoc wrought in the studio by the Czechs, who had removed everything, even the wave length, the Kassa Czech broadcasting station now removed to Eperjes having in spite of all the customary agreements begun to

broadcast from Eperjes on the Kassa wave length. On Saturday the journalists continued their work of inspection, visiting the settlements in the environs of Kassa, the Kassa schools, judicial institutions and industrial establishments.

RUTHENIAN STATESMEN ON QUESTION OF RUTHENIA'S UNION WITH HUNGARY

Dr. Stephen Fencik, who quite recently was one of Ruthenia's ministers, on 19th November broadcast an address in Ruthenian from the Budapest Studio to the Ruthenians living in America. Among other things he said: —

"The Ruthenians of America entrusted me with the task of representing them and making their resolutions known both in Europe and in the whole area of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, including the Czecho-Slovak Parliament. I declare that I have fulfilled this charge and that, with my confrères, I have done my utmost for Ruthenian liberty and Ruthenian autonomy.

"The Ruthenians of America have steadfastly adhered to their principles and have besieged the League of Nations with memorandums demanding Ruthenian autonomy. And we at home, languishing in the Czech dungeon, reacted to the efforts of our kindred in America to deliver us. When Mr. Chamberlain and Herr Hitler, in co-operation with Mr. Roosevelt, the great President of the United States of America, accepted the Wilsonian principles as the basis of new arrangements in Europe, when, that is to say, the peaceful method of self-determination was adopted, we Ruthenians at home also began to take steps in keeping with those principles. And when, on 2nd November, the Vienna award decided the fate of Ungvár and Munkács, it also decided the fate of the whole of Sub-Carpathia. Cultural, economic and psychological factors clearly show that the Ruthenians of Sub-Carpathia belong to Ungvár and Munkács, so much so that, cut off from those towns, their future existence is inconceivable. It was therefore but natural that all the cultural, economic and ecclesiastical representatives of the Ruthenian people should meet, with myself in the chair, in Ungvár on 3rd November and should pass a resolution in terms of which the whole Carpatho-Russian people (85% of which were represented at this meeting), invoking the right of self-determination guaranteed on 10th September, 1919, announced its wish to join Hungary, provided the most extensive autonomy was guaranteed and the national, cultural and administrative rights of the Carpatho-Russian people were recognized.

"You have entrusted me with a mission, and I beg you to inform, not only President Roosevelt, but also the heads of all the European Great Powers, that the Ruthenian people, from the Poprád to the Tisza, invoking the principle of self-determination,

signify their desire to join Hungary, provided full autonomy is guaranteed them. With full rights of self-government guaranteed us, I hope that the future of Carpatho-Russia will be assured under the Crown of St. Stephen. I believe in the independence and resurrection of our country. May God's blessing rest on your labourst *Nam nogaja e blahaja lyeta!*"

Michael Demkő, former Member of the Ruthenian Provincial Diet and acting-president of the Autonomous Ruthenian Farmers' Alliance, on November 20 broadcast the following address:

"Hungarian Brethren. Today, when after twenty years of struggle and hardship I am able to address you in a free country, on free Hungarian soil, on behalf of the Autonomous Ruthenian Farmers' Alliance representing 60.000 Ruthenian peasant votes, allow me first of all to pay tribute to the memory of one of the greatest of Ruthenia's sons, Ivan Kurtyák, a leader of our people and a courageous protagonist of friendship with Hungary, who died a martyr's death and to whom it was therefore not given to see the reunion of Ruthenia and Hungary. I take this opportunity of thanking the Hungarian people and the Hungarian Government for providig his widow and orphans with a home on Hungarian soil.

"In the second place my thoughts turn to another martyr, to Andrew Brödy, ex-Premier of Ruthenia, who has been rewarded by the Czech Government for his brave fight for Ruthenian self-determination with a bed in the hospital of the Pankrác prison in Prague. That I myself am able to speak to you today is solely due to the fact that though eighty detectives and policemen searched for me feverishly for a fortnight, they were not able to execute the warrant for my arrest."

„Ruthenian peasants once carried messages hidden in hollow walking-sticks to Francis Rákóczi II, who was exiled in Poland. They carried them by dead of night over the snow-capped Carpathians by forest paths known only to themselves. And today their descendants come flocking by the same paths to re-unite what God Himself had joined together, that which had been one for a thousand years and for which so much Ruthenian and Hungarian blood was shed — a common Ruthenian and Hungarian State.

"Along those same paths Ruthenian officers and soldiers, the sons of the men who served in the 9th and 11th National Defence regiments, are coming in masses in the chilly November nights. Weighed down with guns, machine-guns and ammunition, they come at the risk of their lives to join the Hungarian army.

"And when the great day arrives, and we Ruthenians are the first of the national groups of pre-war Hungary to find a home again on its blood-drenched soil, we shall have one re-

quest to make to the Hungarian nation: the new era the foundations of which are being laid with our co-operation and support and cemented with our blood, must not be a continuation of the state of matters obtaining in 1918. The old mistakes must not be repeated; and a new spirit must fill our new and independent life. We must join forces in a spirit of real brotherhood, never again to separate, never again to allow anything to divide us. In the outposts on the ridges of the South-Eastern Carpathians and in thousands of tiny cottages from the Poprád to the Tisza the Ruthenian people are waiting, dreaming and keeping watch." —y—

THE SLOVAKS IN AMERICA FOR SLOVAKIA'S RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

M. Béla Imrédy, the Hungarian Premier has received a cable from the Slovaks living in the USA. The cable was signed by the following Slovak leaders: Andrew *Pirhala*, President of the first Catholic Slovak League, John *Vargo*, Michael *Smarzik*, Secretary, Andrew *Smajda*, John *Seman*, John *Siroki*, Joseph *Torkos*, *Ádám Gaudos*, Andrew *Gavlik*, Joseph *Lajczák*, local delegate, Alexander *Zugeber*, Joseph *Rosenfeld*, Paul *Vargo*, Louis *Imre*, Andrew *Bellovits*, treasures. The cable runs as follows:

"In 1918 we, Slovaks living in the USA, accepted the Czech offer to form together with them the Czechoslovak State, in which the Czechs and the Slovaks were to enjoy the same rights under the principle of self-determination. This agreement of Czechs and Slovaks formed the very basis of Czechoslovakia, and it was accepted as such in the peace treaties following the Great War. The Czech leaders promised us equal rights in the Czechoslovak State. For twenty years the Czechs refused to grant their Slovak brethren those rights which they had guaranteed in 1918 with their own signatures. The Czechs are two or three times more numerous and economically more powerful than the Slovaks, and are in a much more advantageous financial situation, which they employ as a means of oppressing the Slovak people.

"This state of affairs compelled the Slovaks to emigrate from Czechoslovakia — while it was possible to do so — in much larger numbers than ever before. The Czechs have deprived our Slovak brethren of all their political rights in these twenty years; we need only refer to the thousands of newspaper articles which the Czech censors have suppressed and to the countless Slovak meetings dispersed by the Czechs. Hundreds of Slovaks have been thrown into prison during these years of Czech despotism. The same danger threatens our very Slovak name

and our Slovak culture, which the Czech Government would fain adulterate. Whenever it was impossible to silence the Slovaks by the intimidation of their leaders, the Czechs always resorted to their promises of home-rule, but they have never kept their promise.

"Now that twenty-year-old Czechoslovakia has got into serious trouble, the Czech Government has at last granted the Slovaks one portion of their lawful rights. Now, in its critical situation, the Czech Government has — as it has often done in the past twenty years — consented to the autonomy of Slovakia; but the question is this: will a judge believe the protestations of a relapsed criminal that he will change after the trial?

"We, Slovaks, do not believe this, nor do we believe that this homerule which was conceded under such critical circumstances will make any difference to the tendencies of the Czech Government. We, whose signature is attached to this cable, together with those Slovaks who are not guided by Czech interests, know and firmly believe that the Czechoslovak Government will not be able to change its guiding principles, which aim primarily at the destruction of Slovakia. We therefore beseech Your Excellency to use your powerful influence to secure for our Slovak brethren the enjoyment of the right of self-determination. Our request is that they may be allowed to decide freely and under neutral control whether they wish to remain and live their national life within the Czechoslovak Republic, or whether they would like to belong to some other State?

"We have simultaneously sent a similar request to the French Premier, to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to the Chancellor of Germany, to the Premier of Italy and to the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs." — y —

"CARPATHO-RUSSIANS" (RUTHENIANS) APPEAL FOR THE INCORPORATION OF RUTHENIA IN HUNGARY

On November 26th. M. Béla Imrédy, Prime Minister of Hungary, received the following cablegram from Newark in the State of New Jersey:

"To His Excellency Béla Imrédy, Prime Minister of Hungary,
B u d a p e s t.

Thousands of our Ruthenian brethren are being compelled to flee from Ruthenia by the cruel treatment of the Czech police. We beg Your Excellency to find means to enable our brethren in the old country to separate from Czecho-Slovakia and join the southern part of Carpatho-Russia, which has once more become Hungarian territory. We appeal to Your Excellency to assist the

Carpatho-Russian people while still subject to Czech rule to secure the right to decide its future destiny by plebiscite to be held under neutral control, thus relieving the sufferings and preventing the destruction of our Carpatho-Russian brethren with which the fresh partition of Ruthenia threatens them. In the name of the representatives of all the Ruthenians living at Cartaret, New Jersey, and in the vicinity: *Alec Medweczky*, Pastor of the Ruthenian Church of St. Elijah, and *Michael Stenko*."

HUNGARIAN TROOPS WELCOMED WITH WILD ENTHUSIASM AND A SHOWER OF FLOWERS BY POPULATION OF LIBERATED TERRITORIES.

For years Czech propaganda told the world that revision was unnecessary, because the inhabitants of the disputed regions, even the Hungarians, were not at all anxious to return to Hungary. This mendacious — and at the same time naive — argument was amply refuted by the unprecedented scenes of enthusiastic welcome with which the Hungarian troops were met in the restored areas.

Particularly touching were the frantic outbursts of joy among the simple peasant people of the villages. When the first Hungarian soldiers made their appearance joy-bells were rung, the streets were strewn with flowers, and with tears of happiness in their eyes the peasants rushed to kiss even the hem of the soldiers' uniforms. In some places the inhabitants, led by their priests, knelt in the street to pray as the Hungarian troops marched in. Where the horses of the peasants had not been requisitioned by the Czechs, mounted bands went out to meet the liberating troops. It would be impossible to describe in detail all the minor but nevertheless extremely characteristic scenes that were enacted. Each of them was a revelation of the Hungarian spirit which for twenty years could not find expression except in secret within four walls. Even in the poorest villages the Hungarian troops were welcomed with triumphal arches and masses of Hungarian national flags. And at what sacrifices were these preparations made! Only an hour or two before the arrival of the Hungarians did the Czechs withdraw; and till the last minute any attempt to prepare for the reception of the Hungarian troops was severely punished. Many a man lost his life through hanging out the Hungarian flag half an hour too soon. The population will never forget the last hours of the Czech régime, when machine-guns dealt death from the tanks parading the street, and Czech soldiers threw hand-grenades into the houses and courtyards. And yet, when the Hungarians made their appearance a few hours later, they were received by crowds in Hungarian national costumes with

flowers and triumphal arches. Copious reports of these events were published in the international Press. They were so affecting that even indifferent foreign spectators were greatly moved and mingled their tears with those of the liberated and liberators.

Special mention must be made of the great celebrations in the towns. The delirious enthusiasm with which the Regent, Admiral Horthy, was received when he entered Komárom and Kassa on his white charger, will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The ecstasy of the hundreds of thousands who watched his entrance from crowded balconies, windows, the roofs of houses and wayside trees or lined the streets in dense masses, and their shouts of welcome, were surely proof enough of the strength of the arguments urged for twenty years by the Hungarian revisionist movement. — y —

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA'S FRONTIERS NOT TO BE GUARANTEED

In connection with the question of the guaranteeing of Czecho-Slovakia's new frontiers the Polish press is unanimous in emphasizing the fact that this question will not come up for decision until that of Ruthenia has been settled. The "Express Poranny" establishes the fact that for the present there can be no question of guaranteeing Czecho-Slovakia's frontiers.

The "Express Poranny" stresses further that the Czech authorities are employing methods of a brutality exceeding even the cruelties which the Poles living in Czecho-Slovakia have been subjected to. The Czech gendarmes expel their victims without written warrants and allow them only a few hours to prepare for their departure. Those Polish residents of Czecho-Slovakia who are unable to get ready at such short notice, are immediately thrown into prison, fined very heavily and then conveyed to the frontier by armed "escorts." The Czech authorities have issued orders to the effect that all institutions and undertakings must immediately dismiss their Polish employees and have added a strict prohibition forbidding the said institutions and undertakings to engage any Poles in the future. Persons guilty of a breach of these orders are fined very heavily.

FOREIGN PRESS CORRESPONDENTS IN RUTHENIA

In the early days of December a large group of the foreign press correspondents stationed in Budapest left for the parts of Ruthenia restored to Hungary. First they went to Ungvár, where they saw a torchlight procession of Ruthenian and Magyar natives demanding the liberation of the Ruthenians still in Czech

bondage. They also visited Ruthenian cultural institutions and a camp of refugees, who had been driven over the frontiers in scanty clothing by the Czechs.

The next place they visited was Munkács. Here the new frontier is exceptionally absurd. The Czech frontier line runs just outside the cemetery and only the very nearest relations of the dead can attend funerals, no others being allowed into the cemetery by the Czech soldiers. The pressmen witnessed a funeral crossing the frontier. The few mourners were allowed to pass, but the carriages conveying them had to turn back at the frontier.

Another frontier section visited by the press correspondents was the one at Várkulcsa, where some of the houses of the village are in Hungarian and some in Czech territory.

In the course of their inspection of the new frontier they were told that on Saturday last the Czech frontier guards gave an inhabitant of Munkács a so-called "talk permit", but when he began to speak with a man who came over from Czech territory to the neutral zone, two Czech policemen tried to drag him across the frontier, and it was only the energetic intervention of the frontier guards that made them let the Hungarian go.

In the Munkács churchyard the Czech outposts use the nicest headboards as fuel.

The pressmen spoke with the people who crowded round them, and asked them many questions. They were struck by the hatred with which the population spoke of the Ukrainian terrorists and their policy. These Ukrainians, who were called in by the Czechs, are a foreign element far removed from the native inhabitants in spirit and language. — y —

MINORITY STATUTE NOT YET PUT INTO EFFECT BY RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT

The Correspondent of the "Daily Express" interviewed King Charles prior to his visit to England and *inter alia* asked His Majesty his opinion of the question of a revision of the frontiers. The Rumanian King replied to this question as follows:

"Rumania has always made her attitude in this matter quite clear; and there has not been any change in her policy on that point. Two months ago we gave the minorities of Rumania a new Statute (*Charter*), — not as the result of pressure from without or at home. The reason why we passed this Statute was that we believed it to be a *good and proper measure*. And I see no reason why our minorities should complain respecting this measure." — It is a fact that the royal dictatorship now ruling in Rumania, — which is not hampered at all by the political parties that have been dissolved —, has yielded to the pressure

of the political conditions prevailing in Europe generally and by Edict (*decret lege*) published in No. 101 (May 4th. 1938.) of the Official Gazette organised a commissariat-general for the control of minorities (*comisariat general pentru monoritati*) for the administration of the affairs of the national minorities (which even according to the Rumanian official statistics represent 28% of the total population) and then, on August 4th., 1938, issued another royal Edict (*decret regal*) containing instructions and determining the fundamental principles of the activity of that commissariat, and in the form of an Order in Council formulating the rules governing the work of the minority commissariat.

As regards this Minority Statute — which was published as Order in Council (*junale ale consiliului de ministri*) No. 1750/b. in No. (August 4th., 1938) of the Rumanian Official Gazette (*Monitorul Oficial*) — the fact must be established that it was drafted exclusively for the use of foreign countries, and that it has never been dealt with by the Rumanian (inland) press, simply because the Consorship has refused to allow it to be mentioned.

Another reason why the importance of this Minority Statute must not be overestimated is that extremely few of its provisions have been carried into effect. But even if the Statute had been carried into effect in full, it would represent only a mere fraction of the measures comprised in the Gyulafehervár Resolution of December 1st., 1918, which have also never been put into force. It is however just as indubitable that the Rumanian minorities are perfectly entitled to submit to the public opinion of the world their complaints against the strikingly deficient Minority Statute; for the Rumanian Government is in practice continuing the policy pursued by its predecessors and waging a war of extermination against the minorities' material and intellectual welfare.

Four months have passed since the measures contained in the Order in Council dated August 4th. were promulgated; but the Rumanian Government still refuses to respect the right of the Hungarian minority (guaranteed by Article I. of the Statute) "to establish, direct and administer under State control schools and denominational cultural institutions employing the minority language." To give examples, Government has not yet approved the establishment of Roman Catholic boys' and girls' apprentice schools employing Magyar as the language of instruction at *Temesvár* (where the application was made by the Roman Catholic Bishop) and at *Arad* (where the application was filed by the Roman Catholic community).

The Budget of the Rumanian State does not yet include a single bani under the head of grants to the bodies maintaining Hungarian denominational schools (Article II.) With very rare

exceptions Hungarian denominational schools do not receive any share of the 14% tax paid by townships and villages (Article III.) No answer has been given to applications for the right to figure as public schools (e. g. in the case of the Roman Catholic boys' lyceum at Arad which employs Hungarian as the language of instruction, of the Roman Catholic infant schools at Arad and of the 26 elementary schools maintained by the Gyulafehérvár Roman Catholic Chapter). (Article IV.) Nor has the provision relating to the ethnic distribution of the schoolchildren been carried into effect; for the directors (head teachers: headmasters) of the State schools — in defiance of the wishes of the parents — employ the "name analysis" procedure for the purpose of depriving the Hungarian children of the right to attend Hungarian schools. (Article V.) Even today measures taken by the authorities very seriously restrict the activity of minority Sunday schools and of the associations of the younger generations of both sexes (Article VI.) Even today administrative organs interfere in matters relating to divine service (Article X.) There is no improvement in evidence in respect of grants to the clergy (Article XI.) Since August 4th., 1938, — apart from a few sporadic cases of the appointment of mayors and deputy mayors — not a single Hungarian has been appointed to the civil service or given work in other branches of the public service. In Arad, for instance, the officials appointed since that date (about 40 in all) do not include a single Hungarian (Magyar). Ethnic origin is here an obstacle to persons anxious to obtain appointments (Article XII). There being no elected parish councils, the right to employ minority languages is merely illusory (Article XIII). Article XVI. of the Statute is also not yet in force; for — with but very few exceptions — the officials functioning in minority townships and villages do not know Hungarian: and the school-teachers in particular are unable to speak Hungarian. In the official premises we still find notices telling us that "*aici se vorbeste numai romaneste*" (only Rumanian is spoken here). The parish clerks appointed to function in purely Magyar villages (e. g. in Dorobanti in Arad County) do not know a word of Hungarian. The police continue to forbid the use of shopsigns with Hungarian inscriptions printed in letters as large as those of the Rumanian inscriptions (Article XXV.).

To sum up what has been said above, the fact must once more be established that — apart from the use of Hungarian place-names in the inside pages of papers and from the permission to function more freely granted to the Transylvanian Agrarian Society — no change of importance has ensued to benefit the Hungarian minority, and that the Government still continues to pursue an anti-minority policy against which the Hungarian minority is perfectly entitled to protest.

WHAT YUGOSLAV "EQUALITY" REALLY MEANS

While the electioneering campaign was in progress, the members of the Cabinet made statements about the minority question at various public meetings. In essentials these statements were merely a repetition of others made by the same politicians either at public meetings or to the representatives of the minorities — promises that were never kept. Below we publish three of them to give our readers an idea of the rest. M. Chiritch who was Speaker of the now dissolved Skupshtina, and is the Government's candidate in the Danube Banate, speaking at a Party meeting held in Ujvidék (Novisad) on 7th November, declared that "the various nationalities in the Voivodina are living in the most complete harmony. Have they, I wonder, any reason to feel that they have no fatherland? No, for we do not wish to oppress the nationalities. On the contrary, we wish them to enjoy the same treatment as the rest of our peoples, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. We do not want to humiliate them, we who ourselves have suffered so much humiliation." And M. Stankovitch, Minister of Agriculture, told a Hungarian delegation which appeared before him in Óbecse (Staribecej), town with a relative majority of Hungarian inhabitants on 9th November that "the Government is well-disposed towards the Hungarian minority."

But much more important than those two statements was that made at a big public meeting in Ujvidék (Novisad) on 13th November by Premier Stoyadinovitch. What he said was: "The fundamental principle of my policy is equality for all nationalities and denominations. This nation cannot adopt any other attitude where the minority question is concerned, and this attitude is in keeping with its past and its sense of justice. Our nation's inborn sense of justice is the best safeguard of minority development, a guarantee that their languages, religions and cultures will always find adequate support on our part."

Now let us see how the theoretically unimpeachable principles laid down in these statements are being applied to the national minorities in the course of the electioneering campaign, especially as regards the Government Party's list of candidates.

The Hungarians in Yugoslavia number over half a million souls, and the Germans slightly more. Together the two minorities form one-fourteenth of the total population, and on this basis they would be entitled to 26 or 27 of the 371 seats (the Hungarians to 13 and the Germans to 13 or 14.) However, according to the data of the 1921 and 1931 Censuses the Hungarians are in an absolute majority of from 66 to 95 per cent only in two towns, Zenta (86.73%) and Magyarkanizsa (Stara-Kanjiza: 94.81%) and three constituencies, Bácsopolya (77.70%), Zenta (81.96%) and Törökkanizsa (Nova-Kanjiza: 59.24%) and in a relative majority in three constituencies, 49.9% in the Óbecse constituency and 39.6%

in Dárda and Batina, two constituencies in Baranya; but even then the Hungarian minority would, in accordance with the most elementary demands of equity and fair play, be entitled to at least six seats — not counting the compensation they might claim for the Hungarian votes cast in other constituencies. In view of this it is particularly edifying to learn that the negotiations conducted with the Premier and other Ministers concerning the nomination of candidates have proved fruitless, for even the extremely modest demand made by the leaders of the Hungarian minority that the Government Party should put at least three Hungarian candidates on its list was not accepted. From a statement made by M. Stankovitch, Minister of Agriculture, at Óbecse on 9th November, it may be gathered that the Government intends to allow the Hungarian minority of over half a million souls only one single seat in the Skupshtina and proposes to appoint one Hungarian senator, instead of the three to which the Hungarian minority would, on a proportional basis, be entitled.

As things stand today, therefore, among all the 746 candidates on the Premier's general list there is only one of Hungarian nationality and one Hungarian deputy candidate. And these two are men who have been nominated without the assent of the Hungarian minority being obtained. Another moment that is particularly characteristic and makes the situation more difficult is that scarcely any men of Hungarian nationality are to be found among the officers in charge of the premises where the balloting is to take place.

This is how that Yugoslav equality looks in reality of which the members of the Government boast every now and then, but which actually is nothing but the complete political disability of all the national minorities, the Hungarians as well as more than half a million Germans, about the same number of Albanians, 800.000 Macedo-Bulgarians and 150.000 Rumanians, none of which nationalities are properly represented in the Yugoslav Parliament.

— y —

VILLAGES OF ALSOMECENZÉF, FELSŐMECENZÉF AND STÓSZ APPEAL TO HERR HITLER ASKING TO BE ATTACHED TO HUNGARY

After the Vienna award, a number of delegations from neighbouring villages went to the Hungarian National Council in Kassa to plead desperately against having to remain in Czecho-Slovakia. The most energetic in their protests were the villages of Alsomecenzéf, Felsőmecenzéf and Stósz, particularly as they had certain knowledge that the last Czecho-Slovak Note prior to the Vienna decision had offered those villages to Hungary. Not content with merely stating their protest, the three villages, the inhabitants

of which are predominantly German, started a definite movement in the interest of their restoration to Hungary.

On the day after the Vienna award, the inhabitants of the three villages arranged a great demonstration. The people attending the mass meeting signed a memorandum in which it was set forth that, if they have to remain in Czecho-Slovakia, their ancient industries will be ruined and their means of livelihood destroyed. Trade will stop, for they will have no railway line, and communication with the rest of Slovakia will be possible only across the hills at Stósz, where in the depth of winter the roads are impassable for cars for months at a time. This memorandum was signed by 3310 people, — by everybody present at the mass meeting. As the total number of the inhabitants of the three villages is only 5320 souls, it is obvious that the only persons who did not sign it were the children and the aged.

The inhabitants of the three villages decided to send this memorandum to Herr Hitler. This will be done shortly. Dr. Ernst Kundt, Reader in the Budapest University of Technical Sciences, formerly a Premonstratensian teacher in Kassa, has been asked to undertake this mission.

— y —

BACHINSKY NOW CONSIDERED UNRELIABLE

The November 26 issue of the "Uj Hírek," a newspaper published in Pozsony, contains a report received by telephone from its Prague correspondent about that day's negotiations between the leading Czech, Slovak and Ruthenian parties.

"Negotiations with the Slovaks" — says the newspaper — "are proceeding slowly and with every prospect of a compromise, but a very awkward situation has arisen in Ruthenian politics. In Sub-Carpathia the Ukrainian policy has gained the upper hand, and it is acutely opposed to the Ruthenian trend. The Prague Government is being besieged with Ruthenian complaints. Even the Ruthenian Government are not in full agreement. Bachinsky is considered to be an adherent of the Ruthenian policy, and yesterday, at a meeting of the Prague Government parties at which both Bachinsky and Révay were present a telegram arrived from Premier Volosin, protesting against Bachinsky's nomination as minister on the grounds that Révay alone had been authorized to represent the Ruthenian Government. This telegram gave rise to a very awkward situation, because Bachinsky had received a general commission to act as a liaison officer for the Ruthenian Ministry and maintain connections between the latter and the Prague Government.

— y —

SLOVAK SECONDARY SCHOOL IN HUNGARIAN
NAGYSURANY

In a report, dated November 26, the Slovak Telegraphic Bureau noted with appreciation that the military commander of Érsekujvár, acting as temporary head of the administration there, had ordered the removal of the Érsekujvár Slovak *gymnasium* to Nagysurány, the largest Slovak village of that district. The *gymnasium* will be housed in the Nagysurány Board School, which, in turn, will be transferred to Nagykompját. The teaching staff of the Slovak *gymnasium* will consist of the four teachers of the Érsekujvár Slovak school retained by the Hungarian Ministry of Education and others from the Nyitra Slovak *gymnasium* who through the restoration of Upper Hungary have now become Hungarian citizens. — y —

ESTERHAZY'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH TISO IN RE THE
HUNGARIAN MINORITY

On 2nd December, Count John Esterházy, leader of the United Hungarian Party, had a long conversation with Dr. Tiso, Slovak Prime Minister. The subjects under discussion were the question of the Magyar minority in Slovakia and the problem of the equality of the Magyars living in Pozsony. — y —

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

GRUESOME TALES OF ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY CZECH SOLDIERS AND UKRAINIAN TERRORISTS

With the liberation of the restored areas life there begins to run in peaceful and normal channels again. The people who were driven out of their homes by the Czech troops, or were forced to flee from violence, are slowly returning, and from them we learn the details of the brutality and cruelty displayed towards the Magyars and Ruthenians by the Czech troops and the bands of Ukrainians. A few instances chosen at random will serve as an illustration.

After the arrival of the Hungarian troops, the dead bodies of two men were discovered near a timber-yard belonging to the State at Fluder. The tracks leading away from their bodies were those of military cars, and their death had been caused by shooting. John Gyurcsák and Ferdinand Krivus, two inhabitants of Ungvár, were shot dead without any reason by a Czech sergeant. The one received four, the other three bullets in the abdomen. Alexander Basa, a national guard, was beaten unmercifully by Czech soldiers and Ukrainian terrorrists because he was wearing a national badge. A Czech official called Brichta, who was employed at the power station, threatened the tenants of No. 5 Hajnal-utca with a hand-grenade, saying that he would kill every Magyar with it. One evening, as they were on their way home from a public-house, Stephen Borsiczky and Alexander Pletenyik, municipal officials, were set upon and severely beaten. Their assailants were the 14 members of a Czech patrol, and their two victims were almost killed. All the inhabitants who offered their services to the Hungarian National Council were attacked by the Czech gendarmes. A Slovak policeman named Stofa was an eye-witness when the Czech gendarmes kicked the corpse of a Ruthenian insurgent whom they had tortured to death. Stofa tried to prevent the desecration of the corpse, whereupon he himself was maltreated so badly that he could hardly get away. For five days he hid from the Czech soldiers, wandering

from village to village and concealing himself in the neighbouring woods, and it was only after the arrival of the Hungarian troops that he dared show his face again.

A cousin of M. Bródy, former Ruthenian Premier, was maltreated and his jaw-bone broken. One night two unknown people were buried while Czech soldiers armed with bayonets kept guard. Their graves were covered with sods, in order to remove all traces of the earth having been disturbed. One of the sextons of the Ungvár cemetery was an eye-witness of the burial. In the days before the Hungarian troops arrived the Czech soldiers made a habit of shooting at the electric lamps. They also stopped motor-cars, made the chauffeurs get out, and drove away with the machines, which for the most part have not yet been restored to their owners. On one occasion twenty Czech soldiers with bayonets broke into the premises of the National Guard and carried away all the documents and reports referring to the cruelties and atrocities perpetrated by the Czechs. From that time on the National Guards were not allowed freedom of movement. During the last days prior to the evacuation the Czech tore about the town in motor-cars shooting wildly. Life in the city practically came to a standstill, as it was dangerous to walk about the streets. Matters were most critical the day before the Hungarian troops marched in, but shooting continued even next morning, and it was not allowed to put the flags out before noon. All this cruelty and the sufferings endured by the Hungarian population, however, did not prevent them giving the Hungarian troops an unforgettablely enthusiastic and hearty welcome. — y —

HLINKA GUARDS' ATROCITIES

According to a report received from Pozsony Paul Mahachek, former police superintendent of Révkomárom, who left that town immediately before it was re-occupied by Hungary, was set upon in the street in Pozsony by Hlinka Guards, who beat him cruelly. Mahachek had to be taken to hospital. He was a man much respected by the people of Komárom because his measures were always just. The reason for the assault is said to be his friendly feelings towards the Hungarians. — y —

EXPULSION EN MASSE

Thousands of the autochthonous inhabitants of Ruthenia, especially Hungarians, are being expelled by the Czechs. Numerous families have had to leave their homes at ten minutes' notice, without the barest necessities. In many cases they arrived at the Hungarian frontier minus shoes and stockings. For the

present they have been sent to refugee camps at Beregszász and Munkács, where they are being provided for by Hungarian charities. They say that owing to a lack of foodstuffs prices are soaring higher day by day in the parts occupied by the Czechs.

— y —

THE REV. JOHN DOBRANSZKY, FORMER M. P., DRIVEN
OUT OF EPERJES BY HLINKA GUARDS

The "Felvidéki Magyar Hirlap" of 8th November contains the following item of news:

"It is reported from Eperjes that the Hlinka Guards, who are wont to take the law in their own hands, have been guilty of atrocious behaviour towards the Rev. John Dobránszky, Dean of Eperjes, a much esteemed leader of the Hungarians of Eastern Slovakia as well as of the native Slovak population. The Dean's house was entered and he was told in a threatening manner that if he did not leave Slovakia within 48 hours, the Guards would not be responsible for his life or property. But he was not even allowed the promised 48 hours, for the Guards put him across the frontier before they had expired. This was not the first time Dobránszky had to suffer political persecution. In 1929, at the time of the general Parliamentary elections, he was arrested on various grave charges by the Czechs. Dobránszky was a thorn in their flesh because, as the candidate of the Opposition, he rallied nearly ten thousand electors to the standard of the autochthonous Hungarian and Slovak Autonomist Party. At this election he received a mandate from the alliance of Hungarian Parties, and by virtue of his privilege as a member of Parliament was released from prison. For a session he represented his constituency in the Prague Parliament. Dobránszky was not the only man to be expelled from Eperjes by the Hlinka Guards. Another who shared the same fate was Stephen Hegedüs, the head of the Eperjes Labour Bureau, who had previously been deprived of his post on the pretext that he had declared himself to be a Hungarian. Simultaneously with this, 21 men of Slovak nationality were arrested by the Czech authorities in the villages of Nagykürtös and Kiskürtös in the Kékkő hundred. They were suspected of having been making propaganda in those villages and inciting the inhabitants to demand their restoration to Hungary. Several Hungarian families were immediately expelled from Kékkő and report states that more expulsions are to follow."

— y —

TWO VILLAGES BURNED DOWN

The "Kárpátaljai Magyar Hirlap" of November 25 reports fresh outrages committed by Ukrainian terrorists. So many

houses were set on fire in Ljuta and Csontos that both villages were burned to the ground. The officials who fled from Ungvár cannot stay in Ruthenia and confusion is complete in the public offices at Huszt.

— y —

CZECH SOLDIERS TREAT EVEN CHILDREN WITH CRUELTY

However strictly the frontiers are watched by the Czechs, their frontier guards are powerless to prevent people escaping across them. In many places, on the trunks of trees near the posts of the Hungarian frontier guards, appeals written in Ruthenian or broken Hungarian are to be found almost every morning. The people of the villages over the frontier place them there under cover of darkness. As grown-up people are not allowed to leave the villages, they send little children to beg food from the Hungarian soldiers. On 21st November a little girl of eight years was found near the frontier at Salánk with a serious wound in her arm. She had been shot by a Czech soldier.

— y —

CZECHS PLUNDER UPPER HUNGARY.

In terms of the Munich Agreement the Czech Government was put under an obligation to see that the areas assigned to Hungary were in a sound economic condition at the time of their surrender. This provision of the Agreement was flagrantly infringed, for the areas restored to Hungary were thoroughly despoiled by the Czech military before evacuation. In consequence, a ravaged and plundered territory was handed over to Hungary. No medieval host ever wrought such havoc in the lands it conquered as did the Czechs in Upper Hungary.

In Beregszász there was a three-storied modern hospital with an enormous roof-garden. The Czechs carried away the whole of its magnificent equipment, even the beds, so that 600 patients who were not seriously ill had to be sent away. Among the things carried off were a fine Roentgen apparatus, operating tables and instruments, wash-stands and lamps. The telephone switchboard and the lift were dismantled, and even the water-taps were torn out of the walls, so that part of the building was flooded. All the finest plants were carried away out of the park.

Similar havoc was wrought in the secondary school building and the post office. In both buildings the empty walls show how the Czechs interpreted the terms of the Munich Agreement. In other public buildings, not content with carrying away the furniture and equipment, they also did damage to the walls.

In the villages they forced the peasants to hand over their seeds and farming implements. About 40% of the live stock was carried off. The Hungarians who had to provide the Czech soldiers with quarters suffered considerably; even their civilian clothes were stolen by the Czechs.

The cultural institutions in the Hungarian towns of Ungvár, Munkács, Komárom, Kassa, etc. were so thoroughly dismantled that their activity cannot be resumed until they are newly furnished. In many places even the libraries were not spared; the books were thrown in heaps into the streets and burned.

In terms of the Munich Agreement the Hungarian Government has ordered a list to be made of the damage done by the Czechs, and when its full extent is ascertained the Government will take steps to ensure that the despoiled inhabitants receive full compensation from the Czech Government.

— y —

RUMANIA

HUNGARIAN PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES DISMISSED AS THE RESULT OF UNSUCCESSFUL LANGUAGE TESTS MAY NOT REGAIN THEIR POSTS, UNLESS THEY CAN PROVE THEIR "RUMANIAN ETHNIC ORIGIN"

Those Hungarian public functionaries who were dismissed from service as the result of unsuccessful language tests have now applied for their re-appointment in a memorandum to the Government. Some of them have received the notice of dismissal accompanied by a document of royal acknowledgment of their merits. In their memorandum the dismissed functionaries refer to Art. 12 of the "Minority Statute", according to which no Rumanian subject may be prevented from filling a public post on account of his ethnic origin, religion or language. — Though the memorandum has not been answered so far, the principles of the Ministry of Communications are evident from a recent decision in the case of a minor railway employee named John Kovács. In reply to his application for a re-appointment this person was instructed by the Rumanian State Railways (CFR) to send in his certificate of birth, which he did accordingly. Thereupon the Directorate of Kolozsvár (Cluj) informed him under Order No. 179.674/Ra-1938, that his request could not be granted because *he was not able to prove his "Rumanian ethnic origin."* ('Magyar Ujság', November 16, 1938.)

— y —

ANTI-MINORITY PROVISIONS IN DRAFT OF
NEW RUMANIAN LAWYERS BILL

The draft of the new Rumanian Lawyers Bill stipulates in principle a perfect knowledge of the Rumanian language, and authorizes language tests to establish the same. It also deals with the ethnic origin of lawyers and determines a certain nationality quota, investing the president of the Chamber of Lawyers with the discretionary right to accept or reject new members. In various memorandums the German, Ukrainian and Bulgarian lawyers have protested against these provisions and the curtailment of their vested rights, and now the Hungarian lawyers have also lodged a similar protest. In it they protest against the unnecessary language tests and the ethnic quota established, pointing out that by right their proportion in the Chamber of Lawyers should be 24.4% instead of the present 20.4%. ("Keleti Ujság", 13th Nov. 1938.)

— y —

GERMANS IN RUMANIA DISSATISFIED

Rumanian propaganda boasts that under the new minority system the nationalities in Rumania have no reason for complaint, and that the Germans, for instance, have a splendid life compared with their situation during the Hungarian régime. How far this is from the truth may be gathered from the speeches made by the leaders of that minority at a meeting of the German Racial Community of Rumania held in Temesvár on 6th November.

John Lindacher, a district leader, protested against the Germans being classified as second-rate citizens. The Germans, — he said, — who had settled in Transylvania centuries ago, had a mission to fulfil and fulfil it they would.

Anthony Peter spoke of the grievances of the Swabian peasantry. They demanded German schools with German teachers, German judges, parish clerks and mayors, and the Government would have to take cognizance of their wishes, the more so as the interests of the Government were identical with those of the German minority. The speaker complained that the Rumanians were arbitrarily trying to take the management of the German co-operative societies out of German hands. First of all they had planned to establish co-operative centres of a mixed nature, and when that failed, an edict was issued authorizing the authorities controlling the co-operative societies to amalgamate them and appoint their managers.

Dr. Casper Muth, one of the leaders of the Banate Germans, declared that the German Minority had been very hopeful when it was announced at the historical meeting held at Gyulafehérvár that every nationality would be allowed to use its own language in the schools and courts of justice. Most of their hopes had been

disappointed, for the present at least. The trouble was that the so-called democratic parties had vied with one another as to which of them could better curtail the rights of the minorities. When one Government levied a double tax on sign-boards with inscriptions in a minority language, each succeeding Government raised that tax until it became eightfold. The result was that even a bill of fare could not be written in German today.

Dr Muth also mentioned the Protection of National Labour Act under which many German workmen had been deprived of their jobs.

Fritz Fabritius, head of the German Racial Community of Rumania, was the last speaker. In his closing address he established the fact that the Germans had no wish to be a State within the State. Rights, not privileges, were what they wanted. Rumania would not need to build fortifications were her frontiers peopled by a contented German people. ("Brassói Lapok", 9th Nov.)

— y —

DENATIONALISING ACTIVITIES IN COUNTY OF SZATMAR

The Rumanian Ministry of Education has appointed seventy new Rumanian teachers in the County of Szatmár. *In the County of Maros-Torda only the Germans are allowed to learn in their own language, but not the Hungarians.* A recent order issued by the Chief Inspectorate of Education in the Province of Maros has now been published in the official educational gazette of that province. According to this order, Art. 7 of the Private Education Bill must be applied and *German teachers must be appointed* for the teaching of German and possibly other subjects in every school where there are at least 30 German pupils. Furthermore, it provides that if there are several nationalities represented in a school the Germans must be placed in a separate section of their own. The same gazette contains only general statements concerning Hungarian educational matters. *It may be seen, therefore, that while the problem of the vernacular teaching of German children has now arrived at a practical solution, the Hungarian children are still compelled to attend the Rumanian classes,* in spite of the unmistakable provisions of the "Minority Statute" concerned. ("Keleti Ujság", Nov. 9, 1938.)

— y —

SENTENCES OF MILITARY TRIBUNALS

Dr. Gergely Köntzey, a doctor living in the village of Küküllővár has been sentenced by the Military Tribunal of Kolozsvár (Cluj) to a fine of 500 lei and 2000 lei costs, because a domiciliary visit by the gendarmes resulted in the discovery of a

number of empty sporting gun cartridges, an old sword, a little paper flag; the latter had been made by the doctor's little son, who had covered a sheet of white paper with the colours of all the coloured pencils he had.

M. Joseph Farkas, a Hungarian craftsman in the village of Szaniszló (County of Szilágy), who visited Budapest at the time of the Eucharistic Congress last May, has been sentenced to a fine of 500 lei for wearing the Congress badge.

M. Julius Kjubusz, a citizen of Kolozsvár (Cluj), has been sentenced by the Military Tribunal of that city to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 1000 lei for an alleged "outrage on the Rumanian nation". He was accused of having declared that he lived with an "Oláh" (i. e. Wallach) family, because his landlady was called Juliet Oláh. (It must be noted that the Rumanians were called "Wallachs" before they assumed their more elegant title "Rumanian", adopted to signify their affinity with the Romans; the name Wallach is a frequent Hungarian family name in its Hungarian form "Oláh", and is also used as a less elegant name for the Rumanians. The use of this word is strictly forbidden in Rumania, because it is regarded as a nickname and, therefore, as an insult to the Rumanian people). — M. János Borbély, a farmer in the village of Marosszentjános, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment, also on the charge of "insulting" the Rumanian nation. — y —

DIFFICULT SITUATION OF GERMANS IN RUMANIA

A memorandum submitted to the Governor of *Kolozsvár (Cluj)* on August 25th describes the situation of the German nationality in Rumania as follows:

"The State administration has, in recent years, inflicted many heavy and painful blows on the German nationality. The German burgomaster and three German councillors of the city of Beszterce (Bistritz), which was originally a German settlement, and several other German municipal employees have been dismissed without having committed any palpable offence. The remaining officials were forbidden — under pain of prosecution — to speak German in their official intercourse with clients of their own nationality. The new employees of the city have a very poor command — or none at all — of the language spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population. As regards the names of streets, another great injustice has been perpetrated against the population, in spite of obligatory agreements with responsible factors. Great anxiety was also caused in the villages by the possibility — provided for by legislation — of the amalgamation of several villages into administrative units. This amalgamation will, it is feared, deprive the German population of the possibility of electing German burgomasters of their own. The German officials have been dismissed

from the country and district administration." (Nation u. Staat, Nov. 1938. p. 118.) — y —

HUNGARIAN JOURNALISTS SEVERELY SENTENCED BY MILITARY TRIBUNAL

M. László Bélteky, editor of the Hungarian newspaper "Néplap" appearing in Nagyvárad, has been sentenced by the Military Tribunal of Kolozsvár (Cluj) to six months and one day's imprisonment on the charge of political agitation. His guilt consisted in publishing in his paper ("Néplap") on October 10th, without any comments, an address by Count János Eszterházy, President of the United Hungarian Party in Czechoslovakia, broadcast by the radio station of Pozsony (Bratislava). The publication of this speech was not forbidden by the censor, and a number of Rumanian papers published it in its original text. A warrant was issued for the arrest of the editor, who was arrested two weeks before the above sentence was passed. (Néplap, Nov. 18, 1938). M. Lajos Daróczy-Kiss, a Hungarian journalist in Nagyvárad (Oradea Mare), has been sentenced by the Military Tribunal of Kolozsvár (Cluj) to one month's imprisonment and to the payment of a fine of 3.000 lei and 2.000 lei costs on the charge of political agitation; he was arrested immediately after sentence had been passed. During the Rumanian parliamentary elections in 1933 M. Daróczy-Kiss had appeared at a political meeting as the delegate of the Hungarian Party and criticized the policy of the Liberal Party which was then in power. (Magyar Lapok, November 10, 1938.)

— y —

THE RUMANIANS TOO ARE COMPLAINING

The convention concluded on March 10th., 1933, between Yugoslavia and Rumania adjusts the position of the Rumanian and Serb-Croat-Slovene minorities respectively of the two countries on the basis of reciprocity, the relevant provisions endowing the minorities in question, as compared with the other minorities living in the respective countries, with exceptional privileges — that is, would have endowed those minorities with these exceptional privileges if the provisions of the convention had been honestly carried into effect. That that has certainly not been done, is shown among other things by the Memorandum presented quite recently to Premier Stoyadinovitch by a deputation of the

Rumanians living in Yugoslavia in which that minority demands that as provided in the said convention new elementary schools with Rumanian as the language of instruction should be established, that Rumanian teachers should be appointed to the State elementary schools, that the Rumanian youth be granted special facilities to travel to Rumania for the purpose of continuing their studies, that the statutes of the "Astra" Rumanian cultural association be approved, and that the said association be granted the right to function, etc. The deputation also announced that they expected the Government Party list to include a candidate of Rumanian nationality, particularly as the Rumanians of Yugoslavia had not been represented at all in the Skupshtina which had been dissolved on October 10th. last ("Banater Deutsche Zeitung," November 16th.)

PROTESTANT MINISTER CONVICTED BY RUMANIAN COURT FOR DEFYING VILLAGE CLERK'S ORDERS TO CELEBRATE A SERVICE

The "Minority Statute" published on August 1st, 1938, provides (Art. 10) that the Government authorities are not allowed to interfere in questions of divine service. Nevertheless, the Rev. Daniel Cs. Nagy, a Presbyterian minister in the village of Ottomány, was convicted on November 18th by the High Court of Nagyvárad (Oradea Mare) because he did not obey the orders of the village clerk to celebrate a divine service on December 1st, 1937, since that date had not been included in the official list of national holidays. In the first instance the minister was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, but the High Court changed it to a fine of 5000 lei, in consideration of the clergyman's advanced age.

— y —

EVEN HEAD BOARDS NOT ALLOWED TO BEAR INSCRIPTIONS IN MOTHER TONGUE

The Presbyterian Diocese of West Transylvania discussed at its recent meeting the recent orders of the gendarmerie of Bihar-diószeg, according to which *the head boards in the village cemetery must henceforth bear Rumanian inscriptions only, no Hungarian inscriptions being allowed*. The Diocese thereupon appealed to the Ministry, where it was informed that "cemeteries must be considered as public places in which the inscriptions on head boards must be bilingual". That is to say, the inscriptions on the head boards must give the names and the date of death of the deceased both in Hungarian and in Rumanian. The Diocese has now decided to appeal to the King against this most impious regulation.

— y —

ALL NEW HOUSES IN ARAD MUST BE BUILT IN RUMANIAN NATIONAL STYLE

The Rumanian authorities of the city of Arad have issued an ordinance saying that the erection of all new public or private buildings will be allowed only when the plans submitted correspond to the requirements of the specifically Rumanian style and character of architecture. The same principle is to be observed in connection with the restoration of houses. ("Brassói Lapok", Nov. 16, 1938.)

— y —

PUBLIC CONTRACTS TO BE GIVEN PRIMARILY TO RUMANIAN APPLICANTS

The recent order issued by the Ministry of Labour is a flagrant denial of the equality of rights allegedly obtaining in Rumania. This order — which has already been enforced in Szatmár — stipulates that in future public contracts must be given preferential to Rumanian applicants, even if their tenders are 5% dearer than those submitted by minority firms. ("Brassói Lapok", 9th Nov. 1938.)

— y —

HUNGARIAN THEATRICAL COMPANY MAY NOT GIVE MORE THAN THREE PERFORMANCES A WEEK IN SZATMÁR

Charles Mihályi applied for permission for his Hungarian company to give performances in Szatmár. The Town Council issued the licence, but only for three performances a week from 2nd till 26th December. ("Magyar Lapok", 25th Nov. 1938.)

— y —

MINORITY CITIZENS MAY NOT PURCHASE BUILDING-SITES

When some land belonging to the Kolozsvár management of the Rumanian State Railways (C. F. R.) was recently parcelled out among railway employees, those belonging to the minorities were not allowed to purchase building-sites. ("Ellenzék", 11th Nov. 1938.)

— y —

AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHERS MUST ALSO APPLY FOR PERMISSION OF MILITARY AUTHORITIES

According to recent orders of the Divisional Headquarters no amateur photographers in the counties of Csik and Szilágy or in the city of Nagykároly may take open-air photographs without

the permission of the Divisional Commander. Anyone caught in the act of photographing without a permit bearing his name is liable to prosecution and will be severely punished. ("Brassói Lapok", Nov. 24, 1936, "Keleti Ujság", Nov. 18.)

YUGOSLAVIA

UNFULFILLED PROMISES

We have already pointed out on several occasions that the promises made repeatedly to the leaders of the national minorities — in particular to the Hungarian minority — the Government has either failed to keep at all or has only partly fulfilled them, doing so only after a considerable delay. Now this circumstance has impelled the various sections of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Yugoslavia to apply again and again for a redress of the grievances so often complained of and for the fulfilment of their legitimate demands. Quite recently, for instance, the local organisation of the "Jugoras" (Jugoslovenski Radnicki Savez: Yugoslav Labourers' Union) functioning in the purely Magyar village of Kishegyes (Nali Idjos) decided to send a deputation to submit to Premier Stoyadinovitch the demands of the Hungarians living there. One of the most important of these demands related to the abolition of the system of "name analysis" still employed despite repeated ministerial promises to the contrary; another related to the re-opening of the Hungarian infant school which had been closed a year previously and to the appointment without the slightest delay of a Hungarian infant mistress. ("Reggeli Ujság" November 14th.)

A similar movement is in evidence among the inhabitants of the Hungarian homestead-settlements lying on the confines of the village of Ada, who have for years been applying in vain for the re-opening of the homestead schools which have been closed and for the appointment of Hungarian teachers. ("Uj Hírek", November 22nd.)

SITUATION OF GERMANS IN YUGOSLAVIA

A long account of the situation of the German nationality in Yugoslavia was published in the German review "*Deutschtum im*

Ausland" in October. The following are quotations from that article:

"Following the official abolition, three years ago, of the first local cultural groups in the Drave Banate the cultural activity of the German settlement there — which had already been reduced to a minimum — was handicapped by an ever-growing oppression. Today, when there are no more local cultural groups and even the few existing choral societies are handicapped in their work, it is impossible to speak of such activities at all. The German press service of the Drave Banate is — according to the "Deutsche Zeitung" appearing at Cili — restricted to a single paper, the "Gottscheer Zeitung", which appears three times a month. The situation of education, too, shows a growing decline; the number of German schools was far from being sufficient even in the past, but the existence of 18 German elementary schools (12 of these in Gottschee) in an area inhabited — according to official records — by 30.000 Germans is indeed a farce. Moreover, the staff of these schools is composed partly of Slovene teachers whose command of German is very defective. Their numbers are, furthermore, reduced by such methods as the analysis of names and the admission of children of Yugoslav nationality.

"The same decline is in evidence in the economic situation. The statutory limitation of trading in immovable property is one of the powerful weapons against the German nationality to prevent it from acquiring land. The German merchants, craftsmen and members of the liberal professions suffer more and more from the effects of a well organized boycott propaganda against them.

"Owing to the anti-German measures introduced in the main German settlement in the Danube Banate — where conditions were at least tolerable before this — it was feared that a further aggravation of the situation of the Germans in the Drave Banate would ensue.

"Even in the past Germans in the Drave Banate have frequently applied in vain for passports, but now they can obtain them only in exceptionally important cases. An innocent meeting of a few Germans at an inn is already put down as a "forbidden assembly" and involves a heavy fine. Old men who cannot speak Slovene and, therefore, address people in German are also fined under the charge of "violation of the State language". Such cases are particularly frequent in the frontier regions of the Drave Valley, e. g.

in Mahrenburg. In Marburg the hatred against Germans takes the form of public insults without any official prosecution of the offenders, Socialists or others. During the "Marburg Week" the Germans were assaulted and insulted in the open streets and entertainment places. Wearers of white stockings (a garb worn by German nationals) are in constant danger of their lives. The mouthpiece of the Slovene Government Party, the "Slovenes" appearing at Laibach, recently published reports from Marburg saying, with evident satisfaction, that it has at last been possible to make the white stockings disappear from the streets altogether. This shows that these circles, too, have had something to do with the persecution of Germans.

"At the present moment no tension can yet be felt in the main German settlement in the Danube Banate, though, owing to recent events, almost all cultural activities have been suspended, and official inquiries — though in a limited sphere only — are still being continued. In many places the windows of the Habag House in *Neusatz (Ujvidék)* have been smashed twice already, but the offenders have not been prosecuted."

— y —

B O O K S

Magyars, Slovaks and Ruthenians in the Danube Valley. By Ödön Tarján and Dr. Andrew Fall. (Budapest, 1938. Victor Hornyánszky Ltd. 55 pp. and 3 maps.)

This valuable work, by Ödön Tarján and Dr. Andrew Fall, which with the help of irrefutable data and arguments reveals the points of contact between the Magyars and the Slovaks and Ruthenians, was published in the days immediately following the Munich Agreement. In its introduction the authors point out that Hungary's significance in connection with European peace and the reconstruction of the Danube Valley is not determined by her military strength, but by her geopolitical situation and the state-building abilities shown for more than a thousand years by the Hungarian people.

After a description of Masaryk's and Beneš' propaganda, it contains a chapter devoted to the historical struggle for autonomy carried on by the late leader of the Slovaks, Father Hlnka. Here the writers say:

After the decision of the Four Power Conference in Munich had been made public, the Slovak People's Party, — having come to terms with the Czecho-Slovak Agrarians and the Slovak National Party, — held a meeting at Zsolna at which it was resolved to establish a joint front in the interests of Slovak autonomy. The idea was to effect a reconstruction of the Czecho-Slovak State on a dualistic basis after the model of the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

In the Zsolna resolution it was announced that the Slovaks dwelling in the Czecho-Slovak Republic insisted on their right of self-determination and demanded international recognition of Slovak national unity. They insisted on a demobilization of the Slovak troops and stated that they had taken over administrative and executive control. The communiqué issued in connection with the Zsolna resolution ends with the words: — "The victory of the principle of self determination signifies the end of a struggle that has lasted for years. Long live the free Slovak nation! Long live the Slovak Government."

The Prague Government, sorely pressed on all sides, was

compelled to take cognizance of the Zsolna resolution, but soon devised an expedient to ensure that Slovak autonomy should remain illusory. The Prague Government accepted the fact that Dr. Josef Tiso and four others had formed a Slovak Government, but this "independent" Slovak Government was required to take an oath of allegiance to the Czech Premier. Tiso suggested the appointment of his four co-ministers, but the appointments were made by Premier Sirovy.

By acceding to the Slovak demands Prague hoped perhaps to avoid a manifestation of the real will of the Slovak people in a plebiscite.

It is obvious that an autonomy achieved not by the will of the people but thanks to the patronage of another State, is a mere travesty of political independence and a flouting of Hlinka's aims.

The right of self-determination must be exercised by the Slovak people in a plebiscite and without any outside influence being brought to bear on them. Before the plebiscite takes place Slovakia must be cleared of all the Czech troops, gendarmes and police and of the Czech administration. Otherwise it is scarcely conceivable that Slovaks would be allowed to express their desires freely.

In connection with the Ruthenian struggle for autonomy the book says that Prague employed the same methods to prevent Ruthenia's breaking away from the Republic — which it was certain to do if it had the chance — as were used to postpone at least the manifestation of Slovak self-determination. In Ungvár a National Council of Ruthenians and Ukrainians was allowed to draw up Ruthenia's demands and — what seemed of even greater importance — to nominate the members of the Ruthenian Government. A deputy named Bródy was nominated Prime Minister, Dr. Bárány, who was already a member of the Prague Government, was made Governor, and five other political leaders received portfolios. With this personal ambitions were partly satisfied, only the Ruthenian people were given no opportunity of expressing their wishes or of exerting any influence on the future development of their affairs in the radically changed circumstances.

The Ruthenian autonomy established according to Prague's intentions cannot be regarded as a final settlement, only as an attempt to apply Prague's wellknown methods to Ruthenia. There, as in Slovakia, the final decision must be taken by the autochthonous inhabitants by way of a plebiscite conducted on the principle of the right of self-determination.

The bitter sufferings of the Magyars in Czecho-Slovakia are graphically described. We learn of the anti-Magyar banking laws and Land Reform, of disindustrialisation, of a taxation and tariff policy aiming at the denationalization of the

minorities, and of the dimensions assumed by emigration as the result of oppression.

A separate chapter deals with the situation created by the Munich Agreement in Bohemia as well as in Slovakia and Ruthenia. The final conclusion drawn by the authors is that the future of the Slovak and the Ruthenian nations rests with the peoples themselves. The question is whether they are willing to exchange the sham autonomy conceded by a sorely pressed Prague for a self-government which really and truly enforces the principle of self-determination. Slovakia and Ruthenia have nothing to expect from Prague, in fact less than nothing, for they must reckon with the fact that Bohemia is going to take advantage of their resources in order to overcome her own difficulties. The *sine qua non* of the political independence of these territories is the financial independence of the State to which they belong, which can only be ensured if every economic possibility can fully be taken advantage of. From this it follows, as the logical conclusion of the standpoint adopted by the Slovak and Ruthenian peoples, that the self-government and independence for these territories can only be attained and maintained by co-operation with Hungary.

The Hungarian nation is not demanding privileges when it informs international public opinion of the situation in the Danube Valley and invites the Slovak and the Ruthenian peoples to co-operate in the solution of its problems. The history of ten centuries proves that St Stephen's ideas are still a vital force and that Hungary must remain independent and strong in order to become what owing to her geographical situation and the state-building ability of this nation she was destined to be: the nucleus of a union of the Danubian peoples. An atomized Danube Valley is necessarily at the mercy of the pressure of rival Great Powers. The little States are not strong enough to live independently; but if they join hands they can be decisive factors in European politics.

The Slovaks, as well as the Ruthenians, are too few in number to found separate independent States. Their union with what remain of Bohemia would — as we have seen — prevent their making the best use of their economic resources, as they must do if their national existence is to be safeguarded against Czech aggression. Economic and financial dependence would certainly crush all endeavours to achieve political independence. The only way in which the social, cultural and economic development of their national genius can be ensured is through self-government established in the spirit of St Stephen's ideas. The Hungarian nation has but one wish: that the Slovak and the Ruthenian peoples should take their own decision and do so by exercising the right of self-determination without any external influence being brought to bear on them. — y —

POLITICAL ECONOMY

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

FAMINE IN RUTHENIA

On 28th November the Polish Telegraphic Bureau reported that the difficulties of transport and supply in Ruthenia had assumed alarming proportions. In the Verhovina district, where the famine is greatest, the people have lost all means of earning a livelihood. Hitherto they were mainly occupied sending wood down to the Lowlands, but when the Hungarian frontier was closed this became impossible. Nor can the timber be sent to the western parts of the Republic, for intercourse between east and west has practically come to a standstill. In Huszt and Nagyszöllös certain articles of consumption, such as sugar and flour, are doled out in limited quantities, none without tickets. Prices have risen by 20—30%. The people of the Verhovina district — about one-third of the total population of the province — are in desperate straits. Rumania has promised a large quantity of maize to feed the people, but only two or three wagon loads can be sent at a time by lorry to the centres from which it is being distributed. — y —

CZECH COLONISTS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO SETTLE IN DISMEMBERED SLOVAKIA

The following is a quotation from the "Slovak" of 6th November:

"The refugee Czech colonists have been told by Prague that they should not return to Czech territory, as there was no possibility of providing for them there. The Slovaks protest energetically against their settlement in Slovakia, since the Slovaks have too little land themselves. This protest is being ignored by those in power in Prague, and the Czech colonists are being settled in Slovakia, chiefly on State property. At Viglas (an estate belonging to the State) sixty Czech families have been settled. To reassure them the Slovaks are told that this is merely a temporary arrangement." — y —

REDUCTION OF WORK IN RUTHENIA

The salt mines of Aknaszlatina in Ruthenia have decided to reduce the working time of the employees to two days a week; the Klotild-factory has reduced its working time from eight to five hours a day. Timber floating has been suspended almost completely. Of the annual quota of floated timber 7500 cubic metres are still to be conveyed from the yards.

— y —

HUNGARY

VALUE OF HUNGARY'S EXPORTS IN FIRST FOUR
MONTHS OF ECONOMIC YEAR AMOUNTED TO 185.9
MILLION PENGŐ

It appears from the records of the first four months of the economic year beginning on July 1st that the value of Hungary's exports during that period amounted to 185.9 million pengő as against 184.6 millions in the same period last year. The value of exports, therefore, shows a slight improvement in a period when — in spite of the good harvest — the development of political events in the world by no means encouraged export business.

The value of the articles exported during the above period is divided as follows: live stock 41.8 mil. p., agrarian articles 120.4 mil., victualling industry 7.1 mil., other industries 53.7 mil., ores and other subsidiary materials 4.7 million pengő. It is also important to remember that in the case of manufactured goods we have now reached a stage when our exports in these goods are not only level with our imports in them but actually exceed the latter in value.

— y —

BUILDING OF A 100 KILOM. CANAL BETWEEN THE
DANUBE AND THE TISZA

A monumental scheme recently elaborated by the Hungarian Government comprises such hydrotechnical problems as the improvement of waterways and of the navigability of rivers; the costs are estimated at 26 million pengő. It also includes — as a future possibility — the canalization of the main tributaries of the Danube and the Tisza. Plans for the canalization of the river Körös are already complete, together with plans referring to a 100 kilometres long canal between the Danube and the Tisza. After this scheme has been realized the total length of Hungary's waterways will increase from 1114 to 2486 kilometres. Further plans are now being drafted for the irrigation of the Great Hungarian Plain. According to these plans the

swollen water of the river Tisza will be diverted into a canal 102 kilometres long which is to serve the purposes of irrigation as well as of navigation. By these means, the main canal and its branches will solve the problem of the irrigation of 120.000 hectares without the employment of any special devices for raising the water.

Natural conditions leave little room for the exploitation of water power. Nevertheless, Hungarian economists are now working on plans for a better exploitation of that power, and some of them are already complete. Such are: 1, The building of a power station on the Moson branch of the Danube with a volume of 300 cubic metres of water, a fall of 14 metres, and a capacity of 42.000 kilowatts. 2, The building of a power station on the river Hernád, near the village of Tiszaluc, with a volume of 40 cubic m. of water, a fall of 13 metres, and a total capacity of 4000 kilowatts. The costs of the latter are estimated at 5 million pengő. The issuing of an official permit for the building of these two power stations is already under way. In connection with the problem of irrigation another power station may be built at the point where the Tisza is to be raised. This would have a volume of 100—150 cubic metres of water and a fall of 4 to 8 metres; its lowest capacity is calculated at 4000 kilowatts, and the costs would amount to 6.5 million pengő. These are some of the more outstanding public works which the Hungarian Government intends to commence in the near future. — y —

SUGAR PRICES REDUCED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL

Among the exceedingly important social and hygienic measures recently taken by the Hungarian Government is the reduction of sugar prices to the pre-war level. The new prices fixed by the Government are 22 fillérs lower in the Capital and 24 fillérs lower in the country. In other words, the price of granulated sugar has been reduced from P. 1.28 p. kg. to P. 1.06 p. kg. in Budapest and from P. 1.32 to P. 1.08 in the country. Considering the total consumption of the country this means 25 million pengő less expense in a year to the consumers. This result could certainly not have been achieved without the unselfish and understanding cooperation of all factors concerned, such as the State, the sugar refineries and the sugar beet growers. — In view of the great social, hygienic and economic importance of this problem, the State ignored the purely fiscal side of the question and solved it by a spontaneous reduction of the excise duty on sugar. The refineries, too, helped the Government with great understanding and undertook to cut their selling prices down to an even lower level than could be expected of them on account of strict business calculations. And, last but not least, the Hun-

garian sugar-beet growers also contributed towards this reduction of prices by giving up their prospects of higher profits resulting from an eventual growth of the home market and better export possibilities. With this highly important social act of the Government the prices of Hungarian sugar have now come down to the level of sugar prices in Germany, Italy and Yugoslavia.

— y —

RUMANIA

FURTHER DECLINE IN RUMANIAN OIL PRODUCTION

The November 12 issue of the "Excelsior", a Rumanian weekly dealing with economy and finance, contains the following report:

Because of the steady decline in production, the petroleum question is one deserving the closest attention.

The quantity produced in the first nine months of the current year was 4.983.813 tons, as compared with 5.418.000 tons in the same period last year. The figures for the first nine months of the years 1936, 1935 and 1934 were 609.683 — 2.228.313 — and 6.233.436 tons respectively.

More alarming still is the way boring operations are falling off. Only 229.952 metres were bored in the first nine months of the year, as against 303.137 in the same period last year. The decline is therefore about 24%. In the preceding years the figures were as follows:

| | |
|------|----------------|
| 1936 | 241.545 metres |
| 1935 | 238.778 metres |
| 1934 | 282.405 metres |

The "Excelsior" states that compared with last year the decline in the quantity of oil produced during the first nine months was only 8%; that it was no more, was due mainly to intensive production, especially in the rich *Tintea* and *Ceptura* districts. According to this newspaper, the decline in production was not caused by economic or technical factors, but arose from the fact that the Mining Laws do not grant any privileges to petroleum producers. These laws should therefore be modified so as to afford the maximum of support to the petroleum companies.

— y —

YUGOSLAVIA

PROSPECTING FOR OIL TO BEGIN EARLY NEXT YEAR
IN YUGOSLAVIA

A report from Belgrade states that the negotiations re prospecting for oil in Yugoslavia which were in progress between the management of the "Monopol" and the "Yugoslav Prospecting Co. Ltd." are nearing a close. An agreement is to be signed shortly, which will empower the Company to prospect for oil in certain parts of the country and exploit it if found. The Company is to receive a concession to prospect in the Muraköz district, where it is expected that rich fields will be found, since this is the region nearest the oil wells in Hungary. The Yugoslav Prospecting Co. Ltd. is backed by the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, which will place four million dollars at the Yugoslav company's disposal for prospecting purposes. In connection with these negotiations two world-famed geologists, Professors Taussig and Papp, are at present in Belgrade. Two members of the Board of the Standard Oil Company are also in that city.

Once the agreement is signed, the Company will begin prospecting for oil early next year. Besides the Yugoslav Prospecting Co. Ltd. there are two other companies at work prospecting for oil in Yugoslavia, the "Medjumursko petrolejsko" Co. and the "Pannonia" Co. Ltd.

— y —

ENORMOUS GROWTH OF YUGOSLAVIA'S TEXTILE
INDUSTRY

With the exception of the Zagreb—Karlovitz industrial area the State of Yugoslavia, with its 15 million inhabitants, had practically no textile industries worth mentioning at the time of its creation. Today, it has whole regions devoted to those industries, the chief of which are Paracin, Leskovatz, Belgrade and Zimony (Zemun). At present manufacturing industries in Yugoslavia employ 400.000 hands, of whom a round 70.000 are engaged in the textile factories. The number of the latter is 65 with 200.000 spindles and 13.000 looms. The percentage of the raw materials imported by the textile industries has risen from 8% to 30%, and Yugoslavia's imports of manufactured textile goods has sunk from 77% to 25% in ten years, which means that the inland textile industries are able to supply 75% of the country's needs.

— y —

The Danubian Review is published monthly. — Editorial Offices and Management: Zrinyi-utca 1, Budapest V. — All articles, — with the exception of those signed „y” — have been translated by Dr. ARTHUR B. YOLLAND, Professor of English literature in the University of Budapest. — Responsible for the publication: Dr. ANDREW FALL. — Editor for Economics: NICHOLAS ÜDVARDY. Issued and printed by Sárkány Ltd. — Responsible for the printing: Dr. A. and J. Wessely. 13:98