

DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE
DANUBIAN BASIN

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Vol. VII. No. 2.

JULY, 1939.

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ARE THE "FRONTS" BECOMING MORE RIGID?

BY

ANDREW BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY M. P.

Today international fronts are in process of construction, and these fronts, on the one hand the Axis, on the other hand the *Franco-British Alliance*, which *Soviet Russia* is on the point of joining, confront each other with growing bitterness and rigidity. Besides these chief factors, *Poland* — alas for *Hungary's* cause! — has withdrawn from her former position between the two fronts, has strengthened her old alliance with France and become an ally of Great Britain. For a long time Rumania hesitated between Germany and the Western Powers, but after thoroughly exploiting each in turn, finally sided with France and Britain. *Turkey* and *Greece* have also taken sides with the Western Powers, National Spain on the other hand, is preparing to enter into close co-operation with the Axis. Outside Europe Japan is leaning more and more towards the Axis, and the *United States of America* are approaching the Franco-British Alliance. Yugoslavia finds herself in an increasingly difficult position between her sympathies for her old Franco-British allies and her new Italian and German friends. Hungary's independence and her revisionist ambitions make it imperative that she should cling faithfully to her political friends, Italy, Germany and Poland, but, as the *Regent, Admiral Horthy*, said in his opening speech in Parliament, she must also try to make new friends too.

It is evident that in normal circumstances it would not serve Poland's interests to ruin her chances with either of her powerful neighbours. The same is true of Yugoslavia; it would not pay her either to break with France or to spoil her new friendship with Italy. And in point of fact it is not Rumania's interests either to fall into Soviet Russia's orbit. Neither is it to Hungary's interests to be at enmity either with England or France. The little nations in the Danube Valley

must feel and know that any sort of protectorate, whether overt or covert, is no solution of their problems. The *Czechs* have paid dearly for accepting the rôle of a protégé of the *Western Powers* while masquerading in the guise of imperialism, simply because they were relying on the superior strength and the bayonets of their protectors to enable them to pursue their foolish, petty and artificial power-politics, so wicked and oppressive where Hungary was concerned. Now they are obliged to endure another kind of protectorate. And it is certain that, like the Paris Peace Treaties, the growing rigidity of the international political fronts will not bring grist to the mills of the more self-reliant, independent and stronger Danube nations, but to those of the nations that always prefer to rely on others and look to others for the satisfaction of their own selfish and insatiable ambitions.

Let us compare Yugoslavia's behaviour with Rumania's. During the world war the Serbs fought with matchless bravery. They also suffered severe losses. And lo! Yugoslavia is again struggling valiantly to defend her independence; she has not deserted her old allies; neither is she willing to leave her new friends in the lurch; from one day to the other, to gain the friendship of strangers. Rumania, on the other hand, after an economic and political flirtation with the Third Reich that lasted for years, was ready overnight to accept the protection of the Western Powers, and has no intention of following the example of our good friend Poland and relying primarily on her own strength. Or would she have been capable of those self-reliant tones in which, with natural, native dignity, Admiral Horthy, our Regent, gave voice at the opening of Parliament to the unflinching determination of the Hungarian nation and State to preserve the country's independence in every direction?

Yes, the extension of the international political fronts and their increasing rigidity will again favour those of the small nations who are servile in spirit. See how *Rumania* threatens her unfortunate three million minority subjects with British and French guns, although the whole world knows — and the Rumanian statesmen are the first to be convinced of it — that if ever Dismembered Hungary and Great Rumania meet face to face in a military struggle, without allies on either

side, the only possible outcome will be a victory for Hungary.

It is not we who say it; the *British* press is aware of what England's unilateral guarantee to *Rumania* may lead to. The "Daily Mail", the newspaper of Hungary's old friend Lord Rothermere, sharply criticises that guarantee and points out that the lamentable consequence will be that Rumania, driven by chauvinism and an imperialistic mania and relying on the protection and arms of the Western Powers, will certainly put new fetters on the already sorely tried Hungarian minority. We are forced to agree with the "Daily Mail" when it says that before giving this guarantee Britain might have thought of these three million Hungarians, whose ancestors fought in defence of Western Europe while the good Rumanians were peacefully herding their sheep and goats, out of reach of danger, in their mountain fastnesses.

What is this if not the beginning of another international counter-selection which will inflict a blow and impose new trials on the brave and constructive nations of the Danube Valley, or rather of Central Europe — on nations with an important mission to fulfil, nations relying on the traditions of centuries, of a thousand years, and on their capacity for State-building — and promises a reward to the weaker nations more ready to play the rôle of vassal States. Every gesture of *Rumania's* present leaders reveals that they would have been frightened to death had the French and British guarantees been delayed, but that with them in their pockets they are ready to continue more brutally than before the task they set themselves twenty years ago, namely the extermination of their Hungarian subjects, the bravest and most gifted race in the Danube Valley.

And all this is taking place at a time when the responsible leaders of Britain's polity make no attempt to deny (see Lord Halifax's memorable speech in the House of Lords on 9th June) that the Western Powers were guilty of many serious mistakes after the war, and that Britain is ready for an open discussion of all the disputed European questions in order that peace may be established in this weary Continent. The *British Foreign Secretary* said he was not ashamed to confess that grave mistakes had been made both in the Peace Treaties and since; but the leaders of Great Rumania are

incapable of such honest self-criticism. Instead, under the protection of British and French bayonets, they are preparing — have indeed begun — to add to their barbarous treatment of the Hungarian minority, treatment for which no excuse can be found and which merely serves to keep *Central Europe* in a ferment of unrest. They do not dare to subject the few hundred thousand Germans of Transylvania to violence, for their inherent cunning whispers to them that it would not be wise to pick a quarrel with the German Reich. But against poor Dismembered Hungary, who even today is bravely struggling to fulfil her historical mission in the Danube Valley and refuses to surrender her independence even to her friends (it is true they never asked her to do so), Rumania maintains an attitude of wicked hostility and is preparing fresh suffering and misery for the two million Hungarians of whom she obtained possession through no feat of Rumanian arms.

Can it be possible that Britain and France are blind to this persistence in old sins, the guilt of which every sensible French and British patriot frankly and honestly admits must be attributed to the statesmen who were in power in the years of the Peace Treaties, 1918, 1919, and 1920.

And at a time when one-third of the Hungarian nation, which was run off the rails of its historical mission and more sorely tortured and dismembered than any other nation in Europe, is still languishing under alien oppression, the Regent of Hungary was able to rise to the European height of *St. Stephen*, from whence he views his own people's and Europe's interests clearly, and sees that their common interest lies in the maintenance of peace, in an amicable discussion and elimination of their differences, and in an equitable and humane reconciliation of the interests of Europe, Hungary and all the other nations and countries of the Danube Valley.

Every Hungarian feels and believes that Admiral Horthy's appeal will not fall on deaf ears even in the countries of Western Europe, and that France and England will not allow the unilateral guarantee so generously given to be used as an instrument to strengthen and perpetuate the cruel oppressive system of Rumanian pseudo-imperialism.



CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTION AND HUNGARIAN ADMINISTRATION

BY

PROF. STEPHEN EGYED D. C. H.

The Constitutions and Administrations of the different civilized States produce systems and arrangements more or less similar. But beyond these inevitable similarities we find certain characteristic features in the legal system of each nation that mirror its own peculiar conception of law, and which are not to be discovered in the same form in the political constitution of any other country. These national characteristics are naturally considered to be of special value by the nation to which they belong, for the national individuality of the people finds expression in them. A knowledge of these peculiar traits intensifies to an extraordinary degree national consciousness and strengthens national self-reliance. A study of them in others brings us nearer to the soul and character of other peoples. Not counting the first period of uncertainty, after the world war the development of national consciousness advanced with rapid strides in almost every country; it is therefore no wonder that this newly awakened national consciousness has devoted itself to a careful study of the national past, an exhaustive examination of national traditions, and has considered that its chief task is to increase the respect felt for those traditions, thereby investing them with new force.

I.

Last year *Hungary* celebrated the 900th anniversary of the death of her great *King, St. Stephen*. In that memorial year the undivided attention of the whole *Hungarian* nation was devoted to its first king, to him who laid the foundations of the present Hungarian State. He was who furthered the spread of western culture, won the nation over to Christianity,

established the country as a monarchy and laid down a fundamental system of State Administration.

Even to day the Hungarian nation adheres to the principles of the Constitution framed by St. Stephen. The political arrangements made by him with such peerless wisdom, viz. the establishment of a national and Christian State in the form of a monarchy and of the county system, still hold good and are the fundamental pillars of our existence as a State. In outward form these political arrangements of St. Stephen's have undergone many changes in the course of time, but the principles remain unaltered, the political conception of the great King lives on and lends, even today, a specific Hungarian character to our form of State. Purely by virtue of his extraordinary genius as a statesman St. Stephen discovered the only form of life conforming to the needs of the Hungarian nation, its historical mission and its geographical situation.

St. Stephen created a national State. The national character of the Hungarian State has been proved by its thousand years' history. We are but a little people without racial kin in the middle of Europe, yet we were able to preserve the independence of our State and its national character through a thousand years of vicissitudes and dangers. We adopted western civilization without, however, sacrificing our eastern traditions. We defended western culture and European civilization, guarding Christianity for centuries against the danger threatening from the east, against *Turk* and *Tartar*, but we steadily refused to subject ourselves to the suzerainty of western States and for centuries we fought in fact a war of independence against the attempts of Austria to crush the Hungarian nation.

Still the national character of the Hungarian State never proved a hindrance to our living in peaceful symbiosis with our fellow-citizens of non-Hungarian mother-tongue. In his "*Exhortations*" to his son St. Emeric, St. Stephen left behind him this policy of peace as his testament, and ever since our legislation has been characterised by that same policy. The provincial self-government granted to the lands attached to the Holy Crown of Hungary, the laws framed to ensure the liberty of the nationalities and other measures show the understanding spirit we have always exhibited where the *rights of*

the minorities were concerned. No matter what their mother-tongues were, the citizens of the Hungarian State, all the peoples that is to say, belonging to the Holy Crown, were ensured a peaceful home in the lands of St. Stephen.

But the State created by St. Stephen was not merely a national, it was also a Christian State; he, so to say, betrothed our country to Roman Catholic Christianity. Before he assumed the title of King, he first asked the Pope's consent, introduced then the Roman Catholic faith, and made it the State religion. No better proof is needed of the close connection between the Hungarian State and the *Roman Catholic Church* than the fact that the King was the chief patron of the Church in Hungary. This right ensured the King the status of Prince of the Church, with authority to organize ecclesiastical affairs within the bosom of the *Hungarian Catholic Church*. Today too, the Hungarian State maintains the closest connection with the Christian Churches, ensures the representatives of those Churches seats in the Upper House and on the municipal corporations, whereby they are able to exert an influence both on legislation and administration. The close connection between the Hungarian State and the Christian Churches places our national policy on the basis of Christian ethics.

By reason of its nature the Constitution of the Hungarian State is a historical Constitution. This means that the articles of our Constitution were never collected in one uniform synoptical law. Even St. Stephen did not attempt to draft a new Constitution, nor was any such framed by any of his successors. The Hungarian Constitution is not the work of any one person, but of countless generations; it was built up by the nation in the course of the centuries and most of its articles are rooted in equity. This historical character of our Constitution proves that it is most closely bound up with the special ideology and character of the Hungarian nation, in the soul of which it is firmly rooted.

Among the sources of Hungarian political law *custom* has always been of particular importance. Custom is the nation's informal method of lawgiving in which the will of the nation is able to express itself most pregnantly. For this reason it is the rules of equity that are most in harmony

with the ideology of the nation and most faithfully express its conception of law; they are therefore usually stronger and more lasting than all written forms. Already St. Stephen advised the people to obey the laws of their ancestors. The equity in force at the beginning of the XVI. century was codified in a uniform system by Stephen Verböczy. This great code of equity not only preserved the uniformity of Hungarian law at the time when the State was broken up; by means both of the clarity of the construction of its Common Law and its wide circulation it also was a factor in the revival of Hungary's existence as a State. Many of its rules are valid today, as are also certain of St. Stephen's laws.

As is but natural Hungarian Law is not free from foreign influences. St. Stephen himself when framing his measures based his principles on the Franco-Bavarian model. In the Middle-Ages feudalism made its effect felt as much as did the currents of international democracy later on. But these influences never destroyed the validity of the old laws; they merely were responsible for a certain number of reforms. The measures gradually adopted from foreign countries underwent a peculiar evolution in Hungarian soil in that they became imbued with the strong sense of Common Law that has always characterized the Hungarian nation and with the nation's love of liberty. The geographical unity of the land, the isolation of the Hungarian race, their deeply ingrained juristic sense and conservatism explain how a little people, within the ramparts of the Carpathians, on the border between east and west, was able for a thousand years to maintain its own special legal system.

The evolution of Hungarian law is characterized by a strict observation of formal *legal continuity*. The modification of our Constitution has never taken place by force, through revolution, but always by way of peaceful evolution within the framework of existing legal forms. There has never occurred a violent upheaval in the development of our constitutional life: our progress has never consisted simply of the substitution of a new Constitution for the old or the building up of a new one on its ruins; it always consisted of the maintenance of the old Constitution with modern developments. Even the great intellectual movements of the years 1789 and 1848 — which

shook the very foundations of other States — prevailed here in constitutional ways and were merely milestones on the path of our development. And even if external events were now and then responsible for a temporary break in Hungarian legal continuity, we always strove to return as soon as possible to constitutional principles. We never sought to emerge from a crisis by introducing a new Constitution, but always by a return to the old. This was what happened in 1867 after two long decades of Austrian oppression and in 1920 at the close of the world war.

Adherence to ancient institutions and the maintenance of legal continuity naturally do not mean petrification. On the contrary our historical Constitution retains its peculiar elasticity and capability of development just because there is no rigid adherence to the letter of the law, and even the fundamental laws can always be altered by the ordinary methods of legislation. Our Corpus Juris is a mighty edifice of law to which brick after brick has been added throughout the centuries. The Hungarians are said to be a nation of soldiers and jurists; and it is undoubtedly true that it was only with their weapons in the hand and relying on the strength of the law that they were able to preserve their independence amidst countless dangers. In unsettled times the Hungarian codex of laws was one of the nation's weapons against the endeavour to crush *Hungary*; it was a sustaining force in times of hardship and repression, and a unifying force in the era of partition; and the moral force of adherence to the law was always triumphant in the end over tyranny. St. Stephen made Hungary a monarchy, and ever since, without interruption, the nation has held fast to this form of State. It was this form of State that held the Hungarian nation on its feet after the conclusion of the world war, even although the march of events made the exercise of Royal authority impossible and respect for monarchistic forms of government was shaken throughout the whole of Europe. For so long as the impossibility of exercising Royal authority lasts, Admiral Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya has been placed by the nation at the head of the State, where as Regent he exercises the rights inherent in Royal authority. A Regency is no new phenomenon in the history of Hungary, and when at a critical

moment for the Hungarian Constitution, the nation established the sphere of authority of the present Regent, it took for its model the laws of the years 1446 and 1447 in which the sphere of authority of the great Regent John Hunyadi, who defeated the Turks, was laid down. The Monarchy has therefore not been superseded by a Regency, it is merely represented by it and in form and methods this representation is simply the revival of an ancient tradition. Officially Hungary styles herself a "Kingdom" and all our State organizations and departments bear the designation "Royal". When the proper time arrives the nation will make arrangements to fill the vacant throne.

The monarchy created by St. Stephen on a western model very soon took on a *Constitutional* aspect through the co-operation of the nation. With a strong hand, St. Stephen carried out the reconstruction of the State, but even in his time we find certain elements that may be regarded as the starting-point of constitutional development, for example, the participation of the nation in the election of the monarch, the Oath, the co-operation of the Royal Council in legislation, and so on. The constitutional spirit of the nation gained ground more and more and in fact led, in the "Golden Bull" of 1222, to a chartered guarantee of the nation's right to take up arms against the King, should he break the laws of the land. Since that date constitutionalism, i. e. the nation's participation in public administration, has been the most important principle of the Hungarian Constitution.

The crown received by St. Stephen from Pope Sylvester II played an important rôle, as the embodiment of King and Nation, in the laws framed by St. Stephen and in his "Exhortations" to his son St. Emeric. The Holy Crown became increasingly an object of national veneration and was soon the symbol of the whole Hungarian conception of State and Constitution. By the days of Verböczy the so called "Doctrine of the Holy Crown" was fully developed, and it may be regarded as the most pregnant expression of the constitutional organization of the Hungarian State. In terms of this "Doctrine" the Holy Crown is the ethical entity in which several parts of the nation are united in one whole, the source from which all power springs, and the framework which

unites the country and its inhabitants in one single political existence. According to the "Doctrine of the Holy Crown" the power of State belongs of right to the nation; the King, however, shares in it by virtue of his coronation. King and Nation together are the Holy Crown, the mystical embodiment of the Hungarian State and the symbol of a constitutional monarchy. The sharing of power between King and Nation finds expression in legislation and also in the exercise of the executive power. The territory of the Hungarian State consists of the "Lands of the Holy Crown"; its citizens are members of the Holy Crown, State property is the property of the Holy Crown; the latter is even the source of private property, since unowned estates revert to the Crown.

The participation of the Hungarian nation in the exercise of the executive power takes place primarily by way of *Parliament*. Since the XIII century Parliament has taken an active part in the framing of laws and it has come to be a recognized rule that without the co-operation of Parliament no law can be passed. To the sphere of authority of Parliament had always belonged the election of the King, the drafting of the Royal Diploma, the administration of the Coronation Oath, the sanctioning of taxes and recruits, the election of the Palatine as head of the executive power, etc. Since the XVII century Parliament has consisted of two chambers of legislation.

Till the middle of the XIX century the Hungarian Constitution rested on the principle of Estates. The nation forming the body of the Holy Crown, divided into three Estates of the Realm, took part in the public administration. The abolition of the privileges of the nobility and of serfdom in 1848 also put an end to this system of Estates, changing in this respect the character of the Constitution, and granting equal rights to all Hungarian citizens. Since then the Lower House of Parliament has been based on the principle of popular representation. The system of Estates which collapsed in 1848 enjoys a certain form of revival in the Upper House through the introduction of proportional corporative representation, i. e. the organization of the legitimate representation of the various branches of public life and the assurance of their influence on legislation and administration. The Upper House

was thus reorganized to correspond to a certain extent to the system of Estates by the reform of 1926. Besides this, Acts XXX of 1929 and XVIII of 1930 have ensured the representatives of the various branches of public life seats on the corporations of the different municipalities.

From the foregoing it follows that the two Houses of our Parliament rest on utterly different foundations. The Lower House puts into effect the system of popular representation and thereby enables a grouping of citizens according to their views of life and party politics and also the representation of the minorities. The other House realizes in a new, better said revised form, the idea of Estates in that it provides for the legitimate representation of the different branches of occupation, of the different classes of society, of literature, science and art. This organic whole rooted in Hungarian tradition which at the same time conforms to modern conceptions, brings the ideas of Parliamentarism, popular representation, and the Estates into one happy accord.

Of late our legislation has been occupied with three important Constitutional Bills. The first, which was promulgated as Act XIX of the year 1937, extended the Regent's sphere of authority, investing him with practically Royal powers. That Act also prescribes the procedure to be followed at the election of a new Regent and makes provision for the way the authority of the Head of the State is to be exercised in the event of the activity of the present Regent ceasing before the throne is filled. The second law, Act XXVII of 1937, reinforces the rights of the Upper House of Parliament and in most aspects of legislation restores the old equality of rights of the Upper House; it is only in respect of the Budget and Bills of a financial nature that the privileges of the Lower House are maintained. The third law, Act XIX of 1938, makes voting at Parliamentary elections secret everywhere, but also provides suitable measures to counteract the dangers attendant on secret voting; the most noteworthy of these measures being a slight limitation of the franchise rights, the introduction of plurality, and the strangling of demagogy.

(To be continued.)

RUMANIA AND EUROPEAN PEACE

BY

Dr. ANDREW FALL

The whole world trembles at the very thought of war, and thinks with a happy feeling of relief of the various crises in the near past that did not lead to war. Rumania alone of all the States is doing nothing to improve relations with her neighbours and so to help to lessen the tension; on the contrary, she is doing her level best to embroil the Great Powers interested in her future in a new world war. Amongst others, Professor *Jorga*, ex-Premier and King *Carol's* trusted adviser, whose downfall in the Senate took place on 13th June, speaking at the first meeting of the Senate after the elections, said something that aroused a storm of indignation among all lovers of peace. According to the authorised shorthand notes taken by the Parliamentary stenographers he said: "The policy inaugurated by the King has been absolutely triumphant. That the people are of the same mind as the King was proved last March when they flocked to the barracks. When they were sent home again, all they regretted was that they had not had a chance to fight against those who had insulted Rumania and questioned her rights." Ever since Europe has been dancing on the narrow ledge between peace and war, no such openly war-mongering statement has been heard in authoritative places. While the whole world is desperately endeavouring to save peace, which is hanging by a hair, and statesmen never cease stressing their desire for peace, Professor *Jorga* from his presidential seat in the highest Rumanian legislative body unreservedly declares that the Rumanian people regret that war did not break out during the past few months.

It is only since Great Britain and France guaranteed the armed defence of Rumania's frontiers in the event of

aggression that Professor *Jorga* and the rest of the Rumanian statesmen have grown so belligerent. They are rattling, not their own swords, but those of Great Britain and France. Rumania was in a far less warlike modd last March when she mobilized against Hungary. That mobilization — according to a mass of reliable data — was practically an utter failure. Everybody knows that the Rumanian soldiers who were called up had to sleep on hard pavements for lack of proper accomodation, and that when the supply of food from home gave out most of them simply returned home.

Professor *Jorga's* aggressive statement was directed against Hungary. Did not the universal international unrest and the spectre of another world war keep the nations in fear and trembling, Professor *Jorga's* sable-rattling would merely provoke a smile, especially in Hungary. We have not forgotten how, when in 1916 Rumanian forces 500.000 strong invaded defenceless Transylvania, 20.000 Hungarian territorials recruited in haste checked the advance of this mighty Rumanian army armed to the teeth and turned the Rumanian attack into a fiasco. This is a historical fact well known to Rumanian statesmen.

It is not to her own army Rumania trusts but to British and French bayonets when she issues these threats and sets about creating permanent unrest in Central Europe and the Balkans. The result of the promise of military assistance given to Rumania by Britain and France is that now Rumania rigidly refuses to come to terms with Hungary and Bulgaria concerning the protection of the Hungarian and Bulgarian minorities. We cannot imagine that this attitude is approved of by Great Britain and France. This is all the less probable in view of the fact that on 2nd May the Hungarian Foreign Minister announced in a speech which created a widespread sensation throughout Europe that Hungary wished to respect Rumania's frontiers and her rights. *Count Csáky* addressed himself to Rumania in a serious, courteous tone and all he asked was that the rights of the Hungarian minority should be protected and a minority agreement concluded within the

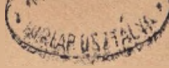
practical limits of international law. This request was more than justified, since in 1919 Rumania concluded a treaty for the protection of minorities with the Allied and Associated Powers and her undertaking to fulfil the obligations laid down in that treaty was the condition upon which she received the territories to which she laid claim. Rumania therefore agreed to all the terms of the minority treaty. She then received the coveted areas under the Treaty of Trianon. But Rumania has never made any attempt to fulfil the conditions of the minority treaty: for twenty years she has tortured and oppressed the Hungarian-speaking citizens under her rule. She could do so with impunity, for neither the League of Nations, which was entrusted with the task of seeing that the minority treaty be enforced, nor the Great Powers guaranteeing that treaty took the slightest notice of the manner in which the rights of the minorities were being trampled underfoot and of the sufferings, tears, destitution, homelessness, and misery caused thereby. In the case of Czecho-Slovakia the persecution of the minorities bore its own inevitable fruit. The Republic could not escape retribution for the oppression and persecution of the non-Czech peoples placed under its rule. But Rumania seems determined to continue this irrational system of oppression. Undoubtedly it cannot be to Europe's interest that such a state of affairs should go on. *Count Csáky* wished to ameliorate these conditions when he addressed himself to Rumania. For a long time no answer was vouchsafed. Then at the beginning of June *M. Gafencu*, Rumanian Foreign Minister, made some statements that allow of the conclusion that the Hungarian proposals have been totally rejected. These preliminaries fully justify the strong and determined tone of *Count Csáky's* speech of 12th June. At a meeting of the Government Party held on that date, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, speaking of Rumania's repudiatory attitude said: "My second statement is more or less an answer to the question addressed to me by various people as to what I think of the recent speeches of certain Rumanian statesmen on the subject of the offer

made by the Hungarian Government regarding the drafting, elaborating and concluding of a minority agreement. If my information gathered from the Press is correct, that offer has been flatly refused. Frankly speaking, in the present circumstances I do not understand this refusal, and deeply regret it. Should it prove impossible to help the Hungarian minority in this way, we are determined not to yield but to try other lines of approach in order to obtain for the sorely tried Hungarian minority the rights necessary to their continued existence, rights for which the Hungarian nation made such great sacrifices of territory in the Treaty of Trianon and which were promised in that Treaty in exchange for those sacrifices.

"I say that the attitude of the Rumanian Government is neither legal, nor fair, nor rational. It is not legal because an agreement concerning the protection of the minorities guaranteed by treaty has been in existence for many years between the Hungarians and the Rumanian nation. This treaty we have times without number endeavoured to induce the international tribunals to enforce, and failure to do so was in no small measure the reason why we abandoned the League of Nations when we saw that it was impossible to obtain the enforcement of those obvious and manifest rights through the instrumentality of that organization.

"It is not fair because the Magyar minority in Rumania, some two million souls, has given manifest evidence of loyalty to the Rumanian State; the Magyars joined the one existing Rumanian Parliamentary Party and received promises in exchange, but those promises have not been kept.

"And it is not rational because in the present extraordinarily difficult circumstances every nation should make a microscopic search, especially where their neighbours are concerned, for every minute possibility of co-operating in the maintenance of European peace and civilization and of finding means of ensuring that the patrimony of each nation shall be respected without resorting to conflict. Now I assert that the greatest and most precious patrimony of the Hun-



garian nation is the Patrimonium Hungariae, that is to say, the Hungarian minorities in other lands."

Count Csáky's speech on the question of the Hungarian minority in Rumania drastically proves the tragic fact that all the sacrifices made in good faith by the Hungarian nation for peace are not able to obviate the danger of unexpected steps on the part of Rumania.

Professor Jorga's attack and the statement made by M. Gafencu, Foreign Minister, came as a surprise to Hungary after Count Csáky's offer of friendship. But this is not all: day after day the Rumanian Government and Press see to it that there should be no abatement of this war psychosis and that peace should not be established. This irrational attitude, however, can continue only until British and French public opinion awakes to the fact that Britain and France are in danger of being dragged into war by Rumania's unjustifiable behaviour.

It is typical of Professor Jorga's war mania that he conceived the idea of putting the members of the Senate into uniform. This proved his downfall. At a meeting of the new Senate on 13th June, Professor Jorga, as President, led the debate on the new standing orders, one of which was that in future Senators would be obliged to wear a uniform. He attempted to get the Senate to pass a resolution that any Senator who refused to take an oath of loyalty to the new Constitution or who refused to bind himself to wear the prescribed uniform should lose his seat. He was outvoted by a large majority, who opposed his new standing orders, and, taking the consequences, he resigned.

Perhaps the attitude displayed by the Senate will be a warning to Professor Jorga and his belligerent compatriots. It may make them realise that by seeking conflict instead of peace with their neighbours they are doing no good service either to Rumania or to Europe.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SLOVAK STATE

BY

ANDREW KASSAI

The Slovak Government has set to work with great energy to lay the foundations of the constitutional and political organization of the Slovak State which gained its independence on 14th March of this year. At present Slovakia's constitutional status is based on the Act of Independence passed on 14th March, which consists of five paragraphs. In it it was pronounced that until the new Constitution was formed the executive power and administration was to be wholly in the hands of the Slovak Government appointed by the Committee of the Parliament. It was also decided that for the time being all the laws, ordinances and measures hitherto in force were to remain valid with such amendments as followed from the independence of the Slovak State; and lastly it was laid down that the Government was to be given powers to issue any ordinances that in the interim were necessary to maintain the order and security required by the interests of the Slovak State. In terms of this Act of Independence therefore all the laws passed by the Czech Parliament in the twenty years of Czech rule were, for the time being, to remain in force along with the Constitution Act, incorporating Slovakia's autonomy, which in conformance with the Four Power decision arrived at in Munich was accepted by the Czecho-Slovak central Parliament on 19th November. Naturally these laws were to be applied only in so far as they did not prejudice the independence of the Slovak State.

Slovakia's independence made the elaboration of the new Slovak Constitution and its urgent promulgation absolutely imperative. The draft of the new Constitution has now been prepared by the Committee appointed by the Government for the purpose. The Chairman of the Committee is the deputy Premier, Professor Tuka. This draft of the new Constitution

was accepted on 20th June by the Slovak Cabinet Council. We have no means of knowing the full text, but certain particulars were published in the "Slovak" of 22nd June. From this paper we learn that the draft of the new Slovak Constitution consists of 13 Articles divided into 87 paragraphs.

In terms of the draft *Slovakia* is a Republic governed by a president elected by Parliament for a period of seven years. The president of the Republic is also the commander-in-chief of the army.

The State is based on totalitarian principles. Besides the head of the State and the Government, in terms of the draft there is to be a so-called "Council of State", which is to do duty for a Senate, and a permanent Committee, and in certain cases replace Parliament itself. The Committee of the Hlinka Party, the members of the Cabinet, the Committee of the Parliament, the representatives of the corporative groups and the leaders of the racial groups are to sit on this Council.

According to Article 5, the *Slovak Parliament* will consist of 80 members elected for a period of 5 years. Suffrage will be general and voting secret.

The *Slovak* nation will participate in the executive power and administration through the medium of the Hlinka Party. Other racial groups will also participate in the executive power by way of their political parties, providing that the party in question actually expresses the political views of the racial group it represents.

In term of the draft Slovakia's Constitution is to be a corporative one. It divides the population into five classes or Estates representing 1. agriculture, 2. industry, commerce communications, 3. finance and insurance, 4. the professions, and 5. the public services and education. Every citizen of the Slovak Republic must be a member of one of these groups.

The draft also makes provision for the reorganization of the administration and one of its most important measures is the restoration of local self-government. Local self-government is to be based on the county system. Slovakia is to be divided into seven counties, at the head of each of which will stand the *Župan (Lord Lieutenant)* who is the political agent of the Government.

Article 9 deals with jurisdiction.

Article 10 determines the rights and duties of the citizens. Every male citizen is liable to conscription for military service and the labour services connected therewith.

Article 11 deals with the religious rights of the citizens. Every citizen is entitled to fulfil his religious duties provided they do not conflict with any of the laws of the country or disturb public order. This Article also regulates the legal standing of the Churches and religious societies recognized by the State.

Article 12 treats of the position of the racial groups. A nationality register of all Slovakia's citizens is to be kept. Alterations in that nationality register cannot be effected except by law. Denationalization is a punishable offence. All the racial groups living in Slovakia will be free to develop their cultural and political organizations.

Article 13 concludes the draft and pronounces that the new Constitution shall come into force on the day of its promulgation.

If our information is correct, the Bill is to be passed in the first days of July.

Until the new Slovak Constitution comes into force we are not in a position to criticise it. So much, however is evident from the data hitherto available: the draft does not in every respect honour the legitimate wishes of the minority racial groups. This is proved *inter alia* by the fact that the German Party in Slovakia demands a modification of the draft. State Secretary *Karmazsin* has laid down in writing the fundamental attitude of the *German* racial group towards the new Constitution. In German circles in Slovakia it is believed that they will be able to enforce their legitimate demands in Parliament. The Slovak Government appears willing to satisfy the demands of the German group, for the Slovak Cabinet Council meeting held on 22nd June discussed the question of the German State Secretariat, which functions alongside of the Government, and also the question of its sphere of authority. The resolution adopted by the Cabinet Council has organically linked up the work of this German State Secretariat with the administration of the State. This resolution states that, to ensure co-operation between the State and the German racial

group, a permanent organ of the latter is to work parallel with the Government. To the German Secretariat's sphere of authority belongs the task of collecting and elaborating the wishes, complaints and suggestions of the German racial group and laying them before the political factors competent to deal with them. The central department and the political factors are to be in permanent touch with the German State Secretariat. In places inhabited chiefly by Germans public officials — as far as possible — are to be appointed in concurrence with the wishes of the German Secretariat. Gratifying though it may be that the political situation and legal status of the German racial group has been regulated by the Cabinet Council in co-operation with the German Secretariat, it would have been far better had this regulation taken place within the framework of the Constitution and with equal validity where all the national minorities are concerned. In consequence of this measure the new Constitution may already be regarded as prejudicial to the interests of the Hungarian minority.

Simultaneously with the draft of the new Constitution the new Slovak Citizenship Bill was introduced in Parliament on 23rd June. According to this Bill, from 14th March 1939 on the citizens of the Slovak State are persons, or the wives and issue of persons, who on 30th October 1918 possessed rights of domicile in the areas now constituting the Independent Republic of Slovakia, provided that their rights of domicile have not been forfeited before the day on which the present Citizenship Act comes into operation. The Act does not regard as citizens of the Slovak State those who acquired rights of domicile under par. 10 of Act No. 22, 1896. This old Hungarian law, namely, granted rights of domicile to all persons who had been living for at least four years without interruption in one town or village and who paid their share of the municipal or parish rates and taxes. According to the decision pronounced on 6th October 1926 by the Supreme Court of Administration four years' sojourn in one place and the status of a ratepayer do not entitle persons to rights of domicile: a special application must be lodged by persons desirous of acquiring them and the consent of the local magistrate must be obtained. In such cases, under the new law, decision rests with the political authorities.

The Bill precisely regulates the methods of acquiring citizenship and states how it may be lost. The right of citizenship may be forfeited by engaging in activities endangering the independence of the State, by conspiring against the State, by fleeing to a foreign country for this purpose, and by working against the Republic there. Persons who join the army of a foreign State or who play a rôle in the public life of another country may be deprived of their citizenship. From the point of view of the minorities the new *Slovak Citizenship Bill* is anything but reassuring. Newspaper reports from Prague declare that the interests of the Germans in Slovakia are to be guaranteed by a political agreement incorporated in the new Bill. As stated before, the representatives of the German racial group have submitted suggestions for an amendment. The steps taken by the German racial group are also proof that the new Citizenship Bill is prejudicial to the interests of the racial minorities. Here we would merely point out a few of the more important aspects of the case. It is well known that one of the most bitter grievances of the Hungarian minority in the late Czecho-Slovak Republic was the chaotic nature of the question of citizenship. There were many thousands of Hungarians who because of the confusion surrounding the question of domicile could not become citizens of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. This offensive measure has been partially sustained by the new Slovak Citizenship Bill. Another source of anxiety is afforded by those provisions of the Bill which enumerate the cases in which the right of citizenship may be withdrawn. Activity dangerous to the State is a loose expression, as is "playing a rôle in the public life of another country". Under the title of activities endangering the independence of the State all the political and cultural movements of the Hungarian minority may be suppressed, and on the pretext that he is actively engaged in the public life of another country, anyone belonging to the Hungarian racial group who, for instance, is a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences may be deprived of his rights as citizen. These loose definitions may lead to many offensive measures.

We mentioned in connection with the draft of the new Constitution that, the Slovak Government was to reorganize

administration and Article 8 promises that a special law will deal with the activity of the self-governing bodies. The Slovak Government has now prepared a Bill dealing with the reorganization of administration, which was approved by the Cabinet Council and introduced in Parliament on 23rd June. The new Administration Bill does away with the Province, winds up the Provincial Office, and also suspends the autonomy of the administrative districts. The work of the Provincial Office will henceforth be done by the *Župa* Offices, and the sphere of authority of the Provincial Diet and Committee will pass over to the *Župa* Councils. The whole area of the country is divided into seven *Župas*. The several *Župas* will enjoy a certain measure of self-government exercised through the medium of the *Župa* Councils. These Councils are to consist of 12 ordinary and supernumerary members with seats for six years. If possible every district will be represented on the *Župa* Council. Its sphere of authority will extend to the matters of trade, economy, education, social welfare and public hygiene that affect *Župa* in question, but its rôle will be merely that of an advisory body. A special law will provide for the formation of those Councils. Until this takes place the *Župan* himself will attend to those matters. As we do not know the full text of this Bill we cannot tell what rôle the Hungarian minority will play in these self-governing counties and what the attitude of the autonomous bodies will be towards the members of the Hungarian racial group.

Besides the above-mentioned Bills, educational reforms were promised by *M. Sivak*, *Minister of Education*, in his exposé before the Cultural Committee of the Slovak Parliament on 17th June. *M. Sivak* announced that the programme of the reforms contemplated in the sphere of higher education was not ready yet, but he hoped by September to be able to introduce the relevant Bills in Parliament. In view of the Bills already introduced and those promised we may safely say that the Slovak Government is striving hard to establish without delay the foundations of *Slovakia's* constitutional and political organizations.

RUMANIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AS THEY AFFECT THE MAGYAR MINORITY

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

The Rumanian Parliamentary elections held on 1st and 2nd June were conducted in conformity with the Franchise Act of 9th May. This Act did away with the old system of Party representation, and the new Parliament was elected on a corporate system of proportional representation. *For the national minorities this new system is particularly unfavourable*, and the result is that the Magyars have not been able to secure the number of seats to which on a proportional basis they would have been entitled.

The Hungarian Ethnic Union (Volksbund) — which has taken the place of the General Hungarian Party recently dissolved — concluded an agreement with the Calinescu Government in terms of which the Magyars nominated 16 candidates for Parliament and 5 for the Senate. *But the result of the elections was that the Magyars only secured 9 seats in Parliament and 2 in the Senate.* The Germans nominated 11 candidates for Parliamentary election and 5 for the Senate. Five of their candidates won seats in Parliament, but none of their candidates for the Senate were elected. According to official statistics the Magyar minority forms 7.9% of the total population, and *would thus be entitled to 20 of the 258 Parliamentary seats and 7 seats in the Senate* out of the 88 filled by election. The Germans, again, whose percentage in the country is 4.1%, would be entitled to 10 seats in Parliament and 3 in the Senate. *The number of seats secured by the Magyar minority does not tally with the proportion of Magyars in the population of Rumania* — says the report issued by the Hungarian sub-department of the Rumanian National Renaissance Front.

This report points out that very little time was available for making preparations for the elections and that therefore there was *no possibility of their being ready to deal with the uncertainties of the situation created by the introduction of the new system of election*. This had proved a distinct disadvantage to the organization of their forces. Despite this the Magyars had taken an effective part in the election campaign, thus giving praiseworthy evidence of their political maturity and racial spirit. The Magyar electors displayed a unique self-discipline at the elections.

The new election system was detrimental to the minorities — above all to the Magyars — chiefly because of the way the constituencies were formed. For the area most compactly inhabited by Magyars, the so-called Szeklerland, was broken up by the new geographical distribution of the provinces. The province of „Buceg” was formed by adding the Magyar counties of Háromszék and Brassó to eight counties belonging to the Old Kingdom (Regat). In this way the large number of Magyars living in these two counties are now an insignificant minority as compared with the Rumanian population of the province. Instead of each county being a separate constituency, there is only one constituency per province and this expansion of the areas of the constituencies is both an injustice and a great disadvantage to the Magyar minority. The present cannot be said to have been a great improvement on former elections, which were attended with shocking illegalities, brutality and violence. Abuses there were now, too, in abundance. In many places the authorities prevented the Magyar candidate from posting placards with his photograph and a short printed address at the town hall; the only method of approaching constituents which the election law allowed. A very great number of electors were not allowed to vote at all. In the province of Temes the Magyar candidate of the intellectual classes was disqualified, which meant the loss of a sure seat to the Magyar minority.

The results of the senatorial elections did not come up

to the expectations of the Magyar minority, for only 2 of their 5 candidates secured seats. This disappointment was slightly counteracted by the circumstance that, besides the Bishop of the Reformed Church in Transylvania — the only official Magyar Senator — there are 3 Magyar Senators among those appointed by the King.

The Magyars in Rumania number two millions, the Germans 750.000. It cannot therefore be considered that the proportions are fair when there are 4 appointed and 1 official German Senators (the Bishop of the Saxon Lutheran Church) in the Rumanian Parliament, and only 6 Hungarian Senators.

The injustice, so injurious to the interest of the Hungarian minority, that only the Bishops of minority Churches numbering 200.000 adherents are members *ex officio* of the Senate, has been partly corrected by the circumstance that the Magyar Bishops of the Roman Catholic and Unitarian Churches were appointed by the King. Even so the new Act has deprived the Bishop of the Reformed Church in the Királyhágó diocese and the Bishop of the Hungarian Lutheran Church of their official seats in the Senate.

In conclusion we would point out that the agreement between the Germans and Magyars at the time of the elections was not a success. The reason is to be sought in the fact that the agricultural electors — the farmers — were unversed in the intricacies of the new system. This was responsible among other things for the fact that 1 Magyar and 2 Saxon candidates failed to be elected in the Szamos constituency. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that in spite of the agreement 6000 Saxons did not vote for the Magyar candidate in Nagyszeben, certainly not through ignorance of what to do.

THE HUNGARIAN-POLISH FRIENDSHIP

BY

Dr. ALEXANDER BAUMGARTEN

Never in the course of history have two neighbouring nations shown such a great and lasting friendship for one another as that existing between Hungary and Poland. The reason, as M. Kálmán de *Kánya*, former Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has explained in a book entitled "*Hungary-Poland*", is that „there is nothing to cause a breach between Hungary and Poland". As regards the future, M. Kánya says that "many possibilities calculated to maintain *lasting* and *equitable* peace await realization by the two nations." In the same volume Col. *Beck* says: — "To speak of Polish-Hungarian contacts is equivalent to a synthetic epitome of the friendship lasting for centuries between the two nations." The eminent historian, Dr. Valentine *Hóman*, Hungarian Minister of Education, who also contributed to the above-mentioned volume, remarks: — "The history of the Hungarian nation is an unbroken chain of struggles for independence; the same is also true of Poland. This struggle has proved successful when the two nations fight shoulder to shoulder and is apt to fail when their forces are divided." A Polish publicist, *Sanislo Worcel*, writing of the partition of Poland in the eighteenth century, says: — "It is probable that the partition of Poland would never have taken place had Hungary been independent at the time."

The Carpathians are so natural a frontier between the two countries that they obviate the possibility of conflict, and at the same time afford the safest basis of support for united work. The two nations that came into being on either side of those mountains in the tenth century acted as a check on a further migration of the peoples, and so gave the young European countries an opportunity of development.

Hungary and Poland were compelled to fight incessantly against the Petchenegs, Huns and other peoples that had been driven towards the heart of Europe by the pressure of the

Mongols. Then, in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Mongols themselves appeared under the command of *Ginghis Khan* himself in the gates of Europe. There they were confronted by Hungary and Poland. The two nations strove with might and main to stem the onrush of the barbarian hordes threatening to lay waste the whole of Europe. The flower of the Polish and Hungarian nations perished, the former on the battlefield of *Legnyicki*, the latter at *Mohi Pusztá*. The havoc wrought by the Mongols was so devastating that after their retreat Hungary had to be re-peopled, and in Western Silesia the Poles had been so utterly exterminated that the land was taken possession of by Germans from the east. This was the first joint sacrifice of blood made for Europe by the sister-nations.

Against the re-birth of a Poland to which the Mongol invasion had dealt so shattering a blow the Czechs and the German Knights, who had established a principality in Slav territory in Prussia, then far from the German Empire, combined forces. Hungary took sides with Poland in this struggle. The Polish-Hungarian alliance of offence and defence led to the complete elimination, of that combination at the congress convened to meet at Visegrád in 1331 by the Hungarian King, Robert Charles.

The national and political renaissance of Hungary had by this time reached its zenith, and the two nations understood so well that their interests were identical that they united under one king, *Louis the Great* of Hungary. After his death, his daughter *Hedvig* became Queen of Poland. This Hungarian queen, supported by Hungarian policy, did much to promote Poland's development. She brought about Poland's union with Lithuania (1386), an achievement that for centuries ensured Poland's supremacy as a political power in the northeast of Europe.

At the close of the fifteenth century under King *Matthias* Hungary reached the summit of the political might founded by Louis the Great. But the two Central European Powers, whose political importance at that time vied with that of France, now found themselves face to face with a new and deadly enemy: Turkey. Under the leadership of *John Hunyadi* Hungary for a time stemmed

the tide of Turkish invasion. *Matthias Hunyadi* then decided to provoke a final settlement of accounts with the Turks, but not until he had made adequate preparations. He was determined to have a thoroughly reliable hinterland behind his armies; death, however, claimed him before his preparations had been completed.

The Hungarians were absolutely certain that in the approaching life and death struggle they could count on the Poles without prejudicing their own interests; so they put on the throne of Hungary a member of the Polish dynasty, who would bring the Polish forces into the conflict with the Turks. *Wladislas II* and *Louis II*, Members of the Polish House of Jagello, both fell in battle, Wladislas at Várna in 1444 and Louis at Mohács in 1526.

At the battle of Mohács in 1526 the forces of Hungary were annihilated. For 150 years the Turks held possession of half of Hungary. North and West Hungary elected a *Habsburg* King, while Transylvania became an independent Hungarian principality. Hungary, though divided, continued to shed her blood in incessant fighting against the Turks, but the leadership gradually passed into the hands of the Habsburgs, who fought with Hungarian armies on Hungarian soil, but not for Hungary's interests, their only object being to keep the Turks out of German territory.

In 1578, Stephen *Báthory*, ruler of the small Hungarian principality of Transylvania, became King of Poland. His plan was to make Poland great by delivering her from the menace of Russia in the east, and then, with Polish assistance, to drive the Turks out of Hungary. During his reign Poland did indeed grow larger and stronger, but his premature death in 1586 prevented the realization of his further plans.

Hungary was sacrificed to the Turks by the Habsburgs: the Hungarians were constantly engaged in battles against Turkey, but the Habsburgs were careful not to give them sufficient aid to break the strength of their enemy. When a Hungarian victory encouraged the country to greater resistance, Vienna always hastened to make terms with the Turks. The result of this was that Hungary was completely exhausted after 150 years of bitter struggle, and the Turks considered that the time had now arrived for further conquest.

In 1683 the conquering Turkish forces advanced on Vienna. Germany prepared to withstand them, but the final victory was due to the spirit bequeathed by Stephen Báthory to his successor on the throne of Poland, *John Sobieski*. The Turkish forces were defeated at the gates of Vienna. Sobieski realized at Vienna that Poland's and Hungary's interests were identical, and though Germany ignored his plans, he launched a campaign to deliver Hungary. At *Párkány* on the Danube opposite *Esztergom*, risking his own life in battle, he defeated the Turks. This was the initial step towards the liberation of Hungary from Turkish rule.

Neither he nor the Hungarians, however, were able to secure leadership. This, as the Polish publicist Sanislo *Worcel* explains so aptly in the sentence quoted above, was the tragedy of the next two hundred years of Hungarian history and the cause of Poland's downfall.

With the assistance of France and Poland, *Francis Rákóczi II* attempted at the turn of the century (1703—1711) to achieve Hungary's independence, and with the co-operation of Poland to ensure the balance of power in Europa. In this he was unsuccessful. Hungary's renaissance was prevented, and the Magyar character of the country was reduced by a systematic settlement of other races. While Hungary and Poland were being bled to death in wars against the Turks, their neighbours were able to progress along the path of development; then, when Hungary had been shackled, the partition of Poland was decided on and was carried out between 1772 and 1795.

It was only later that the Western Powers realized their mistake in not doing all they could to check this course of events. Poland unaided tried to achieve the impossible. In 1830—1831 and again in 1863 the Poles rose in rebellion, while in 1849 Hungary made an attempt to attain complete independence.

The risings of the utterly crushed Polish nation were supported to the best of their ability by the Hungarians, who enjoyed a certain measure of independence. They sent large sums of money and consignments of arms to the insurgents. This was reported in Vienna by Lobkovitz, Governor of Galicia, whereupon an embargo was placed on the export of

arms and war materials, including hoes, scythes, saltpetre and horses. Hungarian public opinion was wholly on the side of the Polish insurgents. Official expression of these sympathies was given at a general meeting of the County Council of Bars on 4th May 1831, when John *Balogh* moved that a memorandum be addressed to the King begging him to convene the Hungarian Diet without delay in order to discuss at once the question of the assistance to be offered to the Poles. This motion, which was passed by the County of Bars, was sent to the rest of the counties, 32 of which joined the movement, although everything was done by Vienna to discourage them. On 25th June, 1831, the Polish Diet in Warsaw passed a vote of thanks to the Hungarian nation, emphasizing therein that "of all the nations in Europe the Hungarians alone had raised their voice openly in support of the Polish cause".

After the failure of the Polish war of independence the counties again petitioned the King to intervene on behalf of the oppressed Poles, and there was scarcely a single well-to-do family in Hungary that did not extend hospitality to some Polish refugee. The leaders of the Polish exiles in Paris were in constant touch with Hungary. At the meetings of the Hungarian Diet from 1832 to 1836 the most eminent members (e. g. *Balogh*, Francis *Deák* and the great Hungarian poet Francis *Kölcsey*) strongly advocated the Polish cause, and their speeches gave an international character to the question.

In the Hungarian war of independence (1848—1849), on the other hand, the Poles played an important rôle. To begin with single detachments, later on a united Polish legion, fought for Hungary's independence. In this struggle a leading part was played by two Polish generals, *Bem* and *Dembinski*; the latter, in fact, was more than once commander-in-chief of the forces. Russia was fully aware that if Hungary achieved independence, the liberation of Poland was bound to follow; she therefore supported Austria with all her might, and as a result Hungary was defeated.

In 1863 the Poles attempted an insurrection for the last time. *Louis Kossuth*, who was in exile, tried above all to win France and Italy over to the Polish cause. Kossuth's inspiring

messages to the Poles were published in many English and Italian newspapers. He also addressed an appeal to the Hungarian garrisons stationed in the parts of Galicia inhabited by Poles in which he said: — "*Remember that the Poles are our brethren; their interests are indetical with ours. Let your behaviour towards them be guilded by a spirit of fraternity.*" And the Hungarian soldiers followed Kossuth's advice. Those on the Russian frontier, for instance, supplied all the needs of the insurgents and helped them across the frontier. Many Hungarians joined the Polish insurgents, and when the rising was crushed were sent with the captive Poles to Siberia. Kossuth also offered to the insurgents the 20.000 rifles he had received from Napoleon III for the Hungarian war of independence.

Hungary's defeat in 1849 was followed by a bitter oppression of the Hungarians, and the crushing of the Polish rising in 1863 left the Poles at the mercy of Russian tyranny. With this the balance of power in Central Europe was utterly destroyed. The Great Powers began to behave aggressively towards one another and to cast their eyes on the Balkans. This was the starting-point of a general conflict, the world war. With the collapse of Russia the question of Poland became one of the problems of the moment. Irrespective of party, Hungary's leading statesmen (*Apponyi, Andrassy, Tisza, Wekerle, Nagyatádi Szabó, etc.*) on several occasions spoke in the Hungarian Parliament, energetically demanding the reconstruction of Poland and the restoration of her integrity. Poland's claims were fully satisfied by the Peace Treaties. But for Soviet Russia, then in her infancy, this resuscitated Poland was a thorn in the flesh; so she attacked. The superior and well-equipped Russian forces were at the gates of Warsaw, where the Poles were making preparations for a last desperate stand. The Czechs chose this critical moment to attack Poland, and refused to allow consignments of ammunition from Hungary to pass through Czecho-Slovakia, so that it was only by round-about ways that the Hungarians were able to send assistance to Warsaw, to a Polish army entirely without ammunition. This assistance was all the more important since the transportation of ammunition by way of Gdanysk was checked. Hungary, though crushed by the peace edict of

Trianon, also volunteered to send men to help the Poles, and 30.000 soldiers offered to go their assistance. For Hungary knew that by aiding Poland she was defending Western civilization.

Poland, in turn, has steadily refused to admit the justice of the Treaty of Trianon. In Geneva and before the rest of the international tribunals she always openly advocated Hungary's cause, and withstood all attempts to draw her into the Little Entente (which was ready to guarantee her special advantages), because one of its most important aims was to strangle Hungary. Recently Poland did everything in her power to establish a common frontier with Hungary. Hitler himself appreciated this endeavour of Poland, for he recognized that a common Polish-Hungarian frontier was of general European importance. A strong Poland and a Hungary in the process of a resurrection based on the principle of equity are one of the the best guarantees of European peace. To serve that peace is the aim of the Hungarian-Polish friendship that manifests itself in concrete action.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

SLOVAKIA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS

BY

FELVIDÉKI

After barely four months of "independence" Slovakia presents a pitiable aspect of economic confusion, and there is no Slovak statesman able to say how and when the country will emerge from this disastrous situation. It cannot be denied that her statesmen and economic experts are doing all they possibly can to balance *Slovakia's* situation. The task, however, is beyond them. As was stated in an article in the "Le Temps" entitled "Impressions of Slovakia." (June 10) there is a striking shortage of commodities in Pozsony and other Slovak towns. In Pozsony many shops are not open for more than a few hours a day. Colonial wares and other commodities for which foreign exchange must be paid (cocoa, coffee, rice, etc.), are scarcely to be had. Other wares, too, such as fats, cloth, etc., are gradually disappearing from the market. These symptoms are a source of serious anxiety to the population.

Another thing that gives rise to serious misgivings is that Slovakia's financial situation is growing steadily worse. According to official Slovak reports the budgetary deficit for the first four months of 1939 amounted to 138 million Slovak crowns, a considerable sum for so small a country. The Government had hoped that the foreign exchange reserves of the old Republic would be distributed, and the that Slovakia's share (Slovakia claimed the value of 100 million Slovak crowns) would set the country on her feet again. This, however, has proved a vain hope. To this day Slovakia's claim has not been recognised, and it is very improbable that it will ever be met. Lack of capital naturally affects agricultural

production, as well as industry and commerce. To cope with this difficulty Dr. Pruzsinszky, Minister of Finance, resorted to the expedient of an internal loan, expecting that 3.000 million Slovak crowns would be subscribed. But although the time limit for subscribing was prolonged more than once and every method of propaganda was employed to induce people to undo their purse-strings, only 150 million Slovak crowns have been subscribed so far. July 30th has been fixed by the Minister of Finance as the last time limit, and he expects that by that date subscriptions will amount to 200 million crowns. Within a short time the State Lotteries Act will also be promulgated, by means of which, it is hoped, a new source of revenue will be opened. A *Slovak Credit Bank* has been established and the Central Bank in *Pozsony* is to open local branches all over the country within the shortest time possible. All these measures show that the Slovak Government and financial circles are doing their very best to set the country's finances in order and to consolidate the economic life of the country; but with the best will in the world nothing can be done without capital. Very much capital would be needed if agricultural production is to be increased, industry set on its feet and commerce assisted — and that capital is not at the Government's disposal.

The chief reason why this is so is to be found in the twenty years of *Czech* rule. For during that twenty years the *Czechs* did not regard their Slovak "brethren" as equal partners. Slovakia was treated as a colony and exploited as such. In 1927 the *Czech* Government passed three Banking Acts which placed all banks under the control of a department in *Prague* appointed by the Government. It is true that the main object of these laws was to make it impossible for the *Hungarian* banks then existing in Slovakia to do business, but at the same time they placed the whole Slovak system of credit and the Slovak banks under the control of the *Czech*

financial policy of centralization. Now that Slovakia has become an independent State, she must develop her financial policy and credit system on entirely new lines.

From the statements of almost every *Slovak* Minister it may be gathered that the State is struggling with great economic difficulties. Take, for example, the statement made by M. Medriczky, Minister of Agriculture, on 2nd June about the economic situation. In it he said that Slovakia had a population of 2.600.000 souls, 56% of whom are engaged in agriculture and forestry. He then went on to say that under present conditions Slovakia was incapable of supplying herself with agricultural products, but that everything was being done to made adequate provision for the country's needs in this respect. An examination of the rest of his statement reveals that Slovakia's chief exports are timber, milk and dairy produce such as butter and curds, poultry (ducks and geese), and certain industrial products of no great value. That the value of Slovakia's exports does not balance that of her imports and of her domestic needs, is obvious from the fact that competent Slovak circles are considering the advisability of new economic connections. We know this because, when a delegation of Pozsony merchants appeared about the middle of June before Minister Plenipotentiary M. Stephen *Polyák*, Government Commissioner of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, to discuss several questions of importance to them, they were told by him in the course of conversation that Slovakia would be compelled to seek new economic outlets. In other words Slovakia would have to divorce herself gradually from the economic life of the Czech Protectorate and seek closer connections with that of the German Reich. „It will prove necessary“ — he said — „to adapt Slovakia's standards more and more to German prices. This adaption, naturally, must extend to every factor of our economic life. Wages and salaries will also have to be cor-

respondingly adapted."

Besides this the Government Commissioner declared that the shopkeepers were not responsible for the enormous rise of prices in Slovakia. This rise was due to circumstances over which they had no control. In *our* opinion the reason must be sought partly in the question of foreign exchange, partly in the bad economic conditions obtaining in Slovakia, and lastly in her political situation.

To lay the foundations of and develop *Slovakia's* finances, which involves a solution of the problem of foreign exchange, will require an enormous amount of work. The past must be liquidated, an independent monetary system set in operation and international connections established. As regards the liquidation of the past, we must remember that connections of long standing have been severed between creditors and debtors. The one now lives in one country, the other in another, and barriers of customs and currency restrictions stand between the need of money and the willingness to pay. It will take a long time to settle all this.

By participating for the last twenty years to the tune of many hundreds of millions of crowns in Slovakia's private and public economic life, Czech capital was able more or less to control Slovak economic life and prevent its development and growth. It is true that the Protectorates — Bohemia and Moravia — and also the German Reich wish to improve economic conditions in Slovakia, but the only way Germany and the Protectorates could help Slovakia is by granting goods credit, and the sphere in which those goods might be made use of in Slovakia is pretty limited. Every kind of manufactured commodities cannot be imported because this would endanger the continuity of *Slovak* industrial production. Thus the National Bank of *Slovakia*, which was

founded recently, and Slovak financial circles are up against very grave problems.

The *Slovak* industries were utterly ruined by twenty years of *Czech* rule. Pre-War Hungary had made great financial sacrifices in order to establish industries in the barren mountainous regions inhabited by the Slovaks. These industries received Government assistance in the shape of subsidies, abatement of taxation and State contracts. Prague, on the contrary, yielding to the pressure exerted by Czech industrial interests, for twenty years systematically worked to accomplish the ruin of the Slovak industries. The idea of the Czech Government was that Slovakia should supply the Czechs with raw materials; that she should be a market of consumption for, and not a rival of, Czech industry.

Before the War the Hungarian State, at a great sacrifice, kept the iron works at Zólyombrézó and Tiszolc provided with work, in order to give employment to many thousands of Slovak workmen. In 1938 the Prague Government sold these works; they passed into Czech hands, which resulted in an increase of Czechs in the management and among the factory hands, to the detriment of the Slovaks. Tobacco factories were built by the Hungarian Government in the most barren regions of Slovakia to give work to the Slovak labouring classes. The Czechs dismantled the greater part of the equipment of those factories and carried it away to Bohemia.

We shall prove the objective nature of these statements by giving two quotations from the 1930 Yearbook of the Manufacturers' Alliance of Slovakia: „*A thorough examination of the population as a whole shows a general impoverishment*“ . . . „Not one of the special Slovak economic problems was solved last year“ . . . We might follow up these quotations with many others of a similar nature, all of which would prove that Slovakia's manufacturing industries were totally ruined by the Czechs. The result now is that only

100.000 workers are employed by industrial undertakings in Slovakia and that the number of unemployed is very great. To set Slovak industry on its feet again would require capital and suitable economic connections; these sine-qua-nons, however, are lacking. The economic future of Slovakia is closely bound up with that of the Basin of the Carpathians; and until *Slovakia's* political situation undergoes a change, until she enters into more intimate relations with Hungarian economic life, with which for a thousand years she had natural connections that were severed by twenty years of arbitrary Czech rule, it is no use speaking of serious economic improvement. The only thing that would help Slovakia would be rapid industrialization. This process, however, can only take place with Hungary's assistance, for the situation of the two countries makes them economically interdependent, each complementing the other. At present the *German Reich* is trying to improve economic conditions in *Slovakia*. Besides other already existing economic and commercial agreements a *German-Slovak* treaty was signed in Pozsony on 23rd June. The treaty is a framework into which the agreement regarding the settling of accounts concluded on 23rd March and the rest of the economic agreements between the two countries were inserted. The treaty is based on the most-favoured-nation clause supplemented by customs agreements and a veterinary measures agreement. The two delegations came to terms regarding matters pertaining to industry, agriculture, forestry, communications and the postal services. They also agreed to endeavour to establish a balance between *Germany's* and Slovakia's balance of payments by increasing *Germany's* exports to Slovakia. This treaty will undoubtedly be of some economic assistance to Slovakia, but, as we have already said, it will not essentially contribute to Slovakia's economic recovery, which requires capital and the development of economic connections in every direction.

THE REGENT OF HUNGARY SUGGESTS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BE CONVENED BY THE POPE

On 14th June the new Hungarian Parliament was opened with impressive ceremony by the Regent, Admiral *Horthy*. The following are some of the most significant passages of the Regent's speech: —

"With faith in the ancient virtues of the nation, I greet the members of the new Parliament. In this solemn hour I thank the Almighty that it has been granted this Parliament to be the legislative body of a Hungary enlarged in territory and in population. After twenty years of trials borne by the nation with exemplary discipline and unswerving faith, Providence has granted that some of the territories wrested from Hungary should return to her without the horrors of war, simply as an act of justice." ...

The Regent then continued:

"Our first task will be to draw up for Subcarpathia, the population of which is chiefly Magyar-Russian, an autonomy organically dovetailing into our ancient Constitution ..."

Amongst other things the Regent said: —

"Unity, work, growth of strength at home, independence and self-reliance in dealings with foreign countries, must be the fundamental principles on which this Parliament's activity must rest. It must in the first place frame laws calculated to promote social peace and understanding and to strengthen the family, the nucleus of a sound and Christian social order. It must therefore see that agricultural and industrial workers and all who lack the warmth of a hearth of their own shall be provided with good and healthy homes. It is very important that as many families as possible should become independent units of national production and consumption. Special funds must also be found for the

solution of social problems, in particular for measures calculated to improve the material situation of the villagers and raise their cultural level. This implies the protection of the family and the subsidizing of large families. Social welfare work and public hygiene must be adjusted, and to make this work more effective, those engaged in it must receive special training.

"An important condition upon which increased production and the prosperity of our agricultural population depends, is a more exhaustive study and knowledge alike of the possibilities of development in the various parts of the country and of their needs. We must assist the producer, not only by providing him with a home, with land, and with work, but also by making administration better and simpler."

Speaking of Hungary's foreign policy, Admiral Horthy said: —

"It is with gratitude and satisfaction that we think of the great results achieved as a result of the friendship of Italy, who was the first to side with Hungary, and of our old and loyal comrade-in-arms, Germany. In the future, as in the past, we desire to progress together with these two mighty allied friends of ours towards the ultimate goal: justice and peace.

"To Poland, who after centuries of separation has again become our neighbour, we are linked by the unwritten laws of a friendship based on historical traditions. With the keenest attention we are watching for whatever is calculated to create an atmosphere of reciprocal trust between ourselves and Yugoslavia. Always and everywhere on guard to defend our own rights and with due respect for the indisputable rights of others, we offer the hand of friendship to every nation that gives proof of similar goodwill. Bearing in view the historical rôle, the historical greatness, of our nation, we are anxious to carefully cultivate contacts of a cultural and economic nature in every direction. We always hope that we are contributing to the establishment of peace among the nations and countries, within the framework of which peace our independence will find its own niche and the question of our growth and prosperity will be solved.

This Parliament will have to work in a particularly difficult period of the world's history. Europe is in a state of great tension. The reason unquestionably lies in the Paris Peace Treaties, which for several States created an impossible situation out of which, naturally, they are endeavouring to escape.

"The League of Nations merely served to maintain that situation. Had it once — only once — boldly attempted to redress some of the injustices, men would not have lost faith in its impartiality. Disarmament ended in a fiasco, and a feverish race in armaments set in everywhere. Europe appears to be divided into two camps confronting each other with their arms at their feet. That the most terrible war in the world — in which every country would be involved — has not yet commenced, is due solely to the fact that those who hold the fate of the nations in their hands are fully aware that it could not end except in the destruction of the civilized world. There are no problems that cannot be settled somehow in a peaceful way. People have only to sit down to it, and every question that contains the seeds of discord can be discussed with goodwill and calm. Negotiations between two interested States, however, are not likely to lead to results, since to induce public opinion to agree to even the most reasonable concessions usually presents difficulties of a wellnigh insuperable nature. After composing their own differences, the Great Powers might, having listened to all the interested parties, establish a new and equitable situation among the rest of the nations, and — if necessary — could force the countries concerned to accept it. The time for negotiations has perhaps arrived, but it is difficult to take the initial steps. *Therefore, in my opinion, the happiest solution would be if the highest and most disinterested moral forum. His Holiness the Pope, were to suggest the convening of a meeting of the Great Powers to discuss concrete problems . . .*"

The Regent concluded his speech with the following words: —

"The continuity of our constitutional life has always been the chief strength of our national life. It was our strength in the time of the national Kings, whose reigns

were welded into an organic whole by the different phases of constitutional development. It was our strength in later centuries in our great struggles against alien Powers for the independence of the country and the nation. It was our strength during the reign of the Habsburgs of Austria, when in the spirit of that Constitution our fathers succeeded in vindicating the independence of the countries of the Holy Crown in face of the might of the Austro-German Empire. It was our strength in the years of collapse and dismemberment following the Great War, and it is our strength today in the dawn of our renaissance and our growth.

"Amidst the turmoil of this period of transition, too, when throughout the world new ideas and new forms of life are being sought, this continuity of our constitutional life and the elasticity of our Constitution that allows of the adoption of every beneficial innovation, is our strength in the effort to adapt the principles of St. Stephen to modern life and fulfil our new tasks in St. Stephen's spirit. As the supreme guardian of the Constitution and of legal order, I appeal to this Parliament to do its legislative work in conformity with our historical Constitution, the ancient virtues of our people and the lofty Hungarian conception of law, and to continue the building of the edifice of the Hungarian State, which has withstood so many storms, in the spirit of our ancient national traditions and of modern social aims."

POLITICAL MOSAIC

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT REPRESENTING RESTORED AREAS IN THE HUNGARIAN LOWER HOUSE

On 30th June, a solemn and impressive meeting of Parliament was held on the occasion of the first appearance in the Lower House of the Members representing the restored parts of Upper Hungary and Ruthenia.

When the session had been opened the Speaker, Dr. Coloman *Darányi*, read out the names of the new Members who had been called in, and one by one they filed into the assembly room. The Speaker welcomed them with a speech, after which M. Joseph Király, speaking on behalf of the Magyar Members from Upper Hungary and the Magyar people of those parts, thanked His Highness the Regent, the Hungarian Government, and the Hungarian army for making it possible for those areas of Upper Hungary to return to the mother-country.

The next Member to speak was M. Anthony Kadlec, who on behalf of the Slovak Members, said:

"The Czecho-Slovak Republic collapsed because it was built up on falsehoods. The greatest of all those falsehoods was the assertion that the Slovaks were a branch of the Czech nation and the Slovak tongue a dialect of the Czech language. We, the new Slovak Members of this Parliament, struggled against that falsehood from the very beginning and never ceased to declare that the surest foundation of Slovak national prosperity was the brotherhood of the Slovak and Hungarian nations. We were persecuted for telling the truth, but recent important historical events have justified our attitude. This fills us with joy and satisfaction."

M. Kadlec then went on to speak of the Vienna Award which, along with Hungarians, restored some Slovaks to Hungary. In conclusion, amongst other things, he said:

"We owe a debt of gratitude to the God of the Hungarians, but we also owe one to His Highness, the Regent of Hungary, for his wise and prudent rule."

Andrew Bródy: The most loyal people of St. Stephen's realm has returned of its own accord to its old country.

When M. Kadlec finished speaking, M. Andrew Bródy was called upon by the Speaker to address Parliament. The ex-Premier of Ruthenia, who was seated beside M. Stephen Antal in the first row behind the Government Bench, rose to his feet.

"In this solemn and to me sublime hour — he began —

when, as the representative of the Ruthenian nation, I take my place in the sacred halls of the Hungarian Parliament, may I be allowed to render thanks with boundless joy and awe to the Almighty for leading the most loyal people of St. Stephen's Realm back to its thousand-year-old home. (Great applause from all the benches.)

"That people — the Ruthenian nation — was detached, after centuries of symbiosis with the Hungarians, from Hungary twenty years ago without its wishes being considered, against its will in fact, but the suffering and oppression of those twenty years of separation have not broken the spirit of the people. That people has remained loyal to the ideas of St. Stephen and, as its Member of Parliament and the leader elected by the legitimate representative body of the Ruthenian nation, I feel it my duty to tell you, to tell the Hungarian nation, to tell the whole world, friends and foes alike, that the Ruthenian nation has returned of its own accord to the Realm of St. Stephen."

M. Bródy's statement was received with deafening applause. He then continued:

"The Ruthenian nation desires to build its home and ensure its prosperity for the next thousand years together with its ancient sister-nation, the chivalrous Hungarian people. (Cheers) I wish to express my deep gratitude to His Highness the Regent..."

Here for the third time the Members of Parliament rose in a body to cheer Admiral Horthy. When the cheers had died away, M. Bródy continued:

"... who with fatherly care, the wisdom of a great statesman and firm determination made it possible at the right moment for the Ruthenian people, who for centuries had been joined with ties of blood and affection, with unseverable economic bonds, with the links of a common civilization, to the Hungarian nation, to return to the political community whose history they had helped to make and for whose future they were ready to work, to shed their blood, or even sacrifice their very lives" (Sustained applause.)

"It is with particularly deep gratitude that I thank His Highness the Regent for the amnesty dictated by his generous heart. We believe that it will be the means of bringing peace of mind to our people. The Ruthenian nation sends its grateful thanks to the brave Hungarian army (the House cheers the army for several minutes) of which I, as a Lieutenant of the Reserves, am also a member.

"In the most glorious days of Hungary's history the Ruthenian people, Francis Rákóczi II's *gens fidelissima*, rallied round his "Pro libertate" standard to defend the independence of Hungary and its sister-nation the Hungarians. Now in the darkest days of our suffering the chivalrous Hungarian nation sent its

brave army to co-operate with the Ruthenian nation in order to deliver it from alien oppression. Today the two nations hold watch on the ridges of the Carpathians.

"I also wish to express my gratitude to the Hungarian nation for its sympathy during the twenty years of oppression and for not for a single miment giving up the idea of liberating us. And when the historical hour of our liberation arrived the Hungarian nation took us to its bosom with all the warmth of its generous heart.

"Lastly, I render thanks to the Hungarian Press — said M. Brody — for the way it aired our grievances during the past twenty sad years, for the way it kept international public opinion informed of our sufferings and thus helped to bring about the triumph of justice. I also thank the newspapers for helping to make the historical moment of our liberation a stirring festival of reunion and for the spirit of understanding and brotherly love of which they gave ample evidence (Cheers).

"When our liberation became a fait accompli a twenty-year-old dream of two sister-nations came true. We have come here with loyalty, affection and confidence in our hearts and we ask for affection and trust in exchange. After twenty years of uninterrupted trials and disappointments, we now return to the bosom of our beloved mother-country, confident that better days are in store for our sorely tried people and that in this old land of ours we shall receive what, in spite of international treaties, an alien nation refused to grant to us: freedom to live our own national and cultural life within the framework of an autonomy.

"As regards this autonomy I declare in my own name and on behalf of my colleagues and the whole Ruthenian nation that so far as our fate and our future are concerned we are in full agreement with the standpoint of His Highness the Regent (Loud cheers) and the Hungarian Government.

"I thank both Houses of the Hungarian Parliament for giving us the opportunity of collaborating in Hungary's new work of State-building. I solemnly promise that we are ready to do our share with enthusiasm; all we ask is that both Houses of Parliament and the Hungarian Government should trust in Ruthenia and in those Ruthenian leaders of the Ruthenian nation who were faithful to St. Stephen's idea of a political State even though their loyalty meant persecution and imprisonment for them (Applause).

"I pray the Almighty to grant that the Hungarian and Ruthenian nations may always live in peace together and never be separated any more."

With these words M. Andrew Brody concluded his speech amidst loud applause and cheers.

M. GEORGE BARCZA HUNGARIAN MINISTER IN LONDON,
ON ANGLO-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

The periodical, "National Art", recently arranged an exhibition of twenty-one living Hungarian painters under the auspices of the Anglo-Hungarian Society in London. In his opening address M. George Barcza, Hungarian Minister in London, declared that a friendly intellectual (non political) interest would render the most valuable service to the cause of Anglo-Hungarian friendship.

"In these critical days (the Minister continued). I am particularly pleased to express the thanks of a nation for the kind interest which another nation is taking in its peaceful artistic efforts. The Hungarian nation is always very anxious to know what the British think of its work, and it is equally pleased to be praised or criticised. I can assure you that both the Government and the people of Hungary sincerely desire to maintain that ancient feeling of friendship between Britain and Hungary which rests mainly on the common heritage of parliamentary system and national independence as well as on cultural progress and the love of sports."

The opening ceremony was attended by a large and distinguished audience.

IS A MINORITY CITIZEN AN ALIEN ("STRAIN") OR A
RUMANIAN NATIONAL UNDER THE NATIONAL LABOUR
DEFENCE ACT IN RUMANIA?

In order to protect her national industry and the interests of her own citizens, Rumania on April 3rd, 1930, passed a law declaring that no alien ("strain") may be employed in Rumania without official permission. *But the law of July 14th, 1934, which provides for the "employment of Rumanians in business establishments", does not use the term "alien"; it speaks only of "Rumanians" and provides that 80% of the staff, 50% of the board of directors and the chairman of the board in all establishments must be Rumanians.* Although it is indubitable that the term "Rumanian" does not refer simply to persons of Rumanian racial origin and that the term "alien" can only mean a foreign subject, yet — in practice — the law has come to be applied against the minorities, in spite of the fact that such a procedure is contrary to the provisions of the Rumanian Constitution and to those of the Minority Treaty of December 9th, 1919.

It will be remembered that M. Valer Pop, then Minister of Commerce, on Sept 1937, advised commercial establishments in Rumania to increase — as soon as possible —

the percentage of their employees of Rumanian racial origin to at least 50 per cent. This provision ultimately meant the dismissal of large numbers of minority employees, who were thus deprived of their earnings and consequently, of their livelihood. When the leaders of the Hungarian Party appealed against this procedure to the League of Nations, the only result was that M. Pop issued another circular to the establishments concerned, stating that his former circular was to be considered merely as urgent advice. *Nevertheless, the situation has not changed much since that date, so that the Magyar minority of Transylvania is still permanently threatened by the Rumanian National Labour Defence Act, since the authorities still continue to apply its obscure and ambiguous provisions against the minorities.*

Not long ago M. Ioan Chirila Chief Labour Inspector of the province of Szamos (in Transylvania) declared to a meeting of craftsmen in Kolozsvár (Cluj) that no one was entitled to dismiss minority employees with reference to the Act, as it contained no provisions whatever to that effect.

The above declaration was made at the meeting of a guild numbering 3446 members, in reply to a statement that a number of establishments had dismissed some of their minority employees under the National Labour Defence Act. *This favourable interpretation of the Act is somewhat belated now, since many thousands of minority employees have lost their employments in recent years, simply because of the ambiguous interpretation of the law. The Rumanian authorities have repeatedly inspected various industrial establishments and persuaded them to employ as many Rumanians as possible, in order to secure the progress of the Rumanian racial element in business, so that we may now consider the campaign ended: the Magyar minority has lost all that it could possibly lose; this explains why the Rumanians now assume — all of a sudden — such an amiable appearance of affability and loyal understanding.*

MINORITY PROVISIONS OF NEW RUMANIAN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT

On May 27th, 1939, the Rumanian official gazette published the royal edict relating to the reorganization of elementary education and teachers training.

For the present we would deal only with the minority provisions of this edict. Art. 7. provides that the language of instruction in all State schools shall be Rumanian. In places where the minorities live in large numbers and the number of children of schooling age is at least 20, schools may be established — by permission of the Minister of Education — in which children are educated in their own language, or there may be minority classes opened in the Rumanian State schools.

The minority schools maintained by the State must teach the Rumanian language, the history and geography of Rumania and the elements of political science in Rumanian. — This is the only positive provision contained in the edict. It does not contain the provision included in Art. 8 of the previous law on elementary education, by which all those who were of Rumanian origin but had been assimilated by some minority were ordered to send their children to the State school. It will be remembered that this provision led to numberless complaints arising out of the method of "name analysis". This is the negative side of the new edict.

A whole series of laws provide for the guaranteeing of minority rights in Rumania; among them is also the right of establishing schools in which the minorities may teach in their own languages. In this connection the so-called Minority Treaty. (Paris, December 9th, 1939.) must be mentioned in the first place as a fundamental law. In Art. 10 of this Treaty Rumania undertook the obligation that "in towns and districts where there are large numbers of minority citizens (i. e. citizens of non-Rumanian language) living, the Rumanian Government will offer considerable facilities in education, so that such citizens may be enabled to send their children to elementary schools where they are taught in their own language." In order to illustrate the practical execution of this provision on the part of the Rumanian Government, we would merely quote the following figures: at the end of the school year 1934—35 the nearly two million Magyars of Rumania had only 118 State elementary schools and sections, in which only 11,484 Magyar children were being taught in their own language, while 175,000 Magyar children were simply excluded from this privilege. ("Magyar Kisebbség", Vol. 15, p. 462).

The new edict on elementary education merely advises us to wait and see. In our opinion it is not enough to issue such an edict: the essential question is, whether the edict is carried out honourably in practice. This has never been the case in Rumania, at least so far as minority education is concerned.

ILLITERACY IN RUMANIA

The daily "Romania" on May 22nd published the following records: at the end of 1930 Rumania's entire population numbered 18,057,026 souls; of these 14,525,878 were above 7 years of age, 6,200,568 illiterate, roughly half the above number. The situation is even more deplorable when we take the entire population, as against the urban population: here we find that 5,490,050 out of a total of 11,362,886 were illiterates.

REGENT'S AIDE DE CAMP IN SOFIA

The Regent of Hungary recently conferred on the King of Bulgaria the Grand Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit with the Holy Crown. The Regent charged General Lajos *Keresztes-Fischer*, his principal Aide de Camp, to convey this high distinction personally to the King of Bulgaria as a token of the traditional feeling of sincere and warm friendship between the two nations. The Regent's representative arrived in Sofia on June 21st and remained there until the 24th; he was given an official reception and farewell. The King of Bulgaria received the General in private audience and lunched with him; General Petkow, Chief of the Bulgarian General Staff, also gave a lunch in his honour. On June 23rd King Boris addressed a telegram to Admiral Horthy, thanking him for the high distinction. On June 26th the "Slovo", a prominent, Bulgarian daily, wrote as follows in connection with the distinction conferred on the King:

"This distinction again impels us to refer to the link of fraternity connecting the Hungarian and Bulgarian nations. In this critical period of history, every feeling of friendship — especially if it is unselfish and if it is hallowed by blood spilt jointly on the battle field — represents a moral capital, which inspires us to overcome the obstacles that still stand in the way of the general reconciliation of nations. The Hungarians and the Bulgarians strive towards the achievement of this union with all their power. No people could have been happier than the Bulgarians, when the hour struck and justice was at last rendered to Hungary, who, like Bulgaria, was so shamefully mutilated by the peace treaties. The Crown of St. Stephen has now recovered some of the resplendent gems stolen from it, and we hope that it will soon *fully* recover its old splendour.

"The Bulgarians and Hungarians have been linked by history, and their fate urges them on to work together in the future too, even though there is no treaty of agreement between them. The feeling of friendship which the Bulgarian people feels for its Hungarian brethren is so strong that it does not need to be sealed by written agreements. Bulgaria and Hungary are united by the link of brotherhood, and the Hungarians have always expressed their sympathy for Bulgaria whenever Bulgaria was in need of help. The high distinction conferred on the King of Bulgaria again confirms this warm feeling of fraternity and strengthens the ties of friendship so often hallowed by blood; this friendship is no mere symbol; it has a practical meaning too."

TAX COMMISSION IN ZOMBOR HAS NO HUNGARIAN MEMBER

Repeated reference has been made in these columns to one of the oldest grievances of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia, namely, its almost complete exclusion from the commissions. This illegal procedure has brought about an impossible state of affairs, the Hungarian tax payers being left entirely at the mercy of the authorities and in consequence constantly exposed to the danger of being compelled to pay abnormally high taxes as compared with the other taxpayers in the country. The same situation still prevails in the tax commission of the town of Zombor, which is just now actually sitting there being no Hungarian among its 14 members.

RECTIFICATION

A number of foreign newspapers have during the current year, published some absolutely false data relating to schools of the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia, on the basis of allegedly official Yugoslav reports. These data were taken over by some of the Yugoslav newspapers, and even some Hungarian papers have published them, so that it is very important here to rectify these obviously false reports published with a view to misleading public opinion in other countries. The Yugoslav report states that the Magyar minority possesses altogether 621 elementary classes, i. e. taking four classes to each section, it has 155 sections in which under Article 9. of the Minority Treaty and § 45 of the Yugoslav Elementary Education Act the pupils are being educated in their mother-tongue, i. e. in Magyar. Let us refer, however, to the report submitted to the Skupshtina by Dr. Dragutin Koyitch, then Yugoslav Minister of Education, on March 1932, which speaks of the existence of 532 Magyar elementary classes, — i. e. 133 Magyar sections. M. Zhivotitch, Departmental Chief in the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1931 spoke of 531 Magyar elementary classes, while the educational department of the Danube Banate mentions 528 Magyar classes in its report for the school year 1929—1930. Most of the official or semi-official Yugoslav reports ignore the fact that in the so-called "parallel Magyar sections" the majority of the subjects are being taught, not in the language of the children, but in the language of the State. This is the actual situation, and it is one of the principal grievances of the Magyar minority.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

RUMANIA

MINORITY CLERGYMEN PERSECUTED

A hard sentence has been pronounced on Dr. John Vajda, Roman Catholic parish priest of Tenke. Dr. Vajda presented the school library with several uncut volumes, and was denounced to the military authorities for having done so. For it was stated that certain passages in the books were subversive and dangerous to the State. Dr. Vajda's case was tried by the Military Tribunal in Kolozsvár; and he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. This sentence was quashed by the supreme military court and the case was referred for retrial to the Military Tribunal in Nagyszeben. The new trial lasted several days; finally the sentence pronounced by the Kolozsvár court was upheld. Dr. Vajda was sentenced to spend one year in gaol, and was immediately placed under arrest.

Years ago the Rev. John Balogh, Reformed Church pastor of Erszodoro (County Szilágy), married a Calvinist widow of the village to a Greek Catholic smith. The new couple undertook that any female offspring of their marriage should, according to the rules of the Church, follow the faith of their mother, but despite this undertaking their daughter was christened a Greek Catholic. Quite recently the wife wished to communicate, but the Rev. John Balogh refused to admit her to Communion because of this breach of Church rules. A few days later, Balogh was arrested by the gendarmes and conveyed to the military tribunal in Kolozsvár, where he was accused of having in his conversation with the woman used expressions insulting to the Rumanians. Mr. Balogh is still under arrest.

Mr. Anthony Simonffy, Roman Catholic parish priest of Csikdánfalva, has been prosecuted by the local gendarmes for holding a forbidden meeting. At the military court in Brassó it was proved that the priest had not been guilty of subversive conduct, all he had done was to discuss parochial affairs with some of his parishioners. He was acquitted of the charge brought against him.

Last December the military tribunal in Kolozsvár sentenced the Roman Catholic parish priest of Tűr, the Rev. Gaspar Lokoly, to two months' imprisonment, the suspension of his political rights for three years and a fine of 4000 lei, because of a picture which was found covered with a silk flag in his church. The picture was one of St. Stephen in the act of offering the crown of Hungary to the Virgin Mary, the country's

patron saint. Mr. Lokody's defence was that it was only lately he had been appointed parish priest of the village and that he had no knowledge of the picture. His defence was rejected. In spring the Supreme Court of Appeal ordered a retrial of his case. Meantime Mr. Lokody had had to begin serving his time. He had been an inmate of the gaol belonging to the military court in Kolozsvár for three months when his case was retried by the military tribunal in Nagyszeben. He was acquitted by this court and his sentence was revoked.

INTOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS MINORITIES

A meeting of the Szekler joint tenants (compossessorati) was held recently in Csikszenttamás. As stipulated by the law, the local provincial magistrate was in the chair. A violent dispute arose in connection with certain measures relating to the management of the estate. The Chairman ordered a division. While the votes were being cast, Stephen Bálint, a joint tenant from the village of Bács, expressed his dissatisfaction with the proceedings to the magistrate in Hungarian. He was arrested and brought before the military tribunal in Brassó.

Several farmers belonging to the village of Pir in County Szilágy were recently brought before the military court in Kolozsvár charged with having insulted the Rumanian nation. According to the prosecution, at the time of the mobilization last March the accused opposed the requisitioning of their horses and carts by the army, and gave expression to their dissatisfaction with the measures taken. The military court sentenced Sigismund Veres to seven, Sigismund Kulcsár to six, Paul and Imre Somogyi (two brothers) to six, Stephen Morvai to seven, Sigismund Pócsi and Alexander Erdélyi to six months' gaol and inflicted on each a fine of 2000 lei.

Dr. Emery Zubor, an Arad lawyer, has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment by the military tribunal at Temesvár on the charge of having in a letter used expressions dangerous to the State ("Keleti Ujság" May 22). Baroness Esther Vécsey, an old lady of 76, the owner of an estate in County Szatmár, last March (at the time of the Rumanian mobilization) wrote her brother in Hungary (Baron Nicholas Vécsey) a letter in which, according to the prosecution, she supplied him with certain information. Her letter was opened by the censor's office attached to the Nagyvárad Post Office, and proceedings were instituted.

At her trial the aged Baroness insisted that she had no intention of spying and had merely written to her brother the things she saw through her own window. Counsel for the defence pleaded that his client was innocent, and pointed out that she was too old to understand military affairs properly. The military

count sentenced the Baroness to pay a fine of 10.000 lei and 2000 lei costs.

RESULTS OF THE RUMANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

M. Eugen Bess, president of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Kolozsvár (Cluj), has stated that the Rumanizing movement introduced in business life has already led to very "encouraging" results. As an illustration of this statement he noted that the sale of tropical fruit had, until recently, been the monopoly of a large "foreign" firm in Nagyvárad (Oradea Mare). The firm has now been deprived of its monopoly. The cotton used for peasants' clothing was originally distributed by three minority firms, which have been now deprived of this privilege, the license having been given to Rumanian companies. Sixty per cent of the latest applications for the establishment of new firms have been submitted by Rumanians.

HUNGARIAN THEATRICAL COMPANY NOT PERMITTED TO PLAY

Owing to the embargo imposed by the Rumanian authorities in Torda, no Hungarian theatrical company has been allowed to play in the town for a long time. Towards the middle of June a company, that of M. Károly Mihályi, was at last permitted to settle in the town, by permission of the Ministry of Education. — But after two performances, for unknown reasons they were not allowed to continue their work, in spite of the fact that they possessed a legal permit and the plays which they were going to act had been approved by the censor. ("Keleti Ujság", June 12.).

MINORITY WORKERS IN KOLOZSVAR URGE DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT OF LANGUAGE QUESTION OF THE USE OF LANGUAGE

A delegation of Hungarian minority workers have appeared before Dr. Tataru, Royal Commissar at Kolozsvár (Cluj), asking him for the definitive settlement of the use of languages in order to enable those Hungarian workmen who cannot speak Rumanian to communicate with the authorities in their own language.

STATE GRANT TO TRANSYLVANIAN HUNGARIAN CHURCHES STILL DELAYED

The leaders of the Hungarian churches in Transylvania were assured by the Government that these churches would receive a State grant in the form of extraordinary credit. In spite of repeated promises, however, no State grant has so far been paid either to the minority schools or to the teachers and pastors.

MILITARY EXPROPRIATION OF TERRITORY OF A VILLAGE IN BIHAR

By royal edict, 75 hectares have been expropriated out of the territory of the village of Biharfelegyháza. The village is situated about 10 miles from the Hungaro-Rumanian frontier. The owners of the expropriated land all have Hungarian names, such as Vértesi, Györi, Uri, Szlányi, etc. In addition, 50 hectares have been expropriated out of the territory of the village of Pravu Mihail.

SLOVAKIA

WHY NOT CALL POZSONY "POZSONY"?

Addressing a meeting of the town council on June 24th, Dr. Tibor Neumann, deputy commissioner of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, raised the question whether the so-called "*Srobar Edict*" still made the use of the name "*Bratislava*" compulsory in municipal administration? For, it was found that in the German publications of the city the name Bratislava was replaced by the German name "Pressburg". On the same ground Dr. Neumann demanded that the Hungarian minority should also be allowed the *historical* Hungarian name "*Pozsony*" in its publications. The Government Commissioner made an evasive reply, stating that a resolution of this character had to be made by the Government, not by the town.

NEW ARRESTS IN SLOVAKIA

The following arrests were reported from Igló on June the 13th: Rev. Szilárd *Móhr* and Rev. Ede *Hönch*, Lutheran pastors of Ménhárt and Iszákfalva respectively; M. *Schloss*, a farmer and the son of M. *Simon*, village teacher in Ménhárt; Rev. *Káplár*, Roman Catholic priest of Csetnek, and M. *Jozsef Sax*, the charge being alleged declarations against the State. It appears that Slovakia again wishes to strengthen her security by means of arrests and to suppress the feelings of the minorities

by force. The leaders of Slovakia seem to forget how bitterly they had to fight for the freedom of their country.

PERSECUTION OF RUTHENES IN SLOVAKIA

The "Dilo", the newspaper of the Ukrainians living in Poland, published on June 15th a report on the persecutions of the 200.000 Ruthenes in Slovakia. The Ruthenian elementary schools have nearly all been closed by the Slovak authorities. The State grant formerly paid to the Ruthenian grammar school at Eperjes has been withdrawn under the pretext that the financial situation of the Slovak State does not make it possible to continue its payment. Those Ruthene leaders who protest against this attempt to Slovakize their brethren are taken to internment camps where they are brutally maltreated. Among them was M. Iván Peschak, formerly member of the Czechoslovak Parliament and member of the Ruthene National Council, who has however succeeded in escaping from the camp. Nor do they treat those Ruthene leaders better who — like M. Jikowsky and M. Spenig — had been propagating the annexation of Eperjes to Slovakia, in opposition to the late Government of Ruthenia.

YUGOSLAVIA

PROMISE NOT FULFILLED

M. Imre Várady, the only senator representing 500.000 Magyars in Yugoslavia, some time ago appeared before M. Beshlitch, Minister of Agriculture, to discuss with him some of the most burning problems and grievances of the Magyar minority. Among other things, he mentioned the recent legal regulation concerning the restriction of buying and selling immovable property, to which the authorities in the Hungarian areas give such an arbitrary interpretation that they simply exclude all Yugoslav citizens of Magyar race from the privilege of buying land or other immovable property. This time too, as on other occasions, the Minister promised to redress the Hungarian grievances, but the result is the same as it has always been in the last two years: the promise still remains unfulfilled.

BOOKS

The League of Nations' failure to protect the minorities

When it was formed, the whole world welcomed the League of Nations with hope. Everybody expected that it would prove a permanent bulwark of peace, the author of the reforms that were so necessary in international relations, and the guardian angel of the minorities. Instead it petrified the unilateral and unjust *Paris Peace Treaties*, made an idol of the status quo, and became the wicked step-mother of the minorities. Nothing was done by the League in the field of promised disarmament, nor did it at all further the cause of peace; on the contrary, partly because of its partiality, partly because of its indifference, it came to be the promoter of new conflicts. Was it any wonder then that the League lost its authority completely, that a part of the nations abandoned it, and that even those who remained faithful lost all the confidence they ever had in it and practically ceased to avail themselves of its cumbrous machinery?

The step-motherly treatment meted out by the League to the national minorities entrusted to its charge contributed largely towards the decline of its authority. The so-called minority treaties placed the nationalities under the protection of the League Council; the *League Council* accepted this flattering task, but it basely abused its authority, in that instead of employing it as a means to protect and enforce minority rights, it made use of it to encourage the States created, or enlarged, by the *Peace Conference* to continue the policy of cruelly oppressing their nationalities.

The books that are being published by *Gustave Kövér* about the negligent treatment meted out to the nationalities by the League of Nations during the past two decades are like the cry of despair of Europe's 40 million oppressed minority subjects. The first of the volumes, "*Non, Genève ne protège pas les minorités*", appeared last year. In it the author describes the tragic fate of every single minority petition and complaint submitted to the League from the date of the so-called Madrid Resolution in 1933 up to 1937. His new book published recently, the title of which is "*Histoire d'une trahison*" contains the equally lamen-

table history of those submitted from 1929 to 1933 and in 1938. In this book he promises a third volume describing the sufferings of the minorities from the formation of the League of Nations till the year 1929. The author considers the *Madrid Resolution* a turning-point, because that document contains the much-vaunted reform of minority procedure introduced by the League Council. In his first work the author sets himself the task of finding out whether the Madrid Resolution was followed by an improvement in the lot of minorities. The text of authentic documents, of official papers lying in the archives of the League of Nations, which he publishes gives a reply in the negative. His second book tells us of the appalling negligence in the field of minority protection of which the League was guilty in the four years preceding the Madrid Resolution. There is yet to come the history of the League's minority policy in the initial years of its existence. We can easily imagine what dreadful disclosures that third volume will contain; for if in recent years, when the world began to pay increasingly greater attention to the sufferings of the nationalities, the League evinced the dreadful indifference that M. Kővér's two books clearly show it to have done — what must have been its minority policy in the golden days of the Paris Peace Treaties after the conclusion of the war, when international opinion was completely under the spell of the victorious Entente States, and the nations which had been on the opposite side in the world war were regarded as pariahs? And it was from these nations that the oppressed minorities were recruited.

It is impossible not to condemn the League's minority policy. From the very outset the League was the persecutor, not the protector, of the minorities and — as *Mello-France* once boasted at a League meeting — its aim was to support the ruthless endeavour of the Succession States to assimilate the minorities. Annihilation or assimilation were the cruel alternatives. When complaints of the League's mistaken minority policy began to grow more clamorous, then to throw dust in the eyes of the world the Madrid Resolution was passed. This resolution had nothing to do with the essential points of the question of minority protection; it contained but a few utterly unimportant innovations in the field of minority procedure: for instance that when a complaint was rejected the complainant was to be notified (till then this had not been the custom) and that a register must be kept of the complaints lodged and the complaints accepted. In one word a ridiculous little mouse (*ridiculus mus*) was born

of all this gigantic travail, and the treatment of the minorites remained as bad as ever. There has been no improvement to this very day, the result of which is that the minorities have ceased to bombard the Council with complaints, knowing as they do, that it would be no use, since redress is not to be obtained by way of the League of Nations.

M. *Gustave Kővér* was a rich landowner in the part of Hungary annexed by *Rumania*. The greater part of his estate was confiscated and he himself was obliged to fly from his native land to escape the danger of assassination that permanently threatened him there. He decided to devote all his energies to the question of the oppressed minorities, to improving their condition and disclosing the abuses to which they were being subjected. He therefore betook himself to Geneva, the headquarters of the League of Nations, in order to see for himself what was being done about their complaints. In his books he now relates his appalling experiences to the reading public, and we can never be grateful enough to him for the bold way in which he unveils the unscrupulous abuses practised in the groves of the League of Nations and for dispelling the mists that obscured the workings of League machinery.

George Lukács.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

POLITICAL ECONOMY

HUNGARY

FAVOURABLE REPORT ON ECONOMIC SITUATION OF HUNGARY IN 1938 BY THE BRITISH LEGATION IN BUDAPEST

The British Board of Trade recently published the report of the British Commercial Secretary in Budapest on the economic situation of Hungary in 1938. The crisis in European politics — the report says — has had the same detrimental effects on economic life in Hungary as in the other States of the Continent; nevertheless, Hungary's industrial production shows an upswing in almost every branch in the second half of 1938: the output of manufacturing industries as well as that of the chemical industry has increased, and the purchasing power of both the urban and the country population has advanced. There was a remarkable increase in the consumption and production of bauxite, petrol, gas, electric power, food, sugar, milk and beer. The condition of agriculture was favourable, owing mainly to the tendency of price fixing. The export trade in wheat, pigs, poultry, raw and manufactured meat and eggs has risen remarkably.

The balance of the foreign trade of 1938 shows an excess of exports of 103.7 millions. The Government has displayed lively activity in the field of social reforms. The 1938—39. Budget shows a surplus. The Anglo-Hungarian clearing agreement was observed by Hungary with the utmost exactness and loyalty. Trade relations between Great Britain and Hungary have remained more or less the same as before.

The report stresses strongly the economic, financial and political importance of the territories recently re-incorporated in Hungary. It points out that these territories solve one of Hungary's most difficult problems, viz. that of wood-supply; moreover, that rich iron, antimony and manganese mines in those areas have caused a considerable decrease in the country's imports in various articles. The highly important railway lines of the re-incorporated territories have increased the Hungarian railway system by 15%. The return of the Kassa-Beregszász railway line is of great economic, military and financial importance; it had facilitated the most lively traffic between Czechoslovakia and Rumania, and it was the main "railway artery" of the Little Entente.

ROMANIA

DISTRIBUTION OF RUMANIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN FIRST QUARTER OF 1939.

The following is an extract from the Rumanian economic weekly "Excelsior" (June 3rd): —

"The chief item on the list of our foreign trade is *Germany*, especially so far as our imports are concerned. Our trade relations with Germany are illustrated by the following figures, compared with the figures for the first months of last year (values quoted in millions):

Imports:		
	1938	1939
January	566	595
February	552	506
March	707	986
Total:	1.825	2.187

Exports:		
	1938	1939
January	367	504
February	360	433
March	603	552
Total:	1.330	1.489

Itt appears, therefore, that our imports from Germany have risen from 1825 millions to 2.187 millions, and exports from 1.330 to 1.489 millions. In the first quarter of 1938 Germany supplied 35% of our imports and took 25% of our exports, while in the same period of 1939 Germany figures with a still higher percentage: 44.8% of our imports, while her share in our exports to Germany was caused by a corresponding increase in our German exports was caused by a corresponding increase in our exports to Great Britain.

Great Britain figures with 9.5% in our imports and 5% in our exports during the first quarter of 1938. In 1939 our imports from Britain fell to 7.6%, while our exports to Britain rose to 23%. The figures of Anglo-Rumanian trade are as follows (in millions):

Imports:		
	1938	1939
January	111	101
February	212	119
March	177	152
Total:	500	372

Exports:

	1938	1939
January	61	484
February	96	446
March	78	372
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total:	235	1.302

While our imports from Great Britain fell from 500 to 372, our exports to Britain rose from 235 to 1.302 millions.

Italy. Our imports from Italy rose from 183 millions to 405 millions, and our exports from 381 to 505 millions. That is, in 1938 Italy took 3.6% of our imports and supplied 8% of our imports, while this year she figures with 8.3% in our imports and 8.8% in our exports.

France. Our exports to France in 1938 amounted to 230 million lei, and in 1939 to 214 millions, while our imports from France fell from last year's 455 millions to 162 millions this year. In 1938 France figured with 8.7% of our total imports and 4.4% of our total exports, while this year she represents 3.3% of our imports and 4.2% of our exports. We hope that the Franco-Rumanian trade agreement of May last will contribute towards the enlivenment of our trade relations with France.

There was a slight decrease in our trade relations with Belgium, while our relations with the U. S. A. have remained unaltered since last year."

NO FARMERS DAY IN THE BANATE

The Hungarian Agricultural Society of Transylvania would like to arrange a Farmers Day in the Banate, but, although it had already fixed two different dates, it has so far been unable to receive the permission of the authorities. The Farmers Day was to be held at Kolozsvár (Cluj).

SLOVAKIA

INVESTORS WANTED IN SLOVAKIA

The Slovak weekly "Budovatel" complains of the scarcity of investors in Slovakia. At least 20.000 investors would be needed, it says, to secure the balance of the economic life of Slovakia and to raise it to the standard necessary in an independent State. Among other things the paper says:

"Slovakia is a wealthy country, but her wealth is not of a character to be divided among the people. The meadows and lands of Slovakia are not exploited sufficiently. The wood of the Slovak forests is being treated like rubbish. And the

population, while it has gold "growing" around it, lives in poverty. Investors are wanted: people of imagination able to contrive various schemes, make plans, build roads and canals and factories, run hotels and attract the attention of foreign tourists. If we are unable to attract these tourists to come to us and give work and bread to our people, then the people of Slovakia will again have to seek its livelihood somewhere else outside the country".

REORGANIZATION OF COOPERATIVE SYSTEM IN SLOVAKIA

The Slovak Government has allowed the German cooperative societies to establish a new central organ of control, as they were formerly under the control of the head organisation in Brünn. The Slovak Government is now beginning to reorganize the entire cooperative system; it has been decided that the system shall be divided into three groups: agricultural, industrial and employment groups. The Magyar minority in Slovakia is doing everything to enable its cooperative societies to continue with the utmost vigour and activity their recent movement, namely that they, too, should have an independent central organ of control, which would at the same time conduct and represent the Magyar cooperative societies in Slovakia.

YUGOSLAVIA

M. VOJIN DYURICHITCH, YUGOSLAV MINISTER OF FINANCE, ON YUGOSLAVIA'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

The work of drafting the Budget and the finance bill is now in progress; in this connection the Minister of Finance has given instructions to all State offices and local governments with regard to the drafting of their budgets for next year. At the same time the Minister gave a description of Yugoslavia's financial situation; among other things, he declared that. "At the beginning of 1939 our economic life was largely under the influence of the nervousness caused by the crisis in international politics. The unfavourable effect of this critical situation on our economic prosperity was in evidence both in our foreign trade balance and in our exchange trade and money market. Our trade balance in the first third of this year showed an excess of imports of 160 million dinars. The unfavourable development of our foreign trade may be seen from the fact that the volume of our exports has decreased this year by 18%, and their value by 3.5%, while the volume of our imports has decreased by only 2.8%, and their value by only 3.9%. Parallel with this decrease of our foreign trade there is a decrease in the customs

receipts as well as in the inland revenue of the State. The total number of wagon-loads has also become smaller, in respect of both our foreign and our home traffic. The increase in saving deposits records between March 1938 and March 1939 was one fourth of that recorded between March 1937 and March 1938. Though the barest yield will be much smaller than last year, it will be a good deal more difficult to market it, owing partly to the high prices at home and partly to the fact that — according to the report of the International Agricultural Institute — the wheat supplies available are twice as large as last year."

At the end of his statement the Minister warned the State and local government offices to be as moderate as possible in their expenditure; his most embarrassing problem, he said, was how to secure the continually increasing expenses of home defence without endangering the stability of the currency.

GERMANY TO EXPORT RAILWAY SIGNAL APPARATUSES OF VALUE OF 700 MILLION DINARS

The Yugoslav State Railways have placed an order with German firms — within the framework of the 200 million mark German goods credit — for the importation of various railway signal apparatuses.

YUGOSLAVIA FORCED TO IMPORT 1300 WAGON-LOADS OF SUGAR

The sugar refineries of Yugoslavia last year produced only 7.700 wagon-loads of sugar; the total consumption of the country being about 9.000 wagonloads a year. Yugoslavia is forced to import at least 1.300 wagonloads of sugar to cope with the demand arising in July, August, September and October. Some firms have suggested that the shortage should be acquired from the Hungarian refineries as a loan, but Government has decided to provide this amount from the refineries of the Czecho-Moravian Protectorate; the transactions will be negotiated, not by the private refineries, but by the State refinery in Chucaritza. In order to reduce the price of the imported sugar, Government has also decided to reduce the import duty by 3 dinars per kilogramme.

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

Price Six pence. — Subscription for one year 5 /