

DANUBIAN REVIEW

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FEVERSTRICKEN RUMANIA

BY

LADISLAS FRITZ

In Rumania, now a Legionist National State, the undisguised dictatorship of General Antonescu, the "Leader of the State", which is based on a totalitarian one-party system, has utterly failed to restore peace and quiet. Under the new régime consolidation is progressing very slowly, the "Leader" having to contend with a strong Opposition within the framework of the "Iron Guard". The "Buna Vestire", a Bucharest daily and the organ of the Opposition created by the split in the Legionist movement, has had to be brought to heel, and was suppressed for five days for stirring up dissatisfaction in internal politics.

Besides this, the differences disturbing Rumania's internal politics have become particularly accentuated through the movement of an opposition character launched by Bratianu, relying on the former Liberal Party, and Julius Maniu, backed by a very considerable section of the population. Bucharest is full of anti-Government leaflets and placards disseminated by these groups, and it is in vain that the police try to prevent their circulation. This movement deserves to be taken seriously, for it is generally understood that Maniu and his adherents are in close touch with Titulescu, who is known to be an enemy of the Axis Powers. Yielding to pressure from the Legionists, General Antonescu has not only instituted proceedings against the Ministers, generals and adherents of the previous Governments, but has also taken steps to deal with Maniu and his followers on the charge that they are disseminating pamphlets protesting against the surrender of national liberty and independence. Besides this, General Antonescu was also forced by the Legionists to order the arrest of the Polish refugees, amongst others of Colonel Beck, former Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and some 104 Polish State officials of high rank.

Rumania's feverish condition is also aggravated by the

serious economic crisis now manifesting itself, which has in fact grown more acute under the new Legionist régime. At a recent meeting of the Supreme Economic Commission — held but a few days ago — General Antonescu stated the reasons why — in his opinion — Rumania had to contend with a serious economic crisis, which might easily grow worse. He pointed out that Rumanianization of economic life had been responsible for momentary disturbances, while other factors contributing to the accentuation of the crisis were the bad agricultural year and the complete disappearance of prime necessities from the markets.

Rumania's foreign policy reveals complete subservience to the Axis Powers. Friendship with Germany has become so close since the formation of the Legionist State that — according to the "Vreme" of Belgrade — Rumania may certainly be expected to join the Berlin Triple Alliance. In Bucharest pro-Axis demonstrations are the order of the day. According to its new leader, Herr Andreas Schmidt, the German racial group in Rumania is marching shoulder to shoulder with the Legionist movement. The official trip so Berlin and Rome of General Antonescu and M. Sturdza, Foreign Minister', planned for November, are also connected with Rumania's intention to join the Axis. The arrival of German military formations in Rumania was not due merely to reasons of foreign politics; there were also important internal reasons that contributed towards that step, the most important of which is that *consolidation is making little progress in Rumania.* The extremely acute tension between Rumania and Great Britain is likely to lead to an open rupture.

The tension between Hungary and Rumania shows an improvement for the moment, and differences seem to be on the way to being resolved. One sign of this is that the Governments concerned no longer wish to have the events causing difficulties discussed in the daily Press. A fresh diplomatic development is that on 10th October the Hungarian Government received a memorandum from the leader of the Rumanian delegation in Budapest, in which M. Valerian Pop suggested that mixed Hungarian and Rumanian commissions should examine the grievances of the Magyar and

Rumanian minorities. But the Hungarian Government, remembering the experiences of the past twenty-two years, does not expect the proceedings of such commissions to lead to any result, is indeed afraid that they might only lead to unpleasant incidents. For this reason *the Hungarian Government, citing the decision of the Vienna arbitrators, has drawn the attention of the two Great Powers to the situation, pointing out the causes responsible for it and asking them to intervene.* The Hungarian Government has expressed the hope that more normal relations would soon be established between these two neighbour countries, an aim that Hungary has never lost sight of. During the debate on the Budget Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated his regrets in Parliament (on 25th October) that *the Rumanian Government should have broken off negotiations, and that it had not proved possible to settle in a friendly manner the questions left open after the Vienna Award.*

In addition, the Hungarian Government at the beginning of October issued a statement, emphatically asserting that *the Magyar populations in the areas of Transylvania not restored to Hungary had been and were being cruelly harassed by the Rumanian authorities.* Public and private employees and all manner of officials had been thrown out of their posts, ordinary working people, even railwaymen and postmen, had been deprived of their jobs, turned out of their homes and put over the frontier, often after having been divested of the most necessary articles of clothing. The result of this treatment, which is at variance with all the principles of humanity and with the Vienna Award, — says the statement issued on 6th October — is that today there are about 50.000 refugees from Rumania in Hungary. The growing number of refugees driven out of Rumania has forced a certain course of action on Hungary. For the negotiations with Rumania re permission for the refugees from both countries to return to their homes and occupations, have so proved fruitless, owing to the shilly-shallying of the Rumanians and their rigid opposition. In these circumstances the Hungarian Government was left no choice but to resort to reprisals, and expel a number of Rumanians from

Hungary. On 9th October, in Parliament, Count Paul Teleki, Prime Minister, speaking of the persecution of Magyars in Rumania, amongst other things said: "*We know why these persecutions are taking place, and why they are permitted. It is in order to obtain a revision of the Vienna Award, which the Rumanian Government asked for, accepted and signed. The aim of the Rumanians is to evade or alter the Vienna Award, which determined the new frontier but said nothing about an exchange of the populations. Another aim is to force the Magyars to opt and to intimidate those who are too resolute in spirit to flee. The moment has arrived*" — continued the Premier — "*when the cup is full to overflowing. Since the day before yesterday we are having resort to reprisals. We have put 850 Rumanians, some of them leading men, over the frontier. We had nothing against these people individually, our action was merely a reply to the behaviour of the Rumanian Government. And we shall be compelled to continue these reprisals and even increase their severity until the Rumanian Government puts a stop to its present proceedings and establishes order in its own country.*"

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

HUNGARIAN CULTURE — RUMANIAN CULTURE

BY

Dr. ANDREW FALL

WHAT THE HUNGARIANS HAVE DONE FOR THE RUMANIANS

The Princes of Transylvania did all they could to draw the uncultured Rumanian herdsmen into the community of human civilization. One of the means employed by the Protestant Princes — *Gabriel Bethlen, George Rákóczi I. and Michael Apafi* — to further this end, was an endeavour to convert the Rumanians to Protestantism. Although this attempt led to results of inestimable value for the Rumanians, in that it did away with the hegemony of the Slav language in their liturgy, introducing their own mother-tongue instead, and laid the foundations of their national literature, the Daco-Ruman school of historians would fain suggest that it was an arbitrary endeavour to deprive the Rumanians of their language and of the faith of their fathers and to Magyarize them. This endeavour of the Daco-Ruman school of historians is unjustified, particularly because it was not the Hungarian but the Rumanian language that *the Princes of Transylvania introduced into the liturgy of the Rumanian Church, thereby making the development of the Rumanian literary language possible.*

The psyche of the Magyars is most clearly mirrored in the history of the evolution of Rumanian culture. That psyche shows its greatness, not by seeking to oppress other races, but by trying to raise them and win their friendship. The Princes of Transylvania were the first to promote the cultural development of the Rumanian people. Scarcely had the Hungarian Reformed Church been established in Transylvania when John Sigismund and the Transylvanian Diet appointed a bishop for the Rumanians, who, at the Synod held in 1567, ordained that Rumanian was henceforth to be

the language of Divine Service instead of Serbian. Already in 1544 a Rumanian catechism had been printed at *Szeben*, and in 1559 John *Benker*, sheriff of Brassó, introduced *Luther's Catechism* into the Orthodox Rumanian Church there, subsequently setting up a Rumanian printing-press, where, under the management of *Coresi*, a student from *Ter-govistye*, a beginning was made with the publishing of books in Rumanian. With the assistance of the Lutheran Saxons and Calvinist Magyars — in particular by order of a certain Magyar nobleman named Nicholas *Forró* — *Coresi* published the *Gospels* in 1561, the *Acts of the Apostles* in 1562 and the *Psalms* in 1571 — all in Rumanian. In 1581 *Coresi* received an order for a Rumanian edition of the Gospels from the then sheriff of Brassó, Luke *Hirscher*. In 1581 and 1582 the bishop of the Rumanian Calvinists, Michael *Torda*, published the "*Palia*", for a long time the only Rumanian translation of the Bible. The cost of its publication was borne by Francis *Geszt*, Chief Constable of Déva. The translation was prepared by *Tordai* and several Rumanian priests — the prelates of *Karansebes*, *Lugos* and *Hunyad*. It was translated from Casper *Heltai's* Hungarian translation of the Bible, and often when the translators were at a loss for a proper expression in Rumanian, they simply used *Heltai's* Hungarian words and expressions.

The appearance of the "*Palia*" was an epoch-making event in the history of Rumanian culture. It was the Magyars of Transylvania that lent a helping hand to the more backward Rumanian people at this critical period. It was the Magyars that drew the latter into the sphere of universal European culture and taught them to read the Bible in their own mother-tongue. This was also the policy of the Transylvanian Princes of the seventeenth century: *Gabriel Bethlen* worked on a Rumanian translation of the Bible; *George Rákóczi* set up a Rumanian printing-press at *Gyula-fehérvár*, published a *Calvinist catechism* in Rumanian, and when this was banned by the Orthodox Metropolitan of *Jászvásár*, the Orthodox Bishop of Transylvania took up cudgels in its defence. We thus see that it was the Magyars of Transylvania that rocked the cradle of Rumanian controversial and scientific literature.

At that time, in consequence of the system of "accepted" religions, each accepted denomination was subordinate to the Prince. This was particularly true of the Orthodox Church, which was merely a tolerated denomination, its bishops having to accept the conditions imposed by the Prince — on the occasion of his confirming them in office — which stipulated the use of the Rumanian language in the churches and the elimination of the Slav liturgy. In 1641 George Rákóczi I ordered the Bishop of Bihar appointed by himself to "*preach to the poor Rumanians in their own mother-tongue, in order that they may be strengthened daily in profitable knowledge and in the faith and so be led day by day from the darkness of superstitious error into the light.*" Later on, in 1643, *George Rákóczi* deposed one of the Rumanian bishops of the Greco-Serb ritual, who had been appointed by himself, and made it the duty of his successor to use and cause his priests to use the Rumanian language at Divine Service on Sundays and Feast-days and at all ceremonies. He also ordered him to see that his priests gave up their superstitious customs. These stipulations are to be found in all subsequent deeds of appointment issued by the Princes of Transylvania, each of which therefore enjoins the Rumanian bishops and priests to hold Divine Service in the Rumanian tongue and to teach their congregations to use that language. In particular *Michael Apafi* carried out an extensive Rumanian cultural programme; in 1686 he appointed *Vasilie Varlam* bishop of the Greeks and Rumanians with the injunction that he must maintain schools at his Residence in Gyulafehérvár as well as in Hunyad and Máramaros, where all the pupils should be taught to read and write in Rumanian. Advanced pupils were to be taught Latin, but no mention was made of Hungarian.

Unbiased Rumanian historians themselves do not deny that it was in Transylvania that, with the encouragement of the Hungarian Princes, the cultural and literary movement set in which was to oust the Serb language from ecclesiastical life and make Rumanian the language of the Church and of literature, thus outstripping the Rumanian culture of the two Rumanian principalities.

The attempt of the Transylvanian Princes to spread the

Reformation among the Rumanian population proved a failure; the elements of liberty and autonomy that are the characteristic features of Protestantism made no appeal to them. The endeavour of the Habsburgs to Catholicize them was apparently more successful. *At the end of the seventeenth century the Greek Catholic Church was established; and these Greek Catholics were also pioneers of Rumanian culture.*

In 1754 a bishop of the Rumanian Church, *Peter Áron*, founded a seminary and a university with a high-grade college attached at Balázsfalva. The manuals used there were accepted as text-books in *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*. Thanks to the generosity of the Hungarian Princes and the brotherly assistance of the Magyars, Balázsfalva, that Magyar town of Transylvania, became the cradle of all Rumania's national culture at a time when even in the Churches of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* the Rumanians were obliged to use the Greco-Slav language.

During the reign of the Emperor *Joseph II* Rumanian books were published in rapid succession at Balázsfalva and *Szeben*; and indeed even in *Buda*, the coronation town of the Hungarian kings, the *University Press* published *Rumanian school-books and prayerbooks gratis*, in order to supply the educational needs of the illiterate Rumanian population. *Nothing better characterizes the solicitude of the Magyars than the fact that even today Rumania has no bigger and better pontifical than the twelve volumes published gratis at Buda by the Magyars for use in the Rumanian churches.* It was *Samuel Klein* who elaborated the Latin construction of the Rumanian language (*Elementa linguae Daco-Romanae sive Valachicae*. Wien, 1780.). *George Sinkai* laid the foundations of the Daco-Roman theory (*Cronica Romanilor*. First edition published in *Jassy* in 1853, the second in 1886). *Peter Major* wrote its synthesis in his history of the Rumanians (*Istoria pentru inceputul Romanilor in Dacia*. *Buda*, 1812.). The first Rumanian periodical was launched in *Budapest* at the beginning of the last century, while the first and only Rumanian Encyclopaedia was published at *Nagyszeben* in *Transylvania*.

The big Rumanian cathedral whose beautiful internal

columns with their ribbon ornamentation in the Rumanian national colours presented a gorgeous spectacle during the whole of the Hungarian era, was built at *Balázsfalva*.

The War of Independence in 1848—49. set free not only the Magyar serfs, but also all the non-Magyar nationalities in Hungary, ensuring them full political, cultural and religious liberty. Great possibilities of cultural development presented themselves to the Rumanians of Transylvania; and they had every means offered them of availing themselves of those possibilities. The Rumanians themselves admit this. *Onisifor Ghibu*, professor of the Kolozsvár Rumanian University, tells us as much in his books written in 1915 (*Viata si organizatia bisericeasca si scolari in Transilvania si Ungaria and Scola romaneasca din Transilvania si Ungaria*). Ghibu cannot be accused of bias in favour of Hungary, for during the war he left his post of school-inspector in Transylvania and fled to Rumania, from whence he launched a violent campaign of propaganda against Hungary. As university professor in Kolozsvár his main activity has been to wrest from the Magyar minority Churches what cultural weapons were left to them, even going so far on his own initiative and responsibility as to cause all the property belonging to the Catholic Premonstratensian Order in Nagyvárád to be confiscated, that is to say transferred to the Rumanian State. Writing of the position of the Rumanians in Hungary, this same Ghibu says: — “As an autonomous body the Rumanian Greek Oriental Church of Hungary and Transylvania, by virtue of the rights ensured in Act IX of 1868, independently administers, directs and manages — subject to the full maintenance of the sovereign's supreme control — its own ecclesiastical and educational affairs and trust funds in every important respect . . .” “School-inspectors have no immediate authority over our schools. — As regards the appointment of teachers, in the Brassó and Brad Rumanian Greek Oriental secondary schools they are appointed by the ephoria and their appointment is confirmed by the consistories; in the Greek Catholic lyceums they are appointed by the consistories, and in the Naszód lyceum by the Minister on the recommendation of the Committee of the Frontier March Endowment. In the rest of the denomina-

tional schools the teachers are appointed by the consistories, while teachers in the State schools are appointed by the Minister." "The denominations simply announce the establishment of their schools, they do not need to ask for permission. In terms of Act XXXVIII of 1868 parents are free to send their children to any school they choose." "The language of tuition and the curriculum are determined by the bodies maintaining the schools."

"The members of the Orthodox Rumanian Church numbered 1.875.000 in 1913. That Church receives an annual State grant of 179.000 crowns for the upkeep of consistories and theological seminaries; the sums received as congrua (State grants to supplement the stipends of the Orthodox priests) amount to 3.000.000 crowns per annum; the elementary schools receive a State grant of 1.500.000 crowns, and secondary school teachers enjoy one of 21.000 annually as a supplement to their salaries. The said Church maintains 1536 elementary schools with 1680 teachers, 6 secondary schools and one boarding-school."

"The Rumanian Greek Catholic Church has 1475 parishes with 1600 out-parishes and maintains 1146 elementary schools. It also receives congrua and other State grants in the same proportion as the Greek Oriental Church."

"In all Rumanian denominational schools the language of instruction is Rumanian."

"Act XVIII of 1879 made the teaching of Hungarian compulsory in denominational schools" (Before that time no Hungarian was taught in those schools.)

"Act XXVII of 1907 (Lex Apponyi) has made civil servants of the denominational teachers and forces them to take the Hungarian oath of allegiance. It prescribes 13 Hungarian lessons a week in schools with one class, and 39 in six-class schools. The State grants aid also to the denominational schools if they comply with the requirements of the Act (suitable premises, qualified teachers, progress in the Hungarian language, and patriotic principles), but in that case the curriculum for 5 subjects (Hungarian, history, geography, the elements of constitutional law and arithmetic) is prescribed by the State."

Regarding the interpretation of the Lex Apponyi the

Rumanian Greek Oriental diocese of Transylvania issued an order (No. 11.410) on 30th September 1910, which runs as follows: — "Attention is drawn to § 20 of Axt XXVII of 1917, which by some is wrongly interpreted to mean that in the schools enjoying State grants arithmetic, history, the elements of constitutional law and geography must be taught in Hungarian, and that Hungarian schoolbooks must be used for this purpose. This interpretation is quite erroneous. In terms of § 18 of Act XXVII of 19017, the official language of instruction in the Rumanian Greek Oriental denominational schools is Rumanian. *In all denominational schools, whether they enjoy State grants or not, all subjects are to be taught only in Rumanian*, with the exception of Hungarian, in conjunction with which certain elements of arithmetic, history, and the elements of constitutional law must also be taught. All these elements to be taught in Hungarian will only be taught in that language after the pupils have mastered them in Rumanian, and may not be taught in Hungarian during the regular arithmetic, history, constitutional law and geography lessons — which must be given in Rumanian — but only during some of the many Hungarian lessons. The school-books are all in Rumanian. No bilingual books are permissible, for they merely serve to make teaching mechanical. Our schools are not bilingual ones; in terms of the Act they are "schools in which the language of instruction is Rumanian", and the books in use in them must also be written in Rumanian. The Act does not stipulate that all the schoolbooks used in our schools shall be approved by the Ministry; it merely prescribes that those used for teaching arithmetic, history, the elements of constitutional law and geography in schools enjoying State grants must be approved; in schools that do not enjoy State aid only the books used for teaching Hungarian must be approved."

From the above quotations from *Onisifor Ghibu's* books and the order issued by the Rumanian Greek Oriental diocese of Transylvania the following points may be established:

1. *Rumanian was the language of instruction in the Rumanian schools; arithmetic, history, geography and the elements of constitutional law were taught during the Hun-*

garian lessons, not as separate subjects, merely as exercises in the Hungarian language. In practice this was effected as follows: all these subjects were first taught in Rumanian during the regular lessons and the material taught then was simply used for translation and composition exercises during the time set apart for the study of the Hungarian language.

2. *The Rumanians were free to establish schools. The Churches enjoyed extensive autonomy.*

3. *Denominational schools and priests enjoyed State grants.*

4. *The Churches were free to pursue all their activities, the Hungarian State imposing no restrictions on them.*

5. *The property of the denominational Churches was not interfered with by the State.*

6. *The bishops of the denominational Churches were members of the Hungarian Upper House.*

Thus in every respect historical Hungary always did her duty; she served the cause of civilization and progress, making the economic and cultural development of her non-Magyar nationalities possible. The Hungarian Government and the institutions of the Hungarian State, as also Transylvania's own cultural institutions, raised the Rumanians of Transylvania to a level of civilization which, though it by no means attained the cultural standard of the Magyars and Saxons, was much higher than that of the Rumanians of Rumania. Proof of the truth of this statement is again supplied by *Onisifor Ghibu*, whose works (*Viata si organizatia bisericeasca si scolare in Transilvania si Ungaria, Bucharest 1915, p. 164* and *Scola romaneasca, 1915, p. 37*) deal with Rumanian education in Transylvania. From his statistics we learn that in 1914, during the Hungarian era, there was one purely Rumanian school to every 1016 inhabitants. To every 945 Greek Oriental inhabitants there was one Greek Oriental teacher, a large part of whose salary was paid by the Hungarian State; on the whole the State paid one-third of the total amount received in salaries by the Greek Oriental teachers. That same year there was only one elementary school to every 1418 inhabitants in Rumania (*Anuarul Statistik al Romaniei 1924, pp. 10 and 234*).

THE THRACIAN PROBLEM

BY

L. LALEV

Ever since her establishment as a State Bulgaria has left no stone unturned to secure the free access to the sea to which her key-position and her geo-political situation entitle her. *As a consequence of the closing of the Black Sea she needs access to the Aegean Sea too — not in the form of a mere “way out” (the use of a “free port”), but in that of a position over which she herself exercises territorial sovereignty.* What Bulgaria is doing when she demands the return of Thrace, is merely to be able to enforce rights which have been hers for centuries.

The economic unity of Thrace was broken up and its territory divided officially into two separate parts first by the Treaty of San Stefano (March 3rd, 1878) and subsequently by the Berlin Congress (July 13th, 1878), Northern Thrace being converted into an autonomous territory under Turkish suzerainty to which the name of *Roumelia* was given. In 1885 the Bulgarian population of Roumelia incorporated their State in Bulgaria. From that period onward *Northern Thrace formed part of Bulgaria, while Southern Thrace formed part of the Turkish Empire.*

This was how things stood until the end of the first Balkan War, when *the Treaty of London (1913) allotted the whole of Thrace to Bulgaria.* At that time the eastern frontier was the Midia-Enos line. But Greece and Serbia, in order to rob Bulgaria of her rights, joined forces with the defeated enemy, Turkey, and with Rumania, making a united attack upon Bulgaria, who was vanquished by superior odds. As a result of these operations *Turkey's frontiers were advanced as far as Edirne, Eastern Thrace being thus annexed by her, while Bulgaria retained only Western Thrace, exclusive of the environs of Cavalla.*

Thrace has at all times formed an economic unit, the majority of the inhabitants of that province having always

been Bulgarians. During the whole course of her history Bulgaria has never ceased to insist on having access to the Aegean Sea. Bulgaria at all times respected the international significance of Byzantium and endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with that Power. It was from Byzantium that she received Christianity; and for that reason *she never formulated any claim to the Dardanelles, her aspirations being limited to a desire to create a united State by a union of all the Bulgarian elements.* The direction of the life of Thrace as a whole has in any case at all times been in the hands of the Bulgarians, — without doubt, economically, if not politically too. From the reign of Assen II. the southern frontier of the Bulgarian State was the Aegean Sea, though Bulgaria had to fight for the possession of Thrace, first with Byzantium and later on with the Turks. Subsequently, as a consequence of the mistaken policy of Byzantium, the Turks were enabled to conquer both their rival, Byzantium, and Bulgaria, who was driven to defend herself. The latter country suffered enormously, but neither did the Turks succeed in their policy of turkisation nor did the Eastern Church prove able to grecianise that country. *Even according to the Turkish Census of 1870, in Southern Thrace, which belonged to the Bulgarian Exarchate, there were 267.800 Bulgarians as against 185.900 Greeks and 70.800 Turks.*

The Bulgarians were exposed to indescribable sufferings; for the defended their national existence against all attempts to suppress it: and after the overthrow of the Bulgarian insurrection of 1876 *the Turks destroyed 35 villages and massacred 12.000 Bulgarians, crowning these atrocities by executing the "insurgent leaders" in the most inhuman manner.* According to the British Blue Book of 1878, *the Turks drove away from the environs of Chorbu alone 23.000 Bulgarians, 18 villages being here too destroyed by fire.* It was these monstrous deeds of barbarity that sowed the seeds of the insurrection of 1903 and led subsequently to the first Balkan War, which was due to the initiative of the Bulgarians.

But until the end of the first Great War no one had ever disputed the Bulgarians' right to Western Thrace. The Entente Powers too at first merely subordinated that terri-

tory to their own control. At that time the population of this territory — *according to the Census made by these Powers* — included 80.893 Bulgarians, 73.220 Turks and 51.706 Greeks; but these figures were incorrect, for according to the Bulgarian statistical data the inhabitants of this territory in reality included 146.648 Christian Bulgarians and 96.400 Mohammedan Bulgarians. Until the Paris Treaties of Peace were drafted Greece had never laid claim to Western Thrace; indeed, even after the second Balkan War Bulgaria's right to that province was acknowledged. And, on May 13th, 1916, *Venizelos* himself, speaking in the Greek Parliament, declared Greece's *désintéressement* in respect of Thrace. At the peace conference following the first Great War the American Delegation supported the claim of Bulgaria; *but Great Britain was anxious to do Greece a favour, the result being that the Conference was reluctantly compelled to decide to leave Thrace under the control of the Great Powers: and it was only after the Peace Conference, when America had ceased to exercise any influence, that Great Britain succeeded in enforcing her will and in getting Western Thrace allotted to Greece.*

From the territory thus allotted to Greece *the Greeks* — for “*strategic reasons*” — *transferred nearly 100.000 Bulgarians to the Greek islands, conveying them thither in barges; many of the Bulgarians thus deported never reached their new homes, while many others perished of hunger on the bleak islands.* The more fortunate inhabitants succeeded in escaping to Bulgaria, while those who remained in Western Thrace were exposed to the vindictive measures of the Greek régime. Finally, in 1924, even the Entente Powers became disgusted with the conduct of the Greeks and forced the Greek Government to conclude with them a minority protection agreement. And the Bulgarian Government, in order to alleviate the sufferings of their racial kin, provided for the transfer to Bulgaria of a part of the Bulgarian population.

The population continually protested against the measures of the Greek régime and rose in insurrection; but neither this action nor the complaints submitted to the League of Nations proved able to secure the hardtried people of this territory the justice to which it was entitled. Even

"Le Temps" repeatedly entered the lists in defence of the rights of the Bulgarians and showed that *the Greeks had no claim to the territory in question*; but these articles also failed to achieve any result. *Nor was any provision made to ensure Bulgaria real and unimpeded access to the Aegean, though this had been one of the provisions included in the Treaty of Neuilly (Article 48)*. And the proposals made by Greece in this connection were unacceptable to Bulgaria.

Bulgaria did not renounce Thrace in favour of Greece even when signing the Treaty of Neuilly; for she believed that in order to ensure peace in the Balkans the Entente would re-instate her in her lawful possession of this territory. But the Entente failed to do so. And, now that a new order based upon reason and justice is in process of formation also in the southern half of the Balkan Peninsula, nothing could be more natural than that the Thracian problem should also be adjusted in keeping with the legitimate demands of Bulgaria and with the postulates of economics and of the geo-political situation. *Under Bulgarian rule, by the help of adequate investments and a rational adjustment of the problem of irrigation, Thrace may be converted into one of the most fertile areas of Europa*; but as things stand at present, cut into pieces by absurd frontiers, that territory is unhappy and incapable of development. Thrace must therefore be allotted to Bulgaria; for — apart from historical, geographical and ethnographical considerations — this is the course prescribed by economic considerations too: for it is only as a united territory and on the basis of a uniform scheme that the production of Thrace can be increased to a level advantageous to the general interests of the European community of peoples.



SOMETIMES 'TIS A FAR CRY FROM WORDS TO ACTIONS

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

Recently, very largely under the influence of international political events, the competent authorities in Yugoslavia have made several statements respecting the minorities which if carried into practice without reserve might result in an improvement of the situation of the Magyars living in that country and in a solution of the general minority question in Yugoslavia of a satisfactory and to some extent at least reassuring character. Of the statements recently made referring to this matter special interest attaches to the two with which we shall deal below.

At a conference of the Executive Committee of the Danube Banate organisation of the Government Party (the "JRZ") held at Ujvidék on October 8th. M. *Tsvetkovitch*, Prime Minister, made a long speech in which *inter alia* he warned the Southern Slav inhabitants of the country to *treat the national minorities in a proper manner. He spoke with disapproval of the excess of chanvinism and referred in terms of the highest appreciation to the German minority and its leaders.* In his opinion — he said — the desire of the German ethnic group to have German officials placed in charge of parishes (villages) and hundreds the minority of the inhabitants of which were German, was perfectly legitimate. The Prime Minister did not, however, say a word as to whether this right of equal treatment and of civil equality as ensured under the Constitution was due also to the Magyar national minority.

A few days later, on October 12th., M. *Beshlitz*, Minister of Communication, who has been entrusted with the administration of the affairs of the Voivodina, at a banquet given in his honour at the same town (Ujvidék) also dealt with the minority question, declaring that "*minorities must*

be granted every right, that being the only means of providing that every citizen of the State should enjoy equality."

The two statements referred to above may be supplemented by the statement made by M. Tzubrilovitz, Minister for Agriculture, on the occasion of the visit to Yugoslavia of Count Michael Teleki, that statement being to the effect that *"Hungary was a friendly neighbouring State with which Yugoslavia maintained the best relations"* (*"Politika"*, 1st. October, 1940). As evidence of this friendly attitude we may regard the establishment at Belgrade, on October 6th., of the *"Yugoslav-Hungarian Society"*; on this occasion M. Vojin Djuritchitz, Burgomaster of Belgrade and a former Minister of Finance, who presided, referring to the fact that the number of persons invited to the ceremony, was relatively small, in his inaugural address noted that *"if we had wished to invite all Hungary's friends, the inaugural meeting would have had to be held on the huge aerodrome at Zemun"*. And., in his reply on behalf of the Hungarians, M. George Bakács-Bessenyei, Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, stressed that *"it was edifying, at a time when a part of the civilised world was aflame, to observe that the Yugoslav and Hungarian nations were continuing to endeavour to reciprocally improve their knowledge of one another, a course which must in time preclude the possibility of misunderstanding."*

After these promising preliminaries Senator Imre Várady, LL. D., and Dr. Leo Deák, former Member of the Provincial Diet, on October 13th. once more called upon M. Beshlitz, Minister of Communications, and subsequently on M. Bogdan Bogdanovitch, Deputy Minister of Education. With both Ministers they discussed the grievances and wishes of the Magyar minority on the basis of a Memorandum handed to them, which contained the proposal of the leaders of the Magyars of Yugoslavia respecting the adjustment of the educational matters affecting the Magyar minority. The Memorandum *inter alia* pointed out that *there were still numbers of so-called parallel Magyar sections of elementary schools without Magyar teachers*. Exact data referring to these parallel sections without Magyar teachers were also submitted, as was a detailed statement respecting the villages inhabited by Magyars in which no separate parallel Magyar

section has so far been established, notwithstanding the presence of the minimum number of pupils (25 and 30 respectively) prescribed by law. Annexed to the Memorandum was also a list of the teachers of Magyar nationality possessing the requisite qualifications whose appointment to the parallel Magyar sections ought to be made, enabling them to replace the Yugoslav teachers who are either completely ignorant of or have only a limited knowledge of Hungarian. A list has been given also of the names of those Magyar secondary school teachers who might be appointed to the so-called parallel "Magyar" sections of the eight-class "Realgymnasium" at Szabadka and of the four-class lower-grade "gymnasium" at Zenta and who are at present employed in secondary schools where the language of instruction is Serbian or Croatian. In conclusion the spokesmen of the Magyar minority requested that, *in order to ensure the educational matters of the Magyar minority being administered without a hitch and to provide for the immediate and equitable adjustment of all questions connected therewith, a special adviser should be appointed to function in the Ministry of Education as the forum to which the leaders of the Magyar minority could appeal direct and could without having to resort to intermediate channels submit any complaints or wishes respecting educational matters and thus provide for the immediate settlement of all such matters.* Both of the official factors consulted promised to benevolently and without delay investigate the matters referred to in the Memorandum, — a course taken so often in the past too, though without the promises and undertakings given on such occasions having been followed by corresponding actions.

In connection with the educational matters involved, the October 13th issues of the "*Reggeli Ujság*" of *Ujvidék (Novisad)*, the "*Napló*" of *Szabadka (Subotica)* and the "*Zentai Hiradó*" published long articles dealing with the activity of the parallel Magyar section of the Belgrade State teachers' training college (which has been functioning already for six years), regarding it as indispensably necessary in order to ensure this institution continuing to function successfully that 1. *the parallel Magyar section should as soon*

as possible be converted into an independent Magyar training college functioning under Magyar management, being for that purpose transferred to some town in the Voivodina with a Magyar population — e. g. to Zenta, Kanizsa or possibly Szabadka —; 2. as contrasted with the practice so far followed of permitting the reopening as a special favour for one year only (the practice which has been in force since the re-opening of the first class, in September, 1937), the Government should institutionally ensure the undisturbed and uninterrupted functioning of the whole section; 3. the Government should appoint a sufficient number of teachers of Magyar nationality (or such at least as are fully versed in Hungarian) to function in the Magyar section of the training college; 4. in the parallel Magyar section all subjects except the State language and the so-called "national" subjects (i. e. Yugoslav history and geography) should be taught in the mother-tongue of the pupils; and finally, 5. on the basis of the principle of equal treatment the Magyar section — or the independent Magyar training college that may eventually be established respectively — should be granted the same material support as that granted to the private teachers' training college at Ujverbász, which has so far — during its seven years of activity — received a State subsidy of 500.000 dinars.

As to how many other things ought to be done to improve the educational situation of the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia, we would on the present occasion merely offer a few data by way of illustration. As against the 528 and 538 classes of the 132 and 133 so-called parallel Magyar sections of elementary schools shown in the official statements for the years 1931 and 1932 respectively, according to the official statement for the year 1934 there were only 457 parallel Magyar elementary school classes functioning, the number of such classes shown in the official statement issued, on February 27th., 1940, being only 438; that meaning that — calculated on the basis of 4 classes for each section — the number of parallel sections functioning at the periods in question were 114 and 109 respectively, that meaning that the number of Magyar classes has within a few years decreased by 75 and 94 respectively, the decrease in the

number of sections being 19 and 24 respectively. Its quota of the population would entitle the Magyar minority of Yugoslavia to have at least 307 parallel Magyar elementary school sections (this ratio being calculated on the basis of the number of elementary schools — 8590 — functioning in the whole country), that meaning that (taking each section to include 4 classes) the Magyar minority would be entitled to at least 1228 elementary school classes, while the staff of elementary school teachers functioning in the whole country (numbering altogether 30,360) should include 1084 teachers of Magyar nationality, whereas *the number of teachers shown in the official statements as functioning in Magyar parallel sections is only 410 and 434 respectively, while even of these not more than 100—130 are of Magyar nationality.* The parallel Magyar elementary school sections figuring in the official statements are attended by only 26—28.000 pupils of Magyar nationality, whereas at least as many Magyar children of schooling age are compelled to attend elementary schools in which the language of instruction is the State language. A circumstance characteristically illustrating the situation in respect of educational matters is also the entire absence of professional and "city" schools with Magyar as the language of instruction — though the Magyar minority numbers half a million souls.

A few other data must be added to show also that nothing has since been done to redress the grievances of the Magyar minority referred to in our September and October issues or to meet the wishes submitted by that minority — even despite the repeated promises made by official quarters.

Perhaps the dearest wish of the Magyar minority is permission to establish a general cultural association. But — despite decided promises on their part — the competent authorities have so far failed to sanction the establishment of this association which is to embrace all the Magyar cultural and social organisations in the country. Nor has anything been done to redress the grievance relating to the system of "name analysis" applied when pupils are being registered for admission to schools; and for that reason — as also owing to the obstructionism and machinations of the subordinate educational and administrative authorities and to

the lack of Magyar teachers — it has so far proved possible to effect the establishment of the new parallel Magyar sections for the use of pupils applying in the prescribed numbers only in a few villages in the Voivodina — e. g. at *Horgos*, *Gombos (Bogejevo)* and *Bácskertes (Kukusina)*. The elementary school of the large group of homesteads at *Oromhegyes (Uzunovicevo)* belonging to the district of *Zenta* has on the other hand not had a teacher for years; and as a consequence 260 Magyar children are unable to obtain the necessary instruction. At *Magyarkanizsa (Stara Kanjiza)* there are 400, at *Horgos* 140, at *Oroszlános (Banatski Arandjelovac)* in the Banate 80 and at *Gyála (Djala)* in the Banate 60 Magyar children of schooling age whom — also owing to the lack of Magyar teachers — it has been impossible to admit to the Magyar section. Equally untenable is the situation in force in the Magyar section at *Ujverbász*, where there is only 1 teacher to teach the 120 Magyar children crowded into a single class-room. *In the face of facts like these there is something remarkably strange about the statement made by the Belgrade daily, "Vreme", to the effect that there are only 7 elementary schools in the whole of Yugoslavia without teachers!*

The situation is somewhat more favourable in the Banate of Croatia, where *the Magyar minority (which even according to the official statement issued by the Ban's Office numbers more than 60.000 souls), which has so far not had a single elementary school using Hungarian as the language of instruction, at the beginning of the new school-year — despite the inadequate preparations made — succeeded in securing the opening of parallel Magyar sections in 5 villages — an initial success which is sufficiently encouraging.*

In other respects too there are manifest symptoms of a lack of readiness to comply with the wishes of the Magyar minority. In reply to the request of the leaders of that minority that secondary school teachers of Magyar nationality should be appointed to the sections of the *Szabadka* and *Zenta* secondary schools which are at least nominally "Magyar", the Ministry of Education recently transferred a Magyar teacher of the name of *Magdalene Szegvári* from *Nagybecskerek (Petrograd)* to *Ruma* in the

Szerém district, appointing a Magyar pupil teacher of the name of Stephen *Czellig*, who had asked to be attached to the "Realgymnasium" at Szabadka, to the gymnasium in the town of *Podgorica* in Montenegro.

There is however another side to the picture, — that being the exceptionally favourable treatment meted out to other nationalities living in the country. *In order to make up, for instance, for the shortage of teachers of "Bunyevatz", "Shokatz" and Ruthenian nationality, at the end of September the Ministry of Education ordained the opening of a new first class in the Ujvidék Teachers' Training College, 40 pupils of "Bunyevatz", "Shokatz" and Ruthenian nationality being at once admitted to that class. On the other hand, permission was given for the admission of only 20 Magyar pupils to the first class of the "Magyar" section of the Belgrade Teachers' Training College.*

We would fain believe that the Government will at the very earliest opportunity extend to the Magyar minority too the favours and benefits at present only one-sidedly accorded to certain other national minorities, thereby granting the Magyar minority all the rights to which it is indisputably entitled by the promises made by the Ministers, by the provisions of the Constitution and as a token of the good relations now developing between the two countries.

RE-INCORPORATION OF RESTORED AREAS BEING RAPIDLY COMPLETED

BY

JOHN ERDELY

The work of linking up the political, cultural and economic life of the areas recovered from Rumania, which is progressing with great élan, has already been attended by a surprising measure of success. On 1st October the Premier in his report to the Government Party amongst other things said:

"I visited thirty places in Transylvania, and I can say that Hungary's re-occupation of that territory is a cause for great rejoicing, and that the initial work of the State organizations deserves the highest praise and confidence in its success. When our lorries carrying foodstuffs after the army were returning empty, they picked up any Rumanian soldiers who wished to go home, and either conveyed them to their destination or took them at least 50, 60 or 80 kilometres on their way. This made a very good impression. Another thing that created a good impression was that the Hungarian army bought what it needed instead of requisitioning supplies. What made the greatest impression of all, however, was the strength and efficiency of our army. In Beszterce, when the Saxons saw our soldiers, I heard them say: — "Ungarn hat gearbeitet und ist ein Ordnungsstaat" (Hungary has been working; it is an ordered State). I can assure you that the State railways functioned excellently, as also did the Post Office. The military administration is very good too, in some places first-class. Most of the military commanders are exceptionally efficient.

"Our first task was to supply the economic needs of the moment. As regards communications, 48 hours after my last visit the Ministry of Commerce had established air services. The principal object of these services is to make the people of the restored areas lose their feeling of separation and remoteness. In the first place we shall take steps to establish communication with Széklerland. At Beszterce the plans of a normal-gauge railway have been elaborated, this being calculated to serve best to connect the whole of Széklerland with our network of railway lines. The building of a normal-gauge railway is a mayor task requiring time, but there are other matters of a pressing nature that call for urgent attention. For this reason we have begun to extend the narrow-gauge railway running from Marosvásárhely through Teke in a northerly direc-

tion, 16 kilometres of which is now cut off. When ready this will connect Marosvásárhely with Székelyudvarhely, and we shall have at least one line of railway communication with Széklerland. In spite of all difficulties, I shall do my best to supply Széklerland, especially County Udvarhely, with all its needs for the winter, from wheat to shoe-laces...

"It is my intention to delegate a commission to study the effects of the Land Reform. *No land will be taken away from Magyar small farmers, or even from Rumanians, who may have acquired it by way of the Rumanian Land Reform, if they can prove that they obtained possession thereof in a legitimate way and by lawful means...*

"Then there is the nationality question. *Our policy is one of conciliation. Every nationality will of course automatically receive equal rights, whether agreements to that effect are concluded or not.*"

Speaking in Parliament on 3rd October the Premier amplified this last statement as follows: —

"No ethnographical frontier can be drawn in Transylvania. New and old settlers in that region are linked together by a bond of common interests. *The spirit of forgiveness, the readiness to forget all the sufferings of the past twentytwo years, which we find in everybody, irrespective of rank, party or opinion, the sense of belonging to a higher level of civilization provided by the nation called to play the leading role, encourage us to hope that there will be no discord in future.*"

Since 3rd October much has been achieved by systematic and careful work. The Regent himself, the Premier, and his departmental Ministers, have all visited the restored areas frequently, in order to gain first-hand knowledge of conditions and to direct and supervise the busy activities on foot there.

The railways are functioning perfectly, and in places where the new frontier cuts the lines of communication bus and air services supply the deficiency. The Post office has also established air mail services, and parachutes are employed to drop the mail in the Székler villages. In order to accelerate the work of railway construction a survey of the land is being made from the air by means of aerial photography. *Commercial and industrial life is now in full swing, and credit and insurance business has been linked up with the Hungarian organizations.*

The Kolozsvár Hungarian University of Sciences was re-established and is to begin work early in November. On 15th October all the secondary, board, technical and elementary schools were opened. In terms of an Ordinance issued by the Minister of Education, children who had completed their sixth year by 15th September may attend the elementary schools. Pupils if possible are to continue their education in the schools where they began it. *In the elementary schools Hungarian is to*

be the language of instruction. But where the mother-tongue of the population is not Hungarian the children are to receive instruction in their own language, while in mixed villages there will be parallel classes for Magyar and non-Magyar pupils. Provision must certainly be made for the proper teaching of the Hungarian language. In secondary and technical schools non-Magyar pupils will be taught in their own mother-tongue in separate sections or classes. According to the Ordinance, *elementary education is to be entirely free.* Many school appliances have been sent to the returning schools by individuals, by schools and particularly by the municipality of Budapest.

On 9th October was formed the Transylvanian Economic Council, whose president outlined its tasks as follows: —

"The object of the Economic Council is to unite all Transylvania's economic institutions with a view to enable them to co-operate in uniform economic work in the restored areas. Manufacturing industries, the crafts, co-operative societies, the Economic Society of Transylvania and the Hungarian insurance companies of Transylvania, are all represented on the Council. As regards Transylvania's connection with the National Bank of Hungary, reports have already arrived about the results of the redemption of the lei notes. These reports state that the population of Transylvania had become incredibly impoverished during the Rumanian era, so much so that there were whole villages, especially Magyar ones, where no lei were exchanged for pengő, because the farmers did not possess as much as one single 500 lei banknote, the value of which in Hungarian money is 16 pengő and a few fillér (less than one pound sterling). All in all, only five and a half thousand million lei were exchanged for pengő at the official exchange offices, although provision had been made for the exchange of a much larger sum. Nothing shows the poverty of the population better than the fact that on an average this was something less than a hundred pengő per capita."

Social insurance has been introduced in the restored areas. The crafts are receiving considerable assistance, with special benefits in the case of public contracts.

Agriculture in Transylvania suffered greatly from the Rumanian administration, which, especially recently, did much to ruin the farmers. When the Rumanians evacuated the restored areas, they either took all the seed grain with them or destroyed it. *Because of this the Government is to distribute 100 truckloads of seed for autumn sowing to the Transylvanian farmers who have none.*

In his exposé the Minister of Finance stressed the point that the establishment of adequate means of communication in Transylvania was an extremely urgent task: —

"We have already" — he said — "restored the railway

lines crossing the Trianon frontier, and a narrow-gauge railway between Marosvásárhely and Kolozsnagyida will be ready this year. We have begun to build the Szeretfalva-Gyalu railway. The Szeretfalva-Dés railway will be transformed into a trunk line. When all this is ready, the Székler circle railway will be completely linked up with the lines of communication in the interior of the country. Besides this we have ordered engines and railway carriages and bought buses, in order to establish communication by every means at our disposal."

On 18th October the Prime Minister held a two-days' conference with the leaders of Hungarian life in Transylvania, at the close of which, on 21st October, he issued the following statement: —

"All the matters that we have discussed during the past two days were merely details which had to be settled; their settlement, however, does not mean that we have broken the back of our difficulties. We must hasten to grow stronger, must co-operate better and work harder."

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

POLITICAL MOSAIC

RESTORATION OF TRANSYLVANIA INCORPORATED IN LAW THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

On 2nd October the Hungarian Government introduced three Bills. The first dealt with the restoration to the Holy Crown of Hungary of the parts of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary liberated from Rumanian rule and their reunion with the mother-country; the second with a modification of the constitution of the Upper House to ensure seats therein to representatives of the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian Churches in the restored areas; while the third dealt with the re-establishment of the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár which had been transferred to Szeged after the Rumanian occupation.

On 8th October the Hungarian Parliament adopted the Premier's motion that 46 Members should be called in from *among the inhabitants of the restored parts of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary, these 46 to include also representatives of the Germans there. The Premier also said that as soon as a suitable organization for the protection of the Magyars remaining in Rumania had been established and its effective work ensured, he would move that 17 Rumanians should also be invited to sit in the Hungarian Parliament.*

On 10th October an enthusiastic reception was accorded to the new Members on the occasion of their first appearance in the Hungarian Parliament. Most of them appeared in Hungarian or Székler costumes. The Speaker, M. Andrew Tasnády-Nagy, welcomed them in extremely cordial terms, while M. Gabriel Pál replied on behalf of the Transylvanian Members of Parliament. He expressed his warm gratitude to the Regent, whose wisdom and the friendship of the Axis Powers had made it possible that a part of ancient Hungarian soil should return to the country from which in sentiment it had never been separated. He expressed brotherly sympathy for the tens of thousands of refugees and for all those left beyond the new frontier, whose lot was now harder than it had been before. The Rumanian era had been a time of national persecution, *but no means employed*

by those in power had been able to break the national consciousness of the Magyars of Transylvania. True to their past the Széklers had bravely stood guard in the frontier regions, and by remaining faithful had saved the restored areas for Hungary. No privation or suffering was too great for them to endure with patience for the privilege of returning to their ancient Hungarian Fatherland. He also greeted their Saxon brethren of Transylvania, with whom they had always discussed their common minority problems in a most brotherly spirit of complete understanding; and he hoped that soon the obstacles preventing the representatives of the Rumanian minority taking their places in the Hungarian Parliament would be removed. The Magyars had suffered much during the Rumanian era, but the future welfare of the peoples fated to live together made it imperative to seek conditions conducive to a peaceful symbiosis. They were not imbued with any desire for revenge; on the contrary, they offered their good services to the Rumanians. Their aim was to promote the welfare of the Rumanian minority in this country, so long as that minority refrained from conspiring against the existence and security, of the Hungarian State. The Hungarian army was a guarantee that no one in this country would ever have to endure the lot that had been theirs for 22 years.

M. Gabriel Pál' speech was received with a storm of cheers and applause and all three Bills were passed unanimously.

The same enthusiasm characterized the meeting of the Upper house held on 5th October at which Dr. Ladislas Ravasz, Bishop of the Reformed Church, delivered a magnificent speech and the Premier explained the importance of the new Bills. The latter laid stress on the point that *only nations able to understand others could be strong*. Other passages from the Premier's speech will be found in our article on the Rumanian-Hungarian conflict.

SOLEMN INAUGURATION OF KOLOZSVAR UNIVERSITY

The Kolozsvár "Francis Joseph" University of Sciences was opened with impressive solemnity on 24th October. This University, which boasts of a long past and was famous all the world over, had been completely divested of its Hungarian character during the Rumanian era, and had greatly deteriorated;

it is therefore only natural that the Hungarians should have rejoiced when our ancient Hungarian culture, hand in hand with the spirit of modern progress typical of Kolozsvár, returned to these halls of learning. An eminent staff of professors has taken up the work of imparting knowledge to an eager band of students, which the exiled apostles of Hungarian education had been forced to abandon 21 years ago. *There on the eastern frontier they will be our spiritual sentinels, whose mission will be to further the cause of cultural progress.*

On 23rd October, the day before the formal opening, the Senate of the University, immediately after its formation, conferred the degree of Hon. Doctor of Law upon Count Stephen Csáky, who, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, including the Hungarian Premier, the Minister of Education, Herr Köhler, German Consul, and S. Stenderdo, Italian Secretary of Legation, made a speech in which, amongst other things, he said: —

"The restoration of Transylvania is the Renaissance of Hungarian diplomacy. In the Foreign Office in Dísz-tér for twenty weary years our eyes were always fixed on the East, where on the historical soil of Transylvania sanctified by Hungarian blood our gifted forefathers marked out the path of Hungarian progress. Their independent Transylvania established on the basis of three nations and four religions showed us the goal towards which the future must lead. Hungarian diplomacy has not failed to learn the lessons of Hungary's (especially Transylvania's) history, and *in this respect we were greatly assisted by a son of Transylvania, our present Prime Minister.* Here I do not wish to speak of Count Paul Teleki the politician, but I should like to say a few words about Paul Teleki the professor. To him, the professor of geography, it is due that Hungarian diplomacy has been able to take a larger view, that we were capable of emancipating ourselves from the narrow Hungarian outlook and reach towards a wider Hungarian horizon.

"Past, present and future are one indivisible whole, of which the succeeding generations are but the passing representatives. The nation consists of families, and the chief vocation of the present generation is to preserve the past and build up the future. The past lives in traditions. Unhappy the nation that lightly casts them to the winds, for *every vigorous nation must cling fast to its traditions. Clinging to the past, however, does not mean that we must take no heed of the future. The*

coming generations are entitled to expect us to leave them an ordered country, a welldefended country and one that is capable of future development. Of this Hungarian diplomacy is fully conscious. It does not regard the life of the nation from the angle of the present moment. It seeks the path to a happier future. It knows that every nation is bound to the soil on which it lives, and that its destiny is shaped by its geographical situation. It knows that to a great extent the forces of the soil and geo-political factors imperatively prescribe the nation's course of action. It realizes that, although we might easily become a large nation — it depends entirely on ourselves —, we do not number much more than thirteen million true-born Hungarians, and of these thirteen million a certain proportion is living beyond our present borders. With these numbers we must pursue a foreign policy in keeping with our strength. This is the reason why we refuse to follow the example of those who indulge in dreams of supremacy. Foreign policy is a matter of fact business that does not allow of sentimentality. On the other hand, however, we know what is ours and to what we are entitled, and we shall continue to strive uncompromisingly for it. Good foreign policy is always a matter of centuries. It is rooted in the past centuries, shaped by geographical factors, looks forward for centuries and always automatically chooses the nation's arena of effort."

The Kolozsvár University also decided to confer the degree of Hon. Doctor on *Herr Russ, German, and S. Bottai, Italian Minister.*

The Regent of Hungary, accompanied by several members of the Government and other notabilities, was present at the solemn opening of the University on 24th October. The Regent's inaugural address ran as follows:

"The teachings of a thousand years of our history show that the Hungarians are a race endowed with military virtues, political sense and much intellectual versatility. These attributes enabled the nation to acquire a new home here in the valleys of the Danube and the Tisza, to build up a State Western in its civilization and to defend and maintain the same in times of stress. Those traits spurred the Hungarians on towards cultural progress, steadily raising the level of our national literature, art and science. The nation's military, political and cultural abilities won for it the respect and estimation of other nations, in possession of which it became the doughty champion, constructive builder and ardent apostle of Western civilization.

"In the parts of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary now

restored to the Holy Crown the army is being followed in rapid succession by the State administration and the pioneers of Hungarian culture. When the Hungarian army had taken possession of these areas, the work of reorganizing the State administration was begun. In a few short weeks the schools have been opened and from today on the returning "Francis Joseph" University of Sciences will continue its work here in Kolozsvár.

"A noble and lofty mission awaits the learned professors here at this eastern outpost: the training of a strong, hard-working, persevering and well-educated Hungarian generation, the moral and intellectual training of the future leaders of Hungary. A university professor has a three-fold vocation. It is his duty, not only to keep abreast of his own subject and give of his knowledge for the instruction of his students; he must also be the spiritual leader of the youth of the country. Neglect of any of those duties would be an incalculable loss to the nation; conscientious attention to them will greatly enrich it.

"Fully convinced that the work of the Kolozsvár "Francis Joseph" University of Sciences will be worthy of the past of this honorable institution and of the Magyars of Transylvania, who have suffered so much for Hungarian culture, I give permission to open this University."

When *Dr. Valentine Hóman*, Minister of Education, had given expression to *his gratitude to the Regent, the Führer and the Duce*, he said that one of the most characteristic peculiarities of the Hungarian spirit was its power to eliminate all differences threatening to disrupt the nation, such as denominational, nationality, professional and class feuds and the antagonism between the older and younger generations.

"The longing of Transylvania's people for culture — "said the Minister — "finds expression not only in the work of its writers, artists and scholars, but also in that of its farmers, craftsmen, teachers, priests and magnates, all of whom have contributed to enrich our national culture. It was this same desire for culture that called the Francis Joseph University of Sciences into being. In these our days, so pregnant with new ideas and ideals, a great and difficult task devolves upon this institution. *The smooth working of the social organization and the machinery of State is possible only if all the national forces are united and pressed into its service. We must raise the standard of public ethics and culture; we must increase the individual's sense of responsibility, strengthen the people's consciousness of their duty, reinforce the nation's belief in its*

vocation and help the evolution of a healthy Hungarian public spirit."

Mme. HORTHY'S RELIEF ACTION ON BEHALF OF TRANSYLVANIA

Mme. Horthy, the "First Lady in Hungary" and highly honoured and popular Consort of Admiral *Horthy*, the Regent, recently broadcast an address to the Hungarian public inviting contributions towards the financial support of the poorer classes in the re-occupied Transylvanian territories. The Regent's Consort is always in charge of the annual relief action, and it was she who conducted a similar action two years ago when a part of the northern territories returned to the thousand-year-old Hungarian Kingdom. Then too, as now, the Hungarian public rushed to the support of the action with great enthusiasm. Great masses of the population take an active part in the action, the richer classes give more and the poorer classes, too, give as much as they can afford. Employees and labourers have offered a certain percentage of their earnings, and many donations are offered in kind. Madame *Horthy's* address — among other things — contained the following passages.

"I know only too well that I am demanding a considerable sacrifice in asking you to give, to give what you can for Transylvania! The task is all the more trying as the country had been deprived of its former wealth by — Trianon. And yet I hope for and rely on the nation's willingness to help. The mercy of the Almighty has allowed us to extend the frontiers of our country without the shedding of blood. Let us receive the mercy of God with humble hearts and prove ourselves worthy of it by placing our free offerings on the altar of humanity and our country. Let every one of us offer his sacrifice for Transylvania!"

"A considerable proportion of our brethren in Transylvania are now in a tragic situation caused partly by the havoc wrought by the forces of Nature and partly by the development of historical events. The Rumanian mobilisation — for a considerable time — prevented men from doing their work; a great deal of land has thus been left untilled; the cattle belonging to the farmers has been driven away by the retreating Rumanian army; all economic and household investments have fallen a prey to robbery. The people of Transylvania are looking forward to the approach of the winter season with great fear and anxiety. *They are short of food and clothing. They are unable*

to sow the new crop for want of seed, and they cannot send their children to school barefooted. If, then, I am asked what Transylvania needs most, my answer is: everything! Transylvania needs grain, clothing, economic equipment, household goods, and school-books. The Transylvanians have always been able to stand firmly both in the trials of war and in contributing towards the nation's work in peace time. Transylvania is the home of heroes. As a home of human civilization Transylvania has not many equals. For hundreds of years Transylvania was the pride of St. Stephen's Realm. It is our duty to save this brave people from a destruction which has befallen it for no fault of its own."

CONFISCATION OF CALAZANTINE MONASTERY AT TEMESVAR

A few years ago the Rumanian authorities ordered the confiscation by the municipality of *Temesvár (Timisoara)* of the monastery and school-building owned by the Order of *Calazantine Brothers* ("Piarists"). The Order appealed against this measure and won the case in two instances; for two years the case had been lying dormant at the Court of Appeal, whereupon it was decided that the matter should be settled by diplomatic channels. The municipality of *Temesvár* has now appealed to the district court asking for a judgment of rightful possession. No decision has yet been passed.

BOOKS

The Transylvanian Question.

Never before has there been published a comprehensive summary of the Transylvanian question, apart from certain details of it.

Therefore, it is with sincere joy that we greet the publication of a collective work under the editorship of Prof. *Imre Lukinich*, President of the Eastern European Institute of Budapest University (full title: Ostmitteleuropäische Bibliothek... (Essays on East Central Europe).

In his preface Prof. *Lukinich* outlines the scope of the work: to illustrate the rôle played by Transylvania during the course of history; in the Middle Ages, when it was still only a geographical name and formed a part of Hungary; in the 16th and 17th centuries, when it was an independent principality, and finally, from that date onward — including the end of the 17th century, when the Transylvanian question was created — down to our days.

The first article — by Prof. Louis Tamás — describes the origin of the Rumanian people and language and gives a summary of the question at its present stage. Prof. Tamás gives a learned summary of the machinations of Rumanian scholars who have endeavoured to prove — or rather to make credible — the connections between the Romans and the Rumanians by a rather unusual method; namely, they maintain that the migration of the peoples led to a certain mixture of races, and that the "Vlachs" of the Balkan Peninsula were also among the races taking part in the process of mixing. In face of this assertion Prof. Tamás maintains the theory — which can be proved from scientific sources — that the evacuation of Dacia — and, therefore, Transylvania too — by the Romans was complete and without any effects. Only a few centuries later did the Rumanians begin to immigrate from Italy, taking their route through Albania and Bulgaria towards the East. This may be seen both from the characteristics of Albanian which can be found in Rumanian, and from the fact that the Rumanians adopted the Bulgarian faith together with the language of the Bulgarian Church. It is an old-established fact that the Rumanians entered Transylvania from the direction of the Balkans, and the first document that mentions their presence in that province is dated 1210.

The late Prof. John *Darkó* gives a summary of the history of Transylvania in the Middle Ages, from the Magyar Conquest of Hungary until the establishment of the Principality of Transylvania (895—1541.). His paper gives a mosaic-like illustration of Transylvania's history and its characteristics. Among other things he describes the origin of the "Szekler" people, the gradual immigration of the Rumanians from the Balkans, and the development of rights within the boundaries of Hungary. He proves that this development and legal situation is by no means less favourable than that which we find in the other regions of Hungary, or that which may be found in the history of the "Szeklers" or the Saxons in Transylvania. These statements in Prof. Darko's paper secure wider interest for the whole book.

In the same spirit Nicholas Mester — a teacher of history, who is at present Member of the Hungarian Parliament — continues to describe the history of Transylvania between 1541 and 1690, in which period Transylvania formed an independent principality, and from 1690 to 1867, when Transylvania lived under the rule of the King of Hungary, that is to say, it formed an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary from the point of view of governmental policy too. We get short glimpses of the development of the Transylvanian constitution and of the changes effected therein, the relations between Hungary and Transylvania, the Turkish Porte and Transylvania, the enactment of religious freedom, in which the little principality of Transylvania preceded all other countries in Europe. We then get a summary of the policy of the Princes of Transylvania, including the invitation of the Rumanian voivodes by the Habsburgs. Among the latter we find Michael the Brave (*Mihail Viteazul*), Prince of Moldavia, who united under his sceptre Moldavia, the Rumanian Lowlands and Transylvania, not in pursuance of his own great plans, nor with the idea of the reunion of all territories formerly under Roman rule, but simply as a vassal of the Court of Vienna. M. Mester then gives a description of the policy of the Transylvanian Princes in respect of foreign affairs and of church affairs as well as of matters of culture, with special regard to their policy towards the Rumanians in Transylvania. Then follows the history of the Grand Principality of Transylvania, — a name given to it under the Habsburgs; the history of the Transylvanian Parliament, its influence on the development of life in general and on the future development of the peoples of Transylvania in particular the special autonomy of the church in Transylvania, which secured a certain form of local government to the Transylvanian peoples themselves, both in scholastic and in political matters. We become acquainted with the efforts of the Rumanians to communicate to their brethren in the old country the blessings of Latin civilization — with which they had been made acquainted in Transylvania — and so

to raise the cultural standard of the latter. Then we are informed of how the Rumanians — driven by the Turks — reached a level making then numerically the equals of other inhabitants, and how they even outnumbered them by means of a fresh influx into Transylvania in the 18th century. This process ultimately overthrew the numerical balance of the peoples of Transylvania and gave rise to that political movement which induced the Rumanians — a people who first became acquainted with “*Romans*” in Transylvania, the seat of classical *Latin learning* — to establish the principle of the Roman-Rumanian Continuity of rights in matters of language and ethnic origin. This movement — based on the adoption of Latin learning — originated in 1790; its object was no less than the participation in political leadership of the Rumanian element which, by this time, had actually become a majority in Transylvania. It is a mistake to believe that they revolted against “oppressors”, as is sometimes asserted; far from it, they aimed directly at assuming supreme command over Transylvania, whereby — on the principle of majority — they could secure unprecedented privileges for themselves on the one hand, and overshadow the other peoples of Transylvania, on the other.

M. Zsombor Szász is the author of the article in which the history of that period is described when the Rumanians — with help from outside — were at last enabled to carry their efforts to victory. The title of this article is: “The creation of Greater Rumania”, and it contains the Transylvanian issues of the development of this Greater Rumania. By reference to various sources this paper shows how little the peoples of Transylvania were allowed to express their own opinion in the course of this development. The rôle played in this development — and the development of Transylvania during this period — by outside influence, war aims and war treaties, becomes quite obvious. As he refers to Rumanian sources, *M. Szász* is exempt from the charge that he is writing from a biassed Hungarian point of view.

The second part of the book treats the problems of the present: the geography of Greater Rumania, its statistical curiosities, the situation of the Magyar minority in Rumania and its struggle for life, and finally the economic situation of Greater Rumania. The references show that the articles in this part were written before the Vienna Award.

Prof. Andrew Rónay gives a striking description of Greater Rumania — an offspring of the Treaty of Trianon — from a statistical, geographical and economic point of view. We learn that the original territory of Rumania — 137.000 sq. kilometres — was aggrandized by 103.000 sq. kilometres of Hungarian soil alone, while its original population of 8 millions was augmented by a mixed population of 5 millions in Transylvania alone.

After — and in consequence of — the Paris peace treaties Greater Rumania's territory amounted to 295.000 sq. kilometres with a population of 18 millions, out of which 13 millions (73%) were Rumanians. Even the Rumanian Census of 1930 admits the presence in Rumania of 1.5 million Magyars, not counting the Transylvanian refugees living in Hungary and the inhabitants of Jewish race.

The articles written by Messrs. Eugene Darko and László Fritz present a most distressing picture of the situation of the minorities. It appears that the assumption of supreme power by the Rumanians resulted in the oppression of all other national elements in Transylvania. It overthrew the numerical balance of the peoples of Transylvania — which had always been the basis of their peaceful symbiosis — and it put an end to this peaceful harmony. The incorporation of Transylvania in the Balkan country of old Rumania meant the ousting of the Rumanians of Transylvania and the assumption of political power by Bucharest, and the latter also meant a negligence of the interests of the former, as also of the other peoples of Transylvania. These articles give a striking description of how Transylvania, a country with a completely Western character and a link in the Central-European political system, was surrendered to the arbitrary rule of a Balkan régime.

Eugene Horváth Phil. D.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

POLITICAL ECONOMY

BULGARIA

LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANIES IN BULGARIA (PEKI)

A report recently published by the National Bank of Bulgaria contains an account of the limited liability companies in the country, their number and their share capital. It appears that at the end of the year 1939 the total number of limited liability companies in Bulgaria was 1,355, while their total share capital were 5,056 million leva, out of which 4,908 millions were actually received in cash. These limited companies may be classified as follows:

	No. of ltd. companies	Share Capital (paid up) in. mill. Leva
<i>Banks</i>	42	784.3
<i>Insurance companies</i>	23	113.6
<i>Transport co.-s.</i>	37	37.6
<i>Industrial co.-s.</i>	599	3,113.8
<i>Commercial co.-s.</i>	634	859.1
<i>Total:</i>	1,355	4,908.4

The majority of the industrial companies are textile factories; their total number is 132, while their total capital amounts to 791.7 million leva. As regards the commercial companies, the large undertakings are represented only by the oil companies, where 5 companies hold a total capital of 206 mil. leva, while the rest of the commercial companies remain below the average level of 1 million leva of share capital.

In 1935 there were 989 limited liability companies in Bulgaria, possessing a total capital of 5,053 million leva, while in 1939 their total number was 1,355, with a total capital of 4,908 million leva. It appears that between 1935 and 1939 the average share capital of a limited liability company fell from 5.1 million to 3.6 million leva, owing to the fact that the last five years witnessed the establishment of a number of minor companies and the winding-up of several large ones, with large capital. It appears from the report of the Bulgarian National Bank that in 1939 there were only 5 companies with a capital of over 100. million leva, six companies possessed share capital of 5—100 million each, while 836 medium and small companies did not even reach the level of 1 million leva. Between 1935—39 about 1,016 million leva of foreign capital had been withdrawn

from the country, which brought the percentage of foreign capital down to 19.5%.

HUNGARY

HUNGARY'S ESTIMATES FOR THE YEAR 1941.

On October 22-nd *M. Reményi-Schneller*, Minister of Finance, presented the new Estimates to the Hungarian Parliament. In his preamble he pointed out that the recently re-incorporated Transylvanian territories will figure in the Budget for 1942 for the first time. He informed the House that the return of Transylvania means also the return of considerable supplies of raw material, such as wood, copper, lead, mercury, sulphur, gold and silver; cattle-breeding has also gained a great deal by the return of Transylvania. *As to the items of the estimates the budget of the Ministry of Home Defence has increased by 53 million pengő, while the family and people's protection fund figures with 30 millions.* Social expenditure is almost twice as large as before. The deficit is to be covered, not by means of inflation, but by means of reforms in the system of taxation and by loans. Those statements of the Minister which refer to investments in Transylvania and the question of the Transylvania loan are commented upon in our articles dealing with Transylvania.

THE FINAL ITEMS OF THE BUDGET ARE AS FOLLOWS:

I. State Administration.

<i>Total expenditure</i>	1379.1 mill. P.
<i>Total revenue</i>	1345.0 mill. P.

Deficit: 34.1 mill. P.

II. State Undertakings.

<i>Total. exp.</i>	705.3 mill. P.
<i>Tot. rev.</i>	691.2 mill. P.

Deficit: 14.1 mill. P.

III. Total:

<i>Total exp.</i>	2084.4 mill. P.
<i>Total rev.</i>	2036.2 mill. P.

Total deficit: 48.2 mill. P.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Though the expenditure of home and defence and social welfare has been increased, the total deficit is 38.4 millions less than last year (86.5 mill. P.; 43.3% less).

The expenditure of the State administration is the following:	2/3 of the Budget of 1939/40.	1941. Budg. Estimates millions	Decrease or increase (+)
<i>Personal exp.</i>	397.2	451.3	+ 54.1
<i>Pensions</i>	163.8	173.3	+ 9.5
<i>Contributions towards local govts.</i>	64.2	70.0	+ 5.8
<i>Mat. and temporary Expenditure</i>	395.0	540.5	+145.5
<i>State Liabilities</i>	78.—	103.4	+ 25.4
<i>Investments</i>	56.6	40.6	— 16.0
Total:	1154.8	1379.1	+224.3

The number of civil servants is to be 6757 more than before.
Revenue:

Compared with 2/3 of the previous budget the revenue is estimated at 259 millions higher than previously. The Several Chief Items are the following:

<i>Direct taxes</i>	286.7	342.0	+55.3
<i>Income taxes</i>	138.7	228.0	+59.9
<i>Dues</i>	122.1	133.0	+10.9
<i>Turnover taxes</i>	173.5	218.2	+ .
<i>Customs</i>	52.7	57.0	+44.7
<i>Tobacco monopoly</i>	148.0	182.3	+ 4.3
<i>Salt monopoly</i>	30.8	30.4	+34.3
<i>Sacharine and lottery</i>	3.2	3.4	— 0.4
<i>Departmental Receipts</i>	100.3	150.7	+50.4
Total:	1086.0	1345.0	+259

State Undertakings:

<i>Post office, telgr. & tel.</i>	9.830.000 P
<i>Coal mining, surplus</i>	635.000 P
<i>Forestry, surplus</i>	2.300.000 P
<i>State farms & estates, surplus</i>	1.101.000 P
<i>Post Office Savings Bank, surplus</i>	520.000 P

Deficits:

<i>State Railways</i>	28.323.000 P
<i>Sericiculture</i>	194.000 P

WHAT THE FORESTS IN THE RE-INCORPORATED AREAS
MEAN TO HUNGARY?

The forests in the re-incorporated areas are of extreme importance to Hungary. A year and a half ago, when Sub-Carpathia returned to Hungary, the Hungarian people was filled with joy at the return of vast forests, of which it had so long been deprived. At the same time, however, the bare hills with the beautiful forests all cut down presented a lamentable appearance. *Czechoslovakia's* forestry policy in *Sub-Carpathia* was based on ruthless exploitation, as if the Czechs had known that they would have to give up that area in a hurry, so that they would not have enough time to pursue their policy. Nevertheless, experts have found that — even in spite of this ruthless exploitation — the amount of wood that has been left in Sub-Carpathia is enough to cover Hungary's annual demand.

In Transylvania, the result is the same. In some places the roads are surrounded by impenetrable forests, in other places — on the other hand — bare hillsides with just a few stumps show how hurriedly and how ruthlessly the Rumanians performed their work of devastation in the forests. The wonderful pine-woods in the *Eastern Carpathians*, the oak-forests of the *Hargita*, and the prosperous saw-mills in the *Maros* valley — no doubt — presented a pleasant contrast to the bare hill — sides which, in some places, began to resemble the dreariness of the *Dolomites*.

The Rumanian reports allow no scope for guess-work as to the size and the condition of the forest-land which has now returned to *Hungary*. Approximative calculations show that the area of this forest-land may be estimated at: 315.000 hectares of oak, 700.000 hect. of other deciduous trees, and about 520.000 hect. of pine-forests. This means that the Vienna Award has returned to Hungary 44% of her former oak-forests, 42% of her other decianons trees, and 66% of her pinewoods.

Even the Rumanian experts felt obliged to admit that the exploitation of forests in Transylvania since 1920 has been far above the scale justified by the average annual growth. Their estimates show that in the nineteen-twenties plus-production went as far as 50% in some places, with the result that they could not return to the old Hungarian plans of production even in those places where there was sufficient good-will to do so and the amount of forests left would have been enough. The planless exploitation of the twenties gradully produced such fatal results that even the *Rumanian* exports began to feel alarmed at the possible consequences and introduced a scheme of hurried afforestation. This, unfortunately, did not prove to be sufficient to counterbalance the former fury of exploitation. Among the few reliable records concerning the forestry policy of the

Rumanians it will be interesting to mention that 42% of the forestry stations had no scheme or schedule of work whatsoever.

Indirectly we may form an idea as to what policy the Rumanians pursued in those areas where — according to their statements — they had been following a carefully planned scheme of work. In the State forests the average revenue amounted to 10.3 hundred million lei a year (1930—37 statistics), while the annual expenditure was 6.3 hundred millions, that showing a net profit of 4 hundred million lei a year (40%). If, then, we compare with this the fact that in Dismembered Hungary — before the revision — the forests yielded an income of 8 million pengő as against an expenditure of 3.8 millions — i. e. a net profit of only 200.000 pengő, that is, 5% — then it is easy to imagine what kind of a „scheme of work” the Rumanian foresters must have been following. Private undertakings obtained a profit of 12%, but even this is almost double the net profit obtained in Hungary.

There is one reliable record to the effect that the Rumanians spent 500 million lei on afforestation. It will be useful to compare with this another reliable record, namely, that the Rumanian State forests obtained a net profit of 450 million lei in one single year, so that it appears that in the course of 22 years the Rumanians did not invest more than one single year's net profit in afforestation.

DECREASE OF BANK RATE

On October 21-st the Hungarian National Bank decided to lower its rate of interest from 4% to 3%.

RUMANIA

SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN RUMANIA'S ECONOMIC LIFE

General Antonescu has informed the Supreme *Economic Council of the Government* of those reasons owing to which Rumania is facing a serious economic crisis, which is likely to become even more serious as time goes on. The first and foremost of these reasons, the General pointed out, was that the old régime has suffered from a complete lack of foresight in matters of national economics and industry; there was no plan and harmony in the various branches of economic activity, no scheme in the policy of taxation; no loans were available at the proper time for those who were in difficulties; mobilization took people away from their work and caused shortage of labour; the troubles caused by the cession of territories made matters worse, and no provisions were made for the maintenance of the

population enlarged by the numbers of refugees; the Jews and other aliens were allowed to overrun the country unchecked; prices were allowed to soar up at random; food-stuffs were allowed to be taken out of the country under the auspices of the Red Cross, causing a rise of prices at home. *The new crisis manifests itself in the new régime too, in fact it has become even more serious than before.* The Rumanianization of economic life is causing transitional difficulties. The crisis has been aggravated by the poor results of agricultural production: there is no fat, soap or beans to be found in the market. These commodities have been bought up by the Jews; in addition to this, the crisis was increased by the fact that the railways had been kept in a state of mobilization for months, and for no good reason. Quick and radical measures have to be employed if the crisis is to be cured. All those will have to suffer serious punishment who are still unable to hear the voice of the coming era. — *General Antonescu's words present a true characterization of Rumania's situation, which — as he says — is the result of crimes committed in the past and intrigue going on at present.*

IMPORT QUOTAS OF NON-RUMANIAN FIRMS TO BE GRADUALLY REDUCED

The Directorate for the Regulation of Import Quotas is just in the act of revising — in view of the import quotas to be issued for the last quarter of this year — the firms that have been left in the present territory of Rumania, which implies also the exclusion of those firms which are in the reoccupied territories. This will no doubt cause a certain retardation in the issuing of import licenses. Although the *Bureau of Contingents* is doing its utmost to speed up this process, in order to secure the raw material supplies of the country in due time. Simultaneously the import quota of each firm is also being revised, in order to secure an adequate division of imports, according to the actual demand of the market. Most of the import applications are concerned chiefly with raw materials or prime necessities, while the number of applications concerning luxury articles or machinery has gone down considerably, apart from the fact that the import of industrial machinery will suffer from transport difficulties in any case. The revision of the import quotas of industrial and commercial companies is being effected by degrees, in order to avoid any inconvenience in the normal routine of business life. The revision of quotas means no impediment in the way of the issuing of import licenses, or the examination of import applications. In the course of this process of revision the applications of new firms will also be considered. In connection with this process of revision

— "Argus" reports — the import quotas of companies with members of non-Rumanian descent will be subject to a process of gradual reduction. This reduction will, however, not commence before the first quarter of 1941, and it is to be increased gradually by a certain percentage each year.

RUMANIA'S NAVIGATION AND FOREIGN TRADE TO BE SUBJECTED TO CONTROL

Following the occupation of the Rumanian oil fields, operations for their defence have also been carried out. The *Rumanian Government* has recently issued a decree abolishing all import licences. Importers have to apply before October 31st for the importation of new commodities. The decree also provides that no goods can be imported from now onward without the approval of the Ministry of National Economics. Licences will be issued for a period of three months.

Extraordinary measures have been introduced in the system of merchant shipping in Rumania, too. The State reserves the right of purchasing river and ocean ships. All contracts for the purchase of ships are invalid without the approbation of the Government. Shipowners must report to the Government on the route of their ships. *No goods may be embarked without the approval of the Under-Secretary for Navigation.*

SLOVAKIA

SOVIET-SLOVAK TRADE NEGOTIATIONS POSTPONED

From the very first day of its existence the *Republic of Slovakia* has endeavoured to establish normal trade relations with its neighbours. From the very first, however, these attempts have met with great difficulties. This little State, it must be remembered, occupies a rather one-sided position among the other States, as it does not produce goods which are demanded by other countries. This circumstance has played an important part in connection with the Soviet-Slovak trade negotiations too. The news that the Slovak economic commission had delayed its departure for Moscow was received with great surprise by the Slovak press. The "*Politika*", on October 16th, adds the following comment to this report: "We have to take into account the fact that Soviet Russia, too, demands goods from us which it needs for the development of its industry. Russia seldom needs other kinds of goods. From this point of view our export possibilities are rather limited. It is almost impossible to say how far we shall be able to purchase raw materials from Russia in the future. To this must be added the difficulties to be faced with respect to the technical aspects of our trade rela-

tions. The Soviet has concentrated its foreign trade in a small number of central organizations, which purchase large quantities of goods. We, too, have a few organizations that are in a position to purchase large quantities, but have to take into account the difficulties to be encountered in the beginning."

The "*Politika*" feels it necessary to remind the public of the difficulties of the case, in order to prevent the disillusionment of the people. The failure of the negotiations shows that the young State is facing almost unsurmountable obstacles in its endeavour to become a link in the economic chain of *European States*.

YUGOSLAVIA

NATIONALIZATION OF NARODNA BANKA

A supplement No. 212. of the *Official Gazette* publishes a decree which serves as a complement of the law concerning the organization of the *Narodna Banka*, in which respect the decree introduces a number of significant reforms. Article 6. of the above law declares that the shares of the *Narodna Banka* may be owned by the State or State institutions to the extent of 20%. The new decree, on the other hand, provides that the State and its institutions may hold any amount of shares of the Bank. Furthermore, the law provides that the shares of the *Narodna Banka* may — in addition to the 6% for the reserve fund — yield as much dividend as 10%. If a surplus was left over, 50% of the surplus could also be divided among the share-holders, whereby the dividends the *Narodna Banka* could easily reach as much as 20%. This state of affairs will now be put an end to, for the shareholders will not be allowed to obtain more than a maximum of 8%. The total amount actually paid out for dividends may henceforth not exceed the limit of 14.4 million dinars, which makes 240 dinars per share.

The constitution of the executive committee will also undergo a slight change. So far the executive committee consisted of the Governor, the Deputy Governor and two representatives of the management. In the future, however, the committee will contain three representatives of the management, in addition to the Governor and the Deputy-Governor. So far the Governor has been appointed on the recommendation of the Minister of Finance. In the future the latter may recommend the governor's appointment only in agreement with the *Prime Minister*. The members of the *Narodna Banka*'s managing board has so far been elected for a term of six years; employees of the civil service and of the local governments were not allowed to be members of the board. According to the new system the members of the board are not elected, but they are to be ap-

pointed by the King, on recommendation of the Minister of Finance acting in agreement with the Premier. Eleven members of the board will be selected from among the share-holders, while 50 members are to be employees of the State and of the local governments in active service.

As regards the members of the executive committee three are to be appointed by royal patent, while four members are to be elected by the general assembly of the share-holders. According to the old law the post of Governor was held by a person who possessed at least 40 shares; each Deputy-Governor had to be the possessor of at least 30 shares, while each member of the board of managers had to be in possession of at least 20 shares. The new decree abolishes this paragraph and provides that the Governor, the Deputy-Governors and the members of the managing board need not necessarily be shareholders of the Narodna Banka. So far every ten shares counted for one vote in the general assembly, but no one had a right to more than one hundred votes. According to the new decree each share counts for one vote. In other words, this means that the total number of votes is not limited to a hundred. Another reform is that henceforth the board of managers will not have to apply to the general assembly for a vote of confidence.



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