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KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA* (II)

BY

ZSOMBOR de SZASZ

II. THE CROWN COUNCIL OF AUGUST 27, 1916.

In the middle of the Rumanian negotiations with the Allied Powers new difficulties arose.

The Russo-Rumanian convention of October 1914, which concerned the Austrian and Hungarian territories to be attached to Rumania, was based on the "ethnic majority" of the population, and made no attempt at a definite settlement of the future frontiers. The Rumanian Government occasionally alluded to this principle, when it suited their purposes or when they were confronted with a suggestion as absurd as the annexation of Hungarian territory as far as Debrecen, a suggestion which Brătianu magnanimously refused. But they ignored it when its application would have clashed with their own interests, as for example in the case of the Banat, whose population consisted of four races jumbled together and whose southwestern corner, inhabited by a distinct Serb majority, formed the Hinterland of the Serb capital of Belgrade. Here the Rumanian Government calmly set aside the nationality principle and with a complete disregard of the wishes of the inhabitants, demanded the entire, undivided territory.

The Rumanian pretensions came to the knowledge of the Serb Government in the beginning of 1915, and elicited from the latter an immediate protest against a solution which meant placing a preponderantly Serb-inhabited territory under Rumanian domination. M. Marinkovich, the Serb Minister in Bucharest, expostulated bitterly with M. Marghiloman: "Rumania's attitude," he complained, "is most unfriendly towards Serbia. Why does she demand Serb

* See the previous article under the same title in the August 1942 issue of this review.

territories? It is impossible for us completely to sacrifice our own interests. Putnik (the Commander-in-Chief of the Serb army) was born in the Banat, Versec is a Serb town, Temesvár was recognised as a Serb Principality by Imperial Rescript in 1848."

The Serbs carried the question to London, and there proffered their demand for the Serb territories of the Banat, partly on the basis of the ethnical principle on which Rumania based her claim to Hungarian and Austrian territory, partly on the basis of strategic considerations, since Belgrade was indefensible without the Serb *Hinterland*.

But this was one of the cases in which Brătianu had no use for the nationality principle. He did not deny the fact that the southwestern corner of the Banat was inhabited by a Serb population; but he blandly observed that "it is impossible to cling rigidly to the ethnic principle in every assessment of territory." For the rest he pointed out that the 200,000 Serbs who would come under Rumanian rule would be more than balanced by the 300,000 Rumanians who would remain in the Timoc Valley in Serbia. As regarded the strategic situation, since Rumania demanded no *Hinterland* on her side of the Danube, he saw no reason why Serbia should be better provided in this respect on the opposite side and on the banks of the Tisza.

Brătianu's statistics were, to say the least, deceptive. According to the last pre-war Hungarian census of 1910 there were 270,000 Serbs in the Banat, while according to the Russian Diplomatic Documents there were no more than 150,000 Rumanians in the Timoc Valley.

But Brătianu was categorical: if the Allied Powers failed to comply with his wishes and Rumania was not accorded Banat area, she would not attack the Central Powers.

The Serbs felt ill at ease. "The Powers are making concessions at our cost," complained M. Vesnitch, in Paris, to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. But the Powers were powerless and sorely in need of the Rumanian support. Baron Schilling, of the Russian Foreign Office, wrote to M. Kudatcheff, the Russian Minister in Brussels: "It is lamentable to think that we should have sunk so low as to be obliged to

negotiate with these disgusting Rumanians, with whom we talked in a very different manner not so long ago. But I am convinced that the time will come when Russia will be able to change her tone in dealing with her."

Meanwhile no material change occurred in Rumania's policy, and negotiations dragged on and on.

General Brusilov's victorious offensive impressed the Rumanians favourably. The Russian forces invaded Austrian Bukovina and occupied Kimpolung, a town on the Rumanian border. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, who had the French Ambassador, M. Paléologue, with him, took a look at the map.

"This," he observed, „would be the right moment for a Rumanian attack, — the way is clear to Nagyvárad and Temesvár . . . even to Budapest. But Brătianu is not the man for quick and simple decisions . . . he will once again miss the favourable opportunity." An opinion which partly, but only partly, bore out King Ferdinand's declaration to Marghiloman: "Brătianu is an astonishing mixture of determination and irresolution."

Although the Russian victories made the Rumanian assistance less urgent, Allied diplomacy returned to the task of trying to induce Rumania to attack the Central Powers. As a result, Brătianu, in June 1916, assured the French Minister in Bucharest that "Rumania's neutrality would not last long," and he begged for a respite of forty-eight hours in which to make up his mind.

This was the face he showed to the Allied Powers. That which he turned towards Austria-Hungary was very different.

On May 13, 1916, Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Bucharest, sent home the following report concerning a conversation which he had had with the Rumanian Prime Minister:

Brătianu had begun saying that he wished to speak with perfect openness and to explain one or two things concerning which they seemed to hold different views. He, Brătianu, had no concern for details. Whether Verdun capitulated or not, whether the Central Powers occupied more or less territory, were matters that held no interest for him. The

decisive question was, whether one or other of the belligerents would be able to annihilate the other, or whether, unable to do this, they would make peace on the basis of the *status quo*. In either case his policy was the right one. In the latter case, post-war Europe would not materially differ from the Europe of 1914, and his country would be grateful to have been spared the horrors of war. In the former case the war would be won, it would last many years, and Rumania would not be able to hold out to the end. The only policy open to her was a waiting policy. Europe was in a feverish condition, but he, Brătianu, would keep a cool head. He had not attacked Austria when the Russians had been in the Carpathians, nor had he declared war on Russia when that country had suffered reverses. "While the Great Powers consume themselves in the course of a prolonged war, Rumania is doing splendid business and, except for a few hotheads, nobody complains." And he repeated that the only suitable policy for Rumania was the policy of neutrality.

By the beginning of July there was general talk of an imminent war with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It was said that troops had been mobilized and sent to the Hungarian frontier; that the officers and men of the border regiments had received no furlough and that preparations had been made for a black-out in all the towns in case of air attack.

On the 6th of July Brătianu declared to Count Czernin that Austria-Hungary had no reason to fear an attack from the side of Rumania; and he started negotiations with the purpose of selling Rumanian wheat to the Monarchy.

"On the 18th July," — Baron Burián, the then Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, writes in his mémoires — "I caused our Ambassador at Bucharest to make a final attempt to convince King Ferdinand of the moral turpitude of the gross breach of faith which he was contemplating in joining those who were fighting his former allies. The King's reply was an embarrassed stutter, while he protested that he had no designs against us, and achieved the remark that even Brătianu, while wishing "to be in" any final partition of Austria-Hungary, did not wish to bring it about!"

A few days previously M. Paléologue, the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, had told M. Sazonoff that he had received instructions from M. Briand, then Minister for Foreign Affairs; "We accept," — ran these instructions, — "all the conditions of M. Brătianu, but the intervention of Rumania will only be valuable for us if it is immediate. An attack on the decimated and retiring Austrian troops would be an easy matter for the Rumanian army and useful for the Allies. Rumania would take her place among the Allied Powers at the psychologically opportune moment, and would thereby have the right to fulfil her aspirations... If Rumania misses this occasion, she will lose her chance of becoming a great nation."

"Voilà qui est parfait," — was the Russian Foreign Minister's comment.

But things were not as perfect as Sazonoff thought. The negotiations dragged on, and Brătianu left for the country in order to avoid the final decision; he dreaded having to fix the precise date of the Rumanian intervention. The Chief of the Russian General Staff, General Alexeiev, urged in no measured terms that he should end his shilly-shallying and settle the day on which the Rumanian forces were to attack the Monarchy. Yet a few days later M. Paléologue wrote in his *Mémoires*: "Brătianu's vacillation and haggling continues, and as usual he lays the blame for them on the attitude of Russia."

To Count Czernin Brătianu said that he only told the Allied Powers that Rumania would fight on their side in order to avoid a revolution and to allow the Monarchy to improve her position on the battle-fields and thereby allay the martial ardour of the Rumanian people.

But Russia's patience was exhausted at last.

On August 8 the project of a military convention was presented to Brătianu with Sazonoff's appended commentary to the effect that if Rumania refused to accept it she would forfeit her claim to every political and material advantage which was being offered to her at the time.

Brătianu was still reluctant; he pronounced the project unsatisfactory and talked of resigning. However, he surrendered at last, and on August 17 there was signed a treaty and a

military convention between the Allied Powers — Russia, England, France and Italy — on the one hand, and Rumania on the other.

The first clause of the Treaty guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Rumanian State as it was at the time of signing. In return, Rumania undertook to attack the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the date fixed by the Convention — August 28, 1916 — and to sever diplomatic relations with all the States which were at war with the Allied Powers.

The fourth clause fixed the boundaries of those Austrian and Hungarian territories which Rumania would be entitled to annex, i. e. Southern Bukovina, Transylvania and purely Hungarian areas almost as far as the river Tisza, and the entire, undivided Banat, with the condition that a demilitarised zone should be created opposite the Serb capital and those Serb inhabitants who wished to move from this district should be compensated.

The contracting parties on both sides pledged themselves to make no separate peace with the enemy.

Clause Six provided that Rumania should be accorded the status and rights equal to those enjoyed by the other Powers, during both the preliminary and the definitive peace negotiations. These two provisions exercised a decisive influence on the settlement of the Rumanian question at the Paris Peace Conference. Of this later.

The Military Convention regulated the questions relating to the Russian military assistance, the supply of arms and ammunition, the support of Sarrail's Salonika army, etc.

Treaty and Convention had been signed, the Rumanian intervention was due to occur within ten days, preparations had to be made for the campaign. And still Brătianu delayed. But the Powers had come to the end of their patience, and on August 24 they sent an ultimatum to Rumania announcing that a Russian army 100.000 strong was prepared to enter Rumanian territory if the terms of the Treaty were not complied with. "It depended on Rumania whether the Russians were to come as friends or as foes."

The King summoned a Crown Council for August 27.

The day before, the German Minister, von der Busche, had been received in audience and had made mention of the

impending Crown Council. The King had answered that it was possible one might be held, but that he had no knowledge of it. In any case he was not bound to follow its decisions, and he was not going to issue any orders for mobilization. Rumania had no Treaty obligations apart from those which bound her to the Central Powers.

The same evening M. Maiorescu was with the King, and afterwards gave a despairing account of his interview to Marghiloman. "All is lost," — he said, — „the King has fooled us all. He has forgotten that he is a German. 'I have struggled for months,' he said, 'but at last I have taken my decision'." Maiorescu had begged the King not to lead the country to the brink of ruin. "I have decided", was the King's answer, only a few hours after he had told the German Minister that he was not going to mobilize the army.

Brătianu played the same trick on Czernin That same day, August 26, he told the Austro-Hungarian Minister that Rumania could and would remain neutral. The impending Crown Council would convince him (Count Czernin), of the truth of this. Rumania would only enter war if she were attacked.

After such preliminaries the Council assembled. Its members were, approximately, the same as in August 1914. Poklewsky, the Russian Minister in Bucharest, reported to St. Petersburg that the holding of this Council was a mere formality; and he was right in so far as Rumania was already definitely pledged to the Allied Powers by the Treaty of August 17, a fact which could not be altered by any decision of the Council.

The King, having opened the Council, went on to declare that Rumania could no longer remain neutral. This was the view of the Government, and he, the King, concurred.

Peter Carp asked for particulars and a fuller explanation. Brătianu spoke.

"In an upheaval like the present one," — he said — "which will alter the map of the entire world, our country with its national aspirations cannot, without compromising itself, remain neutral to the end. We must abandon our attitude of neutrality. Our national ideals must be realised, and it

is a question whether so favourable an opportunity for their realisation will ever again present itself."

He gave a brief account of the diplomatic moves which had led up to the actual situation, and concluded with the words: "We are pledged; it is too late to draw back."

He was followed by Take Ionescu and Marghiloman.

"We are faced, —" said the latter, — "with an accomplished fact; any further talk would be useless." Nevertheless he wished to draw attention to the fact that ever since the seventeenth century Russia had aimed at obtaining an ice-free port and that that was still her object. Was it not clear to His Majesty that Russia's way to Constantinople led through Rumania? And even if she did not occupy Rumania she would cripple her economically. "However, since the decision has fallen, I shall hold my peace, lest I disturb our national unity."

After Marghiloman N. Filipescu said a few words, then old, Germanophile P. Carp raised his voice.

"We are not here," he said passionately, "to bandy words as our unbridled temperaments dictate. To join Russia means to act against the interests of our country and to imperil the existence of the dynasty... Under the German flag we fight for principles, civilization and a safer future — also for our own future. I can only wish that we may be beaten. If we win the war, our country will perish. I have a right to speak as I do, for I shall have three sons in the fighting-line."

The King, very red in the face, turned on the old statesman.

"M. Carp, I respect every opinion, but I cannot pass over your last words in silence. They cannot be the expression of your real sentiments; I can only think that they sprang from a momentary madness brought about by the heat of the controversy."

"No, not at all, Your Majesty," replied Carp. "but from now on I shall be mute."

The Prime Minister submitted the text of the Treaty and the Convention to the Council, and after Costinescu, Rosetti and Pherekyde had had their say, he spoke again.

"I beg Your Majesty to consider, not the immediate issue

but the ultimate fate of the nation. If Your Majesty will do this, you will add imperishable pages to the history of Rumania."

The King closed the Council with the words: "This meeting has been one of historic importance and has laid an immense responsibility on us all. Forward, with God's help!"

With the decision of the Crown Council Rumania's era of neutrality was brought to a close. During this era the leading role had been played by Ionel Brătianu, whose actions the English historian Professor Temperley characterised with the sentence: "he brought into international politics the methods of the bazaar." This was the true character not only of the man, but also of those two years of Rumanian politics.
(To be continued.)

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN TRANSYLVANIA

BY

LADISLAS SZENCZEI

On 5th September a meeting was held in the assembly room of the *Kolozsvár Chamber of Commerce and Industry* by the committee of the Transylvanian Labour Organizing Institute, which has played so great a role in promoting the development of the restored parts of Transylvania. Amongst those present were M. Géza *Bornemisza*, former Minister for Industry, the president of the Labour Organizing Institute, dr. Julius *Rassay*, manager of the Rimamurány-Salgótarján Ironworks, vitéz Louis *Saáry*, Ministerial Councillor, M. Coloman *Rimanóczy*, the representative in Transylvania of the General Alliance of Manufacturers, and many other authorities on economics from the mother-country and Transylvania.

At this meeting of the committee of the Transylvanian Labour Organizing Institute a very important decision affecting Transylvania was arrived at. It was resolved to form a joint stock company, the Transylvanian Natural Gas Co., with a share capital of 15 million pengő. The object of this new company is *to supply Central Transylvania and Széklerland with gas energy*. The work is to begin immediately and will probably be completed this year. When the programme has been carried out it will open up wide possibilities for industrial development in the Nagybánya district and Central Transylvania.

At the same meeting the applications for credit submitted by 15 Transylvanian undertakings were examined and *permission to issue industrial loans aggregating a further million pengő was granted*. It should also be mentioned that a mill has been established at *Gyergyószárhegy* to manufacture the flax and hemp grown in that district. This factory is working with the support of the Central Bureau of Agricultural Credit Co-operative Societies. The building itself

cost half a million pengő, besides the necessary working capital. A loan of half a million pengő was issued to make the establishment of this very important Székler undertaking possible. How important it is may be gathered from the fact that the factory will deal with the produce of about 250 cadastral acres this year, and next year it is calculated that it will manufacture the flax and hemp grown on at least 1500 acres.

The construction of roads in Transylvania is also progressing rapidly. Hitherto five firms of contractors have been given orders to build roads, among them the *Hungarian General Roadbuilding Company*, which received orders for the construction of three roads to cost 3 million pengő. The *General Central Credit Co-operative Society* has also undertaken to build three sections to cost 2 million, and three smaller firms have also received orders involving an expenditure of 2 million pengő.

Building activity is also going on in the towns. In *Kolozsvár*, for instance, the *General Family Protection Foundation* and the *General Social Insurance Institute* are engaged in important work. The former has built 15 pairs of semi-detached houses that cost 400.000 pengő. Much money is also being spent for cultural purposes. The Transylvanian "Ant" Co-operative Society alone has decided to spend 150.000 pengő on post-school education. At *Sepsiszentgyörgy* a four-class school of economy has been opened at a great expense.

Much valuable work in the way of popularizing Transylvania's beauty-spots is being done by the *Carpathian Society*. Only seven of the nineteen local branches of that Society returned to Hungary when the restoration took place, but in the first months three new ones were formed and the ten branches redoubled their efforts. Their library, consisting of several thousand volumes of relevant books, was reorganized and the works of art of muzeum value in their possession were re-arranged and catalogued. A plan embracing the whole of restored Transylvania and involving a budget of four and a half million pengő was elaborated by experts and according to that plan work was begun that aims, not only at encouraging tourist traffic, but also at affording the people of the country new possibilities of earning money.

The local branch at *Csikszereda*, for instance, has built a spa at *Hargita*, a place 1328 meters above sea level, and also the *Uz-Bence* tourist shelter. The local branches in Counties *Szatmár*, *Szolnokdoboka*, *Zilah* and *Marostorda* have also contributed to the growth of tourist traffic by building modern tourist shelters wherever they were needed. The central bureau at Kolozsvár has set up shelters at Hoja and Rég and spent a large sum on repairing the bridge and steps leading to the Zichy stalagmite cave. Even larger sums have been spent by the Society on providing the Zichy Cave with electric light and making paths in it. On the Horthy Peak in the Radna Alps the building of a large modern hotel has been begun, and it is proposed to construct ski-runs and shelters in the neighbourhood of every larger town. In a word, it may be said that the Carpathian Society, with its enthusiastic members, its experts and the credit of several million pengő at its disposal, is one of the most active and important factors contributing to the development of tourist traffic in Transylvania.

OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

SOUTHERN HUNGARY IN PROCESS OF RECONSTRUCTION

BY

GÉZA RUBLETZKY

In the restored parts of Upper Hungary, with the return of Hungarian rule prosperity and work have come again to that sorely tried region. It is now about a year and a half since the Hungarian Government and the people began this work of reconstruction, and its results are visible everywhere. *A year and a half was sufficient to forge organic links between a region that had suffered much under alien rule and the mother-country.* Today it is practically impossible to find any difference between the restored area and the other parts of the country. The fundamental work was accomplished during the first year, when the shortcomings of the past two decades were made good. Now the same constructive work is being done in Southern Hungary as in the mother-country. Our object in giving an account of what has been accomplished there during the past few months is merely to draw attention to the strenuous work undertaken in every part of the restored areas by a Hungary at war.

Seeing that Southern Hungary is mainly an agricultural area, we shall first describe what is being done to improve agriculture. In the past months the distribution of land to the peasantry continued. At *Óbecse* 1200 families received land and at *Szabadka* viticulture has been organized so that the owners of small vineyards will receive the required raw materials and sell their wine in an organized manner. The *General Mortgage Bank* is doing its full share of the work of assisting farmers. Its *Ujvidék* branch has begun to issue loans to enable the farmers to modernize their equipment and rationalize production. In Southern Hungary the Government has introduced the system of model farm districts that work so well in the mother-country. The first of these in Southern

Hungary has been established at *Topolya*, where with the assistance of the Government the production of crops of a better quality has begun as an example to the whole region. Much attention is also being devoted to the industrial manufacture of agricultural products. At *Kishegyes* 100.000 pengő have been spent in setting up an oil factory which will be able to deal with almost all the oil-producing seed grown in Southern Hungary. The sugar refinery at *Verbász* will take over all the sugar-beet grown in the restored area. Since this sugar refinery returned to Hungary it is being constantly enlarged and modernized. Last month this factory established an important social institution, a day nursery for the children of the hands, and also completed the building of a recreation ground for the workers.

Throughout the area of restored Southern Hungary the task of lending a helping hand to unfortunates is in progress. In almost every town and larger village houses are being built for poor people with large families by the General Family Protection Foundation. In *Zombor* 20, at *Topolya* 12, at *Óbecse* 8, in *Szabadka* 10 such houses are in process of construction, and in almost every village the Foundation has either finished or begun the building of such family houses.

Besides building family houses the Government is spending large sums on road repairs. New roads are being built between *Szabadka* and *Topolya*, *Szenttamás* and *Zombor*, and *Topolya* and *Zenta*, and the roads between *Szabadka* and *Zombor* and *Ujvidék* and *Bácsfeketehegy* are being repaired. Roads are of major importance in these agricultural areas, and special attention is being devoted to them by the Government. Unfortunately the difficulties are very great, partly because the roads in Southern Hungary were so sadly neglected during the past two decades that their repair is very costly, and partly because the lack of raw materials caused by the war is a great impediment to the Government's work.

In the field of social work an event of great importance is the modernization of the hospital at *Szabadka*. Last month the work of enlarging it was begun, for which purpose the Government has contributed 400.000 pengő. Mention must also be made of the valuable volunteer work being done by

female university students among *the Szeklers who were repatriated from Bukovina*. Sparing no effort these young women hasten to be of assistance to the settlers in their new surroundings — a further proof of the sympathy and goodwill felt for them by the Hungarian people.

In the sphere of education mention must be made of the *Piarist secondary school* to be opened this year at *Szabadka*, where also courses of training for infant school teachers from every part of the restored area are being held. In *Ujvidék* a commercial school has been opened which may well prove to be the most important in the country. At *Óbecse*, *Kishegyes* and *Verbász* agricultural libraries have been established in order to educate the people of those districts.

Another event worthy of mention was the return from Bosnia last month of a third group of Magyars numbering 1000. These Magyars returning from a foreign country will certainly be inspired with added confidence in the mother-country when they see that life here is better than in any other part of Europe and that constructive work is constantly in progress.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONALITIES IN SLOVAK ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

BY

LOUIS KÁRPATHY

Quite recently the Slovak Bureau of Statistics published the figures showing the distribution by nationalities of the pupils of the elementary schools. When we examine these figures, we obtain an interesting reflection of the nationality situation in Slovakia. And these figures enable us to draw interesting conclusions in several important respects. This is all the easier in view of the fact that the publication of the official statistics provides an opportunity for a comparison of the figures for the years 1939—40 and 1940—41 respectively.

With respect to the school-year 1939—40 we learn that in the elementary schools with Slovak as the language of instruction there were 344.661 pupils. And the distribution of those pupils by nationality was as follows: —

Slovaks	. . . . .	328.909
Ruthenians	. . . . .	3.080
Jews	. . . . .	3.728
Czechs	. . . . .	1.498
Magyars	. . . . .	1.354
Poles	. . . . .	929
Germans	. . . . .	488

This distribution reveals many facts of great interest. In the first place it must be established that *in Slovakia, despite the assertions made by the Slovak Press and Slovak propaganda, elementary education is not based exactly upon an enforcement of the ethnic nationality principle. In the Slovak elementary schools we find a relatively large proportion of pupils of non-Slovak nationality.* The word "relatively" has been used deliberately; for if we take into

account the circumstance that, for instance, the number of Magyars living in Slovakia is roughly 200.000, we must describe as decidedly large the number of Magyar children attending elementary schools (1354) who are not in a position to obtain their elementary education in schools in which the language of instruction is their own mother tongue. We must regard as equally large — relatively speaking — the number of German elementary school pupils (488) when we take into account the circumstance that the number of Germans living in Slovakia is about 150.000. If we take into account also the fact that the German ethnic group is the "favoured" nationality in Slovakia, it seems absolutely incomprehensible that nearly 500 German children should be compelled to attend elementary schools where the language of instruction is not their own mother tongue.

Very surprising is also the figure relating to Ruthenian children contained in the above statement. So far *Slovak propaganda has almost consistently asserted that there are barely any Ruthenians in Slovakia*. And now official Slovak statistics reveal the fact that, *not only is there such a minority ethnic group of Ruthenian nationality in existence in Slovakia, but also that a considerable proportion of that ethnic group are unable to enter their children in elementary schools in which Ruthenian is the language of instruction*. This means that the Ruthenians in Slovakia are exposed to a far-reaching process of assimilation.

But extremely interesting conclusions may be drawn also from the number of Jewish and Czech children attending elementary schools in which the language of instruction is Slovak. It will be remembered that *in connection with the Jews the Slovak Press has consistently stressed that the Jews in Slovakia are today still in the service of the Magyars everywhere in that country*. That was one of the reasons given by Slovak propaganda, for instance, in justification of the removal of Jewish settlers. *From the official statistics we see that there are a large number of Jewish children attending the schools in which Slovak is the language of instruction*, a circumstance which by no means justifies our concluding that the Jews in Slovakia are not on the side of the Slovaks. The Slovak Press has

frequently declared that after the establishment of the Slovak State the Czechs left the country in a body: and now we find that *there are still some 1500 Czech children attending the Slovak elementary schools. Taking this figure as a basis for calculating the number of parents, we may conclude that there are still several thousands of Czechs in Slovakia.*

Where any nationality (ethnic) group is unable to have its children educated in their mother tongue, assimilation is bound to ensue as a matter of course. The foreign schools infuse a foreign spirit into the way of thinking of the respective nationality; and if this process continues for any length of time, the various sections of the nationality in question become completely assimilated. In Slovakia the work of assimilation is proceeding with the utmost intensity. The degree of intensity of that process must be estimated — and may be estimated — exactly on the basis of relativity. In the case of the Magyars we must calculate the number of Magyar elementary school pupils, and then we must estimate the proportion of such elementary school pupils deprived of the possibility of being educated in their own mother tongue. We find that the elementary school pupils of Magyar nationality were distributed by schools as follows: —

No. of pupils attending Magyar schools	4127.
No. of pupils attending Slovak schools	1354.
No. of pupils attending Slovak-Ruthenian schools	557.
No. of pupils attending German schools	159.

If we compare with the total number of Magyar elementary school pupils (6194) the number attending Slovak schools, we find that the latter represent 21% of the total number. *This may be taken to mean that 21% of the elementary school pupils whose mother tongue is Magyar are exposed to the danger of assimilation by the Slovaks.* And when we add the figures showing the numbers of Magyar elementary school children attending schools with a non-Magyar language of instruction, we find to our surprise that 33% of the elementary school pupils whose mother

tongue is Hungarian are unable to obtain an elementary education in that mother tongue, — that meaning that *roughly one-third of the said pupils are exposed in Slovakia to some form of assimilation!*

The Slovak official figures reveal the fact that all the nationality elementary schools have pupils of other tongues. But the fact is also revealed that it is in the schools where Slovak is the language of instruction that there are the largest numbers of non-Slovak children; and that means that it is the Slovak schools which most intensively and most decisively serve the cause of assimilation — naturally in favour of the Slovaks. The distribution of nationalities in the schools where Hungarian was the language of instruction was as follows: —

Magyars	. . . . .	4068
Slovaks	. . . . .	32
Germans	. . . . .	8
Jews	. . . . .	1
Others	. . . . .	18
Foreign citizens	. . . . .	72

Let us at this juncture note the relative ratios of Magyars and Slovaks. We find, then, that, whereas there were 1354 Magyar children attending Slovak schools, the number of Slovak children attending Magyar schools was only 32.

What development of the situation do we find in the school-year 1940—41? The number of pupils attending elementary schools in which the language of instruction was Slovak was 345.261. These pupils were distributed by nationalities as follows: —

Slovaks	. . . . .	329.094
Ruthenians	. . . . .	3.771
Czechs	. . . . .	1.672
Jews	. . . . .	4.235
Poles	. . . . .	1.108
Magyars	. . . . .	875
Germans	. . . . .	312
Others	. . . . .	41.093

When we compare these data with the figures for the previous school-year, we ascertain the following facts. In the first place, there was an advance in the number of Ruthenian children attending the Slovak elementary schools. As a consequence, *a larger proportion of the Ruthenians has naturally been drawn within the magic circle of Slovakization.* The number of pupils of Czech nationality also shows an increase; from this circumstance we may conclude that *there was absolutely no decline as compared with the previous year in the number of Czechs living in Slovakia. This circumstance allows of our presuming to assert that the Slovaks have no intention of realizing the plan so often stressed as a political catchword in Slovakia and weakening their connections with the Czechs.* There was a considerable advance also in the number of pupils belonging to the Jewish ethnic group in Slovakia, — a sign that *notwithstanding the anti-Jewish measures taken there the Jews are adopting a more and more decided pro-Slovak attitude. This is a particularly striking phenomenon in view of the fact that the Slovak Press keeps on proclaiming day after day that the Jews have been completely ousted from Slovak national life.* We see that there was an increase also in the number of pupils whose mother tongue is Polish. On the other hand, there was a decline in the numbers of Magyar and German children respectively. This must be attributed to the fact that these two nationalities are coming to realize more and more clearly the full extent of the danger that may arise as a consequence of their younger generations being educated in foreign tongues. And the Magyar minority in Slovakia has indeed in recent years been carrying on an increasingly intensive struggle for its cultural existence and for the Magyar schools which are the basis of that existence.

SERBIA IN PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATION

BY

IMRE PROKOPY

Many are the obstacles and exceptional difficulties accompanying the restoration of peace and order in the Serbia which was plunged into war through its own fault and after making a feeble resistance that lasted only twelve days fell into the throes of a bloody civil war. That work of restoration is being effected with the most admirable consistency and indomitable energy (and with the support of the German army of occupation) by General Neditz, the President of the Serbian Government established in office in the September of last year.

For the purpose of ensuring the work of re-organization and construction the Government has issued a whole series of well-considered and judicious ordinances; of these we shall refer to one or two only on the present occasion.

According to an earlier report of the Bureau established to direct the national labour service *secondary school students who have passed the higher certificate examination are included among those required to undertake labour service*. These students have been required to do this service, however, only during the summer vacation; the result being that in the month of October they will be able to register at universities or colleges and continue their studies.

That the measures taken by Government on behalf of the people have not proved fruitless, may be seen from a broadcast given by Premier Neditz early in September in which the fact is established that the yield of this year's harvest was an adequate one. "*I begged you to work and keep order*" — said the General, *inter alia* — "*and you listened to me, for which accept my thanks. Despite the violent propaganda of foreign agents you sowed every square inch of soil — indeed, a relatively larger area than at any time previously. You have saved the Serbian people*

from starvation . . ." In a later passage General Neditz attacked the black market, from which Serbia too had suffered, and begged the peasants to report all persons concealing surplus supplies of cereals. In order to ensure there being no hitch in public supplies, the General begged producers to surrender one-fifth of their stocks of wheat for the benefit of those unable to supply themselves, telling his hearers at the same time that the commander of the German army of occupation did not desire to claim a single grain of wheat from Serbia for export purposes. "*We have won the bread-war*" — said General Neditz in the concluding part of his broadcast — "and now we propose with the ready and generous co-operation of the Serbian farmers to ensure all Serbians alike their daily bread. (*Belgrade newspapers and „Délvidéki Magyarország“*).

On another occasion, about the middle of September, Premier Neditz declared that *those State officials and other State employees who were unworthy to be members of the civil service would be dismissed*; for an end had to be made at all costs to corruption and "graft". The persons to be thus dismissed — unless they were already legally entitled to pensions — would receive compositions representing two months' salaries or wages. "This principle must be borne in mind by every official and every other employee", were the concluding words of Premier Neditz's broadcast: "Serbia before and above all!" (*Belgrade newspapers and „Délvidéki Magyarország“, September 10th.*)

Particularly interesting and strikingly illustrative of the situation was the broadcast addressed by Premier Neditz to the Serbian people on September 1st., the first anniversary of the formation of the Serbian Government functioning under his direction. In this speech the General referred to the fact that in April, 1941, the Serbian people was left in the lurch by its leaders, after the latter had previously plunged it into ruin. These "*leaders*" took to their heels and left to its own resources the people they had sacrificed. "I remained with you" — the General said — "to share your fate in the days of trial. A year ago and until recent months the whole territory of the country was the scene of a violent civil war; and noone's life was safe. Today already

security prevails in the country, and the situation has considerably improved." General Neditz then proceeded to pay a tribute of praise to the Serbian peasant, who by cultivating every inch of land had contributed materially to further the consolidation which is so desirable and so essential to the survival of the country. It had been a difficult matter to repair the homesteads and village houses which had been set on fire by the communistic hordes; but the Serbian farmers had won this battle too. "However, there are still lurking among you jackals, — the agents of foreign interests. Shake them off from you and follow the example of the Serbian youth, who have realized their patriotic and national duty and are endeavouring to fulfil that duty." In conclusion General Neditz expressed the hope that the Serbia which had entered new paths would thrive and prosper in the future. (*Belgrade newspapers and „Délvideki Magyarország“, September 3rd.*)

The work being done by General Neditz and his colleagues for the benefit of the Serbian people is however considerably hampered and the success of their juggling tactics followed in an endeavour to temporize in their present plight very seriously jeopardized, by the difference of opinion (apparently an irreconcilable difference) between them and the members of the "London Yugoslav Refugee Government". The insurrection repeatedly declared by General Neditz and his fellow-ministers to have been liquidated is being continually fanned into flame, not only by Moscow, but also by the *entourage* of the ex-king and the "Yugoslav Government" functioning in London, which has at its head — since the fall of General Dushan Simovitz, the ringleader and stage-manager of the putsch effected on March 27th., 1941 — Slobodan Jovanovitz, a former professor in Belgrade University who enjoys a great reputation. It is therefore comprehensible that General Neditz and the Members of his Cabinet — as also the more prominent Serbian politicians and men figuring in Serbian public life who approve the direction of the policy pursued by Government — should continuously attack in the most violent manner the machinations of the exiled Yugoslav Government, which keeps stirring up trouble and inciting to civil

war, doing so in the service of foreign interests, and should consistently expose the insidious schemes of that Government and its agitation so dangerous to the very existence of the Serbian people.

Of the protests and outbursts of indignation — often extremely passionate — provoked by these machinations one of the most striking was undoubtedly the address delivered in Belgrade on July 21st. last by Dr. Miroslav *Spalajkovitch*, who prior to the outbreak of the first Great War was Yugoslav Minister in St. Petersburg and later on served for ten years as Yugoslav Minister in Paris. This address was relaid also by the Serbian radio and was published the following day in the columns of the Serbian newspaper "*Srpski Narod*" and later on in the Serbian paper "*Obnova*".

In the opening part of his address M. Spalajkovitch noted that under the influence of the events that happened in Belgrade in March last year M. Laval, the friend of the Serbian people, had in his presence exclaimed — "*Why, this is suicide!! What has happened to the Serbians? Have they gone mad?*"

Yet at that moment it was not possible to see all the consequences of the *putsch* carried out on March 27th. There can be no doubt that this *putsch* was the work of military adventurers, men of diseased minds who established the Government of National Disaster, which in a single night staked on a single card and lost all that the Serbian people had created by centuries of labour. Who can forget the closing days of that March, when throughout the whole country the communistic *demi-monde* was wallowing in satanic orgies? These days will remain unforgettable for the Serbian people, — days due to men to whom the speaker applied the words of the ancient Serbian proverb "*Tesko negama pod ludom glavom*" ("*a foolish head paralyses good legs*").

Then M. Spalajkovitch continued: — "*Never has a State collapsed so madly as Yugoslavia... Those who had ruined the State and the people were not satisfied with what they had done, but are still endeavouring to plunge the Serbian people into a still greater catastrophe. Do not*

listen, my countrymen, to the siren voices calling upon you from a foreign shore. Messages are being sent to you by agents paid by foreign countries... They are all alike vain tricksters and mountebanks bent on deceiving town and village who in the past ruined our political parties too. In Yugoslavia politics has been degraded to the status of a dirty industry — the dirtiest of all industries. The country has been corrupted and national defeatism spread abroad. *These agents of foreign interests have employed two dangerous viruses — anti-Serbian, a national Yugoslavism and international communism.* The consequences of this procedure are coming home to us now. This was treachery against the country and a betrayal of the future of the Serbian people. These knights of adventure would fain drive the people to suicide. In Yugoslavia the Serbian soul veritably went to pieces; for in that country it was forbidden even to call oneself Serbian... The Serbian national idea had been completely repudiated. Yugoslav materialism had supplanted Serbian idealism... During the course of the centuries Serbia had been overthrown, national dynasties had been destroyed; but the orthodox Serbian religion had remained: and that had saved the Serbian people and its culture from the Turkish Crescent. The Serbians were no passing reality, but a people boasting of a great historical past whose life was only now about to begin... The Serbian people had a mission, which it had not yet fulfilled. Only one single path lay open to the Serbian nation — *“the path of morality, justice and labour”*.

In the concluding part of his address M. Spalajkovitch spoke of the historical role played by General Neditz and emphasised that the General had in the day of adversity too found the only proper path for the Serbian nation to follow, — the path leading to the New Europe already in process of construction. In the nineteenth century Prince Milos Obrenovitch raised Serbia from the dead, making that country great and up-to-date; while in the twentieth century, under General Milan Neditz, the Serbian State was once more rising from the grave. (*Belgrade newspapers and „Ujvidéki Magyarság“*).

We considered it necessary for the information of our

readers to give a short abstract of *M. Spalajkovitch's* address; for that address — apart from demanding the settlement of accounts with the persons responsible for the *putsch* — contains something of peculiar weight — the enunciation of the need of repudiating Yugoslavism and returning to an exclusively Serbian national political platform. This new trend — in the event of its becoming universally adopted as the common political creed of the Serbian people — does not of course aim at eliminating the endeavour to realize the Greater Serbia dreams in some other form, that having indeed been the leading idea and fundamental political principle avowed by the Serbians even within the framework of the Yugoslav State brought into being under the title of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

OSZK

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

BULGARIA WILL NOT SWERVE FROM HER CHOSEN PATH

BY

K. FORTUNOFF

The form of the new world begins to assume an increasingly clearer shape, and during this process the peoples of the different Continents have separated into two camps to take part in the gigantic struggle on the outcome of which depends their fate for the next fifty or a hundred years. On which side does Bulgaria stand? In what direction does the Bulgarian nation progress? What are the sentiments that fill the hearts of the Bulgars? and what are the opinions of the leading Bulgarian statesmen who have undertaken the arduous task of steering the country towards a happier future? Before answering these questions, we must cast a glance back into the past, for by examining the Bulgaria of yesterday we shall have a clearer understanding of the situation of the country today.

Let me recall the speech made in 1929 by Dr. Nicholas Minkoff, a leading representative of the post-war youth of Bulgaria and a member of the present Government Party. In that speech, made on the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Neuilly, Dr. Minkoff said:

“In the war of 1914—1918 four States — Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Bulgaria and Turkey — were fighting practically against the whole world. Millions and millions of soldiers representing every race under the sun, were thrown into battle against that alliance of four nations; but their front remained unbroken. All the might and wealth of the Continents became a weapon directed against the Central Powers; and yet it seemed that victory would be theirs. Time passed and *the military successes of the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish armies were made of no avail by the fact that the material resources of those countries were exhausted.* The possibilities of victory

for either side were equalized. A hard struggle began and the hope of peace became more and more remote.

"Something would have to happen to tip the balance in favour of one side or the other. It was the entry into the war of the United States of America, the sword of America thrown into the scales, that made the balance tremble, but not to any decisive extent. America, with all her dollars, was not weighty enough to upset the equilibrium until to the sword and gold of the United States *President Wilson added the olive branch of the hope of peace. Then, indeed, the scales turned — in favour of the other side.* The Bulgarian soldiers, who by their brave deeds and military prowess had enriched history with many glorious pages, were now thrown into perplexity by President Wilson's promise that the wishes of the peoples should and would be respected, and that every nation would have the right of self-determination. Why, they began to ask, should we continue to fight, if we can achieve our aims without arms? What followed is well known to all: *Bulgaria and her comrades-in-arms, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, lost the war, although they had not been defeated in battle.*"

Then came Versailles, Trianon and Neuilly. *After the war very hard times visited Bulgaria,* The Treaty of Neuilly plunged the country into financial and economic distress, and greatly weakened its military and diplomatic strength. King Boris and the various Governments that succeeded one another in Sofia during the next twenty years made every endeavour to avoid the pitfalls dug for Bulgaria by her neighbours, to maintain internal equilibrium, and to preserve in the soul of the Bulgarian people the hope that sooner or later fairer days would dawn for their country. The task was often a very difficult one, especially *when the adjacent States openly sought a quarrel with Bulgaria, or when Bulgarian statesmen were subjected to pressure from all sides.* But the hard times following the war acme to an end at last, and 1940 brought the first foretaste of joy: the restoration of the southern part of the Dobrudja.

Some months passed; then a year ago, on 1st March 1941, Bulgaria solemnly signed the Three Power Pact at the Belvedere Palace in Vienna. Next day the Bulgarian Premier,

Professor Filoff, made the following announcement to the Sofia Parliament:

"When the Axis Powers took the initial steps towards a solution of the problem of Southern Dobrudja, they not only won the deep gratitude of the Bulgarian people, but also gave proof of their determination to create a more equitable situation in Europe. In view of this historical fact Bulgaria sees in the Pact concluded by Germany, Italy and Japan a political instrument *the aim of which is to ensure to the different nations justice and the possibility of peaceful development. Imbued with a desire to contribute as far as she can to the realization of these great aims, Bulgaria has joined the Three Power Pact.*"

With this Bulgaria's attitude towards the belligerents has been decided, and she has definitely taken sides in the great conflict. Although the country has not yet taken part in the fighting, she stands armed and ready for all contingencies, as she must, if she is to maintain her prestige in the eyes of certain of her neighbours.

The German lightning war in the Balkans, which ended in the collapse of Yugoslavia and the surrender of Greece, began on 6th April 1941. Within two weeks of that date the Bulgarian troops began to re-occupy the liberated areas — *Macedonia, Thrace and Morovia*. Today this aggrandized country (the importance of which lies perhaps less in its extent than in its geo-political and strategic situation) has attained to the rank of a mediumsized Power, and is preparing to play a rôle of the first magnitude in the future life of Europe.

The area of Bulgaria after it had been mutilated under the Treaty of Neuilly by the victors of the last war was 103.000 square kilometres, with a population of 6.500.000 souls. With the restoration of Southern Dobrudje (7696 sq. k. s. and 1.400.000 souls), Macedonia and Morovia (27.000 sq. k. s. and 1.400.000 souls), and Thrace (14.000 sq. k. and 150.000 souls) the area of Bulgaria is now 152.000 square kilometres, with a population of 9.000.000.

The Bulgarians are happy. In the years 1940—1941 they witnessed the realization of the national ideals for which they had striven for more than sixty years. Their joy over

the restoration of the areas wrested from Bulgaria by the Treaty of Neuilly was all the greater because those parts returned to the mothercountry without the sacrifice of a single Bulgarian soldier.

The various Governments that succeeded one another in Bulgaria during the past twenty years always pursued a revisionist policy. It is true that their methods differed, but the aim was always the same: a struggle against the burden of the Treaty of Neuilly. Proof that this was so is afforded by the fact that none of Bulgaria's statesmen, whatever his political or ideological standpoints may have been, would ever agree to Bulgaria's joining the Balkan Alliance. This in itself shows that they refused to accept the situation created by the Peace Edicts.

So far Bulgaria's army, modernized and augmented in keeping with the country's present circumstances, has not taken active part in the war. This intact army, the strength of which grows from day to day, is a guarantee to the Axis against any unpleasant surprise from the direction of the Black Sea or — more likely still — from the south, for in either case Bulgarian bayonets, tanks and aeroplanes would be there to act as a check. I am convinced that the task assigned to the Bulgarian army is well known to other countries, friends and foes alike.

When we speak of the Bulgarian army, we always involuntarily think of Turkey. Why? There are several reasons why we should do so.

A year ago an agreement was concluded between Bulgaria and Turkey in which it was expressly stated that the unshakable foundation of the two Governments' foreign policy was that both parties would refrain from any act of aggression.

Hitherto Turkey and Bulgaria have managed to remain on friendly terms. Both countries are very careful not to give any cause for unrest, and Turkey has stated that she does not feel threatened in any way by Bulgaria. *We have every reason to hope that this state of matters will continue, but it is the opinion of political circles in Sofia that Turkish statesmen must also be careful to avoid taking any mistaken steps.*

The misfortunes that overtook the Bulgarian people after the war of 1914—1918 were as numerous as they were great. The Peace Treaty of Neuilly tore the historical Bulgarian frontiers asunder, imposed heavy burdens on the economic life of the country and, to crown all, disarmed the Bulgarian army. Disappointment, lost hopes and a hard life disturbed the mental equilibrium of many Bulgarians and facilitated the spread of Communistic ideas, especially among the working masses. Bulgaria has always been a favourite hunting-ground for the Third International, but the peasantry of the country, who form about 85% of the total population, have always remained indifferent to Communism, and in December 1941 Premier Filoff officially announced that Bulgaria had joined the Anti-Commintern Pact. The vast majority of Bulgarians are peasants and small farmers in whom the sense of property is so highly developed that it is the mainspring of all their activities. *This is the reason why the Bulgarian people have always remained unaffected by Communist propaganda, and why the Bulgarian Government has struggled and will continue to struggle against Communistic activities.*

Words have been followed by deeds. Some months ago the police and military authorities took over the Government's relentless struggle against Bulgarian Communist agitators. *About one hundred death sentences were executed for crimes endangering the security of the State; and this has resulted in a reduction to the minimum of Communistic activity.* The Soviet radio continues its propaganda broadcasts in the Bulgarian language, calling upon the people of Bulgaria to fight for Panslav ideals, but the results are far from encouraging for the Soviet. *For, it has been stated in Sofia that the Bulgarians will not allow themselves to be led astray by this propaganda, because they are well aware that Panslavism, which the Bolshevists would like to use as an instrument of defence and attack, is nothing but one facet of a racial theory that is not compatible with the international ideas of Communism.*

Since 1934 there are no political parties in Bulgaria, for the simple reason that they have all disintegrated. With the exception of a very small minority representing what

may be described as an Opposition, all the members of the "Sobranie" are supporters of the Government's policy. The members of this Opposition are mostly men who were leaders of the old Parties, or who played some rôle in the old political life of the country and are still advocates of a return to Party politics. Seeing, however, that the questions at issue are questions of national policy, the Opposition has agreed to lend its support to the official policy.

Last year the organization of the youth of Bulgaria was begun on a general scale. In the past the creative force of youth was not properly exploited to the extent now demanded by the present abnormal circumstances. The organization goes by the name of the "Brannik", and its members are recruited from the schools — boys and girls alike. *The number of its members at present is 40.000, but this is merely a beginning.* This year the organization of young people who have left school is to begin, and by means of a new law full provision will probably be made for the organization of all the youth of Bulgaria. A happy idea that has been productive of excellent results was that the "Brannik" groups should take part in agricultural work in the summer months and help peasants who were unable to find enough labourers, or do some other kind of community work.

After several months of a strenuous work of organization conditions in the restored areas — first in the Dobrudja, then in Thrace, Macedonia and Morovia — became entirely normal. Within the present frontiers of Bulgaria life is proceeding in an orderly fashion. Everything in the spheres of economy, culture, administration and social welfare, as well as in the army, has been unified. Naturally the newly restored areas require special attention. They are receiving it, and the various departments of the Ministries have been assigned special tasks in connection with the Dobrudja, Macedonia, Thrace and Morovia.

Bulgarian economic life has been able to cope with the situation created by the war, so that the country may be said to be sound economically. Certain major and minor difficulties with which some branches of economy have to contend, do not contradict this statement.

POLITICAL MOSAIC

BARON NICHOLAS DE WESSELÉNYI

This article deals with an event that in ordinary times would have had no connection with foreign politics. What links it up with them are the happenings that form its background.

On the second anniversary of the liberation of Zilah from Rumanian rule the town, amidst impressive celebrations, restored to its former position the statue of Baron Nicholas de Wesselényi which had been removed from its pedestal by the Rumanians. This event recalls two dates. The first was the day when Rumania took possession of Transylvania, which was an integral part of Hungary, and — to say nothing of the historical enormity of that act — committed deeds of vandalism in throwing down and smashing Hungarian monuments. Among the statues destroyed was one of Baron Nicholas de Wesselényi, a world-famed masterpiece by the immortal Magyar sculptor John Fadrusz. The second date recalled was the day of reparation, the day when Magyar life returned to this ancient Magyar soil, bringing in its train not only historical right and justice, a policy of tolerance towards minorities and the recognition of their lawful demands, but also the re-erection of the demolished monuments: *the return of culture to take the place of vandalism.*

Who was Nicholas de Wesselényi, and what did his statue symbolize? *Wesselényi was a man who fought for human rights and for the rights of the people of Hungary. He preached the doctrine of equal rights for every inhabitant of Hungary irrespective of origin, and insisted that the cultural and other specific demands of the peoples of non-Magyar race and tongue should be satisfied.* And this man's statue was among the many demolished by the Rumanian regime, this man's, of whom Andrea Saguna, Bishop of the Rumanians of Transylvania and one of their most outstanding personalities, said: —

"In Nicholas de Wesselényi the sentiments of a great Magyar patriot were combined with a loving understanding for the peoples of non-Magyar race and speech, *When he urged the liberation of the serfs, this enlightened man made no distinction between Magyars and Rumanians or the serfs of any other nationality. He demanded constitutional rights, not only for the Magyars, but also for us.* His doctrine was that liberty is complete only if no barriers of rank or race are recognized."

The Rumanians removed the statue of this Nicholas de Wesselényi who contributed largely towards the liberation of all

serfs no matter to what race they belonged and towards the legal recognition of the specific rights of the nationalities and their equality before the law. And they did so just in *County Szilágy* where before 1848 there were a considerable number of Rumanian nobles and where, amongst others, *the names of the ancestors of Julius Maniu figured on the list of the landed gentry.*

Amongst those present at the celebrations were M. Eugène Szinyei Merse, Minister of Education, and M. Andrew Nagy de Tasnád, Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, along with representatives of the Lower House, the Transylvanian Party and various municipalities and institutions. In his speech the Minister of Education said: —

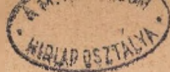
"Baron Nicholas de Wesselényi was one of the first to espouse the sacred cause of the much-suffering Hungarian peasantry. This Magyar noble took up the scythe and mowed with his serfs to show his respect for every kind of honest work. This statue truly represents his exemplary activity: *Wesselényi did indeed raise up the people to himself and did so without reservation and with all the devotion of his human heart.* Baron Nicholas de Wesselényi, a great Hungarian nobleman, recognized what Magyar work and the community of Magyar interests meant at a time when these ideas had not even been formulated."

RUMANIAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN TRANSYLVANIA. GENERAL MEETING OF CENTRAL BUREAU

The Kolozsvár "*Tribuna Ardealului*", the official organ of the Rumanians of Transylvania, contains a long article dealing with the general meeting of the "*Plugarul*", the central bureau of the Rumanian co-operative societies in Transylvania.

This general meeting was held in the Kolozsvár "*Albina*" House, with the president, Dr. Emile Hatieganu, in the chair. The two hundred co-operative societies belonging to the "*Plugarul*" were represented by 126 delegates, among whom were the representatives of the various co-operative stores, credit co-operatives and timber co-operatives. They were addressed by Dr. Emile Hatieganu, who spoke of the events that had preceded the formation of the "*Plugarul*". He said that for a long time the formation of a central bureau had presented great difficulties, because the co-operative societies of *Nagybánya, Máramaros, Ugocsa and Bihar* (in the region known as the *Partium*) were treated otherwise than those in the interior of Transylvania. Finally, however, an arrangement had been arrived at with the Government in terms of which it had been possible to establish a *uniform co-operative system* with headquarters at Kolozsvár.

After the chairman's speech the business of the day was discussed. In his report M. Victor Sioldea, president of the "*Regna*" Co-operative Society, spoke of the aims of the Rumanian co-



operative movement and paid tribute to the valuable work done by Dr. Emile Hatieganu and Vice-President Costan.

After various opinions had been expressed, the general meeting passed the budget and elected the committee. The Rev. Lawrence Curea proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Emile Hatieganu for his valuable work. After thanking the delegates for their appreciation Dr. Hatieganu declared the meeting closed.

NATIONALITY POLICY AND ITS FULFILMENT.

Hungary's nationality policy, particularly in respect of the treatment of the Serbian minority, has always meant understanding, the acknowledgement of the rights guaranteed in the Hungarian Constitution and the Hungarian laws and a readiness to fulfil all the obligations involved. That is what this policy means today also; and this readiness on the part of the Hungarian Government to fulfil its obligations not even those regrettable events proved able to prejudice which occurred in April, 1941, on the occasion of the entry of the Hungarian National Defence troops, and early in the present year, in a few villages and one or two towns of the re-annexed "Bácska" region. The spirit permeating the nationality policy of the Hungarian Government may be seen — not only in theory, but also in practice — from the examples of its working given below.

The two commissions appointed to supervise the demands and applications of *those in need of war relief* completed their activity in the southern districts of the country during the month of July; and *the claims of 12,445 of the 17,639 (persons applying for relief were acknowledged as legitimate, while the applications of 2358 persons who had not annexed the required documents were returned in order to enable those applicants to make good the deficiencies. While during the twenty-two and a half years of their rule in these districts the Serbians had acknowledged the legitimate character of only 5500 disabled soldiers, war widows and war orphans and rejected the applications of more than 7000 Magyars and Germans (merely because they belonged to the Magyar or German minority respectively), — and this circumstance in itself sufficiently illustrates the differences between the two methods of treatment —, the two Hungarian commissions recognized as legitimate the claims endorsed at the time by the Serbian authorities, only in a very few cases (in altogether 146 out of 5500 cases) withdrew the war relief allowances granted to Serbian or other Slav disabled soldiers. The cases of those persons who have been called upon to supplement the annexes to their applications are to be discussed and settled definitively between October 15 and November 15 of the current year.*

A section of the Dobrovoljatz settlers (war volunteers)

settled on the estates taken chiefly from Magyar landowners for the purpose of weakening and intimidating the Magyars of the southern regions remained in their new homes after the re-incorporation in 1941 of the "Bácska" and the Baranya Triangle; these are at present in a relatively serious material situation. In order to ensure the proper medical treatment of the sick children of the struggling "Dobrovoljatz and other Yugoslav settlers the Serbians of Ujvidék have established a private hospital under the management of a Serbian doctor; and — as a result of the intervention of M. Milan L. Popovitch, Serbian Member of the Hungarian House of Deputies, — the Hungarian Ministry for the Interior is granting this hospital a *monthly subsidy of 6000 pengő*.

Another fact characteristically illustrative of the difference between the respective procedures of the former Serbian and present Hungarian authorities is what happened in connection with the 1940 Ujvidék floods. For the relief of the inhabitants — mostly Magyars — of the Adamovitz (now once more Darányi) settlement most severely affected by the floods the Magyars of Ujvidék made a general collection; apart from other donations the "*Reggeli Ujság*" collected from its subscribers the sum of nearly 500,000 dinars (50,000 pengő), and the sum thus obtained was distributed by the Editor among 774 persons suffering serious damage as a result of the floods — though the local Yugoslav Red Cross Society demanded that the money collected should be handed over to be distributed among the sufferers exclusively by its organs. Later on, when the town and the Red Cross also granted the sufferers from the floods some assistance, the management of the Red Cross required the Magyar families (most of them very poor) to give bills of exchange, including in the amounts for which the bills were made out also the sums originating from the collection made by the "*Reggeli Ujság*" and distributed as gifts by the Editor of that paper. And recently, at the end of July, the Magyar mayor of Ujvidék — on the suggestion of the socialpolicy department of the municipality — invalidated the injurious measure taken by the former Yugoslav Red Cross and — ordaining that the bills illegally demanded should be cancelled — exempted the inhabitants of the Darányi settlement affected by the floods from the obligation of repaying the relief allowances given to them under such circumstances.

The August 13th, issue of the "*Délvidéki Magyarság*", a paper published at Szabadka, tells us of another very important example of reparation. The town of Szabadka had already prior to the first Great War granted on a *twenty-five years' lease to 650 families (mostly Magyars)* a strip of land with a sandy soil 8 kilometres long and 2 kilometres broad. These lessees thus put in possession of a long-term contract of leasehold were

encouraged to build houses and farm buildings on the lots leased by them under the contract. The two homestead-settlements thus brought into being were given the names of "Hajdú" and "Vágó" Hundreds. In the early days of Yugoslav rule, when the carrying into effect of the so-called agrarian reforms was begun by an Order in Council issued on February 25th., 1919, — a reform which reduced to beggary thousands of Magyar farm servants, tenants and agricultural labourers employed by the *latifundia* and of Magyar smallholders, the Magyar lessees farming these two homestead settlements were thrown out of these settlements under the pretext of "house redemption", being granted indemnification amounting to barely 1—2000 dinars, while the rights guaranteed them under the contract were set at nought and the places of the lessees were taken by imported Dobrovoltz, Tchetnik and other Yugoslav claimants. After the territorial change ensuing in the April of last year the Serbian settlers who had been all put there to act as veritable marchmen returned for the most part to their original homes; and the lots of land, together with the houses and farm buildings, were restored to the former lessees; though no longer in the form of leaseholds, but as freehold to be purchased on a very fair amortisation basis to run over thirty years. *The same equitable treatment has been meted out also to the former Bunyevatz lessees*, — an additional proof of the correct tendency of Hungary's nationality policy and of the fact that that policy ensures an absolutely unbiassed reparation of all legitimate grievances.

In cultural matters too the Hungarian Government is making every effort to provide that the legitimate wishes of the non-Magyar nationalities shall — notwithstanding the great difficulties caused by the war — be as far as possible fulfilled. This endeavour was what inspired the Ministry of Public Worship and Education too when arranging the four weeks' continuation courses for practice in languages at Pécs (closed on August 5th.) and at Ujvidék (opened on August 10th.), the latter also to last several weeks, *for the benefit of teachers engaged in "nationality" schools*. The number of students — middle and elementary school teachers — attending the Pécs courses was 180, that of the students now attending the Ujvidék courses being 118. The object of their studies is, apart from acquiring a knowledge of up-to-date pedagogical methods, to enable them to obtain as thorough a knowledge as possible of *the languages of the various non-Magyar nationalities*.

And all this is being done by the Hungarian Government amid the awful ordeals and formidable dangers of a world conflagration; that Government is inspired, in its nationality policy based upon the traditions of a thousand years and upon sober reflection, not by any desire to requite the persecution (often of

an absolutely ruthless character) inflicted upon the Magyar minority by the Yugoslav authorities during their twenty-two and half years of rule, but solely and exclusively by a sincere and serious endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, to eliminate antagonisms and to unit all forces in the work of furthering the common interests of the country as a whole.

HUNGARIAN CULTURAL ASSOCIATION IN CROATIA DEMANDS HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS

In one of our recent numbers we published a report on education in the independent State of Croatia in which we described the situation of the German racial group in this respect. Compared with German education in Croatia Hungarian education, though the number of Magyars is not much less, is wholly neglected. *In order to make up these deficiencies and right these wrongs the Hungarian Cultural Association is doing, as it has always done, what it can, and its main object is to ensure elementary education in the Hungarian language for Magyars.* Recently this association approached the Croat Ministry of Public Education in this matter, as may be seen from the following circular letter addressed by the committee of the association to its local groups:

"The leaders of local groups are hereby notified that the Ministry of Education cannot be asked to open more Hungarian sections than the number of Hungarian-speaking teachers available. *Seeing that more than 30 local groups have so far demanded Hungarian sections, while there are only 21 teachers registered,* it is impossible that the request of every local group should be granted. Our aim is to establish if possible in every political district a Hungarian elementary section, primarily in places where the number of Magyar children of schooling age is the greatest. In choosing such places we had to be careful to ask for Hungarian schools in localities where teachers were willing to go. For the present we cannot send any of the small number of teachers available to villages in out of the way districts. Local groups are notified that this arrangement is not definite yet, since the approval of the Ministry of Education has still to be obtained."

Until the Croat Ministry of Education gives permission to open Hungarian elementary school sections the Hungarian Cultural Association is trying to prevent the spread of illiteracy by means of courses of instruction.

A short time ago the examinations at the course for children

established by the Cultural Association at Eszék took place and *the results were more than satisfactory*. When the course began most of the children, far from being able to read and write, could not even speak their mother-tongue properly. After the course those children were able to read and write Hungarian practically without mistakes.

When the course at Eszék was opened 38 Magyar children registered, but later on several of them dropped out because their parents moved to other places. They had lessons of two hours' duration twice a week. The subjects were chiefly reading and writing, besides which they were given instruction in history, geography and arithmetic. (See Croatian newspapers.)

All this, of course, is merely a modest beginning in the field of Hungarian education in Croatia, but it is certainly an improvement on the state of matters that existed during the twenty-two and a half years of Yugoslav rule, when the Magyars in Croatia and Slovenia — in number about 100.000 — had not one single Hungarian school.

WHAT ARE THE CHETNIKS?

Through her own Government's fault Yugoslavia became involved in a war that brought ruin in its train. After her complete defeat bands of Serb insurgents, hiding in the trackless primeval forests and practically inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains in Serbia, began a widespread guerilla campaign, and since then the international Press has been writing more and more about the so-called "Chetniks", who are playing an important part in that warfare. As anti-Axis propaganda presents these guerillas to uninformed public opinion as the zealous and unselfish protagonists of liberty and the Serb national cause, the "Pester Lloyd" of 7th August thought it necessary to publish extracts from their service regulations that reveal the real character of those "heroes". These service regulations were issued twenty years ago at the very beginning of the new order created by the Paris Peace Treaties, when the Chetnik organization was founded, and they were issued with the approval of the Minister of the Interior of the S.H.S. State.

A literal translation of §. 3 of these regulations runs as follows: "The bands to be employed on the northern frontier must be organized with due regard for the (Serb) national idea... Their chief task will be to act in a manner calculated to frighten the enemy, demoralize the population and put the (enemy's) army

aut of action. The path of the Chetnik bands must be marked by assassinations, blood and ruin."

According to §. 4, the Chetnik bands were no longer free troops but part of the regular army, and as such were bound to obey their leaders without question, who in turn were told not to forget that none of Yugoslavia's neighbours was to be spared.

The next paragraphs set forth the chief virtues required of the Chetnik leaders. Amongst those bloodthirstiness and a total lack of moral or any other restraint play an important role.

§. 14 deals with their training. Among the things to be learned were the destruction of means of communication, the blowing up of bridges, roads and buildings, the cutting of telegraphic lines and the polluting of wells and reservoirs with poison or bacteria.

§. 15 regulates the payment and other emoluments due to the Chetniks, and §. 21 instructs their leaders how to obtain the various uniforms used by the armies of enemy countries from the army stores in Belgrade, where also the identity cards and certificates used by foreign armies were to be had.

The next paragraphs deal with the organization of the Chetnik bands. Three men go to form a "troika", from two to four troika a "grupica" and three or four grupica a band, which as an independent fighting unit is under the control of a regional commander.

§§. 31 to 36 deal with the behaviour of Chetniks in war-time, §§. 37 to 60, on the other hand, contain instructions regarding their duties in peace.

§. 37 treats of propaganda, which should be engineered and directed in such a way as to make the people of foreign countries believe it originated in their own countries, for this, it was said, was the method that afforded the greatest possibilities of undermining morale and weakening discipline in the enemy's camp. Where sabotage was used the most important thing was to destroy food and clothing. When drinking-water was to be polluted the poison was not to be thrown into running water, but into wells and reservoirs, and phials containing disease germs were ordered to be emptied into pools. Where murders were decided on, the people to be killed were the guardians of public security, agricultural and industrial workers, politicians and public officials.

§. 45 contains special instructions for spies. Those who offered themselves or were designated for that service were told

to choose an occupation that gave them comparatively the greatest freedom of movement (peddling, fishing, driving carts, waiting in restaurants, etc.)

The last paragraphs contain general instructions concerning the methods of guerilla warfare. Prisoners and the wounded were to be killed, also in many cases women and children who might be able to betray important information to the enemy, Chetniks taken prisoner were ordered to commit suicide, as there was no hope of their being pardoned.

In conclusion §. 60 says that the mobilization of the Chetnik bands was to be ordered by the head of the General Staff of the Yugoslav army.

These in brief were the service regulations issued to the Chetnik organization, the members of which, with their senseless and brutal behaviour and wanton work of destruction, gave so much trouble in the southern areas restored to Hungary last year and who, together with organized Communist bands, are still causing terrible suffering to the peaceful inhabitants of Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY

BULGARIA

ECONOMIC NEWS FROM BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Government has closed the provincial Chambers of Agriculture and Industry and replaced them with General Provincial Chambers of Economy. The members of these chambers are the representatives of manufacturing industries and crafts, workmen, merchants and agricultural co-operative societies. Half of the members are elected, the other half appointed. These chambers will take over the work formerly done by the Chambers of Industry and Commerce and of Agriculture. At their head will stand the General Supreme Economic Council with headquarters in Sofia, whose task it will be to coordinate the activities of the several Chambers.

The Government has ordered all cattle-breeders in the country to register the number of their cattle and pigs twice a year. Any change in their stocks of animals must be reported within a week. Owing to the disastrous decline in the poultry stocks it is forbidden to kill young poultry before 1st October next.

The baking of white bread has been forbidden.

The quantity of tobacco produced in 1942 is estimated at 90.000 tons. The area at present under tobacco is 83.000 hectares, of which 45.000 are in Old Bulgaria and the remaining 38.000 in the lately restored areas (Macedonia). Next year it is proposed to plant larger areas with tobacco.

In recent years Bulgaria became the biggest producer of castor oil in Europe. Its sale is a monopoly in that country. In 1938 the quantity produced was negligible, a mere 50 or 60 tons a year. By 1940 it had risen to 4365 tons and a year later it was 10.060. By that time Bulgaria was not only able to supply its own needs, but also exported 200 tons. This year the extent of the land producing castor oil is 10.000 hectares and about 13.000 tons are expected.

The Government has prepared an agricultural production scheme for the year 1942/1943. All farmers except those who have other contracts to fulfil must grow cotton, provided that their land is suitable for that crop. Each farmer must plant cotton on at least 1 decare (0.1 hectare). The Ministry of Agriculture has been authorized to mobilize tractors and other machines in the Dobrudja and the regions of the Aegean Sea to ensure that

autumn ploughing and sowing takes place in good time. The Ministry of Commerce will make provision for an adequate number of trucks to transport the necessary fuel and seed.

The Agricultural and Co-operative Bank is to issue loans of 1500 leva per hectare to farmers who intend to plant potatoes.

As from 1st July last the wages of industrial workers as well as of workers in the tobacco, smelting and electric industries have been raised. An extra 100 levas are to be paid to family men with one child and 200 more for each successive child.

The Bill introduced by the *Ministry of Agriculture* asking for the issue of bonds to the value of 120.000.000 levas to expire in 20 years and bearing 6% interest, has been passed by Parliament. This sum is to be spent on erecting cold storage plants, so that instead of the present 35.000 sq. metres available there will in future be 72.000.

The Post Office is to avail itself of a loan of 150.000.000 levas at 3% for the purpose of building post offices. This loan is to be repaid within 10 years beginning with 1945.

The laws governing joint stock companies in Bulgaria are about to be altered. In future the minimum joint stock capital required to form a company will be 1.500.000 levas and the smallest nominal value of each share will be 1000 levas. The Government allows one year in which to accomplish the necessary legal and financial transactions. In consequence of this new law it is probable that many joint stock companies will become limited liability companies, and it is to be expected that small joint stock companies will amalgamate or perhaps go into liquidation.

According to the first quarterly report issued in 1942 by the National Bank of Bulgaria, the amount of banknotes in circulation rose between the end of March 1941 and the end of March 1942 from 7.800.300.000 leva to 12.822.600.000. In the same period deposits rose from 1.394.800.000 to 18.724.300.000. The explanation of this great increase lies in the territorial aggrandisement of the Bulgarian State. According to the report, Bulgaria's stocks of foreign currencies have also grown in one year's time from the value of 3.770.000.000 levas to 11.509.000.000, and her gold stocks from 2.006.300.000 to 2.507.800.000. The precautions taken by the bank resulted in the fact that the gold covering, which was 27.7% in March 1941, was still 26.25% in March this year. The loans issued to economies and the State have considerably decreased. While in 1941 bills and advances amounted to 1.346.200.000 levas and treasury notes and advances to the State to 600.000.000, in March 1942 these sums were only 561.800.000 and 200.000.000 levas respectively.

In the first four months of 1942 Bulgaria's exports totalled 2.940.000.000 levas as compared with 1.730.000.000 in the first four months of the previous year. Imports rose from 2.240.000.000

to 2.660.000.000, so that in the first four months of the present year exports exceeded imports by 280.000.000 levas.

The barter agreement between Italy and Bulgaria which would have expired on 30th June last, has been prolonged for another year and the sums involved have been increased from 800.000.000 to 1.000.000.000 lire. Italy's main export to Bulgaria is artificial fibre, while Bulgaria chiefly exports tobacco, eggs and poultry to Italy. ("La Parole Bulgare", "Bulgarische Wochenschau", August and "Stud", September).

CROATIA

CROATIA'S BIG INDUSTRIES

A book entitled "Nasa Gospodarska Politika" recently published gives the statistics of Croatia's manufacturing industries. According to those figures, today there are more than 1600 big manufacturing concerns in Croatia with about 2240 factories. Of these 584 are engaged in manufacturing agricultural products, Second in number are those engaged in the timber trade with 454 plants. Then comes the electrical industry with 237, most of which are power-stations. The textile industry has 235, building industry 231, mining 131, chemical industry 124, iron and steel industry 120, leather industry 33 and paper industry 25 factories. 846 factories are private concerns and 665 belong to fictitious persons. The number of joint stock companies owning big industries at the date of registration on 14th Many 1941 was 324, with a share capital of 2.700.000.000 kuna. This is 67.29% of the share capital invested in Croat economy. ("Hrvatski Narod" August 25.)

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN CROATIA

One of the August issues of the "Hrvatski Narod" contains an article about agricultural production in the independent Croat State which comes to the conclusion that in normal times Croatia would have a considerable surplus of foodstuffs. During the war the country is obliged to feed foreign occupying troops and in certain parts fighting against rebels has reduced the volume of production. During the past ten years the land under the various crops on an average was as follows: wheat 1.200.000 hectares, maize 1.100.000, potatoes 140.000 and pulse 530.000. The crops on an average were: wheat 1.160.000 tons, maize 1.620.000, potatoes 870.000 and pulse 100.000. If the population consumes per head annually 100 kilogrammes of wheat, 150 of maize, 100 of potatoes and 12 of pulse, with average crops there would remain for industrial purposes and exportation an annual surplus of 50.000 tons of wheat, 7500 tons of maize, 400 tons of potatoes and

6000 tons of pulse. In conclusion the article says that with an adequate system of drainage about half a million hectares might be reclaimed, which could produce a further 400.000 tons of maize.

CROATIA'S STATE RAILWAYS

Communications in Croatia, including railway and bus traffic, shipping and the postal services (telephone and telegraph) are controlled by a separate Ministry. The *Croat State Railways* have two managing offices with similar organizations — one in Sarejevo and one in *Zagreb*. Their other offices are: 12 traffic control bureaus, 4 wagon distributing offices, 17 stokehouses, 28 auxiliary stokehouses, 27 repair departments and 4 large warehouses. The length of the permanent way in Croatia is 3959.8 kilometres, 2760.3 of which are ordinary gauge lines. The length of railways with double tracks is 306 kilometres. The length of shunting rails at the stations is 1100 kilometres. Of the rolling-stock belonging to the *Yugoslav State Railways Croatia* received 994 passenger carriages, 3190 closed and 8872 open trucks. The Croat State has taken over the wagons in process of construction at the factory in Bröd, and has already placed 200 of them in use. The number of engines for ordinary gauge lines received was 703. (*"Deutsche Zeitung"*, July 8.)

The '*Croatia Put*', the tourist office of the State Railways, is the sole representative of the State Railways. It alone is entitled to organize travelling parties, to encourage systematic tourist traffic, and to arrange for exchange trains with foreign countries. (*"Deutsche Zeitung"*, July 7.)

HUNGARY

WORLD MARKETS AND HUNGARY'S POTENTIAL ECONOMIC ENERGY REPORT OF HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH

The *Hungarian Institute of Economic Research* has now published its fiftieth report dealing with the period ending on June 30th. This report gives an extremely detailed account of the international economic situation, *especially of the changed economic conditions caused by the war*. It describes the methods and achievements of war economy. According to this report, the economic situation all the world over is dominated by the endeavours to increase the production of armaments and avert the dangers of inflation.

In recent months the economic situation in Hungary has been decisively affected by increased war production, the

country's intensified participation on the side of its great allies in the war, and the assistance given to our allies in the sphere of economy.

In the economic year that ended recently the value of the agricultural produce that reached the markets was 15% more than in the economic year 1940/41. The average price level of the grain and vegetables reaching the markets was approximately 25% higher, while that of animals had risen by about 30%.

In connection with industrial production the report states that despite the fact that it has become increasingly difficult to obtain supplies of raw materials, developments during the past few months have not been unsatisfactory. This comparatively favourable situation has been made possible by the circumstance that the major or minor decline due to a lack of raw materials that is noticeable in many branches of industry (the leather, shoe and textile trades, etc.) has to a certain measure been offset by increased production in other branches.

Thanks to the increased production of armaments the volume of output in the heavy industries is particularly large. A new peak point has also been reached in the output of the mining industries; and despite the restriction imposed in the autumn of 1941 on house-building, activity in that branch of industry was extremely brisk at the end of last year and the beginning of the current year. The comparatively high level of industrial production is also partly attributable to the rapid growth in the production of substitute materials and their increased use, that having given employment to many factories which formerly worked up the raw materials obtained from foreign countries.

The number of hands employed in March 1941 in factories and handicrafts was 920.000 in the area of pre-1939 Hungary, 122.000 in the restored areas of Eastern Hungary and Northern Transylvania, and 38.000 in Southern Hungary. Employment in Trianon Hungary was at its highest level in the August of 1941 with a record number of 992.000 employed; but although that peak point was reached only in the autumn of 1941, the volume of industrial production was at its highest level in the winter of 1939.

As regards the lucrativeness of industrial production, the report of the Hungarian Institute of Economic Research notes that as compared with the conditions obtaining before prices were first fixed in August 1941, an improvement is noticeable following the two regulations of prices that took place that year. In general the possibility of continuing production without loss is now assured to those factories which are well, or reasonably well, supplied with orders. With very few exceptions, however, industry is not nearly so lucrative as it was before the war.

The report also mentions that the rise in industrial wages and salaries that took place in December 1941, coupled with the

new price regulations then issued, made it necessary to regulate anew the prices of hand-made articles as well as wholesale and retail prices. But in spite of the higher prices permitted to industry and commerce *the wholesale price level had not increased by more than 10% between the end of November 1941 and the end of May 1942, while the cost of living had not increased by more than 7%.*

Since the outbreak of war the wholesale price level has risen by 71%, the cost of living index by 46%. The rise in the price level that has taken place since the war began was made unavoidable by the increased price of imports and the necessity of using substitute materials.

In conclusion the report states that the agreement concluded with Germany regarding the prices fixed for reciprocal trade with that country has contributed towards the comparative stability of the price level. This agreement prevents any considerable increase in the prices either of imports or of exports.

Another factor that has helped to slow down the tendency of prices to soar — says the report — was the Government's policy of tying down a considerable part of the consumer's surplus money by means of increased taxation and the issue of bonds, and also by introducing effective measures to prevent hoarding and a purely speculative manipulation of prices. Thanks to that policy the cost of living index has remained unchanged since the end of March.

SERBIA

SLOVAKIA'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES. STATE CONTROL OF FODDER.

The August 7th issue of the semi-official "Slovak" contains a lengthy report in which we read that fodder has been placed under State control. The explanation of this measure is that since the creation of independent Slovakia the production of fodder has been attended with the greatest difficulties. The agricultural area of the country is not capable of producing all the crops required to satisfy its needs. The most acute difficulties appeared in connection with the milk supply. Expert Slovak economists at the time believed that it was merely a question of organization, and now this same opinion finds expression in the arrangement made on 1st August, in terms of which fodder is to be distributed to farmers by the State. According to the order issued by the Ministry of Public Supplies, barley for cattle, oats, garblings, maize, millet, all kinds of bran and chaff, meal for animals, the waste products of the raw materials manufactured for human consumption, the pods and straw of peas and beans, dried potatoes and dried turnips all

come under the heading of fodder. Agricultural undertakings, cattle-breeding societies and research institutes are to receive the corn they require direct from the Ministry of Public Supplies or from the local district offices. The direct distribution of corn from the Ministry is to take place in the case of dairy-farms that have at least 11 milch cows giving an average of 7 litres each a day and which, after supplying their own needs, hand over at least 50 litres daily for public consumption. Other agricultural undertakings to receive their corn direct are those that fatten at least 15 bullocks a year and intend to sell that number in the future too, those that last year sold at least 15 fattened pigs each weighing over 110 kilogrammes, and those that own at least 300 sheep and winter 100. Pig-breeding undertakings that own at least sows and have 50 eight or ten weeks old pigs to sell yearly are also to receive their corn requirements direct from the Ministry, as are poultry farmers who keep at least 100 laying hens. Farmers who keep at least 3 and not more than 10 milch cows are also to receive corn. From these measures we see that *in Slovakia the rationing system has been extended to every kind of domestic animal*. This system will require a great apparatus to work it, and it will certainly be interesting to watch how that young State solves this problem.

New rules concerning the purchase of cereals

Despite the fact that detailed instructions concerning the purchase of cereals had already been issued by the Ministry of Public Supplies, it was discovered that grain-dealers were engaging in prohibited transactions. In consequence the Ministry found it necessary to issue further regulations and warn grain-dealers seriously to stop these illegal transactions, the more so since from now on their activities will be more severely controlled. Graindealers will have to take an oath to obey orders and report any breach of the law that comes to their notice to the public security authorities. They must therefore not only refrain themselves from prohibited transactions, but must also make it their business to see that others fulfil their duty to hand over their surplus grain. Those who break this oath will be deprived of their licences, and in serious cases will be punished according to the laws dealing with sabotage. ("Magyar Hirlap", August 9.)

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