Owing to the mental crisis following the collapse of Greater Rumania, to repeated earthquakes, and other disturbing events, the atmosphere of Rumanian political life is tense with unrest and excitement. Internal anarchy, spreading in an increasingly widening circle, a dangerous state of confusion, and spiritual disunion characterize Rumania today. Public opinion cannot calm down, for the masses are of the opinion that the fate and future of their country rest on unstable and insecure foundations. After the funeral of the victims of the political outrage the Rumanian Press and wireless, taking their cue from the speeches delivered at Gyulafehérvár by the Leader, General Antonescu and his Deputy, M. Sima Horia, threw themselves wholeheartedly into a campaign of anti-Hungarian propaganda.

Lately, also, the leaders of Rumanian political life let loose a flood of virulent invective against the Vienna Award at the assembly of ex-servicemen held on 8th December in Bucharest, which was attended by a delegation of German officers. Speeches inciting to rebellion and demanding a revision of the Vienna Award were delivered. In a very bell-like speech General Antonescu repeatedly gave voice to the battle-cry: "The blow — he said — that we had to endure last month stil rankles. A nation was stretched on the rack in Europe." The rest of the speakers, one and all, also demanded the restoration of the pre-Award frontiers and of Rumania's integrity. In his address General Antonescu, the Leader of the State, said that they had been forced to relinquish the frontiers for which Rumania had made so many sacrifices. Then, veiling his meaning in enigmatic predictions and mystical pronouncements, he encouraged his hearers to rebel. Among other things, he declared that "the Rumanians
have never attacked anybody from behind." He would seem to have forgotten that modern Rumanian history is one long record of well-disguised acts of treachery. General Antonescu also spoke of a "chivalrous spirit." What this represents in Rumania is shown by the assassination of Jorga, Madgearu and the 70 victims of the Jilava massacre, to say nothing of the two decades of bitter humiliation suffered by the Magyars of Transylvania. Fierce attacks were also launched at this meeting against Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia, as the violators of Rumania's "ancient soil".

As already stated, the Rumanian Press and wireless are engaged in a campaign of unbridled seditious propaganda. The ringleaders in this respect are the semi-official "Curentul" and Maniu's organ, "Romania Noua". Quite recently "Curentul" published an article by Jon Blagaila in which it was stated that "in a short time everything that has been stolen from Rumania will come back again;" all that was required was a little patience and confidence. In another recent issue of that semi-official newspaper a leading article dreamt dreams of a "Gigantic Rumania" and said that "when Rumania is strong again, not even the old frontiers, much less her present ones, will be enough for her." No count can be kept of the excessively virulent Press attacks on Hungary. Obviously the object of these salies in the Press is to divert the attention of public opinion from the increasingly unbearable and untenable conditions obtaining in Rumania and make people forget the hopeless position into which the State has drifted. At the same time, however, this blind fury and irresponsible agitation are poisoning the atmosphere of the whole of South-Eastern Europe. They have been sharply criticized in the international Press. The Swiss "Basler Nachrichten", for instance, issued a warning to the Rumanian Press, saying that "there are limits even to the greatest patience, and it is to be feared that if in consequence of the attitude adopted by the Rumanian Press a further aggravation of the relations between Hungary and Rumania results, complications may ensue." Writing of the anti-Hungarian attacks in the Rumanian Press the "Politika" of Belgrade comes to the conclusion that relations between Rumania and Hungary have again grown worse, and that
this is due partly to the anti-Hungarian tone of the Rumanian papers, but chiefly to information reporting the persecution of the Magyars left in Rumania. In his speech delivered in the Upper House during the Appropriation Debate on 19th December, Count Paul Teleki, Hungarian Premier, speaking of the Rumanian question, stated that Hungary had not once lost her patience even when the persecution of Magyars and their expulsion from Rumania had assumed intolerable proportions. Hungary had again given proof of her conciliatory spirit when, a few weeks ago, she asked for a resumption of negotiations with Rumania; nothing, however, had come of it. "There is nothing further that I can do" — said the Premier — "but pray that Rumania may be in a position to negotiate."

Rumanian foreign policy is opposed to the decision of Berlin and Rome and to the peace policy pursued in the Balkans by the Axis Powers. To this opposition may be attributed the resignation of M. Sturdza, Rumanian ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, in fact, was merely Antonescu's shadow and whose office has been taken over for the present by the latter. By many M. Sturdza's fall is regarded as a set-back for the Legionist movement. The change effected in the person of Germany's Minister in Bucharest would also seem to be connected with the oscillations of Rumania's foreign policy. Herr Fabricius has been succeeded by Herr Killinger, hitherto German Minister in Pozsony, who is not only a diplomat, but also one of the leaders of the German National Socialist Party. He is expected to take an active part in Rumania's internal as well as foreign policy.

For in Rumania internal political conditions have not yet become consolidated. Instability continues and insecurity increases daily. There are still serious and fundamental differences between the Head of the State, General Antonescu, and the organizations of the Iron Guard because of the irresponsible acts of revenge that ended in so much bloodshed. The gaping chasms caused by this split reek of hatred and are growing wider and deeper. Not long ago there were moments when it might have been expected that Sima Horia and his followers would openly turn against
Antonescu and the army, the more serious elements of which have taken sides with the Leader of the State.

For the moment Antonescu has won the day. But it may be established that he has lost the sympathies of a large section of the Iron Guard. For in order to prevent further massacres by the extreme elements Antonescu has set up courts martial, which pronounce death sentences in 24 hours on such as incite to armed rebellion or become leaders of a rebellion of that sort. This measure, calculated to break the power of the Iron Guard, may be considered the first step towards a military dictatorship. The Iron Guard, however, which must still be looked upon as being organically bound up with the very substance of the Rumanian State, is busier than ever; its police detachments still function, although they were long since ordered by the Government to disband and disarm.

The movement headed by Julius Maniu and Bratianu and the reports broadcast by a secret Rumanian wireless station contribute to make the feeling of insecurity worse. A growing number of Rumanian politicians, public officials, priests and army officers who had played a rôle under the previous régime are taking refuge in Hungary and Bulgaria, which latter State has now closed its frontiers towards Rumania.

Mention must also be made of the recently-framed law which deprives of their Rumanian citizenship any Rumanians living abroad who are engaged in activities contrary to the interests of the State. It is clear that this law is directed primarily against Titulescu and Viorel Tilea, former Rumanian Minister in London, who frequently broadcasts in the B. B. C. and makes use of it as a means of attacking the present Administration. The instability of the internal situation is aggravated by a prohibitive rise in prices. According to the “Argus”, a Bucharest agricultural newspaper, the price of bread has risen by 30%, that of flour by 143%, while there are commodities — onions for example — whose price has gone up by 433%.

To all this must be added that the Magyars left in Rumania are being terrorized, harried, persecuted, tortured and deprived of their belongings. Rumanian Government Com-
missioners have been appointed to control the undertakings of the Magyar minority, and the one remaining newspaper of the Magyars of Rumania, the "Déli Hírlap" of Temesvár, has again been suppressed.

Great and justified indignation was aroused in Hungary by a passage contained in the Christmas pastoral letter issued by Mons. Nicholas Balan, the Metropolitan of Transylvania. Writing of the present situation the Metropolitan said: — "The war is a raging storm that can neither be stopped nor avoided. Rumania has taken her share of sacrifices; the sacred soil of this country has been cut to pieces and millions of our brethren have come under alien rule. But let us cling to our faith in an overruling Providence. In the history of the world the last word has always been spoken by God, not by the diplomats. Let us therefore put our trust in Him; let us unite and send a message of confidence to those who have been left outside our frontiers. May peace reign upon earth, but let it be a just peace that will bring liberty to every nation."

Detailed instructions concerning the application of the curriculum for the elementary schools in the school-year 1940—1941 have been issued by the Ministry of Education. § 2 of Chapter II, page 4, contains the following instructions: — "In classes III, IV, and VII the geography of Greater Rumania is to be taught irrespective of the present arbitrary, unjust and temporary frontiers. Pupils must be inspired with a consciousness of our right to the detached areas, and the hope that the old frontiers will be restored must be implanted in them together with the determination to fight for the realization of this aim as soon as possible.

No day goes by in Rumania without an attempt of one kind or another being made by official and semi-official circles to stir up hatred against Hungary. The coarse invectives appearing in the form of speeches at popular meetings, statements and newspaper articles are not worthy of attention — they do not carry far in any cause. But the two above-quoted instances are not the ordinary products of the hatred felt for Hungary; they are the fruits of the systematic work with which official Rumania is striving to upset the Vienna Award. The pastoral letter issued at Christmas by
the Metropolitan of Transylvania cannot be regarded as a private communication. When as the Head of the Church he states his disapproval of the Vienna Award, certain conclusions must be drawn. The greatest caution is imperative, for the Church is a very ponderable factor in Rumania, where forms of government and the Governments themselves change, but the Princes of the Church remain.

For a similar reason it is necessary to speak of the orders re the teaching of geography issued by the Minister of Education. It was in his official capacity that the Minister, acting on the express request of the Government, instituted a measure repudiating the provisions of the Vienna Award. This clearly shows the confusion reigning in Rumania and how impotent or unwilling the Government is to carry out the arrangements made by the representatives of the two Great Powers which Rumania professes to regard as her friends.

The twenty-two years of Greater Rumania's existence as the product of the irrational peace edicts is merely an episode in the world's history, and certainly does not constitute a legal title to the detached areas. If nevertheless a member of the Rumanian Government thinks it wise to make propaganda in the schools against the Vienna Award, which was undoubtedly a perfectly legal act, he not only goes back on his own word and repudiates his own signature; he also issues a challenge to the two States responsible for the Award and to all the States affected by this clinging to the dream of a Greater Rumania. This use of the map as an instrument of propaganda cannot be viewed with indifference either by Hungary, Bulgaria or Russia.